

Treasures of ancient and moderne times

ΑΡΧΑΙΟ-ΠΛΟΥΤΟΣ.

CONTAINING,

Ten following Bookes to the former

TREASVRIE
OF AVNCIENT AND
MODERNE TIMES.

830
890

Being the Learned Collections, Iudicious Readings,
and Memorable Obseruations: Not onely Diuine, Morall, and
Philosophicall; But also Poeticall, Martiall, Politicall,
Historicall, Astrologicall, &c.

Vol. 2

Translated out of that Worthy Spanish Gentleman, PEDRO MEXIA, And
M. FRANCESCO SANSOVINO, that Famous Italian: As also, of
those Honourable Frenchmen, Anthony du Verdier, Lord of Vauprinaix:

Leys Guyon, Sieur de la Nauche, Counsellour vnto the King:

Claudius Gruget, Parisian, &c.

Vol 2



LONDON

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To the most Noble and Twin-like paire,
of truly Honourable and compleat perfection, Sir PHILLIP
 HERBERT, Knight of the Bath to our dread Soueraigne
 King IAMES, at his Royall Coronation, Lord Baron of
 Sherland, Earle of Montgomery, and Companion in the
 vnpareld and famous Fellowship, of the
 Order of the Garter.

As also, To the truly vertuous and Noble Countesse his Wife,
 the Lady Susan, Daughter to the right Honourable Edward Vere, Earle of Oxen-
 ford, Viscount Bulbeck, Lord Sandford and of Badesmere :
 and Lord High Chamberlaine of
 England, &c.



The first Vo-
 lume of this
 Treatise,
 published a-
 bout 5. yeares
 since.

Orthily might I bee con-
 demned of arrogancie,
 (most Noble Lord & La-
 dy) because, hauing past
 the Pikes in a peece of the
 selfe-same seruice (follow-
 ed with fauour and kinde
 acceptation) I should
 therefore presume vpon
 the like successe: know-
 ing the inconstant nature
 of Times, that as they al-
 ter, so do mens humours
 & dispositions with them.
 For, that which carrieth

liking and allowance to day, fallcs into loathing and contempt to
 morrow; Opinions being more various in the case of Bookes, then
 are the Arguments whereon they discourse, because carping curio-
 sity will haue his censure. But, as the Last for Hercules, was not fa-
 shioned to fit euerie foote, nor his Lyons skinne to be worne by any
 base Louer, euen so the sublimtie of true iudgement (in matters of
 such industrious and painfull labor) should be left to the Learned;

Ignorance will
 alwayes bee
 sold vpon the
 learnedst la-
 bourer.

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

not to euery course and mechanicke conceite, capeable of nothing, but of such occasions as are futeable to his owne condition.

I haue read of the great Riuer * *Euripus*, which ebbeth and floweth seuen times a day, and with such violence; that it carrieth Ships vpon it with full sayle, directly against the winde. Seuen times in an houre ebbeth and floweth rath Opinion, in the torrent of indiscreet and troublesome apprehension: carrying Criticke calummie, and quint-eyed detraction, mainly against the winde of Wisedome and Iudgement; because their braines are no better ballast, nor their capacity offurther reach or extendure.

And yet, if the saying of *Hesiod* be true; *That nothing can bee more pleasing, then variety, which is the soules cheefest solace*: Then (not fearing folly, but speaking to peerelesse Noble nature) giue mee leaue to tell you, that there can hardly bee any especiall subiect imagined, but one Argument or other heere meeteth with it. From Sacred Diuinity (the most solide and supream of all other) through all other Artes and Sciences whatsoeuer, euen to any lowly, and the meanest (worthy) profession; here is some notable marke or Monument thereof (if it be either Ancient or Moderne) stored vp in this *Treasure*, for future Ages to delight in, and to receiue no meane benefite thereby.

Then (Honourable Lord and Ladie) all these blessings beeing Yours (as also my selfe, in endlesse dutie and seruice) when any subiect of great graue, and serious consideration (as of Nations, Monarchies, Kingdomes, and People, in their Originall, Rising or Declining, by Warres, Dissentions, Combuitions, or otherwise in the like occurrences) shall seeme troublesome or tedious to you: walke on but a little further, & then you may enter into a spacious Forrest, affording all choise of pleasing Game, either for Hawking, Hupping, Fishing, Fowling, or any other Noble exercise beside.

When those Forrest pleasures shall faint you (as all delights dull, by too much continuance) an Orchard standes wide open to welcome you, richly abounding in the fairest Frutages: not to feed the Eie onely, but likewise to refresh the Heart, inuiting you to plucke where, and while you please, and to bestow how, and when you list: because they are all yours, and whosoer else shall taste of them, do enioy such freedome but by your fauor.

There is one especiall recreation more (Gracious Madam) which remaineth foly to your selfe, and such as may enter by your admittance; in a goodly large Garden, abounding with all kind of the fairest Flowers, that open with the cheerfull mornings Sun, and shut againe at his sad departure, all sweet, and all soueraigne. And, because Ladies of elder times (as many haue had the like delight in our more Moderne daies) were singularly skilfull in Physick and Chirurgery: there is not a vacant place in the whole Garden, but it is fildy furnished

* A narrow sea betweene the Hauens Aul of Euria, and Euboea.

Comparing all the Volumes together.

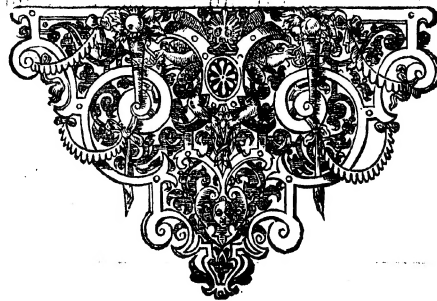
Hesiod, in Lib. 3. Cap. 7.

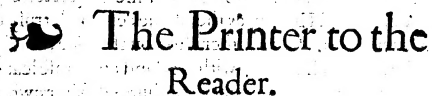
The Epistle Dedicatory.

shed euerie where; the verie common walkes (euen as if they were Bride-like strewed by hand) are couered with the choicest Simples, purest distillatorie Plants, and wholesome Herbes of euerie Vertue: for which, the Garden was purposely founded, and not for fruitlesse idlevanitie.

And were you all alone, without companie, and by your selfe, yet can you not so continue there: For, you may meeete with a faire Beuey of Queenes and Ladies, arduers turnings as you walke, and euerie one will tell you the Historie of her life and fortune (rare examples of Vertue and Honor) as themselues can best, truly & plainly discourse vnto you. Some other also you shall see, sadly sitting vnder Eughe & Cipresse trees, with Garlands of those leaues wreathed about their heads, sighing out their diuers disasters: whom your Noble nature cannot choose but commiserate; as greeuing to see a scratch in a cleare skin, and a bodie beautified by Nature, to be blemished by vnkinde Destiny.

From manie remote Kingdomes and Countries (where naturally they spake those seuerall Languages) are all these variable pleasures come hither, onely to kisse your Noble hands. It was no mean infelicitie for them, to find no fitter a Tutor, that might haue taught them to speake more eloquent English; which (indeede) also was my fault, seeing none else would tie themselves to so hard a Taske. But howsoeuer it may prooue, your rich iudgements, and all-sufficient ability in the Languages, as also my weakenesse; will (I hope) bury all defects in your fauor, & beare out from scandall my willing endeouour, that I may finish the other (yet remaining) selecten Bookes behinde, to perfect so rich and rare a Treasure.





SOME few years past, I intended the whole Worke of *Pedro Mexia*, with some other Authours on the like Arguments of variety. I then published nine Bookes, with intention to haue made them vpsfifteen, for the first Volume: but being preuented by sicknesse, I finished but the first nine Bookes; and finding the good acceptance of them, I haue aduentured now on ten Bookes more, of the like Ancient and Moderne Times: sauing only some particular Heads but lightly touched, are now (by the same Authors) more at large illustrated. And may this finde equall fauour vnto the former (without any harsh censure, or vnkinde discouragement:) the other eleuen Bookes shall follow with all conuenient speede, to finish vp so faire a Treasury.

Farewell.

A Table of the Authours Names, that alledge and approve the severall Arguments, contained in this Booke.

<p>S.  Mbrose Anguine. Anselme Anjonis Adon. Epif. Vienne</p> <p>Ariftole Ammonius Marcellinus Auenzoar Apianus Agathias Althibius Auimus Arrianus Albertus Straubourg Auicenne Auerroes Albanus Antonius Sabellius Arctus Tarentinus Antoninus Amicus de Viterbo Annales Constantinop. Annales Treuentini Amor de Bel. Africa. Arnoldus Lificus Adrianus Imperat. Aymonius Aluinus Agnetus Anus Gellius Agrippinus Alamus Aucus Syllius Aefchylus Aefchylus Amilius Victor Almus Lampadius Amilius Macer Aferinus Athenus Asinus Pollio Apuleius Panfius Alexander Alexandrinus Alexand. Aphrodifenus Apollonius Thyaneus Alphraganus Anthony du Labric Aristander Antonius Nebricenfis Albertus Magnus Aristomachus Achilles Statius</p>	<p>Aristophanes Andronicus Athenenfis. Anfonius Lombardus Arctine Acamatibus Antoninus Syl. Alphofius Rex Hifp. Atitulus Aecurius Aazo Alexand. Trallianus Ateius (apiro Afconius Padianus Apianus Alexandrinus Arctilocus Arnoldus Ferronius Arndus Aristarchus Antoninus Arch. Floren. Aristophenes Anaximander Albertus Crantzius Alexand. Gaguinus Anaximenes Abbas Siculus Almadacus Arab. Augurelius Athenor Annales I. S. S. Aluarius Aurea Hiftoria Affenus Menenfis Afpidius Beneiacenfis Adam Merimont b Alliances genealogiquet des Rois & Princes de France Annales de Aquitaine Annales de Bourgoigne Annales du France. Annales rerum Flandricarum.</p>	<p>Belforft Blafius Fulginius Blaudus Bartholomews Boetius Boccace Bonifius Barthol. Picenus Bartholus Berenus Barthol. Dardanus Beroaldus Rapifia Ignatini Belonius Bodinus Bazius Bachi Anctifia Bucholernus Baltazar Caftillanois. Bartus Senerinus B. Weftmerus</p>	<p>Cheremonius Chronerus Pol. Cajfiodorus Corninus Melf. Cratinus Cteffippus Alexand. Crantzius Colophonius Cosmi Balthazar Calime Calcagius. Cupinianus</p> <p>D</p> <p>Dion Dicaearchus Diodorus Siculus Dionif. Halicar. Dionif. areopag. Diogenes Laertius Discorides Demoghenes Democritus Dionetes Cynic. Damafcene D. Pedro Epif. Leon Demetrius Alexand. Du Bartas Ditius Creteus Dares Phrygius Damafe. Sigierius Dionif. Lycimius Donatus Dionif. Caffianus.</p>
<p>Aluinus Agnetus Anus Gellius Agrippinus Alamus Aucus Syllius Aefchylus Aefchylus Amilius Victor Almus Lampadius Amilius Macer Aferinus Athenus Asinus Pollio Apuleius Panfius Alexander Alexandrinus Alexand. Aphrodifenus Apollonius Thyaneus Alphraganus Anthony du Labric Aristander Antonius Nebricenfis Albertus Magnus Aristomachus Achilles Statius</p>	<p>B</p> <p>Biblia Sacra S. Bayle S. Bernard Roterus Benetus Baldus Abbas Baldus Doc. Civil. Berofus Bucchanan Baronius Budens Bandello</p>	<p>S. Cerill. S. Chryfoftome Colmella Cedrenus Claudians Crocentius Clemens Alexand. Capit. Toles Coculolius Copitadinus Cornelius Tacitus Cicero Cicconius Chryffippus Cardanus Cleomedes Collennius Conradus Epif. Crenus Epidius Cornelius Agrippa Caclius Cenfurinus Celfus Cleanthes Chalcidius Celafus Rhodiginus. Calandus Victor Charles de Molin Comment. Cafar Conftantinus Cafar Calmatheus.</p>	<p>E</p> <p>Eumenius Ephorus Ecdatius Enchebus. Eucherius Eumenides Epphanius Eftian de Grivay Eglinbard Ennodius Euclidius Eratofthenes Ennius Enftatius Eutropius Eraftratus</p>

The Authors Names.

Ebulus
Enclides
Elpacus
Enantes
Epicurus
Empedocles
Erasmus Roter.
Eustathius
Eginus
Empolemus
Elpagoras
Enpolis
Episc. Tyrrensis
P. Erub. de Reip. Ind.
Egnatius
Enagrus
Enans
Elihen Pasquier
Epistetus
Euchrid. Eras.
Epicharmus

F

Froissard
Fortunatus
Fanchet
Fouchilla.
Frontinus
Fabius Pictor.
Flavius Episc.
Fasciculus Temp.
Fernelius
Flores Postar
Fran. Georgius
Fabianus Prator
Fran. Philolophus
Faulsius
Festus Pompeius

G

S. Gregory
S. Greg. Nazianzen
Guliel. Tyriens.
Gabinianus
Gail. de Nangis
Gennadius
Greg. Floren.
Greg. Turonens.
Gregor. Papa
Gefner
Guiccardinus
Gaudentius Merula
Geber
Glaucanus
Gontierus
Gualt. Monach.
Garcias d'Orta
Ganiffid Mommes.
Gayidas
Gyrald. Cambrensis
Guliel. Malme.
Gemma Frisius

Galen
Gallienus de Nargui.
Geor. Trabazon
Guliel. Budens
Galerus
Gaydonius
Gaydo Bonatus
Gerebrardus
Geor. Leontinus
Gregor. Giraldus
Gregor. Recb.
Gucnata.

H

S. Hierom.
Hist. Miscellan.
Homer
Herodotus
Hortius
Hermannus
Hesiodus
Heracides Ponticus
Hermolau. Barbar.
Hugo de S. Victor
Hicocles
Heliconensis
Hippocrates
Hippocrator
Hist. D. Villamont
Herodotus
Horace
Hermes Trismegist.
Hermocrates
Heliscus Tattus
Heracitus
Heracides
Hen. Huntingdon
Hist. Poland
Hallian. Chron.
Hall
Holmsford
Hostiensis
Hermippus
Herophilus
Hincmarus
Hist. Oforus
Himbaldus
Houlier
Hephestion Grec.
Heliodorus
Haly ben Razel.
Hist. Confessio

I

Julius Pollux
Jul. Cef. Comment.
Innocentius Papa
Iosephus
Juncell
Julius Florus
Julius Secundus
Iulius

Joan. Feraldu
Joan. de Imola
Julius Capitolinus
Io. de Sacrobosco
Io. Lincolinensis
Io. Africanus
Io. Bale
Julius Frontinus
Isidorus
Jamblichus
Ingulphus
Julius Pelagius
Iustinianus
Isaac Rab.
Io. Ruffe
Julian Imperat.
Iustin. Martyr
Io. Scotus
Io. Alexandrinus
Julius Firmicus
Io. de Meni Royale
Io. Diodorus
Ipsi
Io. Math. Turius
Io. Vascus
Io. Saxoni
Io. Magnus Arch. Histal.
Ippocrates
Irenaeus
Io. Cyprian
Iornidus
Io. Monachus
Iacques Bofius
Io. Damascenus
Io. Baptif. Egnatius
Io. de Alaulmans
Iacques de Maguncia
Io. Boccace
Ioachim Vadianus
Ioel. Mid. Alexand.
Iouhen Med. Gal.
Io. Camertes
Io. Carion
Io. Cantacruzenus
Io. Fernelius
Isaac. Indicus
Ionianus Pontanus
Io. Lestus
Iacobus Faber
Io. Annus.

L

Lucian
Lucius Frullus
Leo Imperat
Lucius Plotius
Lucius Pacatus
Lucane
Lupus Firmianus
Lupus Episc. Troy
Liedorus
Lodovicus Vines
Leo Africanus

Lactantius Grammas
Leonardus Camillus
Leonicius Calthend.
Licinius Mader
Lucas Tudensis
Lazarus Sotanza
Lucretius
Leo Hebraico
Lodovicus Calius
Leo Sophist.
Labro Antistius
Limo
Laternus
Lucius Florn
Laurentius Surius
Lopez de Castagned
Lucas Marinus Sic.
Lampridius
Lazarus de Pais.
Lodo. Valentinus
Leo Papa
Lucas de Tug
Lorius
Lysias

M

Marcus Afer
Marcinus
Marcus Parro
Nolena Histal.
Marinus Sicul
Martianus Capellus
Martin du Bellay
Macrobius
Marianus Scotus
Martialis
Mauwus
Messala Augurinus
Metrodorus
Marcus Marcellus
Mofchimus
Marbadus
Messala Cornutus
Macchabell
Mofes Bar. Cepha
Marshall Phicinus
Mathews Palmertus
Martius
Marcus Manilius
Marcus Paulus
Metasthenes
Mathew Paris
Manceton
Maffius
Mathews Westminst
Munster
Marcus Valerius
Matthias
Monsieur de Villamont
Marcus Damascenus
Mufent
Monsieur de la Nove
Mefius

Nof.



THE TREASVRIE of Ancient and Moderne TIMES.

THE FIRST BOOKE.

Of the ancient Country of Gaule, now called France; what Lawes, Customs, Ceremonies, and other manners were used among the people of that Nation in their first Originall; and how (since then) they have continued.

An Introduction to the whole Discourse.



In ancient times, the Country of Gaule was enclosed within the limits of the Rhein, of the Alpes, of the Mediterranean sea, of the Pyrenean Mountains, and of the Ocean sea. But after that the Gaules had passed the Alpes; all the Country which was from the Mountains, so farre as the river * Rubicon, along by the coast of the Apennines, and so vp into the high Sea (which at this day is called the Gulfe of Venice) took the name of Gaule: as Galatia did the like, after that wee had subdued some people of Asia. That Gaule then which is in Europe, being halfe parted by the Alpes, is diuided into two parts; the one on the hither side of the Mountaines, and the other beyond. That which is on the further side, yet concerning vs, was called by the Romanes * Togata: as Romane, in regard of

the habit of the Romanes, being commonly called a Gowne, and which they then did usually weare. That on the hither side, was (by themselves) named properly *Braccata* (by a certain fashion of garment then worne by them, termed Breaches) and partly * *Comata*, in regard that the haire on their heads was verie bushy. *Braccata* in the time of *Julius Caesar*, had his extender from the Alpes, so farre as *Rosne* or * *Rhodanus* bending towards the Pyrenean Mountaines, where were comprized the *Volca*, *Armaricanes*, *Rhutheni* or *Rhytioni*, and *Heluetians*, as it is to be seen in the seuenth Book of *Caesars* Commentaries. This country was one while called *Prouence*, and then againe *Narbonne*, after the name of *Narbona*, then the chiefe and capitall Citie of the country. In *Comata* dwelt the Aquitans, which are they of *Guienne*, euen from the Pyrenean Mountaines, so farre as the river * *Garona*: on the hither side whereof are the Celts, inhabiting so farre as the Riuer of *Sena* and *Marna*: All the rest of the country extending toward the North, is possessed by the Belgians.

Now the search would bee very great, and hard to be performed by any man, that

The first limits of Gaule

*A River in Italy, rising out of Apennines, & running betwene Aremum and Rancema into the Adriatick Sea.

The 3. diuision of Gaule.

*Togata, called also Citerior, & new Lombardy.

*Braccata, containing Narbo, Prouence, or Dauphine. *Comata, comprehending Belgica, Celtica and Aquitania. *A River, rising out of the Alpes.

Jul Caesar Comment. lib. 7.

Prouence called Narbone.

*A river parting Celica from Aquitania.

The Authors speeches in his owne defence concerning his purpose in this History.

B

would

would (with a certaine history of all the times) set downe the fashions, manners, and customes which the ancient *Gaules* had held and obserued, vntill the daies of *Iulius Caesar*. and their nouell qualities from those dayes to ours. But such as can content themselves with that diligence, which generally may be deliuered by the proofes of good and sufficient Authours, worthy of faith and found credit; perhaps shall finde their expectation well fitted, both with honest pleasure and profite in their reading. And with this intention am I determined to make (summarily) a collection out of many writers, that haue carefully employed their paines, concerning the manners and behauiour of the *Gaules*, according as matters might be remembered, in such diuersity of distant places. And first, we will select out the most Ancient: afterward (if wee can bring our purpose to full effect, and as our endeavor shall nothing be wanting) we will as diligently seeke for the nouell customes.

Caesar hath comprehended a certaine forme and semblance of *Gaul* in her ancient dayes; especially in the first booke of his Commentaries, of the warre in *Gaul*: albeit he hath sown many other things throughout his Bookes: which I hauing collected heere and there, and from infinite places in other Authours, so that the whole may serue to encrease and fully illustrate the course of our purpose; we may the more reasonably accomplish that which shall serue to make knowne our full aime and scope. Neuerthelesse, I am not to learne, that the *Greekes* which haue followed *Caesar*, were it that they vnderstood not the latine tongue, or were it through carelesnesse and negligence; haue declared in many places, that they scarcely vnderstood the matters contained in his Commentaries. Wherefore we will first of all imitate *Caesar*, as the most great and singular Author and master of our history: and then pursue others, according as they haue borrowed any thing of him, or as they ferue to make the whole subiect vnderstood.

But in regard that the principall parts of *Great Britaine*, as also of *Germany*, haue bene seized by the *Gaules*, as shal appear in due time and place; and so far as much as there hath bene great resemblance of the Britaines and Germanes with the Gaules,

as will bee declared by that which *Caesar* hath written; I imagined with my selfe, that it would very conveniently suite with our purpose, to compare such fashions as carried any coherence in these Nations. Considering that *Caesar* thought it fit, to compare the customes of *Gaul*, with them of *Germany*. And *Strabo*, perceiving the Germanes to be called for by the Romanes, as true brethren to the Gaules, by resemblance of their manner of liuing, when he wrote the fashions and customes of the ancient *Gaules*, he reproued them, and began with the Germanes. But although that *Tacitus* hath said, That they were named Germanes, by an appellation proper to their Nation, and such as they pleased to stile themselves; yet notwithstanding, howsoever at first they received that name, there may be discerned in the great Germanity, or (for our better vnderstanding) a Fraternity, both in behauiour and customes, answerable one vnto another.

For our better beginning then, we will conclude on certaine kinds of manners, to the end, that each thing may be carried as may be most convenient. *Plato* sayeth, There are three principal parts in the body of Man, wherein are lodged the three principall powers of the soule; Concupiscence in the Liuer, Anger in the Heart, and Reason in the Head, as in a Citadell. In like manner, there are three severall kinds of vertues that do command & gouerne them: Sobriety or Temperance, to ouerway Concupiscence in the Liuer; Courage, against Anger in the Heart; and Wisdom, in thinking and iudging with Reason. The common consent & agreement of all which, is the faithfull durie of each one, euen as it were with diuers voices, & worthily may be called Iustice. *Caesar* and *Diodorus*, *Titus Livius*, *Strabo*, and others, who are as interpreters of *Caesar*, do declare many things of the *Gauls*: w^{ch} I would haue set down at large in my Discourse, according as they are written by them: I should rehearse one and the same matter too many times. Wherefore I will rather imitate their intention in each place, then bee constrained to alledge their multiplicity of words.

CHAP.

Iul. Caf. in com. lib. 7.
Strabo in lib. 9.

Cornel. Tacitus in lib. 4. cap. 3.

Re semblance in custome and manners, betweene the *Gaules* and *Germani*.

Plato in lib. 1. de legib.

Three cheefe parts in mans bodie.

Three effectual kindes of vertue gouerne the powers of the soule.

Diodorus, Titus Livius, Strabo, and other interpreters of Caesar.

CHAP. I.

Of the Temperance in eating and drinking used among the Gaules: as also of their Marriages and single condition of life.



Enter then on the behalfe of Temperance, wee might speake of their abstinence in eating and drinking, resort to women, their manner of speech, their modesty in Garments and lodging; their sports, delights and assistance, which they afford to one another in such things as they haue. Concerning the eating and drinking of the ancient *Gaules*, they liued for the most part (according to *Diodorus* and *Strabo*) on white meats, and diuers kinds of flesh, & principally on Porke fresh and salted. They v^{sed} to haue standing by their fires, pottes full of boyled flesh, and spits well loaden with roasted flesh; the better part whereof they would giue to men of worth, to doe them honor: as *Homer* writes, That the Grecian Captains did to *Ajax*, when he had won the victory against *Hector* body to body. *Caesar* granteth the selfe-same manner of life to the Britaines, and to the Germanes. The Britaines (saith he) which dwell furthest vp into the Countrey, the most part of them do not sowe any corne but liue onely vpon milke and flesh. Neuerthelesse, they hold in detestation (by what religious opinion I know not) to taste of an Hare, of an Hen or Chicken, and of a Goose. Hee saith also the very same in his seuenth booke, speaking of the Germanes; That they do not addit them selues to any kinde of labour, and that their very greatest nourishment is vpon white meats, cheefe and flesh. But *Tacitus* hath written much more amply concerning the manner of life amongst the *Germanes*. Each mother (saith hee) doth nurse her child with her owne beist, and neuer trusteth it in the hands of their seruants, or other Nurses. Thou canst not know the Master from the Varlet, by any kinde of more delicate feeding. They liue nakedly and slovenly, euen amongst their Heards or droues of Cattle, & lying vpon the ground, vntill such time as age

doth set apart such as are Masters, & vertue doeth auouch and make them to bee knowne. Their viands are simply dressed or prepared, being of wilde fruits; sometimes of fresh Venison, or curded milke; without any dainty cooking, or dressing. So much for their manner of eating.

As for their drinke, that amongst the *Gaules*, and termed *Zythum*: This (saith *Diodorus*) was made of barley and water, hauing passed thorow diuers honcombs. *Tacitus* writeth almost the very same of the Germanes. They make a drinke (saith he) of water, mingled both with barley & wheate, disguised into some resemblance of wine. They which dwell on the Seacoasts, do buy wine. The most part of the *Gaules* (as *Diodorus* & *Strabo* doe both write) v^{sed} to sitte on the ground and to eat their food, sitting on the skinnies of Dogges or of wolues: being serued with earthen vessels, which were strong and massiue, and wrought about with branches of flowers; and they were alwayes attended and serued by their young children. In like manner *Tacitus* recordeth, That the *Germanes* so soone as they were awake and risen (which they v^{sed} not to do till it was day) they laued and washed themselves with warme water, because winter continued in their region for the most part of the yeare; and at coming forth of the bathe, they went vnto their food, each one hauing his table and seat alone by himselfe. Thus then was their ancient and rude simplicitie, which caused the Germanes to be so big membered and corpulent, wherat *Tacitus* seemeth to maruell greatly. And thence likewise ensued the selfe-same greatnesse of bodye which was among the *Gaules*, vho for their huge corpulency, and regarding onely their owne bignesse of stature, held the smaller constitution of the Romanes in contempt, as may be scene in the 2. booke of the wars in *Gaul*.

But *Plato* reprehendeth the *Gaules* for their intemperance and drunkenness with wine; and *Diodorus* writeth the very same. They affected wine so excessively, that when the Merchants brought it to them, they dranke it wholly new as it was; and then becoming drunk, by hauing taken ouermuch, they lay downe to sleepe, or behaued themselves like mad men. And this was the reason that many of the Italian

The drinke v^{sed} by the ancient *Gaules* *Diodorus in lib. 4. Cornel. Tacitus in lib. 4. cap. 3.*

Diodorus in lib. 4. Strabo in lib. 3.

Their manner of eating their meate.

Cornel. Tacitus ubi supra.
Of washing their body in warme water.

The reason of corpulence & big stature of the *Germanes* and *Gaules*.

Intemperance and drunkennesse amongst the *Gaules*.

Iul. Caf. in com. lib. 6.

Diuers other good Authours compared with *Caesar*.

Errors in *Greece* Authours that followed *Caesar*.

Caesar followed as Father of the history.

The cheefe place in *Great Britaine* and *Germany* possessed by the *Gaules*.

Italian Mar-
chants brought
wine to the
Gaules.

Diodor in lib. 4.
The Gaules
hazarded
their lives vp-
on sodaine
quarrells.

*Cæsar Tacitus in
lib. 4. cap. 15.*

The whole day
& night spent
in nothing but
drinking &
amongst the
Germanes.

An Order a-
mongst the
Gaules against
this badde cu-
stome.

*Cæsar in a com-
ment lib. 1.*

Most valiant
& fierce peo-
ple about Ty-
ng.

lian Merchants for the gaine which they got both by sea and land; brought wine in great plenty thither, and for a final vend of wine, receyued (in exchange) foure times the value. And the same Authour not onely blameth their drunkenness, but also the quarrells which accompanied this excoesse. They obserued (saith he) as a custome, at their feeding, for the least debate of words, to rise presently from the Table, and defie one another to the combat, hazarding their lives without any discretion. Thus you see how the Greeks haue reproued the ancient Gaules; and *Tacitus* calleth the Germanes their Brethren in the same vice, accusing them equally to bee drunkards and quarrellers. They vied not (saith he) any such temperance against thirst. For they held it no dishonor, to spend the whole day and night in drinking, so they might bee suffered to drinke their fill, furnishing them with so much as they would haue; you should find them no lesse easie to bee conquered by their vices, then by armes. The quarrells which rose very often among them, as among people subiect to Wine, was no sooner mingled with injuries of the mouth; but (for the most part) did end with blowes by the sword, to the expence of their blood, yea of their liues. Such was the blame which the Germanes receiued by making no more account of so bad a custome; euen as if this vice had bene no vice among them, or did any way shame them.

But the Gaules vsed themselves in better manner: for by a publicke ordinance this vile behaviour (in particular persons) was verie greuously and rigorously punished. Let vs heare then from *Cæsar* the cause of the magnanimity of the Gaules; which was, by knowing how to keep themselves from this disorderly kinde of life. The most magnanimous of all (saith he in his first Booke, speaking of the Belgians, Celts, and Aquitanes) are the Belgians, because they are furthest off in the countrey, which is carefully husbanded, and strangers doe but sildome traffike with their courages.

In the same booke speaking of the Neruians, as of the most courageous of all the Belgians, he saith; *Cæsar* making enquiry

of them, what might be their naturall disposition and manners, hee found, That Merchants did not traffike with them; & that they would not suffer (by any means) that wine should be brought among them, or any thing that serued for delicacy. For they held (as an infallible opinion) that such things wer the cause of abasing their courage, & that their naturall vertue would thereby be much weakened. Whereby we may perceiue, that the intemperance of some particular men, was condemned by a generall and publicke decree; and that sobriety & temperate carriage was greatly respected and honored in those parts. *Strabo* sayeth, That by the periuasion of *Cennus*, a graue and wise man, the Geres rent and pluckt vp all the Vines in their countrey, yet vsed some wine in the time of their childrens nursing. But our Ancestors did much better, because they would neuer permit or suffer, that any Vine should be planted among them, or wine to be brought them from any other place. Wherefore *Diodorus* had good reason to say, that in his time, there came no vine at all into Gaule *Comata*.

Cæsar in his fourth Booke, maketh the *Suenes*, a people of Germany, equall in temperance to the *Neruians* that were in Gaule. For they would not suffer that any wine should be brought into their countrey, because they were perwaded, that it made men lazic, effeminate, and vnapt to endure any labor. Thus we may obserue then, what was their sobriety in eating and drinking, wherein their greater part of vertue is commended; for abstinence from lewd and wanton women. And albeit that *Diodorus*, *Strabo*, * *Bardeanes*; according as *Eusebius* reporteth; being all of them Grecian Authors, haue reproued this vice as frequent and common among the Gaules, and which is as innated (if credite may bee giuen to *Aristotle*) in warlike actions; whereby the fable was fained, of conioyning *Venus* with God *Mars*; yet notwithstanding, *Cæsar* speaketh nothing therof, but giueth great commendation to the Germans for their temperance, contrary to them that haue written otherwife of them.

Such as haue continued in virgin estate the longest while among them, and without the knowledge of any other but their owne body, receiued the very greatest respect

Wine & wanton
meats the
hinderers of
manly courage

Strabo in lib. 1.
Of the Geres

No vines planted
amongst the
Gaules.

Diodor in lib. 4.

*Jul. Cæsar in
comment. lib. 4.*
* *Suenes*, bordering on Ba-
uaria, Italia's
the river
Rheine, & the
Alpes.

An Historio-
grapher of
Babylon
*Euseb. in his-
tor. lib. 4. cap. 8.*

Arist. in lib. 4.
de Anim. cap. 9

Offch as li-
ued longest in
virgin estate
of life.

Herodotus in lib. 1.
Of the nature
of Children.

The younger
men amongst
the Germanes

Young men
children e-
qualed they
fathers strength

*Julius Cæsar in
comment. lib. 6.*

Orders obser-
ued in marri-
ages amongst
the Gaules.

Of suspicion
concerning
the husbands
death.

The doctrine
of the Philo-
sophers con-
cerning the
hubsands power.

spect and praise. For they held it as a most villanous thing to haue knowledge of a woman, before the age of twenty yeeres. In all which time they did not hide themselves, but bathed daily together in the ri- uers. And this is the reason rendered by *Herodotus*, speaking of the nature of children, wherefore paire commeth much sooner to some then it doth to others: be- cause the vse of *Venus* maketh the flesh more loose and flaggy, and openeth the skinn, which affordeth the easier passage to the haire; contrarywise, such Children as are gelded, haue neuer any haire at all. *Tacitus* hath not omitted the selfsame at- tribution of praise to the Germanes. Young men are long time before they haue any knowledge of women: and that is an especial reason why they lose no part of their youthfull strength, and therefore make no hast at all of parting with their virgin condition. Young Laddes, and such (of like stature) as are gelded, do make triall of their agility together, and their children do (commonly) partake of their Parents strength.

Marriages do appertaine to the rule of the lawe vertue; but *Cæsar* hath not written carefully how the Gauls obserued it. The husband (saith hee) laide downe the valew of so much goodes, as his wife brought with her, and a iust account be- ing taken thereof, the whole stocke was put together. The party that furnished, en- ioyed the others portion, with the reuen- ues of all that had past. The husbands are masters and commaunders of their wiues liues, and also of their Childrens. When any Father of a Family (of note) dyeth, the next of the kindred do assem- ble together, and if any suspicion be conceyued concerning his death: the Wife is committed to tortures, as they doe their slaues, and if the proue to be conuincied, after they haue tormented her with fire, and all other kinds of paines, they put her to death. This law may seeme hard, that giueth the husband such like power ouer the wife and children, as he hath ouer his slaues. For, according as the Philoso- phers haue taught vs: the father of the fa- mily giueth command to his wife & chil- dren, as vnto free persons. Yet this is not all as one kinde of command: for hee gi- ueth command to his wife as to one of the same Commonwealth, & to his chil-

dren as a King. The Law truly may ap- pear to be hard, and yet it is *Roman*, euen the like as *Romulus* made it, Ordaining; That the sonne should bee in his fathers power all his life; and that the father may chastise, beate, put him to any busines in the field, sell, or kill him. The same King also appointed, That a man might pun- ish his wife, if he had drunke any wine. *Cæsar* speaketh all this in his sixth booke: and in his fifth hee declareth diuers other fashions of behaviour in marriages, speak- ing of the Britaines.

Ten or twelue together (saith he) do hold their wiues in common, and princi- pally brethren with their brethren, and fathers with their daughters. And such as are born of them, are aouched for chil- dren of them that haue espoused their mothers, being yet maids. So much allo he relateth of the English. But *Tacitus* writing of the Germanes, giueth them most noble commendation in this point. The wife (saith hee) neuer offereth anie dowry to the husband, but the husband to the wife. The parents, cousins, & kindred are present therat, and allow of all presents passing between them. And they are no presents desired for: delicacie or delight of women, nor to repaire a new intended marriage: but they are a gift of Oxen yoked, a horse bridled and furni- shed, & a Buckler or Target, with a sword and Iaulaine. For these presents the hus- band taketh his wife, who likewise (on hir owne behalfe) presenteth him with some weapons of warre. This is the great mar- riage bond, these are accounted sacred mysteries, & these are the coniugal gods that they hold in reuerence.

And to the end that the wife may not thinke her selfe exempted from vertuous desseignes, nor the hazards of warre: from the very beginning of her marriage she is continually aduertised, that she is thus re- ceived and taken to be her husbands companion in all paines and dangers, and that (be it either peace or warre), shee must of necessity runne the same fortune. And these are plainly signified vnto her by the coupled Oxen, the furnished horse, and warlike weapons. She receiueh what she is to bestow on her children after that she hath worthily and holily nursed them vp: & such as are of most forward disposition the Father hath care of, that they may re-

Quintus Læus
for power in
fathers.

Obsertuation
of marriage
amongst the
Britaines.

Cornelius Tacitus, ubi supra.
In praise of
the Germanes.

Presents giue
vnto the new
married Hus-
band.

Aduertise-
ments to the
wife from the
day of hir mar-
riage.

Mysteriours
significations
to the Wife.

Education of
their children

semble (in good quality) others of their lineage. And then they live, keeping their chastity well defended; not being corrupted by any occasions, nor the fight of wanton pastimes, or being present at Feasts or banquets.

Women puni-
shed by their
husbands for
adultery

There are very few adulteries committed in so great a Nation; for the punishment thereof is very speedy, and the husband may lawfully do it. After hee hath thauen and stript her naked, the husband bringeth her forth of his house, in the presence of all his and her nearest Kindred, and beatech her with a bastinado thorow all the streetes; for there is no allowance of any pardon after that a wife hath blemished her honor; and neither her beauty, youth, or riches can afterward winne her another husband. Vices ferue not there to be laughed and jested at: & one may well say, That (there) is such a world, as with respecteth the doing or induring of any dissoluteness. Those Commonweales are the best ordered, wherein is such permission, that the Maides onely finde themselves husbands, and marriage consisteth in mutuall accord (for a long while) in good hope, and that the Bride may have her hearts desire. For in this case she taketh her husband as one & the selfsame body, and one life is allowed by them both: because they can have no contrary thoughts, neither they desire any way wandering, but their affections doe so sympathize, as not in either to husband or wife, but to the sanctity of marriage. It is helde as a very great offence, to procure the death of any of their children, or of their kindred: And there good customes do beare more sway, than good Lawes and Ordinances doe elsewhere. Hitherto haue we continued the writing of *Tacitus*, concerning the Germanes marriages.

No pardon
granted for a
adultery.

Diodes reprehendeth the Gaules for a certaine kinde of disordered behaviour in their speaking, saying, They vse a short kinde of speech, somewhat hard to be understood, and without any deliberation; speaking great store of doubtfull things, yet deliuering many bragging and vaunting words; much to commend themselves and in the contempt of others. They are threewords and bad speakers, and full of overweening. This vauntery of theirs hath likewise beene reprooued by *Strabo* in lib.

Vices notie-
fied at.

Diodes in lib. 4.
The manner of speaking amongst the Gaules.

Commenda-
tion of mar-
riage making.

Against mur-
thering of
Children or
Kindred.

3. And *Caesar* speaketh thereof in his seauenth Booke, and is also to be proued by diuers examples in his other books. Such is that whereof hee speaketh in his first booke, of *Draconus* the Heluetian, who highly extolled and vaunted the vertue of the Heluetians, and reproached the discomfort of the Romanes, admonishing *Caesar* by menaces to beware of any further attempting; for feare, least the place where the Romanes miscarried, by a further losse of their people, after the foiling of their whole Army, should take name thereby, and so remaine as a memorie of their disgrace.

Such also was *Arionius*, King of the Germanes, who answering litle or nothing to matters which *Caesar* demaunded of him; spake wonders of his owne valour, and that he neuer buckled with any man, but he was ruined. And *Caesar* might come to fight whensoever he pleased, but he should learne of the Germanes, that they were a people neuer vanquished, and skillfull enough in actions of armes. *Vercingetorix* also wanted in his oration, that hee would make a League with all the Gaules, and then all the world durst not make head against them. This is sufficient concerning this matter; I come now to speake of the care which they had of their owne persons.

CHAP. II.

How the Gaules used to weare their Haire, and what kinde of garments they used, with the painting of their bodies, their Coines, &c.



Diodes in lib. 4.
The manner of speaking amongst the Gaules.

Diodes, speaking of the Gaules, sayth; Albeit, that naturally they haue goodly lockes of hayre, yet doe they helpe the natural colour thereof, by an instrument properly deuised for that purpose. They twine and twist their busbie lockes together, and suffer them to hang dangling downe, euen from the forehead to the necke: so that they resemble Satyres, and young vnthorne boyes. They haue practised by Art, to make their haire thicke

In lib. 7.
of the
Lib. 7.Diu. com. the
Heluetian
braggart.Arionius K.
of the Ger-
mans.In lib. 7.
of the
Lib. 7.Com. Tacitus
describes
How the
Sueues did
weare their
haire.

thicke and hard, that little difference appeareth betweene theirs and the haire of a horie. *Tacitus* speaketh (wel-neere) the same of the *Sueues*, a people of Germany. But the especiall note of that Nation is, that they turne their haire crosse or ouerthwart, and then binde or trusse it vp in a knot. In this manner are the *Sueues* known among all the other Germanes, and free-men of the Countrey from slaues. Some of the *Sueues* doe weare their haire long, and bristling backward with a bending downe, and so they go till they bee hoary or white; and then (oftentimes) they binde it together on the crowne of the head. The Lords are no more respectiue of their own persons, and yet without any proud or bad intention: For it is not done in regard that they affect or couet to be affected; but they doe onely fo decke themselves, to appeare the more fierce and terrible vnto their enemies, when occasion calleth them forth to warre.

Diu. in lib. 5
How the
Gaules wore
their beards,
and some o-
ther apparrell.

Diodes proceedeth on in this manner, concerning the behaviour of the Gaules. Some of them (saith he) doe vse to shaueth their beards, but others doe weare them of some length. The Gentlemen doe cutte short the haire on their cheekes, & suffer their beards to grow to such length, as it will couer all their bodie. They weare also a kinde of garment, which is all hairie, to seeme the more dreadfull and terrible, consisting of diuers colours, and teamed by them *Braccates*. They haue long skirted lackets or Cassockes, rewed or streaked, beeing of the very courtest Cloath, which they vse for winter, and the most simple or slenderest for summer. *Diodes* speaketh thus of the *Braccates*, as the reason whereby the Romanes called that part of Gaule *Braccata*, and by which garment the same Authour affirmeth, That the Gaules were more terrible to beholde.

The reason of
calling Gaule
Braccata.

Strabo in lib. 4.

Strabo likewise writeth in his fourth booke concerning their haire, their Cassockes, their rude and hairy garments, their long high breeches, & their short open cloaks which hardly couered halfe they Buttockes. All these Authors doe agree together, as touching the haire of the Gaules and Germanes, and to be of a redde colour, according as *Titus Linius*, and *Diodes* haue written. *Caesar* speaking of the of ancient Britany, writeth thus. They do

Titus Lini. de
3. lib. 2. cap. 1
Diodes in lib. 5.
In lib. 7. com.
lib. 7.
Of the an-
cient Britan-
nes.

all paint themselves with an hearb, called by them *Glafum*, which causeth a blewish or azure colour: and this made them very dreadful to looke on, when they went to any fight. Moreover, they wore their lockes of haire very long, shauing off all their other haire except that on the head, and on the vpper lip.

Diodes pursuing his purpose concerning the Gaules, figureth them forth (as it were with golde) in this manner. The whole Countrey of Gaule is without the mettall called Siluer: but nature hath giuen it gold, without any labor or cunning endeavour. For, in regard that the most part of the riuers haue their courses verie troublesome, vncaise in passing, & wheeling or circkling in wide compasse: the waters which descend from the hills and mountains, by dispersing themselves abroad in the valles, do scatter a sand on the fields, which is mingled with golde. Afterwards, kneading or tweaking the clods together, wherein they discern the golde to shine, and permitting them to become hard: they then breake them in peeces, and when they haue washed it in water, and the earth is quite taken away, they hurle the rest into a furnace, and so melt it in that manner. When they haue thus moulen and drawne out the golde pure and cleane, the women and men do adorne themselves therewith: for they weare it in rings on their fingers, and in bracelets about their armes, and in Carcanets on their breasts, & in chaines about their neckes, and about their middles as golden girdles. *Polybius* also maketh mention in his second booke, of their Chaines and Bracelets. And *Strabo* in his 4. booke speaketh of their Mines of gold, whereof the cheefest are in the Countrey of *Tarabellus*; and hee attributeth this Ornament only vnto such as were in honor and dignitie.

But *Caesar* and *Tacitus* do speake of another manner of want or pouerty (of this magnificence) amongst the Germanes. They vse (saith *Caesar*) skinnies in their garments, and short cloakes made of furred skins, hauing the greater part of their body naked. But *Tacitus* speaketh more amply, concerning the whole manner of the Germanes, writing thus. I doubt whether the gods were fauourable to them or quite contrary; because they denied them the

*The Hearbe
Woode, vied
by Dyers.Diu. in lib. 5.
No siluer in al
the countrey
of Gaule, but
gold naturallyHow they ga-
thre their
gold amongst
the Gaules, &
adorne them-
selves there-
with.

Polybius in lib. 2.

Strabo in lib. 4.

The countrey
of Gallogrecia,
neere to the
Pyrenean
Mountaines.In lib. 7.
Com. lib. 7.Corn. Tacit.
in lib. 6. c. 3.No Golde or
Siluer among
the Germanes.

the mettals of gold and silver. Nowwith-
standing, I will not set it downe assuredly,
but that there may bee some veine of
gold or silver in Germany: yet who (at
any time) hath made search for it? They
have no such affection thereto, as to ap-
ply it to any service. Some vessels of silver
have bene found amongst them (which
have bene given to their Ambassadors, or
to their Princes) and yet to be held in no
more esteeme or reckoning, then those
that are made of earth. Neuertheles, they
that dwell much neerer to vs, in regard
that they have trafficked with our people:
do make more esteeme of gold and sil-
ver, allowing and commending some
peeeces of our monies. They that live fur-
ther off in the Countrey, doe deale more
simply, and (according to the most ancient
manner) make their traffike by ex-
change. They receive the old money, and
such as they have had longest knowledge
of, as the *Serrati* and *Bigati*. They loue
the coin of silver better then that of gold;
not that they beare therto any particular
affection, but because the silver money is
easiest for them in buying things com-
mon, and of smallest price. The viall ha-
bit or garment to them all, is a long skir-
tled Jacket or Cassocke which they fasten
together with a buckle, but (for want
thereof) with a great pin. The rest of the
body is not covered with any thing, and
they sit the most part of the day upon the
hearth, somewhat neerer to the fire. Such
as are of greatest wealth, doe differ from
the other in their garments, which are not
so ample or large as those of the *Sarma-
tes*, or of the Parthians: but iustly fitted
to the body, and such as maketh apparant
shew of every member. They wear the skins
of wild beasts, and such as dwell neereft
to the riuers, are most curious of their ha-
bit: but they of more remote abiding, vs
no great cariosity, as being least careful
what they weare, because they live so far
from strangers. When they have made
choise of their beasts skinnies, they do the
like of fishes, taking such as are the grea-
test, or as the Ocean and most vnknowne
Seas doe yeild, and fullest of spors, and so
they fowe them together. The Women
are no otherwise habited then the men:
but that the women are oftner covered
with a garment of linnen, inter-woven
with a scarlet colour. They care for no

leeues on the height of their armes, but
are naked downe from the very shoulders
and part of the breast (neerest adioyning)
is as nakedly discovered. Thus you see the
gayest beaury of the Gaules, & how sim-
ple the Germans are in their garments: it
remaineth now that we say somewhat of
their houses and dwellings.

CHAP. III.

*Of the houses and dwellings of the Gaules;
their Townes and villages, and of what
manner they were.*



He habitations of the Gaules
(according as *Strabo* sayth)
are wide and spacious, made
of earth and planchets of
wood, & covered with strong

reeds arched on the top together in form
of a vault: for so *Cæsar* in the fifth booke
of the Gaules warres saith, That the Lod-
gings of *Q. Cicero* in the fields, were co-
uered with straw and reeds, according to
the manner of the Gaules. And in his sixth
booke he sheweth, that the more part of
the Mannor-houses appertaining to the
gentlemen Gaules, were in the woods, or
on the riuers. Speaking of the house of
Ambiorix, which was altogether engirt
with woods, *As were well-nere all* (sayth he)
*the houses of the Gaules are, who to burn the
heate, do dwell in woods, and neere to riuers.*
Cæsar deliuereth plainly, that the Aqui-
taines, Celts and first Belgians, had their
Cities and Townes enclosed both with
walles and ditches: but it may be doubted
whether the like prouision was vsed a-
mong the Gaules further off, and such as
were neereft to the North; as the *Morini*,
b. Aduanques, *c. Menapians*, and *d. Eburo-
nenses*.

Cæsar declareth, That the most part
of these Belgians, are descended of the Ger-
maines, and saith, that the Germans had
not their Townes and Villages made a-
fter our manner: as may bee observed by
that which *Tacitus* hath written accord-
ing to the custome which they had in
his time. It is sufficiently known (saith he)
that the German people dwell not in any

Townes,

Of their hou-
ses, lodgings,
& dwellings
Strabo in Lib. 4.

Iul. Cæsar in
Lib. 5.

Lib. 6.

Of their first
Cities and
Townes.

* People a-
bout Turvain
by the British
Ocean.

b. Of Narbone
in France.

c. Inhabiting
both sides of
Rheine, next
to the Vbi.

d. Of the coun-
try Liege or
Luik, beyond
Brabant.
Corn. Tacit.
in Lib. 5.

Vessels of Sil-
uer held in no
more account
then the like
made of earth

The *Serrati* &
Bigati were mo-
nies amongst
the ancient
Romans.

The common
wearing habit
of the Ger-
manes.

They weare
skins of wilde
beasts, and of
fishes.

What gar-
ments the wo-
men did weare.

The manner of
their building
among the
Germans.

Their Causes
and Fortre-
ses of Corne
under ground

Iul. Cæsar in
Com. Lib. 6.

Of towns be-
longing to the
Belgians

Of the Mori-
ni, that made
war, contrarie
to all the o-
ther Gaules.

Townes, neither that they could endure
to haue their houses neere vnto one ano-
ther. They dwell distant or apart, scatter-
ingly; where either riuers, fieldes, or
woods do best content them. Their Vil-
lages are not after our fashion: for their
houses do not touch or ioyn together each
other. Euery one leaueth a great wide dis-
tance or compasse about his dwelling;
either to auoid the disastrous fortunes of
fire, or else because they know not how to
build better. They vse neither Morter nor
Tiles: but the matter which doeth them
service, is very rude, and is not prepared
either for beauty or pleasure. They pla-
ster some places much more respectiue-
ly, with a kinde of earth so cleane & shining,
as it seemeth to contend with painting, &
portraictures of colours. They were wont
to make causes vnder the ground, and co-
uered them with thicke cloads of dung, to
withdraw themselves thither in the win-
ter time, and therein also to hide their
Corne; because in such places, the colde
weather had not so great power, & when
the enemy came, he could make pillage
of nothing, but what hee found readily
discovered. As for that which was thus
hidden or buried, Theeues not knowing
thereof, would below the lesse paines &
search, in further enquiry after it. *Cæsar*
speaketh (almost) as much of the Britains.
They termed it a Towne (saith he) when
they had enclosed some tuffe wood with
ditches and pales; whereinto they were
wont to retire themselves, to shunne the
courses of their enemies. And whereas
Cæsar speaketh sometimes of certaine
Townes of the *Suenes*: in mine opinion,
he is so to be vnderstood.

Returne we now to the townes of the
Belgians, which are vp higher in the cos-
try, and heere my question is: Whether
they had any such Townes as the Britains
or no? We will first of all speake of the
Morini, who (according as *Cæsar* writeth)
beganne to make war, but in a quite con-
trary manner then the other Gaules. For
they hauing heard, that the very greatest
Nations which had hazarded battel, were
quite defeated and conquered: withdrew
themselves & their goods into the stron-
gest places, which were great and long
forrests, encompassed with fenny or mar-
thy grounds. *Cæsar* being come vnto the
entrance of some such forrest, and hauing

concluded there to fortifie his campe: as
the *Romans* were seriously employed a-
bout their busines, the enemy (of whom
they had no doubt at ally sallied forth vp-
on them vnprovided, at most places of
the wood, and charged the *Romans* very
sharply. Hereupon, they betooke them
to their Armes, and repulsed them backe
into the wood, and hauing slaine a great
number of them, pursued them thorough
many vineasie places, yet with very little
losse of their people. The next day follow-
ing, *Cæsar* determined to fell down the
Forrest, and suspecting least some harme
might be done by the Flankers to Soldi-
ers vnarmed: he caused all the trees which
were hewne downe, to bee made as ram-
piers against the enemy, and to serue as
defences on either side.

Hauing made a great spacious coun-
try (in few dayes) by incredible dili-
gence, after that the Romans had made
themselves Maisters of the cattle & bag-
gage which was in the rearward; they
withdrew themselves into the thickest of
the Forrest. *Cæsar* speaketh this of the
wood of the *Morini*, which serued them
as a Towne or Village. And the year af-
ter, in regard of the drought which had
dried vp all the Marishes (as is to be seene
in his fourth booke) they hauing no more
refuges to flye vnto as they had the yere
before, were (almost all of them) subdued
by *Labienus*. In these two warres, hee ma-
keth no mention of any other Townes,
then of woods and marishes.

The like is affirmed of the *Menapians*,
in those Countries where the Romaine
Legions were brought, vnder the conduct
of *Fabius* and *Cotta*, as it is set downe also
in his fourth booke. They made spoyles in
the fields, destroyed the Corne, set the
houses on fire; and all this happened, be-
cause the *Menapians* had hid themselves
in the thickest Forrests. Afterward *Cæsar*
himselfe came to them with fise legions.
But they (as *Cæsar* saith) not hauing ga-
thered any forces together, trusting only
in the security of the place, withdrew
themselves into the woods and marishes,
and carried thither their goods also. *Cæsar*
hauing diuided his powers with *M. Fabius*,
who was his Lieutenant, and *M. Crassus*
Treasorer of his wars, and hauing
also sodainly provided bridges for pas-
sage, gaue them assault three severall
wayes;

The Morini
set vpon the
Romans, and
were repulsed

Cæsar & his
men pursue
the Morini in-
to the Forrest

Iul. Cæsar in
Com. Lib. 4.

Of the Men-
apians.
Iul. Cæsar in
Com. Lib. 4.

The stratagem
of *Cæsar* a-
gainst the Me-
napians, tho-
rough their
owne negli-
gence.

ways, and burning their houses and villages, made himselfe Master of a great number of men and cattle. The *Menapians* seeing themselves in this distresse, were constrained to send Ambassadors, humbly to entreat peace. In this place also there is no name of any village, or pregnant appearance that there were any, but such as wee have already spoken of.

By due obseruation of this discourse, perhaps the villages of the *Nervians* will appear to be even the like. The *Nervians* (this speaketh *Caesar* in his second booke) from all antiquity, not having any power of horsemen (for even to this day they do not add; & their mindes thereto, but all the strength which they have, consisteth onely in footemen) to the end they may impeach and withstand the horsemen of their neighbours, if they make any inroad upon them, to rob and spoile them, cutting downe yong trees that had not forth strong branches, they twined them together, and interweaving briars and thorns among them, they wrought them so artificially, that these hedges or fences served them as a wall; wherein not onely a man could not enter, but also he was vnable to see or discern any thing.

In the same warre of the *Nervians*, the women, & such as (in regard of their age) were not serviceable for bearing armes, had neuer any Village or Town for their safety, which was engirt with wals; but in such a place where there was no coming or entrance for an Army, because of the marshy grounds, which were the onely hinderance.

Now, in this first warre agaynst the *Nervians*, wee may plainly perceiue that they had not any Towne enclosed with wals; and we may well credit it by that which is in the first booke. For *Caesar* having assembled foure Legions with all possible diligence, entred (vnawares) into the Country of the *Nervians*, and before they could either draw their strength together, or tell how to save themselves; after hee had surprized a great number of men, and herds of Cattle, and dispersed the booty to his Soldiers; he layde waste their fields, and compelled them to yeeld and deliuer him hostages. This passage likewise of the *Nervians*, yeeldeth great coniecture, that they had no other towns

or villages in those times, but like them of the *Britaines*.

It may appeare also, that the *Aduaticates* (by that which *Caesar* writeth in his second booke) haue had the like townes. Having forsaken (saith he) all their townes and Castles, they brought all their goods into a village, which was wonderfully strong by naturall situation. For, having (on all sides about it) huge rocks & down-falles of exceeding height, it had but one onely comming to it, which was hanging or descending downward, yet in a sweete and gentle manner, being in breadth no more then two hundred foote. This way or passage they had fortified with a double wall, of very great height, & the same was strengthened in many places with mighty huge stones, and sharpe-pointed beames or pyles. Heere *Caesar* describeth nothing but a wall onely, and on one side of the Towne. And the like may be easily proued in the Nation of the *Eburones*: who are also called *Germaines* by *Caesar* in his second booke. These men, vnder the conduct of King *Ambiorix*, had overcome *Sabinus* and *Cotta*, with fifteene Companies, neere to *Vatunus*, as it is set downe in the fifth booke. *Caesar* who had neuer received a greater iniurie, determined to be reuenged for this losse, and vtterly to abolish and ruinate the nation of the *Eburones*, as we may reade in the 6. booke. Therefore he sent *Basilius* on before with the whole band of horse, and leauing a legion for guard of the baggage, he diuided the other nine into three Regiments, to ouerrunne and make spoile of the whole Country. He caused *Labienus* to march with three Legions along by the Ocean, toward that part which ioyneth vnto the *Menapians*. Hee sent *Trebonius* with the same number of Legions, to facke that Country which was neerest to the *Aduaticates*. Himselfe, accompanied with the three other Legions, stayed to go toward the river *Sabis*, and the vtmost parts of the Forrest of *Ardene*.

The *Eburones* not having any certaine Army, neither garrison, or any Towne wherein they might defend themselves by Armes, and the whole popularity being scattered euery where abroad, required themselves to such places as were obscure valleyes, or wilde and sauage, or vwhere the moorish Fennes made a troublefome

Of the *Aduaticates*.
Iul. *Caes. in*
Com. lib. 2.

A strong fortified town of the *Aduaticates*.

Of the *Eburones*.
Iul. *Caes. in*
Com. lib. 3.

Caesars determination for reuenge vpon the *Eburones*.

The seuerall Legions committed to *Labienus* and *Trebonius*.

* A wood 500 miles in length, reaching from the river Rhine, to the City of Tourney.

The great desire of *Caesar*, to be reuenged on the *Eburones* for the losse and damage that he sustained.

Iul. *Caes. in*
Com. lib. 8.

Of the *Bellouaci* or *Bellouasians*.

Thought now to be the Towne *Tullium* in the *Germania*.

access to them; they presented them with some imaginary hope, that thus they might defend and save themselves. *Caesar* in this fiery heate of reuenge, perceiving the great danger which might ensue, by hauing thus separated his Legionaries, called all the neere-neighbouring Citties (in hope of booty) to come and make pillage of the *Eburones*, to the end, that the race and name of them might bee vtterly confounded. And because he could not (as yet) appease his thirsting soule by such spoile as he had made, which indeed was very great, he put himselfe once more on his way, to giue further vexation to his enemies, assembling infinite troopes of people from all the Townes & neere adioyning parts, and so sent them outward by sundry wayes. They burned all the villages, and euery house that they could finde standing. The selfesame desire of vengeance (as is to be seene in his eighth booke) enflamed him the third time, and the like waste he made: neuertheless, he speaketh not of any rampier, or of any ditch belonging vnto Towne or Village. Whereby may iustly bee obserued, that the *Belgians* as they were descended of the *Germanes*, so in like manner they had the same order of dwelling.

The *Bellouaci*, or *Bellouasians* in like sort, albeit that they were the very principal of the *Belgians*, as wel in regard of their vertue and authority, as for the great number of men amongst them: yet it appeareth, that they were no strangers to this custome: for in the first warre, he speaketh not but of one Towne or Village, named * *Bracchifrancium*; in the other warres, hee maketh no mention of any one. This may seeme to be spoken sufficiently enough, concerning the habitations of the *Belgians*.

CHAP. IIII.

Of the *Humanity, Liberty, Hospitality, & Courtisie of the Gaules to strangers, and care for benefiting each other equally.*

I finde nothing written in *Caesar* of the playes, sports, & pastimes of the youth among the Gaules. As for the *Germanes*,

Tacitus writeth thus. They had but one onely kind of spectacle in euery assembly yong boies that conceived delight in this sport, would run or leape forth violently (and stark naked) before swords & laurel lines directed against them. This exercise grew to be an art, and Art made it verie gracefull in them: yet what they did, was not for any lucre, gaine, or wages; but the onely recompence of this their audacious gallantry, was, to bee pleasing in their eyes that beheld them. They would play (being in very stayed and settled iudgement) at such desperate games of hazard and dangerous aduerture, as would make a man blith to stand and looke on, and they performed their intentions in such earnest manner, as if they were at strife for some matter of great moment: yea, such was their affection to the gaine or losse, as after they had nothing els to contend for: they would stricke about the very last hazard, laying downe their own liberty and persons in pawne. Whosoever lost himselfe, would yeelde to the others seruitude, with his owne kinde consent: And albeit hee were neuer so young and strong, yet (in regard of his losse) he would suffer himselfe to be bound and sold. For such was their wilfull obduracy, that they would lay down faith vpon the very least occasion.

But whosoever would take note of the great humanity, liberality, and courtiesy, as well in the Gaules as in the *Germanes*, let him read what followeth. They would inuite strangers (this speaketh *Diodorus* of the Gaules) to feast with them. And after nature was sufficed, they would enquire what people they were, and what occasion drew them thither. But *Caesar* and *Tacitus* giue this commendation vnto the *Germanes*, by writing much more amply. They make it a matter of great Conscience (saith *Caesar*) to offer any outrage to strangers, who, be it for what cause soeuer they come amongst them, yet they will defend them from all iniuries, and thinke them to be sacred people, each one allowing them part of his house, & whatsoever he had to liue on. *Tacitus* writeth in this manner. There is not any Nation more addicted to make good cheer together, and feast strangers. They doe make great confidence in denying house-room to any commer; for each man will Feast him

Desperate & dangerous games among the younger sort; pursued in the very earnest manner.

Humanity, liberality, and courtiesy both in the Gaules and *Germanes*.

Iulius Caesar in comment. lib. 5. *Com. Tacit. in lib. 7.*

The loue and hospitality of the *Germanes*, which they afford to strangers.

Of the *Nervians*.
Iul. *Caes. in*
Com. lib. 2.

The politike defence of the *Nervians* against horsemen of their neighbours or other enemies.

The *Nervians* had no villages or walled townes of defence.

Iul. *Caes. in*
Com. lib. 6.

The war of *Caesar* against the *Nervians*.

him according to his power : And when he hath no further meanes, he that is the Hoste, enfructeth him to another mans dwelling ; & therinto (without any further bidding) they enter both together, euen the nereest house they come vnto ; where their entertainment is voyde of all difficulty, and vsed with extraordinarie courtesie. As concerning the rites of hospitality, they make no difference between him that is knowne, and another that is vnknown. At his departure, if he desireth any thing, it is their order and custom to grant it : as they will doe the like when it falleth to their turne. They take great delight in giuing gifts : but will receiue no recompence for whatsoever they giue, or think themselves indebted or beholding for anything that they receiue. This is a testimony of their worthy hospitality, & I am of the minde, that so great an honour deserueth not to be forgotten, as Germany iustly deserueth in regard of this Vertue.

Phaleas the Chalceonian, did first publish in the Commonwealth (as *Aristotle* affirmeth) that goods might bee equally diuided, to the end, that the two principal plagues to mankind (which are riches and pouerty) might be banished from the City. And this is that which *Plato* (most of all other) wished for the grounded estate of a happy Commonwealth. But the Germaines neuer fixed their imaginations on such a most fortunate Commonwealth, by disputes and discourses onely, but accomplished and brought it to effect by their owne good customs and honest examples. For some of them (as *Cæsar* auoucheth in his sixth booke, speaking of the Germaines) had not any certain measure of land, or any particular limitation : but the Princes and Magistrates assigned euery year (both to kindreds and parentages, who were acknowledged and placed together) so much ground or land, and such a site or situation, as vnto them seemed best and conuenient ; & the year following, they were constrained to seek elsewhere. In his fourth booke, hee sayth as much of the *Sarues*, another people of Germany. They had no land which they held in particular, or diuided among the : neither were they permitted to tarry longer then a year in a place, to Til or make it husbandable. This is the equality of

goods, which then was among the Germaines.

And they rendered great store of reasons for this equality, as the same Author witnesseth in his sixth booke, viz. Fearing least being retained by an accustomed continuance in one quarter, they should forsake the profession of warre, & follow the other more beneficial kind of life. Fearing, least they should withdraw their minds from the enlarging and extendure of their bounds or limits : and growing to be too potent in strength, they should ouerawe and expell the weaker from their goods. Fearing also, least they should be ouer curious in building, to defend themselves against cold and heat, and so proue to be starke Cowards. Fearing beside, lest a wicked covetous desire should arise among them, of scraping and gathering goods together : wheron (customarily) insueth threatnings, dissensions, & blood. Also, to the end that the popular sort might bee contained within a reasonable contentment of mind, when the meaneest perceived his goods to be equal with the most powerfull. This is (in effect) the words of *Cæsar*, touching the qualitie of goods vsed then among the Germaines : and when the Greekes come to compare with him, in commending this manner of behaviour either in the Cretanes or Lacedæmonians ; all that they could auouch or say, was, to terme this worthy and extraordinary vertue, to be no more then meer barbarousnesse.

Seruitude or bondage was in vse aswell among the Germaines and Gaules, as in other Nations. Many men (so speaketh *Cæsar* in his sixth booke, discoursing on the Gaules (finding them selves to be charged either with debts, or taxations, or injuries of the mightier sort) did yeild themselves into seruitude or slavery of Gentlemen, who had the selfsame right over them, as Masters had over their slaves. It should seeme, that this Masterie or command was cruell, as well as that whereof *Titus Livius* recounteth in his 2. booke, to be vsed in Rome, after that the Kings were expelled thence, when the commotion of the bondmen was on foote. For they were then controlled and handled by their Masters, as the bodies of debtors were by their creditors, who were parted (as *Quintillian* writeth in the sixth chapter

Equality of goods among the Germaines.

The reasons of the Germaines, for their equality in goods.

The second.

The third.

The fourth.

The 5. and last

Comparison of the Greeces with *Cæsar*'s words.

Bondage or seruitude life amongst the Germaines and Gaules. *Int. Cæsar* in comment. lib 6

Titus Livius in Lib 2. dec. 1.

of

No difference between a known friend & a stranger.

Arist in lib. 4. de Anim. cap. 6. Riches & pouerty the two principal plagues vnto mankind.

Plato in Lib. de Legib. cap. 9.

Int. Cæsar in com. Lib. 6.

The order of the Germaines holding of their Landes.

Int. Cæsar in Com. lib 4.

CHAP. V.

How the Gaules vsed to educate and bring up their children. Of their courage, manhood, and valour in Armes and martial exercises.



Here then were the maners and temperance of the ancient Gaules, which serued very sufficiently to maintain their disposition & strength of body, and (doubtlesse) was the cause of their admirable stature : whereat *Cæsar* was much amazed, when he beheld the Gaules which were slaine in the warres of *Affrica*: you haue also heard some part of their liberality, in the administration of their goods, for the releefe of others necessities. But there remaineth much more to say, if wee would enter into discourse, concerning all the parts of their maihood and valiancy: were it in considering the exercise of their youth, or their earnest & violent desire in following armes, and the Nations which haue beene conquered by them, and the Colonies established thoroughout the world, onely in the name of the Gaules. The Gaules (thus saith *Cæsar* in his sixth booke) helde this as a difference from others, in their manner of behauour, to wit; That they would neuer permit their children to come openly before them, vntill they were of able yeares to beare Armes. And they held him to be a villaine, whose sonne (being vnder limited yeares) should be found in publike before his fathers face. *Cæsar* speaketh this neuertheless hee giueth not sufficiently to be vnderstood, at what time or season they were to beare Armes, neither in what exercise their infancy was employed, vntill this date of expectation, therefore we must make search into other Authors.

Tacitus, speaking of the Germaines, would haue vs to know, at what time they came vnto the seruice of the Commonwealth. They obserued as a custom (saith he) that no one should undertake the profession of Armes, vntill the Commonwealth had approued and allowed his suffi-

The disposition & strength of body amongst the Gaules.

The manhood & valour of the ancient Gaules.

Cæsar in comment. lib. 6

Somewhat omitted or forgotten by *Cæsar*.

Corn. Tacit. in lib. 5. c. 7.

At what time they came to seruice the Commonwealth in martiall maner.

The Roman Law of the 12. Tables.

The humanity and liberality of the Gaules, beyond that of the Romanes

Didar in L. 6. cap. 10.

Corn. Tacitus in lib. 4. cap. 15.

Of the slaves among the Germaines.

Of seruices done in the house.

Freemen had no more benefit then seruantes.

of his third booke) or diuided betweene the creditors, according to the law of the twelve Tables. And that Law (as himselfe saith) which naturally was not to be allowed, and yet (notwithstanding) permitted as in right, was reprehended by publike custome, and oftentimes (to remedy the same in meere pitty) the Commonwealth granted Letters of respire, abolishing extorting interests, and making a new obligation for the principall.

But the Gaules vsed much greater humanity and liberality then the Romanes did; because the Masters kept in honourable place, and about their persons, such as thus stood obliged to them, and they vsed their seruice also in their warres. Wherefore it appeareth, that that which *Didorus* wrote, differed not from this purpose, where he saith; They employed as guards and defenders of their bodies, such as (among freemen) were poore and needy, and they serued them as Elquiers and Armor-bearers in the warre. *Tacitus* reporteth almost the very same custome as was vsed by the Gaules, when he speaketh of the slaves among the Germaines. They do not vse their slaves (saith hee) as we do ours, appointing them certain offices in our houses: for euery one serueth himselfe, and governeth his household affairs. The Master chargeth his slave with certaine measures of Corn, or with some Cattle, or with some kinde of clothe: euen as we do our Farmers or Husbandmen, and the seruant obeyeth him not but in such businesse. If he would haue any matter done in his house, his wife and Children performeth it. It sildome or neuer hapneth, that a master doth beat his slave or bindeth him, or enforceth and constraineth him to any businesse. They had a custome to kill them, yet not by any manner of rigorous or seuerer chastisement; but in choller, as an enemy, and done in the case of some reuenge. Freemen had no more advantages then seruantes. Seldom or rarely were they advanced in the house, and neuer vnto the managing of Commonwealth affaires: except among such Nations, as were in obedience to a king, and there they mounted higher then Freemen, or then Gentlemen. Among other Nations, libertines, being not received into the like dignities as the free, made distinction of their liberty.

C

fici

A Garment which the Romans did always wear in peace.

Aristotle in Polit. Lib. 8. cap. 3.

Aristotle called the Celts barbarous people.

Aristotle commends the Celts customs to the Greeks.

Galen in Gab. San. lib. 8. cap. 3.

Galen's representation of the German education of their children

iciency. Then, in the martiall Constitute, either some one of the Princes, or his Father, or els his nearest Kinsman, armed the young man with a shield and a Iaulin. This was the *Toga* or Gown which they tooke, and this was the first degree of honour, wherunto their young men mounted. Before, and till this dignity was done to them, they were but as a member of the house onely: but afterward, they appertained to the Commonwealth. *Aristotle*, who wrote long time before *Caesar*, declarerth vnto vs this manner of education of children (for it seemeth in the 8. Booke of his *Politicks*) that hee learned this instruction of vs. It is necessary (saith he) to accustom and vie the very youngest children to endure cold weather: for it profiteth marvellously, as well, for the disposition of the body, as for manly cariage in war. And this was the reason, why some barbarous people (as the Celts) obserued it as a custome, to plunge their young Infants (so soone as they were borne) in the coldest water of the riuer, or els to cloath them in light garments. For, to whatsoever thing youth ought to apply it self, this is the best course, to accustom them thereto (by little and little) from their youngest houre, and when they are tender, because of the heat which is naturally in them, & therefore the first thing to be done, is to be carefull in this one point.

Aristotle in this place calleth the Celts barbarous, and yet hee accounteth not their customes barbarous; in regard that hee appointeth the Greeks to fashion themselves after their manner. I know that *Galen* sharply reproveth this behaviour, when in the first booke of his Government of health, and instructing how to order health, he saith. I am not of the minde, that Children should onely be nurmed among the Germanes. Also, that which he writes of, is neither for the Germanes, or for any other such favage and barbarous men; no more then for Beares, wilde Boares, Lions, or such other beasts. I knowe (I say) that *Galen* reprehendeth this custome severely; but I know likewise, that the young nice delicates of the Greeks, whom *Galen* striueth to please, in prescribing them an order for their health: haue bene quite deuoured by these Lyons (as he termeth them) and that the Gaules and Germanes, if they be

compared with the Greeks, may in good right be called Lyons.

And truly, *Lacedemon*, which was the most noble of all the Grecian Cities, was principally renowned for being studious in hardning it selfe to traualle, after the true manner of the Celts. For the youths of *Sparta*, did daily imbolden themselves against all manner of paines and exercises: neuer entering into the especial assembly, before the age of twenty yeares, as *Plutarch* recordeth in the life of *Lycorgus*. Wherefore, not onely the power of this vertue, which was in the Gaules and Germanes, but (ouer and beside) the authority of *Aristotle*, as also of *Lacedemon* (if any man be regardfull thereof) may well serue to answer the reasons of *Galen*. We may also inferre (to this purpose) that which *Strabo* hath written, when he saith, The Gaules held this as proper and peculiar to them, to refuse no taking of paines, as fearing to become fat and swoln belied by ease: therefore they punished and condemned vnto some pecuniary fine, such young men as grew grosse through sloath and excess. Whereunto that ordinance of the Romans was conformable; that deprived any fat or corpulent Knight, of the Horse granted him by publike allowance.

Now it is further to be considered, that this exercise was not onely proper or peculiar vnto the Gaules: but it was in like common vie with the Germanes their brethren, as *Galen* himselfe hath elsewhere declared, Let vs listen then to *Caesar*, who heerein giueth them sufficient commendation. From their infancy (this hee writeth in his sixth booke) they added them selves to paines taking, and employed (almost) their whole life time, either in hunting, or feats of warre. They had diuers kinds of wilde beasts, in the Forrest called *Hereynia*: as wilde Bulles, *Alces*, but especially Buffies, which they tooke with great labour in their dens or ditches, and there slew them. The young men hardned themselves to this trauell, and euermore exercised this manner of hunting: & they which had slaine most of them, bringing their hornes to publike view, as a testimony of their diligence, received both reward and great praise. This yeeldeth sufficient demonstration, how the young men prepared their spirits, to endure all

Lacedemon shaped it selfe to endure the hard customes of the Celts.

Plut. in vit. Lycorg.

Strabo in Lib. 4

The Gaules were laborious & painful

Knights had publike Horses allowed them.

The German brethren to the Gaules.

Int. Caesar in Com. Lib. 6.

A great wood in Germany, in breadth nine dayes journey, and in length forty.

A wild beast in fashion and skin like a fallow Deere.

paine

paine and labour, and fell not off for any danger: as hauing learned, though not of great and skillfull Doctors, which were best able to giue them instructions & yet (at least) of their owne selves, and so put it in effectual execution.

Let vs now obserue what they were in actions of warre, and as the Poet sayeth; The braue workmanship of Mars, because the Gaules were perpetually in war. For, before *Caesar* came thither (as hee hath written in his sixth booke) it hapned euery yeare, that either they assailed others, or else were glad to defend themselves; and it was easily knowne, that by a custome among the Gaules, age was no excuse to any man, as appeareth by diuers passages in the eighth booke. *Vertius*, a chiefe Commander of the *hemii*, albeit he could very hardly keepe himselfe on horsebacke, because he was so farre gone in yeares: yet notwithstanding, according to the manner of the Gaules, hee would pleade no excuse by his age, in vndergoing such charges as were imposed on him; and he was very vnwilling, that any fight should be performed without him. Likewise, in the warre of the *Parisi*, the whole charge (as is to be seene in the seventh Booke) was giuen vnto *Camulogenus*, an especial man of warre. *Aulerici*, who was well-neere wholly spent with age: and yet for all that, the great experience which he had in martiall affaires, aduanced him to the highest degree of Honour. Answerable to this, *Strabo* saith, The Gaules were rather men of warre, then any way addicted vnto Tillage or husbandry.

Aristotle writeth, that the Celts helde the vertue of warlike actions in most singular respect and commendation. And it was well noted, as *Caesar* affirmeth, that the cause of valour (both in the *Belgians* and *Helvetians*) grew through their continuall exercise of armes, for he saith: The most valiant people of all the Gaules, were the *Belgians*.

Now, as Temperance was the first and formoll in ranke, as being the Mother, or the Nurse (at least) of true valiancy: so the second cause which *Caesar* rendreth, was; That they were neighbours to the Germanes, which dwelt on the further side of the Rhine, with whom they were continually at warre. This (I say) was ano-

ther cause of their valor, that continually they exercised armes, and by the same reason, the *Heluetians* surpassed (in this vertue) all the other Celts: As it might daily be discerned, in regard, that ordinarily they fought with the Germanes, eyther in repulsing them from their frontiers, or making war on them in their owne country. In this place also might be alledged, their often and frequent skirmishes, to deliuer true faithfulness of their valour. Moreouer, the Gaules for want of warre, to the end that they might still be in exercise of armes: gaue themselves to thefts and robberies, as *Diodorus* saith, purloining the goods of others, without any prouision of their owne. What were the Germanes? saith he. What participation had they in this vertue? All their life, as hath bene already declared, was no way employed, but in deeds of armes. And as he hath further written in his sixth Booke, the very greatest honour that any City could haue, was, to haue a great Desert & spacious Country round about it. They esteemed it to bee proper and natural to vertue, to compell their expulged neighbours, to forsake their Lands and Territories, so that few or none durst dwell nere vnto them. And by this means, they imagined themselves to be in the greatest security, in being deliuered from all dread of courtes, which suddenly might be made into their Country.

Tacitus speaketh of the same exercise of armes. You could not so readily put into their heads, any order for husbandry in their grounds, or carefulnes for gathering their fruites, and corne, as to go assaile the enemy, and to returne back with wounds and maimes. Moreouer, it appeared to them, that it was meere sloth and carelesse, to winne that by swate and labour, which a man might purchase with the price of his blood. *Caesar* saith likewise of the Germanes, the same that *Diodorus* doth of the Gaules, that they were addicted to rapine and thefts. Robberies (thus speaketh *Caesar* in his sixth booke) did not make men any iot the worse esteemed: so that they were done out of those limits, which appertained to each City. And it is said that they vsed these courses: onely to exercise their youthes, and for the auoyding of ydleness. And when some one of the Lords would deliuer his

The *Heluetians* excelled all the other Celts in Armes.

The Gaules were addicted to thefts & robbery. *Diodorus* in lib. 6

The greatest honour of a City among the Germanes.

Few or no neighbours durst dwell nere to the Gaules.

Corn. Tacitus in lib. 6. cap. 4.

No care of husbandry, or gathering the fruites of the earth, but all to assaile the enemy.

Int. Caesar in Com. lib. 6.

Thefts & robberies thought not dishonorable, but allowed & followed with no meane affection.

minde in an open assembly, that he would be their guide, and that such as would follow him, should shew instantly themselves. Such as gaue consent to his opinion, and (allowing him for their Leader) presently arose, and promised him their vttermoſt assistance; the people present would both commend them and their enterprize. As for such among them, as neither followed, nor gaue allowance to the attempt: they were reputed as traitours, and neuer afterward durst any man repose any credite in them.

Tacitus addeth yet moreouer, that the Germanes made war among strange people. If the City (saith he) wherein they were borne, grew slothfull and ydle, thorough long peace and repose; the moſt

part of the yongest Gentlemen went (vp on their owne motion and good will) to finde out such Nations as had any warre. For rest and ease was no way pleasing to this people; and the dangers which they essayed and made prooffe of, made them also the more famous: and they could not maintaine any great matter of worth, but by power and warre, for thus they compassed meanes to be bountifull and liberrall, onely by warre, thefts and pillages.

Thus we may perceiue, how the auncient Gaules made continual exercise of armes, and well deserued those commendations, wherewith the first and chiefeſt of all the Romaine Poets shewed himselfe willing to honour Italy.

The meane
for main-
taining their
bounty and
liberality.

*Corn. Tacit.
lib. 6. cap. 2*
The Germanes
warred with
strange nations.

Concerning
the birth, breeding and education of the Gaules of greatest antiquity.

*We are hardly bred, Babes are no sooner borne,
But we no Rivers beare them, burle them in;
To harden them against both wet and cold.
Heere, our young people giue themselves to hunting,
And haunt the Forrests. The pastimes they affect,
Is taming wildeſt Horses, draw the Bowe.
Sometimes our youth imboldened to labour
Make small account of husbanding the ground:
But to besiege strong holdes. Each age we passe,
Managing sturdy yron, turning our Stauet
To pierce the hides of Bulles. Slowe, stardy age,
Cannot abate our vertue, daunt our hearts.
With snow-white heads we enter Arms, and still
Seeke for fresh pillage, lining on the booty.*

Oh, would it had pleased God, that *Caesar*, discoursing on the fashions and customes of the Gaules, had bene as willing in describing much more amply, what vie they made of Armes; what reasons they followed in their preparation for warre; what diligence they vsed, being in the field; what their strength and valor was in fights & combats: it would haue caused an extraordinary pleasure, to remember continually, the ancient custome of our auncestours, in their warlike actions. But *Caesar* (principally) sheweth nothing of all this: neuerthelesse, we will pursue each matter, insofar as is possibly wee may, and diligently collect somewhat out of diuers passages of his, (as wee can follow any traces, though greatly obscured) in such things as are agreeable to our purpose, not forgetting (in meane while) the iudgement of other Authors.

Especially observations concerning the auncient Gaules, omitted by *Caesar* in his writing of their warres.

CHAP. VI.

How the Gaules made choice of their Generals and Commanders for their warres, with a true description of their Military services and discipline.



THE wars which *Caesar* made each yeare, deliuereth some testimony, how they elected their Generalles, and other chiefe Leaders in their martiall employments, whereof wee are able to speake somewhat more largely. But the troupe or heape of particular Soldiours, was alwaies made in a publike assembly, & how euery man should behaue himselfe in armes. *Induciomarus*, Prince of *Treues*, pub-

What election they made of their Generals for war

Jul. Caesar in comment. lib. 5

A seuerer custom among the Gaules.

Jul. Caesar in comment. lib. 2.

* The City *Aulx* in Burgundy.

The Gaules contrary in order to *Vergin*, *getorix*, and a good one.

The Gaules studious in martiall affairs.

* Sometime contrary to the Romans, as is to be observed in the seventh booke, where hee speaketh of the * *Hedui*, that came to the seruice of *Caesar*, who very greatly astonished the Romans, by vsing their armes after the Gaulish manner. And yet I cannot perceiue (throughout *Caesar's* discourses) what those kinde of armes were: therefore we will collect that which *Polybius*, *Diodorus*, *Strabo*, and *Titus Livius* haue noted to vs. The sword which they vsed, was long, and the man wore it (hanging in a chaine of brasse) on his right side: and it serued not onely to smite or flasse withall, but also to thrust or foine, so saith *Diodorus*; notwithstanding, *Polybius* and *Titus Livius* doe deny their thrusting or foyning with the point.

Polybius, in lib. 4.
Diodorus, in lib. 3.
Strabo, in lib. 6.
Tit. Liv., in lib. 4.
Dion., 3.

published an assembly in armes against the Romans; as is to be seen in the fifth booke of the warres in Gaul. The Gaules began their warre in this manner, & followed one common Law among them. All their younger men vsed to meete together in armes: but he that came latest, in the presence of the whole assembly (after hee had bene tormented with all the tortures could be deuised) hee was afterward put to death. The selfe same custom is declared in the seventh booke, when *Vergin*, being elected Generall for the warre of the Gaules, was besieged in * *Aulx*. For he tooke counsell, to discharge all the troupes of horse which he had with him, and at parting, he gaue the charge, to returne each man to the City, whereof he was a member, and there to assemble or muster for the warre, all such as were of age to carry armes. Neuerthelesse, the Gaules hauing published the assembly of their Princes, did not thinke it meete to draw all the together, that were of age to beare armes, according as *Vergin*, *getorix* had ordained; but rather appointed, that each City should be furnished with a certaine number of men; it could not otherwise chuse but breed confusion by being vnable to command them, or knowing one from another, or any possible meanes of prouision for them. By this manner of ordering men for their warres, we may well perceiue, that the Gaules were studious in military affaires, considering, that all such as were aboute fourteene yeares of age, did carry armes.

The Gaules armed themselves quite contrary to the Romans, as is to be observed in the seventh booke, where hee speaketh of the * *Hedui*, that came to the seruice of *Caesar*, who very greatly astonished the Romans, by vsing their armes after the Gaulish manner. And yet I cannot perceiue (throughout *Caesar's* discourses) what those kinde of armes were: therefore we will collect that which *Polybius*, *Diodorus*, *Strabo*, and *Titus Livius* haue noted to vs. The sword which they vsed, was long, and the man wore it (hanging in a chaine of brasse) on his right side: and it serued not onely to smite or flasse withall, but also to thrust or foine, so saith *Diodorus*; notwithstanding, *Polybius* and *Titus Livius* doe deny their thrusting or foyning with the point.

Their Target or Shielde was large, and answerable vnto each mans stature or constitution: and, according to their seuerall delight or pleasure, so was it enriched with Imagery of brazen Beasts, mounted vp into bosses. Their Laurel had a head of yron or Steele, containing a cubite in length, and two fingers breadth. *Caesar* in his third booke saith, that they likewise carried a staffe, which he termeth *Geses*, & another, called by him *Meris*, which was a certaine kind of small laulin. Their heads were couered with a Sallade or head-piece of brasse, a little exalted or raised vp, whereon was figured Images of Birds, Beasts, and antique shapies. Their vsual Corcelet was of yron.

Many of the Gaules were wont to fight naked, so farre as the naut: as *Titus Livius* saith, in the battaile at *Canabai*, and *Polybius* speaketh as much of the same fight in this manner. It was a very dreadful sight, to obserue the behavior of naked men, who marched on stoutly, shewing an excellent beauty, and vndauntable strength. In like manner, *Titus Livius* saith, that in * *Galligracia*, the Gaules fought naked, and that was the reason, why they were overcome by the Romans, who smote them as farre off with their Piles, which were a kinde of small laulins, and darted at them very strongly. The Gaules likewise vsed Bowes and Slings, according as *Strabo* saith; for he writeth, that they hadde a kinde of Staffe, which being throwne by the hand onely, without any string or other holde, would smite further off then an Arrow, and with this they did (most commonly) shoote at Birds. It is also very certaine (as the same Author affirmeth) that they hadde a Tree in Gaul, somewhat resembling the Figge-Tree, which carried a fruite, that had some likeness to the chapter of a Corinthian pilier. This Tree being cutte, did yeeld a deadly iuyce or liquor, wherewith they vsed to imppoyson the heads of their Arrows. That it was so, and that the Gaules were great Archers, *Caesar* prooueth verie preagantly in his seventh booke, where hee speaketh of *Vergin*, *getorix*. Hee commaunded (saith he) that all the Archers (which were a very great number throughout Gaul) should be leuyed, and sent vnto him, as it will

Of their sword shields & laulins.

Jul. Caesar in comment. lib. 3.

Of their Head-lades, Helmetts and Coats.

Some of the Gaules fought naked so farre as the naut. *Polybius*, in lib. 4.

* A Countrey in the lesser Asie, ioyning to Phrygia and Lydia.

Strabo in lib. 5. of their bowes and slings.

Of a strange Tree growing in Gaul, that poisoneth their Arrow heads.

That the Gaules were great Archers. *Jul. Caesar in comment. lib. 7.*

appeare much more fully hereafter in better place.

This was the Armor and Munition of the Gaules, whereunto that of the Germanes, which Tacitus describeth, was not altogether agreeable. They seldom defended themselves with swords or long staves: for they carried lauelines, or (to use their owne proper word) *Framies*, the blades whereof were straite and short, but yet so keene, and so apt for their seruice, that they could vse them with or against a staffe, according as they had occasion to fight, either before they came neere to one another, or when they were at handy grips. The Horsfemen contented himselfe with his shield and laueline: but foot soldiers had many darts each man, which they hurled or darted infinitely, being naked, or lightly clothed with a simple Cassiocke or Mandillion. They had no brauery on their accoutrements: onely, they would decke their shields with some curious choise colours. Very few of them did weare any shirts of Maile, or scaled coats: some one or two might haue (perhaps) a Caske or Morion. These are the Armes which the ancient Gaule are credibly said to weare.

It remaineth now to speake, how they employed their men of warre, as well on foote as horsebacke. The horsfemen were in most estimation among the Gaules, and had the principall managing of all affairs for warre, as *Cæsar* hath saide in his sixte Booke. And in the League which all the Gaules made against *Cæsar*, one while hee speaketh of the number of eight thousand horse, then againe of fiftene thousand, which was that part of the army, whereby the Gaules made themselves strongest, as plainly appeareth in the seauenth Booke. Neuertheless, no assurance can bee collected hereby, concerning all the cities in their seuerall forces. The people of

Trenet, or the *Treniri*, were the very strongest of all the Gaules in horsfemen, as is to be seene in the fift booke. The *Sannones*, according as wee read in the third booke, had likewise very great store of horsfemen: but the *Nervians* (in the verie same place) are said to haue the most foot soldiers. Norwithstanding, if you regard them generally, you shall finde, that the Caually had the cheefest honour of all the warres among the Gaules. And these

were the horsfemen, where with *Cæsar* vvvas most assisted in his ciuill wars. For he himselfe testifieth in the first booke of his Ciuill Warre, that when *Affranus* came with great forces to assaile the *Cæsarians* who were but a few in number: sodainly the horsfemen of the Gaules were diligent in making head against them; and (so long as they could) they maintained fight, albeit they consisted of so few, and endured against a great multitude of the enemy. But so soone as the Ensignes of the Legions began to approach; with verie little losse of their men they retired vnto the neighbouring Mountaines. The time of the fights continuance serued sufficiently for the *Cæsarians* safety: for, in that while, they had leisure to gaine themselves the highest parts of the hills, & there sheltered themselves securely.

Likewise, in the warre of *Africa*, when the enemy (with powerfull forces) came to deale vvith the host of *Cæsar*, and to attache them in the reer suddenly the Legionaries stayed them, and the horsfemen (although they were but few in number) made very stout resistance, yea, and vvith vvunconquerable hardiment, against that great troope of the enemy. And a matter almost incredible happened, That lesse then thirty horse of the Gaules, repulged two thousand horse of the Moores, and put them into rout. Such was the strenght of the Gaulish horse. Hence ensued that exclamation of *Cicero* in his 5. *Philippick*.

Opinim was concieued (saith he) that some appointed, that there should be giue to Mark Anthony, the gouernment of that latter part of Gaule, which Plancus holdeth at this instant: Is there any other wisdom in so doing, but to lend our owne weapons to an enemy, to make a ciuill warre vpon vs? For first of all, the nerves or sinewes of warre, which is countlesse summes of money, and whereof hee standeth now in neede; and next, the power of horse, which valoweth as much; what can be desire more then both these? Behold, in what account and estimation, the horsfemen of the Gaules were.

Sometimes it was thought conuenient, to entermingle amongst the horse some of the foote soldiers, which vvore worst armed, and the Archers. And this was (as appeareth in the seauenth booke) when *Vereingetorix* went vvith the Horse, and certaine foote (least charged vvith Armes)

Int. Cæsar in de Belicim.

The coming of Afranius against the Cæsarians vvith his Ensignes of the legions.

The enemies setting on Cæsar's host in Africa

30. horse of the Gaules, overthrew 1000. horse of the Moores.

Cicero in Philip. 5. Against Mark Anthony's gouernment in Gaule.

The foot soldiers mingled amongst the horsfemen.

Int. Cæsar in lib. 7.

* A Towne of Guyenne, siting on a hye hill.

The footmen accompanied vvith the Archers fought amongst the horse.

* Soldiers in old time, that marched in Waggon, but fought on foot. Diodor in lib. 6

The manner of fighting vvith the enemy.

Of the Germanes & Brittaines. Int. Cæsar in comment. lib. 1

The succour giuen to each other.

The swiftness of the Germanes.

Armes) to prepare an ambuscado, where he imagined that the Romaines intended to come and forrage. At another time, (in the same booke) speaking of himselfe, when they were neere to *Gergonia*, *Cæsar* saith: It was not fully breake of day, when in the skirmishes, the footemen being mingled among the horse, we were forced to approue how hardy and vertuous our owne men were. Sometimes, the Footemen, being lightly armed, accompanied vvith the Archers, fought amongst the Horsfemen, as was obserued in the encounter neere to Alexia. The Gaules (among some few of their horse) flanked their Archers and lightest armed footes; to the end that they should succour the horsfemen, and sustaine the violent assault of the Romaine Caualry.

Ancient Gaule had * *Effedaries*, who were warriors that rode in Waggon, called *Effedæes*; and *Diodorus* giues vs assurance hereof in these words. Palsing thorow the Countrey in time of warre, they vsed Carres or Waggon, which two Horses drew by a fit prepared furniture; the Waggoner, or he that had the charge thereof, being the only guide. If they met vvith the enemy in warre, first of all, and while they were vpon the waggon, they would let fly their darts at him. Afterward, alighting from the waggon, and being on foote, then they fought together vvith their swords. These two manners of fighting, are much more at large described by *Cæsar*, when hee speaketh of the Germanes and the Brittaines. Of the Germanes in the first booke, where hee reckoneth vp the forces which *Arminius* had. They were (saith hee) sixe thousand Horsfemen, and as many foot, of the very strongest and best disposed, which each man had made choise of particularly, as for his owne succour and safety. If they were to set on to the warre, they mingled one among another, and the Horsfemen also retired vvhen they did. If any great occasion happened, the foote soldiours fought vvith the horsfemen. And if any one being wounded, hapned to fall from his horse, the other gaue present succour. If they were to march on further, or to retreat vpon expedition; exercise had instructed them in such celerity, that onely by salting hold on their horses Maines, they would mount vp, and run as swiftly

as they did. In another passage of the 4. Booke, speaking of the *Suenes*, hee saith. In those skirmishes which they made on horsebacke, they would oftentimes dismount and fight on foote: hauing caught and inured their horses in such manner, that they neuer stirred from the place where they left them, returning to their horses againe, when occasion required. According to their custome, they esteemed nothing more base and idle, then to ride on Saddles. And this was the reason, that although they were but few in number, yet they durst boldly assaile any troopes whatsoever, if they were Horsfemen, and rode on saddles.

This is that which *Cæsar* hath written; whereby we may gather, that herein the Gaules were contrary to the Germanes order: considering, that the Germanes placed their strenght in their men on foot; which *Tacitus* relateth more apparently. Whosoever (saith he) wil consider them in general, shall finde, that their cheefest power consisteth in their footemen: and therefore (in fighting) they ranke them among the troopes of horse. For the footmen which they choose among all their youth, to put to the point of any danger; are men of wonderfull swiftnesse, apt and fit to fight among the horse. They are an hundred, chosen out of euery Towne or Village, and thereon were teamed Centeniers, or Centurions: for that vvch serued (before) but to signifye the number, was now giuen as an especiall name, and was honourable to them. Thus serued the Horsfemen of the Germanes, and were mingled in this manner among the foote soldiers.

Now, as concerning the behaviour of the Brittaines, *Cæsar* in his fourth booke, describeth it in this manner. They haue a manner of fighting on Chariots or waggon, which is thus. First, they skirmish on all sides, and hurle their Darts, and oftentimes it happeneth, that by the terror of their horses trampling, & by the noise of their Waggon wheels, they trouble the ranks extraordinarily. But after that they are mingled amongst the troopes of horsfemen, they defend from their waggon, and fight on foote. During which while, the Waggoners withdraw themselves somewhat out of the fight, and arrange their waggon in such sort, that if their

Int. Cæsar in com. lib. 4. Of the Suenes their manner of fighting.

They hated to ride on Saddles.

The Gaules contrary vnto the Germanes for their footmen.

Com. Tacitus in lib. 4. cap. 2.

Vpon what occasion they were called Centeniers or Centurions.

Int. Cæsar in com. lib. 4. Of the Brittaines & vvhat manner of fighting they vied.

Of the Waggoners.

The Armes & defensive weapons of the Germanes.

A short Glaue or two edged sword.

Of the horse and foote Soldiers habittes.

No brauery on their garments.

What vse they made of their men of warre.

A League made by the Gaule against Cæsar.

a Betwene Belgia, & the triuer Mosella.

b People of that place, now called Xanong in Aquitaine.

The horsfemen had the highest honour of the warre.

The notable
managing of
their hories
in their swift
running.

their masters bee pressed with any great number of enemies, they can make an easie and speedy returne to them. The adrestie and direction of their hories, the order observed among their footmen for fight, and their aptnesse thereto, by dayly vñe and exercise was such: that when they lifted, they could sodainly stay their hories, euen in the midst of his swiftest course, although it were in descending downe a high hill. There could they readily mannage and turne them, running mainly by the bridle among the horse; & thence againe returne lightly vnto their Chariots. This manner then of fighting, whereof the Eshedaries made vñe, was somewhat also mingled among the horse and foote.

Waggons in
vñe among the
Gaules,
vñe as far in
countrie. Lib. 7

Moreouer (as is to be seene in the seauenth booke) a great number of VVaggons attended on the Gaules, especially such as were vnarmed. Next, of the Archers of the *Rutheni*, and the horsemen of Gaule, which had followed *Caesar*; there came into Spaine, with a great number of waggons, all filled with baggage, according to the custome among the Gaules. Beside, there were of men and women, about six thousand, with their seruants and children: and because they took delight, in hauing beasts for portage and cariage, they were glad to pay deerly for them, as *Caesar* hath recorded in his seauenth booke. Hereby wee vnderstand, that not onely the men, but their children also, yea, the whole Families in Gaule, went to the war when occasion required. *Tacitus* writeth also, That the women followed the Germanes, and accompanied them to their warres. But this is sufficient, concerning such leuies and preparations for warre, as was vsed among the Gaules.

Their enduring
scarfard
of food.

Of the Helu-
etians.

Vercingetorix
his aduice gi-
uen vnto the
Gaules.

Now it would be knowne, with vvhat ease they could endure the scarfard of victuals, by the temperature of their nourture, hauing formerly auoided the delicacy of wine: and *Caesar* giueth vs to vnderstand (in many places) how they wer provided of victuals. The Heluetians departing from their houses, caried meale (that was formerly ground with them) to serue for 3. months. And *Vercingetorix* to take away from the Romans all means of recouering foode, perswaded the Gaules to burne the Towns and Villages on all parts where the Romans might make any inua-

sion. Whereupon more then 20. Townes (belonging to the *Bituriges*) were burnt in one day: and the like they did vnto the Cities in the neighboring countries. But, at the instant intreaty of the *Bituriges*, who required, that *Avaricum* (which was the very goodliest City in all Gaul) might not be burned: it was granted by *Vercingetorix*, who first had debated for the contrary, yet after yielded, as well in regard of their earnest motion, as also in meere pity and commiseration. But the pity afforded to this one Towne, caused most cruel ruine of all the other cities and Townes in Gaule. For *Caesar*'s armie, that had bin very mightily tormented with famine, and had endured diuers daies with out power of recouering any thing to make bread of: after the surprizing of *Avaricum*, was now not onely stored with plenty of food, but being refreshed as it wer with hope of like following successe, it made them to deuoure vp all Gaule.

At another time, *Vercingetorix* (by virtue of the same counsell and aduice) constrained *Caesar* to forsake *Gergonia*, and hauing taken all the victuals which the Romans had then in *Neuiodunum*, brought him into such distresse, that had it not bin for shame, tediousnes of the way and absence of the 4. Legions, *Caesar* was setting forward to go into Prouence. *Vercingetorix*, being elected capitaine General thoroughout Gaul, vsed (at a third time) the selfsame aduice; when in a publike assembly of the Gaules he said, that he would not tempt his fortune, & giue his enemy batel, because he was strongly defended with horsemen, wherby he could easily hinder the Romans from food and foraging. And it behoued euery man (of his own good will) to destroy his Corne, and burne his houses, considering, that by this little losse, which each man might well endure in his own particular, he should perseiue, that their empire and liberty, would (for euer) be the surer maintained. And vndoubtedly, *Caesar* being moued by these occasions, purposed to withdraw himselfe into Prouence, thorow the country of the *Seguanii*, when *Vercingetorix* (too inconsiderately) condemned the good counsell giuen him, & would not tempt fortune, by hazarding the batel. & turned all his intentions fil to the worst: wherby may be observed, what care the ancient Gaules had for provision of food.

*People of
old Avaricum

*The City Vi-
eron of Ber-
roy in France.

The pitying
of one towne,
was the de-
struction of
many other

Vercingetorix
his aduice
against *Caesar*

*The Towne
Noyon of Bel-
gia in France.

Vercingetorix
his third ad-
uice against
Caesar.

Caesars pur-
pose to depart
into Prouence.
A people in
France, which
are now call
Borgonians.

Now

Their order
of martial di-
cipline in the
field.

Of the Hel-
uetians.

The Gaules
bridges made
of Boates.

Their fortifi-
cations in the
field.

Int. Caesar in
Com. lib. 8.
& in lib. 1.

The Romans
planted th yr
camps in the
highest places

The Campe
of the Belgi-
ans, and their
best rampiers
of Chariots &
Waggons.

Int. Caesar in
Com. lib. 5.
Of the Ner-
uians.

Now if we desire to know, what order was vsed among them in the field, either for marching, lodging their armies, or obseruation of military discipline; it seemeth that they were not therein any more curious. The *Heluetians* essaying to passe a riuer, somed times diuers boates together; others would leape into such places, wher the Rhone was most easie for passage, oftentimes in the day, and more often in the night, but *Caesar* euermore gaue them the repulse. The Gaules not hauing (as yet) learned the manner of making bridges, could not (in the space of twenty dayes) passe the third part of their army, by such boates as they had fastened together: and this was their want of knowledge, in the arte of making Bridges. If we look vpon the seating of their armies, and their fortifications in the field, they were as slenderly skilfull therein. They would make choise of a valley, that had no other Rampier or Ditch, but Heauen and Earth to succour and defend it. For the custome among the Gaules, was (as we may reade in the eight booke) to refuse and forsake high places, and to order their Campe neere vnto Riuer. So it appeareth in the first booke, that the *Heluetians* encamped at the foote of some hill, euen as the Germans did the like: but the Romanes euermore elected the highest places. The seating then of the Gaules Campe was in this manner, without any kinde of fortification. The Campe of the Belgians (as is to be seene in the second booke) according as might be iudged by their fires and smoke, consisted of more then eight miles in largenesse. And when they declared most care & warinesse, they would onely plant their Chariots and Waggons foremost, which serued them as their cheefest Rampier. In like manner, the Germans would, engirt their whole army, with their Waggons and Chariots. At length the Gaules began to imitate the Romanes, in such matters as they perceiued to be best behouing for the, or whatsoever they did for the best advantage.

The Neruians (as wee reade in the fifth booke) enclosed that place, where *Cicero* bestowed his winter abiding, with a rampier of cleuen foote in height, and a ditch of fifteene foote deepe. They had learned this, by their practise of warre against

the Romanes, and by the helpe of such prisoners as they had taken. But wanting such tooles and instruments, as were necessarily required in this businesse: they were constrained to cut the greene turths or fods with their Swords, and to carry both them & the earth, in the long skirts of their Iackets. Afterward, they began to raise Towers on the tops of their rampiers, and to make mounted roofes and Tarrales, according as their prisoners had instructed them: in so much, that *Caesar* (at length) wondered, to see what Towers, Tarrales, and Fortifications they enterprised and performed. These passages of *Caesar*, do sufficiently declare, that the Gaules were not wanting, eyther in naturall disposition, or in care, to performe what was necessary, but only came short of orderly discipline.

In the seauenth yeare of the Gauls warre, after great store of losses had happened; *Vercingetorix* comforting the Gaules, declared vnto them, that it was reasonable & expedient (for common safety of each one) to begin to fortifie their campe: to the end that they might the more easily endure the sudden assaults of their enemies. For in those times (saith *Caesar*) was it, that the Gaules began first of all to fortifie their Campe. And therefore *Caesar* did especially marke and nominate it in that place. And the first fortification which they vsed, was at *Gergonia*, when they made a wal about their camp, which was fixe foote high, of great thick stones. Afterward, neere to *Alesia*, where they made a ditch and a wall, containing fixe foote in height. The Latine word *Maceria*, which signifieth a wall of stones, heaped together without mortar or lime, & whereof *Caesar* maketh vñe in the second place: declareth what manner of walles they had, which were rudely constructed, and without any cunning. The Gaules then (aunciently) had so little knowledge or discipline.

But what valour or manhood did they vse in fight? Was there any such matter of worth in them? Vndoubtedly they repoled a very great assurance in their owne strength. The Gaules, as was noted in the warres of Africa, were naked or vncovered, and vsing no kinde of surprizing: had a custome to fight onely by valiancy, and not by any sleight or cunning. And

The Neruians
learned they
fortifying of
the Romanes

Mounting of
Towers and
Tarrales.

Caesar admired
to behold the
Gaules fortifi-
cations.

The comfort
giuen by *Ver-
cingetorix*, to
the Gaules.

Int. Caesar in
Com. lib. 3.

The first mak-
ing of wals
and ditches.

* Made in fild
of a Mound.

* A people of the Helueticans, by the River Ligamus, whose head-City is called Zurich.

Jul. Cef. in com. lib. 1. & in lib. 6.

The resolute assurance of the Belgians.

The manly virtue of the Nervians against the Romanes.

* A Towne of Belgians in Spain

The words of Horius concerning the virtue & manhood of the Gaules.

And this was the reason, why *Diuiomus* the Heluetian, spake so to *Cæsar*, who had surprized the *Tigurines* at vnawares, saying. That they had learned of their Fathers and Auncestors, to fight more for manhood then arte, but he made himselfe strong, onely by surprizes. And for prooffe of this military vertue, there are very singular examples in many places of *Cæsar*. In the battaile of the Helueticans, albeit that from the seventh houre (as is to be seen in the first booke) they had fought till darke night; yet no man could euer see the enemy to turne his backe. The Belgians in like manner (as it is written in the first booke) neuer being daunted or terrified with the slaughter of so many of their owne fellowes, cruelly flane before their faces: in resolute assurance, essayed boldly to march ouer their dead bodies. The Nervians likewise (as appeareth in the same place) eue in the latest hope of their safety, declared an extraordinary signe of their vertue. For, albeit such was the very cheefest amongst them, lay butchered on the earth before them: yet they kept neere still to them, and fought standing vpon their bodies. Yea, and that in such manner, as they which remained alive, making hilles of dead mens coarffes, threw their Darts against the Romanes, as from the top of a Butte, and cast also their lesser Iaulins at them, to long as they were able to reach them. This agreeeth with that which he speaketh of the Gaules, who were in *Cæsar*'s seruice, when

* *Munda* in *Spain*, was round about engirt with the bodies of enemies, that had bene slaine, and lay there in their armes. In stead of turffes of earth (saith *Horius*) they piled and layed dead bodies one vpon another, and for the seruice of a Palliadeo, they couered them with their Shields and Iaulins, and their swords, with the heads of men, were all placed & turned towards the Towne of their enemy: To the ende, that they should apparently behold the true Ensignes of their valiancy, only to affright them, while thus they were circled in, as in a rampier. Thus the Gaules hauing made a round wall of their enemies bodies, and mounted thereon; they began to assaile the Towne with violent deliuey of their Arrowes and Darts.

They had learned this manner of ma-

king a rampier of dead mens bodies, from a custome vsed in their owne Country, and hereence (in mine opinion) grew the coniecture made of the Gaules, whereof *Aristotle* writeth in his *Ethicks* to *Nicomachus*: That they feared not anything in the world, neither scorplings, burnings or any torments whatsoever. And to this effect, was that which *Strabo* writeth of the Gaules, concerning their answer to *Alexander*, who demanded of them, what it was that they feared most? Nothing (saide they) if the Heauens tumble not downe vpon vs. I perceiue also, that they were euen as neglect and careless, in chusing the aduantage of place for fight, as they were in the seating of their Campe, which may evidently be discerned in all the Commentaries of the *Gaules* warres. When the Helueticans and Nervians assailed *Cæsar*, it was in a place very disadvantageous: but if they lighted on any other, that might declare them to be any way better aduised; it was by some former patterne of the Romanes, and obseruation of their discipline. And the first time that they entred into any good order, was, when the army vvich they had vsaylled out of diuers Countries, and the Souldiours then vvere generally distributed, according to the Countries whereof they vvere, and so placed (separately) the forces of each City in his due rancke or degree. So in the battaile of the *Nervians*, the *Atrebatians* vvere ordered on the left side, the *Nervians* on the right, & the *Veromanduans* in the midst of the battaile. Lik vvise in the seventh booke, vvhere hee maketh mention of the forces of *Vercingetorix*. The *Gaules* after they had broken the bridges, kept themselves firmly on a little Hill, confiding in the situation of the place, and being generally diuided, according vnto the Cities vvhereof they vvere, and placing Guards at euery Foord & Thicket of the Marsh; they impeached them to their no meane disadvantage. In the same place againe, *Vercingetorix* hauing planted his Campe on a Hill neere to the Towne, lodged separately also the forces of each City; yet leauing some vvide and spacious roome about all their lodgings, and being possessed of all the smaller hilles that neighboured the greater, vvhen any aduantage might be had for looking downvvard; he made

Strabo in lib. 4. *Ethics* ad Nicomach.

Strabo in lib. 4. The Gaule answer to Alexander.

Aduantage of place for fight.

The Helueticans and Nervians assailed *Cæsar*.

* People of *Atrebatians* in France.

* People of *Veromanduans* in Germany.

Julius Cæsar in Com. lib. 3.

The military discipline of *Vercingetorix*.

A notable care & providence in a General.

Jul. Cef. in com. lib. 1.

* The Riuer Segona in France.

Diuidion by nation, obserued among the Germanes, com. Tacitus in lib. 3. cap. 5.

a People of Bohemia. b Of Hallatia, c Of the City Wormen in Germany, now called Wormancien. d Neere to Rome. e The Citie Sion in the Alpes.

This place is thus expounded by the author.

f Bands of Souldiours.

made a shew verie dreadful to behold. And euery day, euen from the point or breake of day, he caused the chiefe Commanders of such Cities (as he had chosen to be of his counsell) to come before him, whether it were to conferre about some matters to be done, or execute any thing that depended on their charge: so that no one day might escape him, but some essay or other was made of his courage, & of the vertue that liued in his followers; making out many fallies of horse, mingled with the best and choysiest of his Archers.

In the first booke likewise, the people called *Tigurines*, which were vnder the city of the *Helueticans*, all the other three companies hauing passed the Riuer *Arenaria*; were surprized and enuioured aside by themselves. And they of the Borough *Verbigena*, because they fled away with the other; being afterward brought before *Cæsar*, they were receiued as open enemies. The *Germanes* obserued the same order, to diuide themselves generally by nations: as *Tacitus* deliuereth more plainly, where he saith. And that which principally did encourage them, was; that not hazard, or an assembly made at aduerture, or a troope, or a squadron; but the families and alliances laboured together. One example hereof in the *Germanes*, is noted by the that followed *Ariovistus*, who in the end (as we reade in the first booke) were compelled to fend their forces out of the field: and made a generall ordination (by equal interualls) of the *Marcomani*, *Triboci*, *Pangiones*, *Nomentani*, *Sequians* and *Sueci*. Wherefore I conclude, by the words of this passage, that in regard the Army of the *Gaules* consisted of many Cities; the Souldiers (generally) did diuide themselves, according to the number of the Cities.

The Gaules vsed the phalanx in theye battailes, as the Romanes did their Legions. The Phalanx, subtilly explicated by *Aelianus*, both in parts and parcels, to be of an equal number, eight times diuided into equal parts; the summary whereof, I thus comprehend. The Phalanx, armed with weighty armours, consisted of foure thousand, ninety sixe men, each ranke whereof, contained in length sixteene *Phalangaries*, and was termed *Decuria*: in which bands, the formost man was na-

med *Decurion*, and the last *Vergiductor*, that is to say, hee which conducteth the Rereguard or hinderpart. These formost men were also called *Præfites* of the seconds, by reason of their marching before, and so the third men of the fourth. Contrariwise, the second men were termed *Subfites* to the former: as being vnder them, like as the fourth vnder the third. Thus the *Decuria* was composed of *Præfites* & *Subfites*, the one following the other. The second *Decuria*, was called *Condenaria*, that is to say, conioyned to the *Decuria*, in such manner, that they all answered both in place and number: *Decurion* to *Decurion*, *Præfites* to *Præfites*, *Subfites* to *Subfites*, and they which accoafed, or went along by, were termed *Adfites*. The ordinary space or distance of the *Phalangaries*, was foure cubites, but vvhen they closed, two, & when they went in crowd, one onely. This was the manner of the Phalanx, obserued by the ancient *Gaules*.

The battaile of the Helueticans (as is to be seen in the first booke) kept it selfe strongly lockt against *Cæsar*'s horsemen, and when the horsemen were repulsd, the Phalanx, which was prepared vnder the first battailion, aduanced it selfe, and set forward. But the Romanes (by the power of their Iaulins) brake the Phalanx of the Helueticans, by reason that they vvere too strongly lockt together: And then, to defend themselves against their Iaulins, they began to disioyn their vniting, & to combine their Targets and Shields, the one with the other, which were in the forme and shape of the shelles of Tortuiffes, to receiue and resist the Iaulins darter at them. In the same booke also, the *Germanes* hauing suddenly (according to their custome) prepared a Phalanx; vvithstood the strength of all theye Swords. And I perceiue, that this Phalanx was ordered in such manner, not to serue as a defence for their heads; but rather as a Rampier for their breasts. But on the Helueticans day, the *Boji*, or *Boians*, and the *Tugi*, or *Tulingians*, who came thither for their succour; enclosed the battaile round about with Chariots and baggage, and guarded the rereward. And as the Helueticans (who had the worst, & of whom the greater number were forevvounded) retired, and vvithdrew themselves into the neereft neighbouring Moun-

g The Capitaine or Leader. h The Guide of the Rereguard.

i Vnder-Subfites.

k Coniuncts or Adiuncts.

l Adfites or helpers.

Jul. Cef. in com. lib. 1.

The Phalanx of the Helueticans, broken by the Romanes.

The Phalanx of the Germanes.

m People of that part of France, now called Lyons. n Ancient people among the Helueticans, not farre from Lucerna.

The retire & re-assault of the Helucians.

The words of Titius, concerning the Gauls firing on Faggots.

* Soldiers that were always last in the rearguard and were the strongest met they fought over flanking and bowing some what on their knees, as if they would rather dye, then renoue from their places.

CHAP. VII.

Of the shows, cries, & strange noises devised and used by the Gauls, to comfort and encourage themselves, and to affright or dismay their enemies. Also of their signes of contentment, peace, mercy, their Barre, Songs, and Richmes.



A viall matter observed in Military discipline, & how it was among the Gauls.

Mountain: they assayed the Romanes at vnawares on the Flanks, and engirt the round about. Which the Helucians beholding, they returned againe, began to recharge them, and fought valiantly with them.

Thus wee haue heere set downe some forme of that fashion, which the Gauls obserued in preparing their battaile, and that which *Hirtius* hath spoken thereof, is not much differing from the purpose. That the Gauls, being in battaile, had a custom to sit downe vpon Faggots of Vine branches and small twigs, which they placed in the ground. Now, albeit he reporteth, that *Cæsar* hath declared the same in the first booke of his Commentaries, yet notwithstanding, I finde no such matter. But forasmuch, as the Gauls (in their battails) are said to sit downe on Faggots: it was a kinde of discipline obserued among the, like to that of the Romane * *Triarij*, who being ranked in the third battalion, which was the reeward, vied to kneele down on their knees, which was termed by the Latines, *Subfidere*, whence ensued the word *Subside* as they named it. This cometh somewhat short of the order obserued among the Gauls: but many matters more might be related, concerning the encouragement they gaue to one another for war-service, which principally employed their minde, and boldly animated them on to vertue.

found of Trumpets: but with a Song, a Dance, loud yelling, clattering of their armour, and brandishing their darts, to make a noise so terrible, as nothing could appeare to be more horrible. The Gauls (saith *Diadorus*) had loud, big, and rude voyces, & their Trumpets (according to custom) were barbarous, & made a rude harsh sound. But *Polybius* (in his second booke) sayeth moreover. The brauadoes & noises of the Celts, were dreadfull to the Romanes: for they had an infinite number of Trumpets and Hobois, with the found whereof, the whole Army cried out aloud, making so great a clashing and noise; that not only the Clations & army echoed the found, but all the places likewise that did round engirt them. And indeed, the noise which customarily was made by the Gauls, hath oftentimes bene noted by *Titus Livius*: but yet hatefully and iniuriously, as (for the most part) he was wont to speake of the Gauls. The Gauls (saith he, in his first booke) by singing fauagely, and crying out confusedly; filled the ayre with an horrible found. And in the same place: Immediately there were heard songs and noises disagreeing, as when the Gauls walked (by troops) about their wallies. And afterward in the foure and thirtieth Booke, he saith. The Gauls went marching forward, howling or yelling strange ly, and singing according to their confused fashion, shaking their Targets ouer their heads, and brandishing their Darts in their hands. Then againe in the foure and fortieth Booke, speaking of the Gauls which were in *Asia*, he saith. Beyond all the rest, their singings, when they began the battaile, and their howling, yelling, and dances, couering themselves with their Shields, after the manner of theyr Country, with the horrible clattering of their armour: all these things were done on deliberate purpose, onely to procure affrightment and terror.

Cæsar toucheth this tumultuous behaviour more lightly, in his first booke, after the ouerthrow of *Sabinus* & *Cotta*, where the Gauls hauing the victory, hee speaketh thus of them. Then, according to their wonted custome; they cryed the victory together, and howled loudly. And at another time, in the seauenth Booke, speaking of the Gauls nere vnto *Alexia*. The Gauls (saith hee) perswading themselves

Diadorus in lib. 1.

Polybius in lib. 5.

The noise of the Celts &c. frightened the Romanes.

Titus Livius in lib. 5.

Titus Livius no fixed to the Gauls.

Tit. Livius in lib. 34.

Tit. Livius in lib. 44 Of the Gauls in *Asia*, and how they behaved themselves in battaile.

Titus Livius in comment. lib. 5 The ouerthrow of *Sabinus* & *Cotta*

In lib. 7. Cæsar in comment. lib. 7.

The battaile fought nere vnto *Alexia*.

In lib. 7. Cæsar in comment. lib. 7. How they required parties.

Signes of expectation among the Gauls.

In lib. 7. Cæsar in comment. lib. 7. The signe of quietness.

The signe of desisting peace in *Liba*.

In lib. 7. The women of Gergouia.

The signe of yielding. The *Hedunans*

selues to be the stronger part, and perceiving the Romanes, that they were pressed with great numbers on all sides: they that were within the Fort, and they that came in, their assistance, with a loude cry and yelling, assured the courage of their people. Moreover, that which gaue greatest terror to the Romanes, was, the loud cry that they made at their backs, in the time of their fighting. It was likewise a custome among the Gauls, to require parties or conference, by making a loud cry, as by a Trumpet: according as *Cæsar* in his first Booke, speaking of the *Eburons*, saith. Then, after their vsual manner, they made a loud cry together; to the end, that some one of the Romanes might come forth, to admit them parties or conference.

It may appeare now as conuenient, to speake somewhat of those signes which the Gauls vied, to signifie, when theyr hearts were appeased and quieted; when they desired peace; and when they were willing to yeelde themselves. The signe which they vied to make, when theyr hearts were contented and quieted; was, to shew their right shoulders naked. *Cæsar*, speaking of the *Hedunans*, in his seauenth Booke, saith thus. Whensoever their right shoulders were seene to be naked: it was their accustomed signe, thereby to declare, that they were contented. The signe of desisting peace, was, to extend or stretch out their hands: as hee speaketh in the second Booke, discoursing of the *Bellouasians*. The women and children (being on the wallies) according to their wonted behaviour; would stretch forth their hands, thereby desisting peace of the Romanes. Which he farther relateth in the seauenth Booke, speaking of the women of *Gergouia*: who bearing their breasts, and stretching out their hands vpon the wallies, required mercy of the Romanes. In the same place also, hee declareth what signe they vied, when they were willing to submit themselves. The *Hedunans* holding vp their hands; gaue notice thereby, that they would yeelde themselves. And holding downe their armes, they requested thereby, that their liues might be saued.

But perhaps these things may seeme to be of slender account: therefore I will conclude the noyes made by the Gauls, and search into the behaviour of

the *Germanes*, whether they were of like condition, or no. It should seeme, that it was the Barre of the *Germanes*, whereof *Tacitus* maketh such mention. They had certain pleasant Songs and Richmes, at the found whereof; that which they termed Barre, enflamed their courages; and by the Song, they prefaged the ende and fortune of the future battaile. For they were cheered or dismayed, according as the Army made the noyes; and this accord in singing, seemed not to consist so much in the voyce, as in vertue. They did principally respect the rudeness of found, and confusednesse of the noise; by holding their Targets before their mouthes, to the ende that the voyce (being made thereby the greater and fuller) might rebound the louder and stronger. Such then was the noyse of the Gauls, chiefly when they came to the shocke or brunt, and when they would enflame their Soldiers courages: for the women *Gauls* (alwaies) had some part in this encouragement. You will hardly credit, that mens hearts would be more enflamed, by the exhortations and reares of their dearest wiues; the they could be by the found of Trumpets and Cornets. The prooffe hereof, is to be seene in the 7. Book, when at *Gorgouia*, the mothers of the families began to pray with earnest affection, and to shew their haire disheueled, after the *Gaulish* manner, and to make presents of their young infants. Such was the exhortation at the siege of * *Massyia*, after that all the Ships on the Sea were readily prepared at the instant entreaties & reares of the old men, of the mothers of the families and their daughters, who desired that to succour the City in extreme necessity: they had no lesse heart and resolution, to mount into those Ships, then they had before in fighting the battaile. Then might easily be discerned, both from the Camp of * *C. Trebonius*, and all the places of highest prospect in the City; how all the youth that remained within it, and all the oldest men, with their wiues and young children, stood as publike guardes, and (vpon the wallies) helde vp their hands to heaven, or ran to the Temples of the immortal Gods, where prostrating themselves before their Images, they entreated victory of the Gods.

This hath some resemblance with that which

Observations among the *Germanes*, & of their Barre cornet. *Tacitus in lib. 4. cap. 2.*

Singing force-could their battails success

Rudeness of found most regarded.

Of the women among the Gauls, and how they encouraged the hearts of their husbands. *In lib. 7. Cæsar in comment. lib. 7.*

* A Country in *Africa*, among the Western *Moors*.

* One of them that afterward murdered *Cæsar*.

Inl. Caesar in
Com. Lib. 1.
Of the Ger-
man women.

An obserua-
tion among the
Germans whe
they war rea-
dy to fight.

Qualified bar-
tales re-en-
forced by the
means of
women.

Caesar dou-
ble dealing
with the
Gaules.
Inl. Caesar in
comment. Lib. 3
cap. 18.

Titus Livius a
reprover of
the Gaules.

In lib. 3. cap. 4.

In lib. 10. cap. 9.

which is written of the Germanes, in the first booke: And the women, holding up their hands to the Souldiers, which were going to the warre, with teares entreated them, that they would not suffer them to fall into the seruitude of the Romanes. Therefore, when the Germanes were ready to fight, such things as were in their deereſt eſtimation (as *Titius* reporteth) they would haue in ſome place neere vnto them: where the out cries of their wiues, and lamentings of their children, might eaſieſt be heard; theſe ſerued them as moſt ſacred witneſſes, and theſe were their cheefeſt commendations. They would bring the wounded perſons to their mothers and wiues, and they feared not to number and ſucke their hurts; carrying food to them, and any thing that might harten them againe to the fight. Some ſay, that diuers battels, which began ſuddenly to quaiſe and breake off: were as ſuddenly re-enforced and purſued by the women, euen through the conſtancy of their praiers, beating their hands on their naked breſts, & ſetting before their eyes, the danger of their neere-enſuing captiuitie, which they feared the more impatiently, in regard of their Wiues and Children. Wherefore the wiues of martiall minded men, did declare themſelves alſo no leſſe valiant and reſolute.

But *Caesar*, in attributing very great courage to the Gaules, doth yet (I know not how) reproch them, with a quite contrary negligence or cowardice. For, like as the hearts of the Gaules (ſaith he in his third Booke) are prompt and deliberate, for the attempting of warre: euen ſo is their courage dull, and weak in reſiſtance, to ſupport any miſchances. In briefe (as we may reade in the eighth Booke) a man cannot well iudge, whether the Gaules are more inſolent, when their affayres do go neuer ſo little ſucceſſfully with them; then they are eaſie to be affrighted, when neuer ſo little harme befalls them. This is that alſo, which *Titus Livius* reprehendeth with ſuch inſolence, as euery where hee ceaſeth not to taxe them with ſomewhat fauouring of the ſame nature. As in the fiſt Booke concerning the gowned Gaules. The Gauliſh nation are accuſtomed to colde and raine; but they cannot any way endure eyther duſt or heate. In the tenth Booke. The bodies of the Gaules, which

cannot abide tranſaſſe or heat, do yet melt themſelves with ſweating. They enter fight like more then men; but their ſiſſue is leſſe then women. In the 37. Booke. Their big bones that can ſuffer no labor, will toyle with weighty Armour on their backs. In the 40. Booke. Heaue and tranſaſſe are ynkoſome to the Gaules quaggy bodies; becauſe they are not able to endure thiſt. In the 48. Booke. ſpeaking of the Gaules of Aſia. If their fiſt ſallault be endured, which they ruſh into with boyl-ling courage, and blindfold fury; their lazie members will ſhake themſelves into ſweate, and the weapons will fall out of their hands. The Sun, duſt, and drought, without imployment of any weapon againſt them, doth dol their foggy bodies, and abate their ſtreameſt courage; if they horrage and fury be once over-paſſed.

Titius giueth the ſelfe ſame dull diſpoſition to the Germanes. Their great bodies (ſaith he) that haue no other ſtrength, then (at the fiſt on-ſet) to ſlew theſelves forward: are not accuſtomed to ſupport (with any patience) either paines, biſſines, thiſt, heate, colde or hunger. How doth this hold together? According to the iudgement which *Caesar* hath giuen of the Gaules? Are they both moſt valiant, and yet foggy fellows alſo? Vndoubtedly, al the Gaules are reported to bee (euen naturally) martiall and valorous; and being exerciſed in military diſcipline; they are the more hardened againſt any trouble; but wanting exerciſe, they grow the more foggy & ydle. Cuſtome and vie do teach men to ſupport any toyle, and to hold good defence againſt all danger; for the trouble of warlike diſcipline, admitteth neither ſinerie or ſoftneſſe. If we meete with ſome old Souldier, who, becauſe he is expert in warre, is ſcareleſſe of blowes: If likewiſe a new friſh Souldier be brought in, that hath his hart as ſtout and reſolute, & as yet vnexperienced; yet his beſt courage will appeare to be but womanly ſo writeth *Cicero* in his ſecond *Tuſculanes*.

Therdenneſſe and ſoftneſſe is reprehended in the Gauliſh Souldiers; as namely by *Vercingetorix*, and *Crotignates*, one of the *Aruerni*, in the ſeuenth Booke. For there he ſaith, that the Gaules deſired to fight, in regard of their ſoft and tender diſpoſition, becauſe they cannot long endure any toyle. The ſame man at the council

In lib. 37. cap. 9.

In lib. 40. cap. 1.

In lib. 48. cap. 3.

In lib. 48. cap. 3.

In lib. 48. cap. 3.

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In lib. 48. cap. 3.

In lib. 48. cap. 3.

In lib. 48. cap. 3.

In lib. 48. cap. 3.

Vercingetorix
to the Souldiers
beſieged in
Alexia.

Courage natural
and heredi-
tary to the
Gaules.

Caesar had fix
Legions of the
Gaules, &
but foure of
Romanes.

A certaine
legion among
the Romanes

Titus Livius
reprobed by
the Author, to
offend againſt
his own coun-
try, & the law
of Hiftory.

Concerning
the gowned
Gaules & Affians

council which was holden among them, that were beſieged in Alexia, and ſtood in great diſtreſſe, through want of victualles: againſt ſuch as were of the minde, to hazard all at once ſally, he ſaid. This is indeed meece cowardice, weakneſſe, and no ſigne of courage, or any ſort of vertue, to declare your ſelves vnable, to endure dearth by ſcarſy ſalliers a while. Prooſe may be produced, of more men that gladly offered themſelves to death, then could patiently ſuſtaine greefe or annoyance. It is not then to be doubted, but prompt & ſtout courage, eſpecially in warlike enterpriſes, was hereditary (both by nature and race) to the Gaules nation, and that this ſoft or tender complexion, grew through lacke of exerciſe, in military diſcipline. For, if a Gaule had beene once well inſtructed, by a Maſter, ſkillfull in the arte of warre: where was any Souldier to be found, that could more ably endure all labour? If thou doe inferre any doubt in this caſe, prooſe thereof was made by *Caesar* himſelfe: For *Caesar* leuied ſixe Legions of the Gaules, becauſe he could riſe no more then foure of his owne Common-wealth. *Caesars* horſe-men were knowne to be Gaules; and thereupon, after he came to the head of all his enterpriſes: hee naturalized all thoſe Legions, which not onely were Gaules by Nation, but they retained (beſide) the name of *Alauds*. Wherefore, this ſoftneſſe in the new or young experienced Souldiers, was as common to the Romanes as Gaules; and was no otherwiſe proper, eyther to the Gaule or Germane Nation.

But *Titus Livius*, with I know not how many Greekes, is too iniurious and inſupportable againſt the name of a Gaul, and forgets withall, the kindeſſe which hee ought to his Country, and to the law of hiftory. For, although hee much better affected, to make the *Venetes* or *Venetians*, to defend from the traitor *Antenor*, then from the Nobility of the venetian Gaules, as *Strabo* hath done, and the Romanes approve the ſame, placing the *Venetes* or *Venetians* in *Gallia Togata*; yet thereby hee maketh himſelfe to be a Gaule. And the law of hiftory doth command, that in the relating of a hiftory, he ſhould ſtand cleare from ſuſpition of being touched with fauour or hatred. But whereas he repro- ceth the gowned Gaules and Affians,

with the ydle matter of cold, becauſe they dwell in the hottreſt Countries, and ſuch as were neerer to the Sunne, then the *Pataniens* or *Pataniens*, among whom *Titus Livius* was borne; doth he not mocke himſelfe as fooliſhly as can be deuſed? As for the Gauliſh Souldier which *Caesar* had, and who was the very braueſt man of all other whatſoeuer: this man beliaeth him manifeſtly. And it appeareth very probably, that *Caesar* had to deale with thoſe men onely in that Gaule: but in the other partes of the world, hee fought againſt women, in regard of thoſe men hee found in this Nation.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the difference betweene the Souldiers of Caesar and of Pompey, being the valiant Gaules, in comparing them with the Romanes: As alſo of the Spaniards and the Gaules, and what cunning they learned of the Romanes.



OW, to ſpeake of *Caesars* Souldier, againſt the Souldier of *Pompey*, that is to ſay, the valiant Gaul, what was hee againſt the Romanine? In the third booke of the ciuill warres, *Caesar* ſaith: The Army of *Pompey* was not accuſtomed to paines taking. Why then *Titus Livius*, by the purity of his eloquence, which *Quintilian* compared to the whitenneſſe of milke, hath drawne the Spaniards and Gaules forth the corners of the world, onely to make himſelfe liſtened vnto, according as *Saint Hierome* writeth. Notwithſtanding, in this delicacy or ſoftneſſe of not enduring paine, heate, thiſt, nor duſt, which hee reprehendeth in the Souldiers of Gaule; himſelfe ſheweth the ſoftneſſe and affection of his owne ſpirit, which cannot any way abide equity, the grauity of hiftory, ſoundneſſe of iudgement, and truth. For, to be ſoft, or hardened againſt toyle, is not any thing that proceedeth eyther from Nation, or race, but by breeding and diſcipline.

* Men of Pa-
dua in Italy.

Apparent
prooſe of the
ancient Souldier
of Gaule

Comparison
of Souldiers.

Inl. Caesar in
comment. lib. 3.

Quintil. in lib.
3. cap. 9.

Hierim. Prefat.

Of delicacy
and hardneſſe
againſt labour

Want of discipline in the Gaules.

Strabo in Lib. 4. cap. 7.

The simplicity of mind: which remained in the Gaules.

The Spaniards not so soon subdued, as the Gaules, the reason why.

The Spaniard was like unto thee.

Strabo in Lib. 7.

Example of the Helvetians.

Example of the Belgians, Armoicians, & Aquitains.

All Gaul conquered nere to Alexia.

Hirtius in lib. 3. cap. 1.

Caesar then did but right, in giving to the men of *Gaule* a great courage, & truly warlike: and yet neuertheless, he discovereth in this great minde or spirit, a certaine want of discipline, or much rather hereproeth a kinde of simpleness, and an ill audited assurance of their strength, which was the fault that was most noted in their warres, according as *Strabo* writeth in his fourth Booke.

The *Gaules* very easily assembled together in great number, because they were simple of spirit, still followed iustice, right and truth, being moued and affected by the losses of their neighbours. Whereupon it happened, that the more easily they were chased out of their Country: because in assembling all their forces, or rather their whole families and friends, they were throwne out by them that proued the stronger. The *Romans* did much more easily subdue them, then they could do the *Spaniards*: for the wars in *Spain* were begun long time before theirs, and yet notwithstanding, they were brought to end after theirs. And betwene both these times, they conquered all the *Gaules*, that were betwene the *Rhine* and the *Pyrenean Mountains*: for in coming to the field so many together, they were ouerthrowne by multitudes together. But the *Romans* managed their battles more sparingly, and, euen as if they had a desire to some affected kinde of monies: so did they preferre them from one time to another, and from Country to Country, making their warre still cautiously, like unto thees.

And that which *Strabo* hath written, may sufficiently be perceived by the examples of *Caesar*. The whole City of the *Helvetians*, there being all the people of twelve Townes, and of forty Villages: did fight all at one instant, and in one instant also were all ouerthrowne. Such was the league of fifteene people of the *Belgians*. Such was the reuolting of the *Armoicians* in the warre of the *Venetes*, or *Venetiens*. Such was the conspiracy of the *Aquitains* against *Craffus*. In briefe, did not all *Gaule* put it selfe in Armes, and was it not wholly conquered in one warre, nere vnto *Alexia*? The *Gaules* in the eight yeare of their warre, both well felt and knew this fault, as *Hirtius* saith, and that in regard of some great numbers, which still were af-

fembled in one place; it exceeded possibility to resist the *Romans*. But if diuers Cities (at one selfe same time) had made warre in diuers places: the *Romane Army* could neither haue had sufficient succour, leysure or forces, to vndertake all at once.

Neuertheless, the *Gaules* were not allways of so simple and open spirit: but at some-times they declared more cunning, and holpe themselues by some surprizes. *Caesar*, (as *Suetonius* saith) neuer suffered any one occasion of warre to be lost, were it neuer so vniindifferent; setting as soone on the allied and leagued, as on enemies: and yet notwithstanding, all the warres which he made, hee still pacified with good & sufficient colours of reason. The *Eburone-Gaules* payed *Caesar* with his owne vnfaithfull dealing. For these *Gaules* aduertising the *Romane* with the conspiracy, which all the *Gaules* had agreed on together: made him beleue, that if hee would come, and leaue the field, they would giue him free passage. Through this deceit, a Legion, and five Cohorts or Companies (with *Cotta* and *Sabinus*, which ledde them) were all vanquished. And albeit, that the *Romane* was then alike in number and strength to the *Gaules* (as *Caesar* confesseth) yet was he foyled by the *Gaules* subtilty, who had learned this craft of *Caesar*, and therewith repayed him.

Hirtius recounteth the like ambuscades of the *Belouasians*, or *Belouanians*, who hauing vnderstood the lodging of the *Romane* horsemen: tooke a number of light and nimble spirited footemen, and en-ambushed them in a place thickly couered with wood. On the morrow, they sent certaine horses thither, which might allure the *Romane* on, into the compasse of the ambushment, and when they were once in it, they presently charged them. And the fortune of this mis-happe fell on the men of *Rheims*, who were appointed as *Guards* that that day. For they hauing feene (too suddenly) the enemies horse-men, and knowing them-selues to exceede them greatly in number, making no account of so fewe as they seemed to bee: they rushed forth, and ouer-hotly pursued them, euen vntill they were (on all sides) environed by the Foote-men

A great error of the Gaules in their fighting.

The Gaules were not always so silly & simple in their martiall affairs.

The Eburones cunning in oset-reaching *Caesar*.

Caesar repayed with coyns of his own stamp

Hirtius lib. 3. c. 1.

The Belouasians circumsuaded the *Romane*.

The Rheims foyled through their owne fault, with the losse of their Prince *Verisicus*.

to

The *Romans* learned by their owne instructions.

A cunning stratagem of the *Belouasians* against the *Romans*.

The night fauoured many attempts.

Caesar succeeded the deceit of the *Belouasians*, and therefore would not be too rash.

Suspition is the hinderer of the braueltions.

Many harmes done to the *Romans* by the *Gaules*.

Cunning oftentimes deceiues it selfe.

to their no little astonishment, which caused them to retire much sooner, then skirmishes of horsemen were wont to do; hauing lost *Verisicus*, Prince of the City, and cheefe Commander of the horsemen. This shewed no simpleness in the *Gaules*, but meere quaint cunning, learned of the *Romans*.

In the very same place, *Hirtius* declarerh the like cunning stratagem; as that which *Hannibal* vied, to deceyne *Fabius*. The *Belouasians* (saith he) perceiuing that the *Romans* were ready to pursue them, and that they could not (without danger) passe the night, or sojourn longer where they were: they deliuered (by Oath) from hand to hand, the Faggots and small bushes whereon they used to sit, and whereof they had great store in the field, all which they placed before their Army: and at the ending of day-light (vpon a fire suddenly giuen) they set them all on fire. So the flame, which followed it selfe in great length, immediately hindered, that the enemy could not discover their Forces: and which being doone, the *Gaules* very speedily withdrewd themselves. *Caesar*, albeit he could not perceine that the enemy was gone, in regard of the fire (made before them: yet notwithstanding suspecting that they had done this deuice, so the end that they might flye, caused his Legions to march on, and sent out troopes of horsemen to pursue them. And yet, being mistrustful of some surprizall, & doubting lest the enemy might still lurke there, with intent to allure the *Romans* to some disadvantage, hee marched on the more aduiscely. The horsemen, fearing to enter the smoke, and if any one (by ouermuch forwardnes) did enter, he could not see any thing before or behind him: grew all suspicious of some secret ambush, & so gaue leysure to the *Belouasians* to retire thence. Thus the enemy, by means of a flight (full of feare & craft) hauing marched about ten miles of the country, without sustaining the least losse, seated their campe in a very strong place.

Oftentimes thenceforward, & by many ambushes both of horse & foot, they did great damages to the *Romans*, in their wandering abroad, stealing and foraging: whereby it should appeare, that these attempts fauoured rather of a Punick spirit then of a Gaulish. And yet neuertheless, when all came to al (as we vsed to say): they were surprized by the hands of their matters, & by the selfe same deceits & subtil-

ties which they had learned of *Caesar*. And to the end it might bee noted, that the *Gaules* had no more cunning or craft then what they learned of the *Romans*: the *Heluetians* (as *Orsius* writeth in his first booke) surprized the Consul *Caesius*, with all his army, by an ambuscado. But I haue concluded with my selfe, not to omit one manner of ambushing, which was the most maruellous of all those that euer I read of, or heard reported; whereby the *Prætor Posthumus* was ouerthrowne of the Boian *Gaules*, as *Titus Livius* reporteth in his 33. booke.

While matters went on in these doubt and uncertainties, tidings came of another losse, according as fortune (in that yeare) still re-charged one vpon another. And these were the Newes, that *Lucius Posthumus*, designed Consul, was ouercome in *Gaule*, both he and his Armie. There was a verie great Forrest, which the *Gaules* called *Liua*, thorough which Forrest, he was to passe his Army. The *Gaules*, on both sides of the passage, had cut and hewne the Trees of the Forrest in such sort; that (yet notwithstanding) they parted not from the trunk or bodie, but must endure hard thrusting and enforcement, before they could possibly get the to fall.

Posthumus had two *Romane* Legions, and had leuyed for many people, allied vnto the *Romans*, that hee brought into the enemies Country, well nere the number of five and twenty thousand men of Warre. The *Gaules*, who were ambushed in the Forrest, when the Armie was entered within the VVood; threw downe the aforesaid hewne vnder-growing branches, which were apted for the present purpose; that falling still thickly one vpon another, without any possible means of restraining them, they ouer-turned (pell-mell) both Men and Horses, in such manner, that (very hardly, and with much paines taking) tenne men of them escaped. For the greater part were slaine, by the falling of the huge branches and armes of Trees on them; and the Armed *Gauls*, that held possession of all the VVood, put the rest vnto death, vvhoe were not a little affrighted at this so strange misadventure. Verie few (of so great a number) were taken; who in going to the bridge of the riuer,

Orsius lib. 6. cap. 4.

The *Prætor Posthumus* vanquished by the *Gaules*. *Tit. Livius* lib. 33. cap. 4.

The manner how *Posthumus* was ouerthrowne by the Boians.

A stratageme effectually performed.

A strange confusion on this sodaine.

D; were

were impeached by the enemy, who formerly had gotten the mastery thereof. This is all that *Titus Livius* hath written, concerning this notable accident to the Gaules.

CHAP. IX.

In what manner the Gaules fortified their Cities and Townes; and what Engines they employed for their owne defence.

After what manner the Gaules fortified their Townes and Cities.



VT this is enough already spoken, concerning the manner of behaviour among the Gaules, as well in ranged battails, as in ambuscadoes:

it remaineth now to speak, how they fortified their Cities and Townes, and contrarywise, how they were besieged. How was it then that the Gaules strengthened and fortified their Townes, and what Engines had they whereby to defend themselves? There neede no wonderment bee made, at the fortification of the *Morini*, *Nervians*, *Menapians*, *Aduaticans*, and *Eburones*, because they had no Townes at all. And thence ensued it, that the *Aduaticans* marvelled so strangely, to beholde the warlike Engines of the Romans; whereof it is thus written in the second Booke. Being fortified with a rampier of twelue foote high, which had fiftene thousand Towers and strong Bastils nere to each other; the Romans kept themselves within that Fort. Afterward, when the trailes and platformes were readie prepared, mounted aloft, and a Tower to be raised some long distance off: at the beginning of these vnwonted workes, the Gaules beganne to laugh on their walles, and lowdly to mocke at them, maruelling what they did undertake so farre off, and with so huge an Engine, or how it should bee possible, that the hands and strength of men (especially of so meane stature) could promise any hope to themselves, of comming nere to their walles, with a Tower of so great a composition. But when they (soone after) perceyued, that this mighty frame mooued from place to place, and approached nere vnto they

walles: being astonied at a matter of such nouelty, and fight vnaccustomed; they sent their Ambassadors vnto *Caesar*, to entreate peace; who answered them, That they must thinke, that the Romans neuer made any warre, without the speciall fauour of the Goddess: seeing they could aduance (and in foorth a while) an Engine of such height, to fight both farre off, and nere at hand; and therefore they should submit themselves, and all their goods to his mercy. Thus spake *Caesar*. It would require so much speech (saith *Cicero* in his second Tusculanes) concerning the new fouldier, & the old: that if wee make comparison of one that hath not bene exercised with him which is tried and skilfull; he will appeare no otherwise, then meere as a woman. All which notwithstanding, the very selfsame Gaule, being instructed in the Discipline of *Caesar*, seemed as a God to another Gaule, that neuer had knowledge in that Art.

But let vs leaue these Belgians which dwelt so farre off, and come vnto such as were more ciuillized, as the *Suessones*, and the *Belouacans*. The *Suessones* (saith *Caesar* in his second booke) when as the Treilles were prepared against *Nouiodunum*, one of their cheefe Townes, and that the platforme was mounted together vnto the Treilles: as men amazed at so great an enterprise, and such strange workes, which the Gaules had neuer seene or heard of, yet so speedily performed by the *Romans*; they sent their Ambassadors toward *Caesar*, to entreate that they might yeeld themselves. The *Belouacans* also, hauing not (as yet) seen such Engines, vnder which Townes were battered, but onely hearing report made of them, surrendered the Towne of *Bratupantium*. Wherefore, if the Gaules (as *Caesar* affirmeth) had neuer either seene or heard speech of such instruments, vntill that verie time: why then should we make any maruelling, That the Gaules, who had not yet learned such cunning, were conquered by other Gaules, that had knowledge in them? Now, whether this place in *Caesar*, which treateth of the Belgians, was purposely written, or (at the least) may seeme not to bee written according vnto truth, there be the question remaineth. For, the Gaules made their

Anballad sent by the Gaules to Caesar, and his answer to them.

Cicero in *Tus.*

Concerning the old & new soldier.

Of the *Suessones* and *Belouacans*.

Tal. Caesar in *Com. lib. 2.*

Engine to batter Cities and Townes withall.

A doubt concerning the passage in *Caesar*.

How the Gaules used to make their Towne-walles.

Tal. Caesar in *Com. lib. 7.*

These walles were the strongest defense, that the Gaules then had about their Cities and Townes.

Concerning the old & new soldier.

Of the *Suessones* and *Belouacans*.

Tal. Caesar in *Com. lib. 2.*

A reason of their order in building, & what thickness their walles contained.

All the Gaules were not ignorant in fortifying their Townes.

Marcellus Crassus besieged the Samnite Gaules.

their walles with strong beames of wood, which were not planted vp on one endes; but couched downe, & ioined together, with spaces of earth betweene each two beames, whereof *Caesar* speaketh thus in his seventh booke. All the walles (saith he) of the Gaules, were (well nere) made after this manner. They lay beames of wood strait out along on the ground, and followed after fill in the same order, making equall distance betweene them, about the space of two foote in breadth. These beames or platts, as some terme them, were reuced and bound within, with strong forced earth; and the equall distances (whereof we haue spoken) were filled vp with great stones, which fronted the wall forward. After that this rowe was all along thus ranged and ordered; another like frame was laid thereon, after the same manner; yet so, that the beames betweene both, did guard and keepe the maine Timber from touching each other. And being distanced allo by the selfe-same space; they were knit and shut fast together, by great stones cast in betweene them. And so, consequently, all the whole worke shaped it selfe in this manner, euen till the Wall was perfected to a reasonable height.

Now, concerning this kinde of building,ouer and beside, that it was no way mislapp, by the order kept in the leueling, and fitting both the beames & stones aptly to each other: euen so it was greatly commodious, in seruing for the defence of their Townes. For the stones were apt and proper, to impeach the force of fire, and the beames and other matter, brake and resisted the blowes of battery. Because, they being bound together inwardly, and knit to the Timber beames running all along, containing (for the most part) in thickness, the measure of forty foote; could (by no means) be forced to sinke, or be otherwise dismembred. Hereby then it may appeare, that the Gaules knew some-what for the fortification of their Cities and Townes; yea, and how to defend themselves also, by such means as were vsed in the warres.

In the third yeare of the warre in Gaul, the *Sintone* Aquitaines were besieged by *Crassus* and his men, both with Treilles and Towers: but they resisted him valiantly, one while, by making faillies out vp-on them, another while, by vndermining,

till they came to the great planted platforme, which formerly had bene provided, by means of the treilles. To which vndermining (saith *Caesar*) the Aquitains were well inured: because they had Mines of Copper and Brasse in many places. So much *Caesar* wrote, approving, that the Aquitains knew well enough how to defend a Towne or City; because they had Copper Mines, which made them therein very skilfull. It is saide also, that the Celtes (for the same cause) knew well how to defend themselves at the siege of *Anaricum*: because they had very deep Mines of Iron in their Country. For *Anaricum* being couragiously assailed by the Romans, the Gaules found out all sorts of inuentions (as *Caesar* saith in his seventh Booke) whereby to giue impeachment to the most singular enterprises of the *Romane* Soldiers: as hauing (by naturall inclination) a very ingenious and subtle spirit, apt to follow and counterfeite all things, and whatsoever they sawe done by others.

First, for the *Romane* Falx, they could overthrow it by a snare or grinne, and when it was remounted, they would againe hurle it downe with their Engines. They covered all their walles with towers made of skinned, and equalled the height of those towers made by the Romans, with masts made in their owne turrets. In making their faillies abroad; either they would throw fires into the platforme; or suddenly surprize the amazed Romans; or by vndermining, overthrow the maine fortification. Whereunto (indeede) they were the more apt and ready; because they had great yron Mines in their Country, and knew (beside) all kinde of deluding into the ground. By leauing their Mines open, they impeached and tardyed the *Romane* preparations: mingling fire with pitch and other matter, made apt to burne wherefoeuer it fell, and tumbling downe great stones also, to keepe them from approaching nere to their walles. By these cited places it appeareth evidently, that the Gaules had attained vnto some indifferent knowledge, how and which way to defend a City: but to speak truly, it was more through their continual exercise in their Mines, then by any cunning they had learned in the art Military.

Tal. Caesar in *Com. lib. 7.*

The Celtes skilful in their owne defence.

The natural inclination of the Celts.

Of the *Romane* engine Falx.

The exercises of the Celts against the Romans, in all their attempts of war against them.

Working in the Mines vnder ground, made the Celts ready in defending themselves.

And

The words of Vercingetorix at the taking of Avaricum.

Iul. Cesar in Commens. Lib. 7

The constancy of the Gaules in the defence of their Cities & Townes.

* People that inhabited Denmark and Norway. * People of Germany, call Allemaignes

Some others rearme him Critognatus.

Other Gaules mistook this counsell, yet yielded it fit in cases of extremity.

The Gaules were more full of courage than discipline.

And this is that whereof *Vercingetorix* complained, comforting the Gaules at the taking of *Avaricum*. That the Romans had not wonne the victory, either by vertue or battaile: but by a kinde of science and cunning, which they had in the battning downe of Townes, wherein the Gaules had no knowledge. By which words, that place of *Cesar* which concerned all the Gaules in general, seemeth to be true: That the Gaules had never seene, or heard any report, of *Plat-formes*, *Trelles*, nor *Towers*. But bee it so, that the ancient Gaules never knew any such Art, as the Romans did; yet there was no want of courage in them. For, it is a matter very marvellous, which *Cesar* himselfe speaketh of them in his *seaventh Booke*, in remembering their constancy, for guard and defence of their Cities and Townes.

The Gaules, in the warres of the * *Cimbrians* and * *Teutones*, being wholly constrained to retire themselves into such places as were strongest, and being there also oppressed with great famine & lacke of victuals: they did yet maintaine their lives by feeding on the bodies of such, as both appeared, and were not able indeed to do any further service in the warre, & would (by no means) yeeld to their enemies.

Critognatus, who was a man of great ranke among the *Aruernians*, held a verie strong opinion in counsell, that it was good to put the same in practise for the defence of *Alexia*; and although hee had made no vse thereof before, yet hee earnestly maintained the fitnessse and necessity thereof, onely for liberty, and that it was worthy to bee left (as a memorable custome to posterity. This opinion helde such account amongst the other Gaules, that they were of the mind, to assay all other means whatsoever, then to doe according as *Critognatus* had aduised. And yet notwithstanding, if there wer such vrgent necessity, and ayde tardied too late in coming; that it was most behouefull to credit his iudgement, rather then to yeeld, or listen to peace-making, vpon enforced or violent composition. Such was the courage of the ancient Gaules.

Now this kinde of defence, which they vsed for safeguarding their townes, though it proceeded from no meane Vertue in them, yet it did not relish of any great

discipline. In what manner also they assailed Townes, was without any craft or subtle device. For they neuer help themselves, either by *Platformes*, *Rampiers*, *Trelles*, or *Towers*, as it is described in the second booke. The Gaules and the Belgians, had both one manner of assailing Cities, to wit *Cesar*. For after they had ringed (after the order of crowding together) a great number of men about the Town; they would hurle heaps of stones vp on the wall, vntill they had left it naked of men. Then, winding and turning, according as occasion serued, they approached to the gates, and vndermined the walles. Thus then their whole manner of making war in places fortified with rampiers and ditches, doth giue vs to vnderstand, that the heart and courage of the Gaules was very great; and yet very little or no discipline at all vied amongst them. Let this then suffice, to acquaint ye with the order of their land seruice.

CHAP. X.

Of the seruice on the Sea, or other waters, vsed by the Gaules: And what Ships and Vessels they had among them. Also, into what farre remote countries they extended their name.



Concerning that vvch they performed on the Sea, as it is described in the warres against the Brittaines and * *Pe- netes*, it appeareth to taste of vertue, although it was simple, and without any great cunning. *Cesar* describeth it in all parts, with the matter and manner of such ships or vessels, as the Gaules then vsed, speaking thus. Their Ships were made and armed in this manner. The keeles of them were much larger then those of the Romanes Ships: to the end, that they might the more easily sustaine the cbbing and flowing of the Sea. Their Prowers were highly rayfed, and their Poupes also: because they were the more apt to hinder the power of great Waues and Tempests. All their Shippes were made of Oake, to indure all iniury and violence that could happen. The binkes were made of timber beames, about a foote in thickenesse: and they

Iul. Cesar in Com. lib. 2.

In what manner the Gaules assailed their Cities and Townes.

Cesars command for imployment of his Gallies.

* People now called Venetians in little Britain

Iulius Cesar in Com. lib.

A description of the Gaules ships, which they had then in vse.

they were toyed or fastened together with iron mauls of great bignesse. Their Anchors (in stead of Cables) were made fast with chaines of iron: and for want of other sailes, they made vse of skimmes and hides, which were soft and pliable with currying and parring: And either through the want of tempe, or knowledge how to vse it (which is the more likely) they imagined, that if they used other sailes, they could not resist so manie tempests of the Ocean, and such impetuous winds as daily arise, neither so commodiously convey such great burthens, as they carried in their vessels.

In another passage of the fourth booke he sheweth, that the Gallies, whereof hee himselfe made Rruice, both against the Brittaines and the Venetes, had not bene vied on the Ocean, vntill that instant time. For, the Romanes being somewhat hardly pressed by the Britains, on the shore of the Ocean; *Cesar* commanded, that the gallies (which these poor barbarous people were not wont to see, & which could be managed most readily in any buisines) should be set apart distant from the other ships, and that they should be moued by the strength of Oares: to the end, that they might be ranged against the flanke of the enemy, which was discovered; and whence they might repulse and recoil the enemy by the dint of their weapons, and Engines of warre, vvch auailed the Romanes very greatly. For the ignorant people, being amazed at the fashion of those vessels, and the moouing of their Oares, as also the manner of their vnaccustomed Engines, stayed their proceedings, and (soone after) retired.

Thus farre we haue heard the ancient fashions and behaviour which the Gaules vied in actions of warre, and vvch haue bene collected out of many places declaring them to be much greater in naturall strength, then in the course of Martiall discipline. Whereby we may perceiue (in regard that their vvares were managed by vertue, & not by any flights, cunning, or trumperys) they were the maisters of all or most nations. For they pursued their purpose, euen as Geographers were wont to doe, to make all the Earth habitable, euen from the Suns setting, so farre as his rising. Brittain, Spaine, Italy, Germany, Illyria, Pannonia, Greece, Macedonia, yea, Asia it selfe, can declare the

Empire of the Gaules. For Brittain, which was along the sea coast (as *Cesar* faith in his first booke) had bene conquered by them that passed from Belgia, going thither for pillage, and to make warre; and they named themselves according to all the Cities titles from whence they issued, and hauing made warre there, they inhabited, and began to plough and husband the grounds. VVhat shall we say of * *Celiberia*? Doth it not deliuer sufficient testimony, that Spaine was subdued by them? For, to what purpose else should *Lucane* lay?

The Celts departing from the ancient Gauls, Renowned their name as Saxons as Ibernia.

But it may be, that Italy came not vnder the gouernment of the Gaules: Yea, that it did soundly, and at the same time when *Tarquinius Priscus* reigned. The *Ituriges*, *Arernians*, *Sennones*, *Heduanes*, *Ambarrius*, *Carnutes*, and *Auleres*, vnder conduct of the *Sollumians*, *Boians*, & * *Ingones*, preuailed so farre, that that Italy, which reacheth along fro the Alps, coasting still to the *Apennines*, and so farre on as the riuer *Rubicon*, became Gaule. And finally, after that they had ouerthrowne the Romanes seere to *Alba*, they tooke Rome and burned it; and hauing agreed for a thousand pounds of gold, they folde the Capitoll (which they kept besiedged) to the rest of the Romanes which were enclosed therein. And hath not furious Germany borne the yoke of Gaule? In elder times (faith *Cesar* in his sixte Booke) the Gaules excelled the Germanes in vertue. For the *Polce* and *Tell of ages*, vnder the conduct of *Sigauelus*, possessed themselves of the most fertile places in Germanie, euen those which were nearest to the Forrest *Herernia*, as *Titus Linius* also relateth.

Tacitus maintaineth, that the Colonies of the *Heluetians* & *Boians* were brought into the same place. But those Gaules, the conquerors of Germany, being made bold and hardy, by such simplicity in diet as the Germanes vsed, extended themselves much further, and the renoune of they name, went (with great honor) thorough *Illyria*, *Pannonia*, *Greece*, *Macedonia*, *Thrace*, and *Asia*, according as *Iulius* (following *Tragus*) declareth more at large. And the name

Iul. Cesar in Com. lib. 5.

* What people defended of the Celtes, that came out of France, and placed themselves by the river Iberus.

Italy subdued vnto the Gaules power in the time of *Tarquinius Priscus*.

* People of Langres in France.

Rome surprised and burnt by the Gaules

Iul. Cesar in Com. lib. 6.

People of Naibone, beyond Rhodanus wellward now called Languedoc, towards the Pyrenean mountains.

Spared by the Gaules courage.

Kings com-
pelled to buy
their peace of
the Gaules.

Ptolemy slain
by the Gaules

The Temple
of Apollo sac-
ced by them.

Cruel people
of Scythia in
Europe, East-
ward by the
sea side.

People of
Mediterrane-
ous Da-
nubius and
Aemius.
Titus Livius in
lib. 48. cap. 9.

People of
Gauls, that
did win part
of Paphlago-
nia & Macedonia

People that
sometimes we
call Myrians.
A Region in
Greece, be-
tweene Caria
and Eolia.
A river run-
ning out of
Taurus, and
running thro-
ugh Cappadocia.

War guided
by vertue, and
no guile.

name of the Gaules was so much feared, that Kings (not constrained, but on their own meer motion and good will) bought their peace of them, with great summes of money.

Being conducted by *Belgus*, they slew *Ptolemy*, King of Macedon. Led by *Brennus*, as making small account of the spoils of men; they sacked the Temple of *Apollo*, which was in Delphos. Afterward, a new Asmie of the fame Gaules, which were dwelling in Germanie, having formerly driven in rowte the *Gotes* and *Triballes*, and inforced *Antigonius*, King of Macedon, to forsake the Field: thence they passed on into Asia, where they made such a dreadfull terrour (as *Titus Livius*, the great blamer of the Gaules name, saith in his eight and forty booke) amongst all the Nations, which were on this side the Mountaine *Taurus*, that not only they among whom they came, but such with whom they neuer were (both neere and farre off) did ranke themselves altogether vnder their obedience and subjection.

Not long after, because they consisted of three Nations, to witte, *Tolistoboges*, *Trocmes*, and *Tectosages*, they divided Asia into three parts, to the end, that each Nation might hold his share tributary to himselfe. The coast of the *Hellepont* was assigned to the *Trocmes*. The *Tolistoboges* had the *Æolides* and *Ionis* for their part. The *Tectosages* had the Countrey which was in the middle of Asia, and raised all their souldiers pay, at the charge of that whole Asia, which was on this side *Taurus*, making their abode neere to the river *Halys*. And their name was so much feared (in regard of their great number) that they became (afterward) a people of no meane parentage: inasmuch, that the Kingdoms of Syria refused not to pay them *Wages*. Thus hath *Titus Livius*, written, concerning the entrance of the Gaules into Greece and Asia. Whereby, I have observed, that, in regard (as I have formerly sayde) their warres were managed by vertue, and no craft or guile: the due commendation of the Gaules valiancie, was iustly comprized within those limites and Countreys, as the Sunne observed his course, from his rising, to his fall.

But in following time, thorow lacke

of Military Discipline, or else (much rather) by reason of discorde, which greiv among themselves, the *Cenomanians*, hauing difference with the *Togates*, the *Masfilians* with the *Braccates*, and *Medians* with the *Comates*: they help the Romans, to bring their owne Countrey into thraldome; betraying all Gaule, to subiect it to the Romane Empire. And that which is much more, to the end, that in this case we may more admire the Gaules Vertue, they being well instructed in the Art Military, and all together having encountered *Cæsar*, who was a most excellent Maister in actions of warre; within the space of foure yeares, ouerthrew the whole Romane Empire, which had led it selfe by so many warres, and multiplicity of ages. For herein *Cæsar* had the consent of the Gaules, onely against whom, (as *Propertius* prophesied) not all the inhabitable world knew how to make resistance: yet, the only consent (I say) of the Gaules, and Gaule onely, stood against all the other Provinces of so great and mightie an Empire. Why then, thou Man of Gaule, thou deseruest his best honour for this Vertue; for encreasing the dignitie and glorie of thy Countrey, and not the tyrannie of a stranger: Thou (euen of thy selfe) hast subdued Italy, Spaine, Greece, Egypt, Asia, Affrica, yea, and Spaine againe: in briefe, thou hast conquered the whole Empire of the Romane people.

But this may seeme sufficient (if not too much) to be spoken concerning their man-hood and valour: Now it is fitt time to speake of their prudence and wisdom.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Learning and wisdom of the Gaules: Of the disciplines instructed by their Druides or Priests, to the younger people. Also of their Bards, Poets, Sarronides, Eubages and profession of Languages.

THE study of disciplines (whereby the iudgment of man maketh it self most firme, for the better entertainment of wisdom) was most notable among the an-
cient

People of
Galicia Cital-
pina.

Gaul betrayed
& subiect to
the Romane
Empire.

The Romane
Empire ouer-
throwing in
4. yeeres, only
by the valour
of the Gaules.

Conquests of
the Gaules
nation in the
world.

Of the wis-
dom and learn-
ing vied
amongst the
Gaules.

Certain learned
Priests in
Gaule, who
were in such
estimation,
that the de-
signing of
concomities
was commit-
ted to them.
It is supposed,
that they first
came out of
the Ile of Bri-
taine.

The Gaules
capable of all
disciplines.
14. C. in Com-
ment lib. 7.

Diodes in lib. 4

Strabo in li. 11.
cap. 1.

Old Father
Noah re-esta-
blished the
world.

Pluto the
God of riches
Demigod.

Berosus, lib. 1

The courses
of times noted
by number of
nights, & not
of dayes.

cient Gaules. The *Druides*, or *Druides*, made profession in each of those Disciplines. First of all, *Cæsar* saith, they would haue men to beleue, that their soules could not dye; but after death they passed from one body to another. And they were of opinion, that this beleefe served greatly for an encouragement to vertue; when men held the feare of death in contempt. Moreover, they discovered verie many things which they taught to youth: concerning the *Starrs*, and their motion; of the greatness of the world, & the earth; of the Nature of things; of the might and power of the immortal Gods. *Cæsar* writeth, of the Learning of the Gaules; but in few words, and sleighly; therefore we must enquire after more ample relation. That the Gaules had a capable understanding of all disciplines, *Cæsar* hath affirmed in his euenth booke, by that which we haue already alledged. They are a kinde of people of very great understanding, and who are most apt to follow and remember all things which can be taught them. And *Diodes* writeth thus. Although their speech be somewhat obscure and doubtful, yet are they not any such men, as do estrange themselves from Learning. Also *Strabo* agreeth there-with, saying, The Gaules are easily guided to learn such things as may do them service, because they addit themselves to Arts and Disciplines.

From the beginning of the world, which Father *Noah* re-established; all sortes of Disciplines were taught to such spirits, as appeared to be desirous of them. For, according to *Berosus*, if that which now 2. dayes is generally read, be true: *Dk*, who was the first Author of the Gaules Nation, is said to be most famous for knowledge, and thereon was called *Semmothes*, or *Samoths*, and (after his name) such as made profession of Learning and knowledge, were termed *Semmotheans*, or *Samothsians*. But this place of *Cæsar* seemeth to confirme the history of *Berosus*. The Gaules (saith he) do report themselves to be descended of their father *Dis*; and say beside, that the *Druides* gave them that instruction. For this cause, they marked all the courses of times by number, not of dayes, but of nights; and that they kept such a custome, by obseruation of their birth daies, and so from the beginning of months and yeares; that still the day followed the

night. Now, concerning this point, that day alwayes ensued after night: the Germans held the same course, & made not their account by number of dayes; as we do (saith *Strabo*) but of nights, giving an apt terme therefore, and vied their allocations among themselves accordingly; as holding, that night was still the guide to day. It may bee, that this was a thing in vye to other people also, to take the beginning of the houres; from the instant of midnight.

But let vs come againe to Father *Dis*, and the *Semmotheans*, or *Samothsians*, whereof *Berosus* speaketh; with whom the opinion of *Utrahle* consenteth: for he writeth in his Magitian (according to *Zenocrus* reported) that *Philosophy* receiued originall from the *Semmotheans* of the Gaules. The same *Berosus* writeth, that *Sarron* the third King of Gaule, to restrain the wilde fiercenesse of the first men; established publicke Schooles of learning; but hereafter we shall speake more at large of the *Sarronides*. The fourth King was *Druid*, of whom came the *Druides*; & who were full of all things, as *Cæsar* affirmeth. The fifth King was *Bardus*, of whom we celebrate the honour, in speaking of Bards, Poets, and Orators. Thus then we perceiue the ancient professions of the Gaules disciplines, which maketh it selfe venerable, euen in the image of antiquity. *Marcellinus* in his fifth Booke, doth very neere agree heerewith, writing the Originall of the Gaules, where he saith, Those that haue anciently written, doubting the first originall of the Gaules, deduce their knowledge halfe full of trouble. But since then, *Timagenes* the Greeke, both out of diligence and ciuers Languages, collected such things as were unknown for the space of long time; to whom giving credit (all doubt & scruple taken away) we will deliuer the same notes distinctly and cleerely.

Some are of opinion, that the *Aborigines* were the first that had bene scene in these Countreys; and that they did name themselves *Celts*, after the name of a king whom they deerey affected; and *Gallates* (for the Greekes do call the Gaules so) after the name of his Mother. Others do affirme, that the *Dorians*, which followed ancient *Hercules*, inhabited the borders about the Ocean. The *Druides* recount (for a truth) that there was a certain part of

The Germans
held the same
obseruation
of accounting
by night.

Berosus, Ant. lib. 1

Strabo in lib. 11.
cap. 1.

In most, Claud.

The venerable
disciplines
of the Gaules
Marcell. in lib. 5

A great the-
orician of A-
lexandria, who
taught in
Pompeya's
house.

Ancient peo-
ple dwelling
in the Moun-
taines, whom
Saturn brought
into Italy.

b Galata, or
Galatae.

c Reported to
be a people of
Thrace.

Amos. de P^{re}terito.

Scrip. Brit. Cent. 1.

J. Balle scrip. Brit. Cent. 3. Two bloodie giants conque red by Hercules.

a People of Phoenia, a little country of Greece by the gulfe of the Hellespontus. b A Towne of Lucania, in the gulfe of the Peloponnesus. c The Citie Marfilius in France, which was famous for Learning in Athens.

The beginning of the study of Learning.

Berosus, an. J. 1.

Galatea got with childe by Hercules.

The Learning vied amongst the Ancient Gaules in those elder dayes.

of a people, which were Natives of the Countrey: but were chased and expelled from their dwellings by another people, in regard of their continuall warres, and thorow the inundations of the Sea, they landed on the hither Islands, and in the Countrey on this side the *Rhene*. Some also holde, that after the destruction of Troy, a small number of people which fled from the Greeks, wandering all about: came at last into this country, which till then was empty. But the inhabitants of this land (more then any thing els can) do assure this, which wee have also seene engraven in their Monuments: that *Hercules*, the son of *Amphitruus*, made all possible speede to rinate the cruell Tyrants *Gerion* and *Tauriscus*, one of which overawed *Spain*, and the other *Gallia*. After he had conquered them both, he had private knowledge of some women of noble race; by whom, he had many Children, that styled (by their owne name) all those places where they commanded.

It is likewise further maintained, that the *Phoenices* which lived in Asia, flying from the cruelty of *Harpagus*, Lieutenant to King *Cyrus*, betooke themselves to sea, and came into *Italy*; one part whereof, founded the Towne of *Velia*, and the other *Massilia* in *Phoenices*. Within some while after, when their forces were increased, they fortified a great number of Cities and Townes. But we must breake off this variety, which gladly would keep company with pleasing satiety. Afterwards, when these places were (by little and little) civilized, and reclaimed from rudeness by men: the study of learning (which is most commendable) began to appear in some splendour, by the *Bards*, *Embages*, and *Druides*.

Marcellinus reporteth this of *Hercules*, agreeing therein with *Berosus*. For *Berosus* saith, that *Galates* (by consent of her parents) was begotten with child by *Hercules*, at his returne out of *Spain*; and that of her was borne *Galata*, of whom the Gauls received their name *Galates*. Therefore, the antiquity of the Gaules Discipline and Learning, maketh it self known by these testimonies.

But in what Discipline and Learning (perhaps) thou wilt aske me? I answer, in Grammar, Rhetoricke, Logicke, Mathematicke, Physick, Theology. Grammar

instructed to reade, and frame Letters; and this Art was such from those times, when as the tongues were in their entire condition: and that the neighbouring strangers had not (as yet) corrupted them. For so *Plato* in his *Philebus* grounded the Greeke Grammar. Here (me thinks) I understand in this place, that which many good and learned spirits have questioned, to wit, what were the Letters of the Ancient Gaules? *Cæsar*, in his sixth booke confirmeth, that they were Greeke Letters. They thought (saith he) that it was ill done, to set down their disciplines in writing: whereas, that almost in all their other affairs, as well common as particular, they used the Greeke Letters. In this place, *Cæsar* speaketh not obscurely, but disertly and plainly; that the Gaules made use of the Greeke Letters, that is to say, these Characters α, β, γ, &c. He deliverech som proof hereof in the first Booke, that in the camp of the Heluetians, there were found little Table bookes, written with Greeke Letters. Most true it is, *Cæsar* calleth those Greeke Letters, which the Gaules then used: but I call them Gaul Letters, & will maintaine, that they never came out of Greece into Gaul; but on the contrary, that they went out of Gaul into Greece.

As concerning the man, who is sayde to be the first inuenter of Letters, verie great question had beene made thereof: and *Plinie* hath debated the matter by diversity of opinions. So that the inuention of Letters, is not proper or peculiar vnto any one Nation, according as hee thinketh, but (from all antiquity) they had bin vied. *Cadmus* (if the booke be true which is allowed to one named *Xenophon*) as is affirmed by som, was the first that brought Letters (to the number of sixteen) from *Phoenicia* into Greece, the which were verie like to the Characters of the *Galates* and *Maons*. Hereby may be coniectured, that Letters came from the *Galates* vnto the *Greekes*. Now, finding not only a verie likely coniecture, but a certaine proof also, by the report and account of Times; maintaining, that the discipline of the *Semnotheans*, or *Samotheans*, *Sarronides*, *Druides*, and *Bardes*, did flourish in Gaul for so many yeeres before *Cadmus* went into Greece: there neede no doubt to be made, but that the Gaules characters were in use in Gaul, for so many yeeres before

Plato in Philebo.

Of the letters of the ancient Gaules.

Cæsar in comment lib 6.

The Gaules vied Greeke Characters.

Greek letters found in the campe of the Heluetians. Int. Cæsar in Com. lib. 1.

Of him that was the first inuenter of Letters.

Cadmus reported for to bring Letters from Phoenicia into Greece, and to be the first that found out the calling of metalls.

The antiquity of the Gaules discipline.

Cadmus

Met. Varro in lib. 7. de Ling. Lat.

The demand of Crates the Greeke.

Arist. in lib. de Mag. success. lib. 2.

Strabo in lib 4. cap. 9.

The ancient famous Vniuersity of Marfilius in France.

Of whom the Gaules learned their doctrines.

Authors of found authority ought to be credited.

Whether the Gaules spoke Greeke or no.

And this is that, which *Varro* (in his fourteenth booke of the Latine tongue) maketh openly knowne. For *Crates* a Greeke, had formerly made a Grammarian question in Greece, demanding what was the reason why *Alphas* might not be called *Alphatos*? The other grammarian Greekes answered: These wordes are none of ours, but are wholly barbarian. In this place then the Greekes do plainly confesse, that these Letters were none of theirs. And, consenting hereunto, *Aristotle* confesseth to his Magitian (according as I have already sayde) That Philosophy received original from the *Semnotheans*, or *Samotheans* of the Celts. And last of all, that Gaul had bin the Mistress of all Greece.

I know very well, that *Strabo* speaketh of the Gaules, that they affected the Greekes: inasmuch, that whatsoever bargaines or conuention was made amongst them, they wrote thereof into Greeke, & that they adding themselves to the study of eloquence, & of Philosophy, as the Greekes did, kept in pay or wages, professors of the liberrall Artes, as also they did the like by Physicians. But *Strabo* wrote this of the *Massilians*, and of their neighbours, at such time as *Tiberius* held the Empire, and when the great Lords of Rome (as himselfe writeth) caused their children to bee sent no more to Athens, then they did to *Marfilius*, there to follow their studious exercise. It must needs then be very certaine, that we learned the Gaules doctrine of *Dio*, *Samothes*, *Sarron*, *Druides*, *Bardus*, and those other ancient masters, when Greece did not so much as one ly thinke on Letters.

Some may conceit, that we speak of Paradoxes, against all reason: but I cannot comprehend, why such men as have heard so many Authors speake, that carry credite and authority (among all) in other things, should reproach theyr praises of their owne Countrey, by a peruerse opinion of iudgement. But it may bee, that al these things do serue vs to no purpose, in regard that (concerning this matter) wee may be pressed with nouell Arguments: because the Gaules (as somewhat sayd) did speake Greeke, therefore did they make use also of Greeke Letters. But let me much rather tel them, that in & from the time of *Cæsar*, the Gaules did not so vnderstand the Greeke tongue, that they

could speak it in any mean measure. Herein I haue *Cæsar* for my warrant; for thus he writeth in his fifth Booke. Wee persuaded so farre (saith hee) with one of the Gaules horsemen, only by powerfull promises: that he undertooke to carry a Letter to *Cicero*, which he had written in Greeke Characters, to the end, that if it happened into the enemies hand, they might not know our secrets. *Cæsar* speaking this, I conclude thereby, that the enemies of *Cæsar* and the Gaules, vnderstood not a letter written in Greeke, nor the language thereof.

And hee that will looke a little neerer, cannot probably proue to himselfe (though some others hold it for most certain) that the popular Gaules vnderstood any thing in that language: but that the chiefe and principall Heads of each Commonweale knew the Greeke tongue, as now adayes they do the Latine. I say moreover, that whatsoever maketh heerefull obsecration, will finde, that this cannot any way bee proued for truth. Because it is most certaine, that in so great an army of enemies, there must needs be some men of marke, of Townes good store. Nay, that which is more, I haue learned of *Cæsar* himselfe, that the worthy *Druides*, who were the masters and Doctors of the Gaules youth, did not know the Greeke tongue. For *Dimitrius*, one of the *Hedunians*, according to the testimony of *Cicero*, was the most learned man amongst the Gaule *Druides*. The great affection in this *Dimitrius*, towards the Romane people, the extraordinary good will which they bare vnto him, the singular fealty, iustice, temperance (as appeareth in the first booke) in this man, was very well knowne vnto *Cæsar*. To *Cæsar* I say, who vnderstood the Greeke tongue sufficiently, and had a desire to communicate secretly (for feare lest any thing should be discovered) with *Dimitrius*, concerning his brother *Dumetrix*, who was suspected that hee would betray *Cæsar* to his enemies.

Well then, if *Dimitrius* had vnderstood the Greeke tongue, as well as *Cæsar* did: could not the one haue holpen the other with priuate instructions, in whatsoever they would haue had imparted? But (concerning to serue his turne by ordinary interpreters (as it appeareth in the xviij. fame first Booke) *Cæsar* spake with *Dimitrius*, by the means of *Valerius*, Prince of a

Int. Cæsar in Com. lib. 5.

A Letter carried by a Gaule to Cicero.

That the popular Gaules vnderstood not Greeke.

The Druides knew not the Greeke tongue.

Dimitrius the learned man of the Druides Gaules.

Cæsar sufficiently vnderstood the Greeke tongue.

Cæsar seem'd ordinarily interpreter. Int. Cæsar in comment lib. 5.

E. Count.

Countrey in Gaule. Then there is no appearance, that *Dimitrius* (although hee was one of the principall *Driders*) did vnderstand the Greeke tongue, or that it was any way knowne to the Gaules.

Here I may be demanded, what was the speech of the Ancient Gaules, seeing it was not Greeke? I may, and must answer, that it was Gaulish; but to render a certaine reply, where the Language of the Gaules hath bene preferred, it requireth the Diuination of a Pythian *Apollon*. Because it is sufficiently knowne, that the Gaules haue had time long enough, whereby to vnclearne and loofe their owne Native tongue. For not onely Lawes, but the Romane Legions established in Gaule, constrained the Gaules to speake the Romane tongue. And, according as *Plato* sayth: *Ordinarily all other Citizens do follow the manners of them that command them.* Therefore, the Romane Lawier, and the Romane Warriour, did quite abolish and extinguish the Gaules Language.

Moreover, the Emperours of Rome, appointed wages vnto such men, as made publique profession of teaching the Latine tongue. So that, to this very day, the bookes written in this corrupted tongue, some whereof wee haue yet to shew, are vulgarly called *Romaine*, and not *Gaulish*.

Some in debating this matter, are of opinion, that the Language of the *Swisses*, that hold (at this day) the dwelling of the *Heluetians* are they that speake the ancient Gaulish tongue. But we know well enough, that these *Swisses* were not the true Gaules of the Country, neither are: considering, that the ancient *Heluetians* (thus vpper by *Cæsar* within their owne mountaines) were afterward expelled thence (according to *Entropius*) by the *Quades*; and finally, the *Quades* themselves, thrust out by the *Allemaignes*. At length the **Pites*, a people amongst the Saxons, possessed themselves of the *Heluetians* Countrey; whereupon the *Suitois* (that is to say) *Swisses*, were called, according to the opinion of *Beatus Rhennus*, by a Name somewhat nere vnto the *Vitols*.

Others are of the minde, that the Language which the *Germanes* now adays speake, is that of the ancient Gaules, and

take *S. Hierom* for their Authour, who giueth assurance, that in his time the *Gaules* or *Galatians* of *Asia*, spake the same language which the *Tremirians* (dwelling on the *Rhine*) now doe. But *Cæsar* seemeth to auouch the contrary, writing in his first Booke, that *Ariouistus* King of the *Germanes*, by long vse (as some haue conceived by this place) of fourteen yeeres, did speake the Gaulish tongue. And in the time of *Saint Hierome*, there were other *Tremirians* in *Gaule*, that were subiects to the Romane Empire: and now in our time also, there are other that speake the same speech, as the other *Germanes* doe.

There remaineth yet another opinion amongst learned men, who do iudge, that the language of the ancient *Gaules*, is that which was vsed in *Gaule Armorica*, that is *Britaine* at this day. But they do not hold the French History to be true, that makes the *Britaines* to come out of the Isle of *Britaine*, into *Gaule Armorica*: considering, that *Cæsar* (as I haue already saide) maketh great *Britaine* it selfe to be a Colonie of the *Gaules*, and that *Strabo* maketh mention of a Towne or Citie, called *Britaine*, which is in *America*; and *Pliny* (though verie confusedly) numbereth the *Britaines* in *Gaule*; and *Cornelius Tacitus* in the life of *Agricola* writeth, That the nextest shores of the *Ile* were impeached by the *Gaules*, & that their language was but little different. Finally, the learned men of this Isle, imagined (for this reason) that the *Welshmen* of England, had some conuiniene in speech with our *Britaines*. Therefore this is the only opinion, which (as yet) I know, to holde any good reason, or deferring to be approved. And this is the Grammar of the *Gaules*, both in writing and speech.

But what was that of the *Britaines*, and that of the *Germanes*? The Discipline of the *Gaules* (saith *Cæsar*) was first invented in great *Britaine*, as hath bene esteemed: and from thence transported into *Gaule*. And at this day, such as would know it most diligently, they go thither (oftentimes) to learne it. This passage sheweth sufficiently, that the discipline betweene the *Britaines* and *Gaules*, was al one. If we vnderstand also, that *Cæsar* maketh great *Britaine* as descended of the *Gaules*, & that they of the *Britaines* were most human which were *Gauls*, it

In *Cæsar* in comment. lib. 1.

Ariouistus, King of the Germanes.

Gaule Armorica, now call Britaine.

Great Britain affirmed by Cæsar to be a Colony of the Gaules.

Plin in lib. 3. c. 12. & Tacitus in lib. 2. cap. 1.

Of the Welshmen of England.

O. the discipline of the Britains and Germanes.

In *Cæsar* in comment. lib. 1.

The discipline of the Britains and Gaules al one.

Of the Germanes, Cornelius Tacitus, ubi supra.

Æneus Sylvius concerning the Germanes, and their former barbarities.

it is verily to be credited, that Discipline parted from Gaule, to come thither. This place may suffice generally, for al the doctrine of the Britaines.

Concerning the *Germanes*, there is scarcely any one word. The men and Women (saith *Tacitus*) were equally ignorant in the secrets of Letters. The *Germanes* then wholly, had not any Letters or Disciplines. *Æneus Sylvius* giueth assurance, that in the time of *Adrian*, civility and Letters came into Germany. The *Germanes* themselves do hold, that it is not yet eight hundred yeeres, since their language began to be written; and that (with Christian Religion) the *Muls* came into Germany, where both in publique Schooles, and by learned professors, they haue prospered, that the nation (which all Nations else had formerly in detestation for savage barbarousnes) hath since then, in all civility, in all gentleness and humanity of all disciplines, conferred with the most learned and best lettered Nations whatsoever, and for the priority in this commendation.

But what were the studies of the Rhetorick *Gaules*? Assuredly, they were very highly and honourably esteemed: yet more for a tested speech, consisting of measure, then in prose. The *Gaules* had (saith *Diodorus* in his first Booke) Poets of melodie, which they called *Bards*. These men, with a Musickall instrument, as with the Lyre or Harpe, sang some mens praises, and others imperfections. He further sheweth in the same place, that Poets were in such reuerend respect amongst them, that when Armies were in ranged battaile, hauing their Swordes and Bowes ready drawne, and approaching to finite one another: not onely friends, but meere enemies (if these men once did steppe betweene them) were faine to make an end of all fighting. In like manner, amongst the most savage Barbarians, anger was compelled to yeelde to wisdom, and Mars gladly reuerenced the Muses. Likewise, *Strabo* in his fourth Booke, speaketh of the *Bard*s, as being Poets, and singers of praises. The Poet *Lucane* also, in the first of his *Pharsalia*, speaketh thus in commendation of the Gaulish Poets.

You Poets, Bards, that of those valiant souls, Dying in warres, do Carroll their renowne, Know how to eternize to perpetual worlds Their endless praise: Many sweet songs you sing.

Moreover, *Marcellinus* in his first Booke, speaking of the *Gaules*, hath these words: The Bards sing to the Harp, which they touched very pleasingly: declaring the famous actes of illustrious men, their Songs being composed in heroycall verses. The *Romaines* followed this example of the *Bard*s, and they (according as *Cato* hath written in his Booke of Originals) had a custome to sing at banquets, the vertues of famous and renowned men, euermore conforming their voices with such as did play on Instruments.

Hereby therefore, we may well perceyue, how highly Poetrie was honoured and authorized by the Ancient *Gaules*. This argument putteth mee in minde of Greece, and other *Homer* and *Hesiodus*, shew vaunting of them, that they were in as great honour and estimation amongst the *Greekes*. This then was their Rhetorick, and (as *Pomponius Mela* sayeth) This was the eloquence which the ancient *Gaules* had.

But what was that of the *Germanes*? Although they were ignorant (as hath bene formerly declared) in the mysteries and secrets of Letters; yet notwithstanding, as *Tacitus* auoucheth, they celebrated in ancient Canticles and Songes, the memory of their Gods and Kings. And this was the only maner of their Annals, & of the Antiquity which they had: for I finde nothing more, concerning the Discipline of the ancient *Germanes*.

Now, what was the Logick of the ancient *Gaules*? I finde in *Cæsar* one only question, concerning the meanes & manner which ought to be followed in the instruction of youth. All the noble and liberal Arts, were to be learned in written bookes, the masters of those Arts, interpreting that to their scholars, & the scholars practising to vnderstand them. Any times some great difficulty would arise, about the entertaining of mens authority; whose Bookes were propounded to youth: because those men, although they were more excellent then other men, yet notwithstanding being no more but men, they

E 2 would

Lucane in lib. 1.

Marcel. in lib. 1.

The Romaines imitated the Bards in singing at banquets.

Greece renowned by her Bards and Poets.

Pomp. Mela, in lib. 2. cap. 5.

The Rhetorick vied among the Germanes. Corn. Tacit. in lib. 5. c. 9.

The Logick of the ancient Gaules. In *Cæsar* in comment. lib. 4.

Difficulties arising about men of authority, and they written works.

What the language of the ancient Gaules was, is not regarded it was not Greeke.

The Gauls compel'd to speak the Romane tongue. Plato in *Lysis*, lib. 2. c. 4.

Teaching the Latine tongue, was likely rewarded.

That the *Swisses* yet speake the ancient Language of Gaule.

Of the ancient Heluetians.

*A people of Bohemia.

*A Saxon people.

That the Germanes Language was the old Gaulish tongue.

would sometimes dreame, and quite forget themselves. Whereby ensued, that their writings passing as vniuersall, they proued many times vncaſe to be explained. Contrarywise, without any writing, but by the voice onely, an infinite number of Arts and Sciences (belonging to Mechanical men (as Laborers, Malons, Marriners, and such like) were soone apprehended: and there arose no repugnance or doubt of their words, neyther any difficulty of their intention when as they were vnderſtoode. There was no other maxime of these Arts, but what vse and profit had approoued. Then those Doctors and professors were not wont to write of any discipline: but all that they deliuered to youth, they taught onely by word of mouth. Yet notwithstanding, being guided by other reasons, they made Conscience (as *Julius Caesar* sayeth in the first Booke) to set downe their disciplines in writing.

Well then, if we vrgue a question (in this case) to *Caſar*, thus will he shape vs an answer. It appeareth to me, that for two reasons, they established this decree amongst them. First, because they would not haue their disciplines imparted vnto popularitie. Next, least such as learned them, trusting to writing onely, would make the lesse account of retaining them in their memory. For many times it happened, that the more part, by vsing continuall recourse to books, became slothfull in Learning truly, or kept retention of any thing shewn vnto them. And these two reasons were likewise alledged by the *Druides*, for not committing their Disciplines to writings; & these causes haue beene approoued by the very cheefest Philosophers of Greece. For, in ancient time, this was the aduice of *Pythagoras*; and (after him) of *Socrates*, both which left not one Letter in writing. The opinion of *Socrates*, to this purpose, is amply declared by *Plato* to *Phadrus*, in this Conference which *Socrates* had with *Phadrus*.

CHAP. XII.

A Dialogue or Communication between *Socrates* and *Phadrus*, concerning what great difference there is between the excellent Art of Memory, and matters registered downe by writing.



Socrates. It remaineth now to speake of the finesse or vnfinesse of writing. VVhere the doing thereof be well or ill, is not that the question?

Phadrus. Yes, that is our argument. *Socrates*. Knowest thou, that in dooing or ordaining it, as concerning present speech, thou mayest thereby be acceptable to the Gods?

Phadrus. Not I, but thou doest.

Socrates. I haue heard of our Elders, that they knew the truth, and if wee our selues could finde it, might we not henceforward, to bee verie carefull of mens opinions?

Phadrus. This is to laugh at thine owne demand; but tel vs that, which thou sayest thou hast heard.

Socrates. I haue heeretofore heard, that neere vnto * *Nauacratia* which is in Egypt, there was sometimes one of the ancient Gods, who was named *Theuthates*, and to him, the Bird teamed *Bis* or *Ibis*, was sacred. Moreover, that hee was the first inuenter of numbers, and of Icar, as also of Dice and Letters, and of Astronomy and Geometry. At that time, *Thaumas* was king of all Egypt, making his abiding in a great City of the higher Countrey, which the Greeks called the Egyptian *Thebes*, and that *Ammon* or *Hannan* was then their God. *Theuthates* being come to this King, he shewed and declared to him, that hee must instruct the Egyptians in disciplines. VVhereon the King demanded of him, concerning the profite that would ensue thereby to any one; and according as *Theuthates* should seeme to speake ill or well, so would hee blame, or else giue commendation. It is sayde, that betweene *Thaumas* and *Theuthates*

Of the finesse or vnfinesse of writing.

Whether writing or speaking be most acceptable to the Gods.

* A City well knowne in Egypt.

The inuention of numbers, letters, Geometry, Astronomy, Dice, and Letters.

Disciplines to be taught to the Egyptians

Concerning the cultivation of letters, & what harme or benefit might ensue by them.

Letters enuoy to the memory, & the reason why.

Diffence between knowledge an opinion thereof.

* A City in Chionia, neere which was a wood dedicated to Iupiter.

these many things were debated, which would require too long time to discourse, but when they came to dispute about Letters. Sir (said *Theuthates*) this discipline will make the Egyptians very wise, and prompt of memory: for this is the only Medicine found out for memory and knowledge. Whereto the other replied; O most ingenious and subtle *Theuthates*, the one is most apt to performe the workes of Art, and the other knowes best how to iudge, what harme or benefite their vse may bring. But thou, the Father of letters, being carried by thine own affection, mainetaimest the contrary of their effect. For letters cauleth forgetfulness in the mindes of such as learne them, because they make no reckoning of studying by memory; for they trusting to the marks of exterior writing, doe forsake inward recordation, which is the very foule of memory. Thou hast not then found out a medicine for memory, but for forgetfulness, and thou canst not teach thy Schollers the truth of knowledge and vnderstanding, but of Opinion. For, they hauing comprehended great store of things, and without a Matter, they will perswade themselves to know enough; and yet notwithstanding (commonly) they are exceeding ignorant in the greater part, prouoing to bee offensive and troublesome in mens company and frequentation, as being more full of opinion of knowledge, then of true knowledge indeede.

Phadrus. Thou canst easily (O *Socrates*) imagine the humor of the Egyptians, or of any such nation, as seemeth good to thy selfe.

Socrates. My friend, it is held by some, that in ancient times, Oakes did speake those prophesies which were in the Temple of *Iupiter* * *Dodanans*. For, through the rudenesse and ignorance of old men in those times, who had not then attained to the knowledge which now your younger dayes haue done: it was sufficient for them, to heare an Oake, or a Stone speake, so long as they spake truth. It may bee thou conceiuest, that some peculiar interest should be placed in iudgement, how, or of what country he was, that hath spoken any thing of this nature, without consideration, whether it were so, or no.

Phadrus. Truly, thou hast very iustly

reproued me: but for the order of disciplines, I am of the same minde as *Thaumas* was.

Socrates. Then whosoever thinketh, that Arte can so well sette downe it selfe, or comprehend by writing, as if there could bee something certaine, or assured by writing; that man should ill learne, and bee ignorant in the Oracle of *Ammon*; making more esteeme of reasons sette downe in writing; then of knowing and retaying that which is written.

Phadrus. Thou sayest very well.

Socrates. O *Phadrus*, writing hath a great matter in it, and (in very truly) carrieth some resemblance with painted creatures, for such works seeme as if they had life: but if thou demand any question of them, they hold their peace with great modesty. Thou imaginest also, that a discourse set downe in writing, should speake of it selfe. But, if hauing a desire to learne, thou come and demand something of it, concerning that which it should say; it continueth silent, yet signifying one and the same thing. For, after that a discourse is set downe in writing, it carrieth it selfe alike equally to all men: both for the learned which vnderstand it, and for such as vnderstand it not; and no one can say, to whom it is most convenient, and to whom not. And if it happen to be iniuriously dealt withall, it will alwayes stand in need of his fathers help: because it is not able to reuenge any wrongs receiued, nor yet to right it selfe.

Phadrus. Hitherto thou hast spoken most truly.

Socrates. Doe wee not then perceiue, how another discourse maketh it selfe, which is Brother to this we talke of, and much more it excelleth both in power & dignity?

Phadrus. What is thy meaning? And what is that which (thou sayest) maketh it selfe?

Socrates. It is that, which (with knowledge) writeth it selfe in the spirit of him that apprehendeth: for it can act reuenge vpon it selfe, knoweth it selfe, and when and how to speake, or to bee silent.

Phadrus. Thou speakest the liuely and foule-like discourse of him that knowes & vnder-

The memory hath exceeded all matter set downe in writing.

Writing compared to painted figures or portraiture, that can speak nothing.

Writing is in it selfe equal, and alike to all men.

Speaking reuenged the brother writing.

The excellency of speaking about writing

Arts taught by voice or tongue, without writing.

Instructions giuen vnto youth by word of mouth onely. *Int. Caesar in Com. lib. 6*

Two especial reasons alledged by *Caſar* concerning instruction.

Reasons of the *Druides*.

Pythagoras & *Socrates* left nothing written.

Writing the
image of spea-
king.

vnderstandeth; and (by good right) that which is written, may tearme it selfe (in some respect) to be his image.

Socrates. Tell mee then, in good fadnesse, if a wife husbandman take delight to beholde his feedes, whereof he is carefull, and desireth to gather fruite; will he sowe them at Spring time, in the Gardens of *Adonis*, where hee shall see them budde forth at eight dayes following; or, when hee goeth about such businesse, shall he scatter them iustlingly, as after the manner of a holy day sport? Vn hee hee hath taken paines to sowe his feede, according as hee ought to do, and answerable to the Art of Husbandry: he supposeth it sufficient for him, if in the space of eight moneths after the seed time is past, they doe thrive, and come to their maturity.

Phadrus. The wife Husbandman, (*O Socrates*) will doe as thou hast sayde; but the idle and negligent foole hath no such care.

Socrates. Shall we then say, that a man who hath knowledge and experience in that which is iust, honest, and good, will be lesse carefull of his feede seasons, then an Husbandman?

Phadrus. No.

Socrates. He will not then write down the feedes of his penne with Inke, sowing them there amongst his Discourses, as if he did a matter of great importance: because hee cannot then helpe them with his wordes, neither can hee demonstrate the truth so exquisitely as it should bee.

Phadrus. Nor can they make any proof of themselves.

Socrates. No truely: but he shall sowe and write (as it is in reason) in meeke sportfull manner, and vhole Gardens of Letters. But, when he maketh memories, as certaine Treasures, to the end that they may not fall into Oblivion, as well for himselfe, as also for the first that will followe the same example: hee taketh delight in beholding their tender byrthes; and, while others doe addithe themselves vnto other Recreations, as to Feasts, sports, and the like pleasures, leauing all these heede full matters behinde them; hee shall passe on all his leysures, taking great delight in his owne discoursing.

Phadrus. *O Socrates*, thou speakest of a most true passion indeede, in steade of that which is of small valew, and woorth nothing: when a man delighteth in ferious Discourse, he shall ruminare on Iustice, and all those other especiall matters by three remembred.

This was the opinion of *Socrates*, which was much more sweete and humane, then that of our *Druides*. *Socrates* alwayes preferred knowledge, consisting in memorie and liuing wordes, before that of the dead Letter: neuertheless, hee allowed writing to bee but as a help to forgetfulness. I could wish that this Opinion had bene as pleasing vnto the *Druides*; for then, wee should haue had no neede of straungers goodes, as to borrow any thing of the Greekes, but continued satisfied with our owne countries abundance. Neyther by means of the Latines and Greeke, should we haue learned disciplines by paine and studye, after the nature of other straunge Languages: but with great pleasure and contentment of minde, wee should haue sucked them as milk from our nurses breasts. All the youth of a man, albeit study were sharpe there-to, should not so hardly haue spent it selfe in learning Greeke and Latine Letters; yet seeming but as an entrance into the common roade way of liberal studies, wher we rather should haue runne out our full course to the end. A long and laborious time of studye was required in apprehending the Greeke and Latine tongues, to vnderstand *Homer*, *Demosthenes*, *Virgil*, *Cicero* and others: whereas contrary-wise, without trauaile, and with exceeding delight, we might haue sung the Hymnes & Poems of our Bards, hauing (naturally) the true vnderstanding both of their wordes and sense.

The loue which they bare vnto their country, and to vertue it selfe, was ouerabounding in feuerity. For, our *Druides* sought all meanes, vvhether to make Gaules surpass all other Nations, not only in actions of Armes, but in the honor of Disciples, and in conuening to banish idleness from the Gaules minde; they disinherited their posterity, of their most rich and vnuauleable patrimony of ancient disciplines. In the doing vvhich, they buried in perpetuall oblivion, the Gaules rare Arts and Doctrines, which they had

Serious Dis-
course the nu-
mer of in-
fluor.

Memory and
speech prefer-
red before the
dead Letter.

The Gaules
had sufficient
studies of
their owne,
without need
of borrowing
elsewhere.

Study of
strange Lan-
guage, it
come to the
Gaules

The Druides
too feuerie in
affection to
their country
and vertue.

The Gaules
had rare artes
& disciplines.

a hope, should haue liued and flourished for euer, only by the meanes of hindring writing. But in vaine do we now make our complaints: neuertheless, sorrow remaineth still with vs, to with (how vainely soeuer) that it had bene so. And vndoubtedly (in this case) they might iustly accuse the vilenesse of the Romane ambition, which vtterly ruined the Schooles of the *Druides*. Wee may therefore say with the Poet.

*We ought to mourne, & all these mortall things
May touch their hearts.*

CHAP. XIII.

A further addition to the Artes and Sciences, taught among the Gaules, by their Druides, Bards, and learned men, according to the iustification of diuers good Authors: and what religious Ceremonious orders they obserued.

BV T lets come to the Mathematical Artes, whereof *Cesar* speaketh, when he saith. *They made very many disputes of the Starrs, and of their motion; & of the greatness of the world, and of the earth, and concerning the nature of things.* Questionlesse, these were their ancient disciplines, left from the father to the sonne, by *Dis, Sarron*, and *Druides* which they themselves preferred carefully, hauing received them (from hand to hand) of their graue Ancestors. For *Iosephus*, in the first booke of the *Iewes Antiquities*, testifieth, concerning the ancient Fathers before the flood, that they had obserued those Mathematicall considerations. And because they would hinder the losse of so noble inuentions, or perishing by the inundations of the waters: they engraue them vpon two Collobmes or Pillars, the one whereof was of moulded earth, and the other of stone. And this was thus done, that if that of earth should chance to be defaced by the flood: yet the other of stone might remaine intire, and yeeld men means to apprehend what was engraue thereon. The same Author witnesseth, that the same Pillar of stone

was to bee scene in Syria, in the time of *Vespasian*. *Eusebius* likewise reporteth, how the *Egyptians* learned them of *Abraham*; and that the Greekes afterward, did set downe those Artes in writing, & then published them. But our *Druides* (as I haue formerly saide) gaue them to posterity, according as they had received them from the hands of their fathers; disputing many matters, touching the Starrs, and their continuall motions.

Mela also writeth, that the *Druides* made profession, concerning the motion of Heauen, and of the Starrs. Astrology was such a thing, as it could not any way be taught or learned, except (before hand) a man had studied Arithmetick & Geometry. For the calculation of the motions, they stood in neede of the accounts of Arithmetick; and the distances and interualls of the Starrs, must needs passe themselves by the figures of Geometry. Therefore the *Druides*, making profession of enstructing Astrology; taught (first of all) Arithmetick and Geometry, which are Arts that make Astrology to be vnderstood.

Berosus sheweth, that there was some musick in the Hymnes and Poems of the Bards. Among the Celts (saith he) a *Bard* was much renowned, for the inuention of Songs and Musique. The *Druides* disputed many things, concerning the greatnes of the world and the earth: This was the greatnesse and forme of the world and earth, which *Mela* saith, the *Druides* taught: This was their Cosmography & Geography, and the *Druides* disputed diuers things of that nature. As, what was the length of the world, from the Sunnes setting in the West, to his rising in the East: what was his largenesse, from the Equator or Equinoctial circle, to both the one and other Pole: how great were the distances of the five Zones, from the Pole, so farre as the smallest circle thereof, even to the Tropick, and then from the Tropick, so farre as the Equator, which is in the midst: what were the Zones of the earth, which are assigned and subiect to the Celestiall Zones: which of the were inhabited, and desert, by reason of cold or heate, and which were temperate: And how Europe, Asia, and Africa were diuided, and separate one from another.

Their questions of Physick, were concerning

Enst. in Hist.
Euseb. lib. 3. c. 5

Pomponius Me-
la. lib. 2. cap. 5.

Concerning
the learning
of Astrology,
and how it
was en-
structed by the
Druides.

Berosus in lib. 1.
cap. 5.

Musicall
Bardes among
the Celts.

Pomponius Me-
la lib. 2. cap. 5.

The diuers
disputations
vied among
the Druides,
of the world,
earth, & bea-
stens.

A pleasant
witty questi-
on, and to ve-
ry good pur-
pose.

The feedes of
wisdom laue
their due fua-
cious.

Matters set
downe in writ-
ing, cannot
afterward be
holpen with
wordes.

Memories are
said to be the
rich treasures
of mans life,
and the best
to be learned.

Jul. Conf. in com-
men. lib. 7.

Dis, Sarron,
Druid.

Ioseph. in lib. 1.
de Antiqu.

Two Pillars
engraue with
Mathematical
Artes.

The questions
of Physicke,
among the
Gaules.

Strabo in Lib. 4.

Marcellinus l. 5.

Two famous
Philosophers
among the
Gaules, made
immortal by
Cicero him-
selfe.

Cicero in lib.
4 de off.

* A searching
out of natural
things, or a
reasoning of
the nature of
any thing

* A king of
Galatia, who
Cicero defend-
ed being ac-
cused to have
conspired
Caesar's death

Cicero in lib.
vol. supra.

cerning Principles, that is to say, the mat-
ter and forme of things: as Fire, Ayre,
Water, Earth. Whence all things were
engendered; how they perished, augmented,
decreased, altered and moued. The
professours (among the Gaules) of these
to seuerall doctrines; are called by Strabo,
Poets, or Prophets, who, ouer and beside
other things, concerning Physicke, princi-
pally taught this Oracle, proper to the
Country: That the world must sometime
perish by fire, and by water. The same Do-
ctours are called (by Marcellinus) Euba-
ges. The Eubages (saith hee) seeking into
the very highest & deepest parts of the earth,
laboured to discover the secrets of the. These
noble disciples then, were wont to bee
taught of the Gaules, and in the Gaules
language only.

Here we may not omit, to remem-
ber two most excellent Philosophers a-
mong them that were commended, yea,
and consecrated to immortality, by the
words of Cicero. The one was *Diuitius*,
(of who we haue spoken already) Prince
of the *Hedmans*: the other was *Deiotarus*,
King of the *Gaules in Asia*. Speake then
noble *Cicero*, and remember vs of our fa-
mous *Druides*. In *Gaule* there were of the
Druides among whom, I my selfe knew *Diui-*
tacius the *Hedman* as the man that receiued
me into his house, and made account of mee.
This man made his want, that hee knew the
reason of Nature, which the *Greekes* named
* *Physiologie*; and could speake of things to
come partly by *Augurie*, and partly by *con-*
jectures. This *Diuitacius* (as it is very like-
ly) was the Holte to *Cicero*, by reason of
the *Druides* knowledge which was in him.
But what doth he say of * *Deiotarus*? How
is it that this Orator commendeth him?
But wherein (saith he) shall I make mention
of king *Deiotarus*, that most famous & right
worthy personage our Holte, that neuer did
any thing, but with preface? For, when hee
was returned from a voyage, which hee had
formerly purposed and refused to make: the
Chamber wherein hee should haue lodged (if
he had continued his journey) fell downe the
might ensuing. And therefore, as I haue often-
times heard from himselfe, hee made many
pauses and returns from that one voyage;
albeit he proceeded in many other beside. *Ci-*
cero speaking further of the same man, saith.
I see performed one very notable addi-
on, when he came backe from the kingdome of

the *Tetrarches*, whereof he was dispossessed by
Caesar and condemned to pay a great summe
of money. He saide, hee did not repent him-
selfe for not crediting such *Auguries*, as hap-
pened to him when hee went towards *Pompey*,
having maintained with his forces, the
authority of the Senate, and liberty of the Ro-
mane people, with the dignity of the Empire.
And that the Birds (to whose *augurie* hee
gaue faith) had well counselled and aduised
him: yet notwithstanding, hee made much
more precious and deere esteeme of his ho-
nour, then hee did of all his goods and posses-
sions. These are the words of learned *Ci-*
cero, to whom both *Gaule* and *Galatia* are
for euer beholding: because, by so wor-
thy a testimony, he preferred the memory
of 2. such famous Philosophers of theirs.

But what shall I most preferre in this
place, if not our signes and teares, as true
witnesses of our misery? Heere tofore,
Gaule commanded ouer the *Italians* and
Grecians, and, inlisted of the goods of *Fortu-*
n, which are but of small worth, and
giue to men as stipendary wages: the *Gau-*
les the goods of the minde in recom-
pence, which were (indeede) much more
precious. *Greece* and *Italy* vaunted very
proudly, because they had *Mathematici-*
ans and *Philosophers*: but that glory was
(formerly) ours; those prailes, distilled
from our Fountaines: which did meere-
ly dry vp themselves, because they would
not rampier and defend their owne pow-
er, by writing. For *Gaule* might haue had
Gaulish *Euclides*, *Ptolomies*, *Platoes*, *Aristo-*
tles, and others beside, farre more excel-
lent men then all they were. But let vs
ceasse our bootlesse complaints, & come
now to the Theology or Diuinity of the
Gaules.

The *Druides* (about all things else)
would haue men to beleue, that their
soules could not die: but that (after death)
they departed out of one body, & entered
into another. The reason of this their opi-
nion was that it was the only encourage-
ment to vertue, because feare of death
was thereby held in high contempt. I set
downe this their perelation of immor-
tality, as the principall foundation of the
Gaules Religion and Theologie, which
the *Greekes* and *Latines* did enuiously
celebrate. The *Gauls* (saith *Diodorus*)
after their repastes and feeding, had a cus-
tome, to desce one another unto the Com-
bate,

An augury gi-
uen by Birds
to *Deiotarus*.

Gaule & *Ga-*
*l*atia indebted
to *Cicero*.

Gaule com-
manded ouer
the *Greeks* &
Italians.

The pride of
Greece and
Italy; yet pro-
ceeding from
the *Gauls*.

The Diuinity
viad among
the *Gaulish*
Druides, that
mens soules
could not die.

Died in Lib. 5,
cap. 3.

Written Let-
ters cast into
fires that bur-
ned dead bo-
dies.
Strabo in Lib. 4.
cap. 7.

Pomponius Me-
la in lib. 4. cap. 1.

Death freely
and voluntar-
ily embraced
by the *Drui-*
des.

The words of
Quint of the
soules immor-
tality.

The error of
the *Greekes*
and *Latines*,
concerning
the *Gauls*,
which were of
more antiqui-
ty then *Pytha-*
gora.

Other points
of the *Gauls*
religion.

bate, without making any reckoning of their
lives, for the opinion of *Pythagoras* preui-
led with them: That the soules of men were
immortal, and that after the death of the bo-
dy, within a certaine while, they came againe
into other bodies. And for this cause, some
would cast written Letters into heapes of
wood, prepared as bon-fires to burne mens
bodies in, as if the dead were there to reade
them. Strabo affirmeth as much. They
were perswaded (saith he) that mens soules
were not subiect to corruption or mortality.

Pomponius Mela writeth thus. There
was one thing which the *Druides* helde and
maintained, to excite men (thereby) with the
better will to warre: That mens soules were
eternall, and that the dead lined another life.
Whereupon, when they burned dead bodies, or
buried them, the whole account of their for-
mer liues negotiations was interred with the,
especially if any thing had bene borrowed, it
was to be redemanded of them. Some were
found, that voluntarily and with their owne
good will, would throw themselves into fla-
ming fires, and burned such things as neereft
and deereft appertained to them, even as if
they were to liue with them. *Mela* repor-
teth thus of them, wherein we may note
the same reason of this perswasion, which

Mens soules are exempt from death,
And leauing their first lodgings;
Liue alwaies in new dwellings,
Where they haue fresh entertainment.

This (I say) was the iudgement of *Pythagoras*, from whence ensued, that the *Gauls*
(by report of the *Greekes* and *Latines*) were made *Pythagorians*, and so meere-
ly borrowed this opinion of immortality. But to shew of what great ambition this error is,
the silliest iudgement may easilie apprehend: in that, for a long time before *Pytha-*
goras was borne, this opinion of the *Druides* liued among the *Gauls*. Wherefore, I
may very well assure that which hath formerly bene proposed: that *Greece* was not
Schoole-mistresse to *Gaule*, but rather her scholler. Neuerthelesse, the *Gauls* did not
allow of that * *Metempsychosis*, that is to say, the changing of soules, which *Pytha-*
goras maintained, as passing out of humane bodies, into other of brute beasts: For they
did not beleue, that of men they became beasts, but that they were made men again,
in other bodies. The Poet *Lucane* affirmeth the same.

According as you say,
Those shadowes goe not into the silent dwelling
Of deepest *Erebus*, or the pale Country
Of King *Plato* beneath. The selfe same spirit enters
Into another body: And of long life
Led in another world, you sing most truly.

Proceede we now to other points of the *Gauls* religion. They disputed very much,
concerning the power and might of the immortall Gods, and made profession (as

Atela

Valerius Mar-
tin lib. 2.

* *Pallium*, for
the Latine
word *Pallia-*
tus, which is
as much to
say, as clothed
with a Robe,
which they
called *Palli-*
um, & which
the *Philoso-*
phers vied to
weare.

Transmigra-
tion or passage
of the soule
from one bo-
dy to another

I Lucan: in lib. 3.

Pomponius Mela in lib. 4. c. 27. 3.

Mela (saith) to know what the Gods would haue them to do. They adored the Gods, *Mercury, Apollo, Minerva, Jupiter and Mars*, holding almost the very same opinion, which other nations did, to wit: That *Mercury* was the inuenter of *Artes*, and a guide to men on their wayes and voyages: That he could helpe much in the gayning of monie, and in the affaires of Merchandize, being such as the Poet feigneth him.

Mercury reputed to bee the God of Messages, and the inuenter of *Artes*, as also a guide to trauelliers in their iournies.

*He spake the word, and the God Messenger,
Immediately was ready to be gone.
He fastened to his feete his light winged plumes,
Which at his beeles do beare him through the windes,
Mouning and falling with their nimble flight:
One while on Land, and then upon the waues.
He tooke his Rod, and with that powerfull Rod,
He summoned up aloft pale meager Ghosts,
From the sad shades, or else doth send them thither.
And there withall he doth controule our sports.
Waking or sleeping, he commandeth all:
And some into eternall sleepe to fall.*

Marcellin in lib. 5. cap. 7.

For this Rod of his, was taken to be the power of *Artes*, the guide to trauelliers on the way, and the rich gaine of Merchants. *Iulius Caesar* made his prayers to *Mercurie*, (and as *Marcellinus* saith) he was reputed to bee the most sudden sense in this worlde, that moueth our thoughts, according to the doctrine of those Diuines. This was the power which the *Druides* gaue to *Mercurie*. As for that of *Apollo*, he was said to cure & helpe diseases and sicknesse; as the God testifieth of himselfe in *Ouid*.

Apollo taken to be the God of Physicke.

Ouidius Metamorph. Lib. 8.

*Physicke is mine, and through the Priuierse
Men call to me for succour in distresse.
The vertue of all hearts to me is subiect.*

Minerva the Goddess of all ingenious deuises.

The might of *Minerva*, they held to be thus: That shee gaue the determination of all workes and cunning deuises. Whereupon the Poets feigned, that she was bred and borne in the braine of her father *Jupiter*. They were perswaded also, that *Jupiter* had command ouer all the other Gods, and that *Mars* gouerned in warres: to whom oftentimes they made vowes (when they had determined to giue the enemy battaile) of all such things as they should take in fight. And if they went the day, they would sacrifice all such Beasts as were taken, and bring away all therest as booty. *Diodorus* relating almost the very same, saith farther; that they sacrificed their prisoners and captiues to the Gods. But you will say, that this example was too cruell. I confesse as much, but must answer ye withall: that it was borrowed from the ancient Romanes, who would put to death in their prisons, the very brauest & most valiant Captaines of their enemies. And many times for a publike spectacle, and before the common people, they were giuen as a prey to wilde Beasts, to be de-

The power of Jupiter and Mars in their feuerall conditions.

Diodor in lib. 5.

Cruelly exemplified by the ancient Romanes.

uoured by them in cruell manner. Some of the Gauls did burne in their sacrifices, such Beasts as were taken for booty, and (with them) did put the enemy to death, or else torment him with other paines.

The *Celts* had an admirable and particular obseruation in their Temples, to cast or spred abroad a great deale of their gold and siluer. Now albeit this was a nation very greedy and couetous: yet notwithstanding, there was neuer found any man, among the rudest inhabitants of the country, that durst so much as touch one peece thereof, such was their respect and reuerence to Religion. Neuerthelesse, such offerings may (perhaps) seeme more proper and conuenient for *Mars*: being called (in ancient times) by the Greeke Poets, *The plague of men, or the Murderer*. And yet such ceremonies also were common, and vied in the sacrifices of other Gods. The whole nation of the Gaules, (as *Caesar* affirmeth) were greatly addicted to Religion, and by this occasion, such as were vexed with any greuous diseases, or they that were in warre, or in any other

An especiall obseruation of the *Celts* in their Temples.

Names giuen to Mars, by the ancient Greeke Poets.

Iul. Caesar in comment. lib. 6.

Religious sacrifices instituted publicly.

other perill of life: did sacrifice men as their oblations & offerings, or else made vowes of such sacrifices. For they held a seuerer opinion, that if for the life of one man, the life of another was not iustly rendered: it was impossible to appease the anger, or satisfie the will of the immortal Gods. And such manner of sacrifices were publicly instituted, as truly declaring admirable Religion, and meruailous perswasion of the Gods might and power; whereof the Greeke Authors made not a iote lesse account and estimation.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Diuination used by the Sarronides, who were a kinde of Philosophers among the ancient Gaules, their manner of oblations and sacrifices: As also of their spells, charmes, and incantations.

Diodor in lib. 5.

Philosophers and Diuines called Sarronides.

A strange obseruation of the Sarronides.

The manner of their sacrifices in the presence of Philosophers.

Diodorus further sayeth, that some other Philosophers & Diuines, were held in great honour & reuerence among them, whom they termed *Sarronides*, that vied diuination: and because they fore-tolde things that were to come, as well by auguries, as sacrifices; they were highly esteemed of them, but especially of the common people, who performed great reuerence to them. And when they held any counsell, concerning matters of import and consequence: they obserued a very admirable custome, and almost incredible. For they would cut the throte of a man, and when he fell downe; eyther by the manner of his fall, or separation of his members, or fluxion of his blood (by along and ancient obseruation) they attained to the knowledge of future things. Their custome also was, neuer to make any sacrifice, without the presence of some Philosophers: as holding opinion, that sacrifices ought to be performed by such men, as participated in the diuine nature, and came neere to the Gods. For by the prayers of such men, they were perswaded, that good fortune and successe should be desired of the Gods, and their counsell also to be especially vied, both in the times of peace

and warre. Heere to may be referred, that which *Caesar* saith, in the fifth Booke of his warres in Gaule. *Whosoeuer came latest to the assembly made in Armes, being first afflicted with diuers torments, was afterward put to death before the whole multitude.* Moreover, *Strabo* saith, that they would fasten a man vnto a Crosse in their Temple, and there shoote him to death with Arrowes.

The same Author, agreeing with *Possidonius* and *Artemidorus* saith, there were certaine *Bacchanalles*, which dwelt in an Island, neighbouring to the River of *Loyre*, and of certaine Auguries done by them, according as two white Crows moued their right wings, which neuerthelesse is reputed to be fabulous. Therefore that which *Artemidorus* saith, I hold more agreeable to reason, that in an Island neere to Brittain, such and the like sacrifices were performed, as the *Samothracians* obserued in the honour of *Ceres* and *Proserpina*. *Caesar* pursuing the selfe-same occasion, saith, that there were others, who had Idols of immeasurable height, the members of whose bodies were framed of Twigs and Osters, which being filled with liuing men, & set on fire; these they dyed most miserably. Beside, they imagined, that the punishments of such as were apprehended for robberies and thefts, or any such like offences; were most pleasing to the immortal Gods, & these they made most vief of in those Idols. Neuerthelesse, for want of such offenders, they made no difficulty, in putting honest and innocent persons to the same affliction, whensoever neede and occasion required.

Strabo writeth the same of their Statues, saying, *They builded a Colopius of wood, many parts whereof, were entrelaced with Straw: and therein they burned all kinds of beasts, and men also among them.* But *Diodorus* saith, that in making their sacrifices to their Gods, they vied an impiety answerable to their bestiall nature. For, after they had kept (for the space of five whole yeares) such as were attained and continued of notorious crimes: they would spit them on stakes, from the fundament to the mouth, and so sacrifice them vnto their Gods. Then piling them vpon high piles of wood, and putting fire to them; this was the manner of their imolation.

Iulius Caesar in comment. Lib. 5.

Strabo in Lib. 4.

Possidonius in Lib. 2. Artemidorus in lib. 4.

* An Isle by that part of Thracia, where Hebrus falleth into the Aegean Sea.

Strange manner of Idols, with liuing men in them.

Strabo in lib. 3. * of their Statues.

Diodor in Lib. 4.

A tyranny yet vied among the Turkes.

Pomponius Me-
la in lib. 3. cap. 7.

Of the Statues of
the Gods of the
Gaules.
Plin. in lib.
34. cap. 7.

Of the height of
diuers Col-
liffes in un-
dier places of
the world.

The Image of
Mercury, ex-
ceeding all o-
ther Statues.

Eul. Caf. in com.
Lib. 6.

A cruell and
abominable
kinde of Re-
ligion.

* A Towne in
Apulia, where
the Romanes
had a great
ouertthrow.

Humane fa-
crifices per-
formed at
Rome.

molation. Pomponius Mela speaketh thus of the Gaules. *They are a proud Nation, superstitious and cruell sometimes: for they verily beleue, that men are the best and most acceptable sacrifices to the Gods.*

Neuertheless, we shall not thinke strangely, that the Statues of the Gaules Gods were of such excelsiue height: if we but remember only what Pliny saith, in 34. Booke, and euenth chapter. *We beheld (saith hee) huge massive Statues of new inuention, which they called Colosses, or were no lower then Towers, but of equall height.* In the same place hee speaketh of a number, among which he nameth *Apollo Capitolinus*, being of thirty cubites in height: *Jupiter Tarentinus*, which was forty cubites high: The Rhodian Sunne, fuenty; the thumbe wherof, few men were able to embrace. *Apollo of Tuscanie*, which was in the Lybrary of the Temple of *Augustus*, contained fifty foote in height, from the feet vpward. That of *Nero*, was an hundred foote high. But ouer and beside, *Zenodorus* saith, that in his time there was one made in the space of ten yeares, surpassing all other Statues in height & big- nesse: being the Statue of *Mercurius*, of incestimable value; and made in *Antioch*, a Common-weale belonging vnto the Gaules, and it contained foure hundred foote in height. Those Statues then of the Gaules Gods, were of wonderfull and extraordinary greatnesse, according as *Casfar* saith, which they filled full with liuing men, and so made offerings and sacrifices of them.

But you will object vnto me, that this manner of religion was cruell and abominable: whereto I must answer, that such cruelty was common vnto all other Nations, or rather proper and peculiar to the daemons, & familiar spirits of each country. *Titus Livius* writeth, that such sacrifices were made at Rome, after the ouertthrow at *Cannas*. He saith moreover, that in the interim while, certaine extraordinary & vnaccustomed sacrifices were performed, by consultation had with diuers fatall Bookes, wherein a Gaule-man and a Gaule woman, a Grecian man and Grecian woman, in the market appointed for Oxen at Rome, were laide along vpon the ground alide, in a place round engirt with stones, which had neuer before bene fulfilled with humane offerings or sacrifices,

and there they were sacrificed after the Romane ceremoniall manner. This is the affirmation of *Titus Livius*, and therefore I shall neede to make no further mention cyther of the *Arabians*, *Thracians*, *Scythians*, *Egyptians*, or *Grecians*: considering, that *Dionysius Halycarnassensis* sheweth in the first Booke of Romane Antiquities, that *Iupiter* and *Apollo*, (because the tenth borne of euery male childe was not sacrificed to them) sent great and greuous calamities throughout all Italy. *Diodorus* in the twentieth Booke of his history, declareth, that (in his time) there was at *Carthage*, a Statue of *Saturne*, and such like sacrifices. And it was thought (saith hee) that *Saturne* was offended with the people, because that in (former times) they were wont to sacrifice to him, the most worthy and best borne of their children. Furthermore, that by the successe of times, instead of their owne children, they bought and entertained others, secretly nourishing the, and afterward sacrificed them vnto their Gods. This being closely and diligently discouered, & an infinite number of these supposd found out, which in that manner had bene sacrificed, they were easily perswaded to beleue, that for this occasion onely, the Gods being displeased, sent enemies to take and sacke their Cities, because they had not continued those honours, which from antiquity had bin done to the Gods. Wherefore, the better to appease them againe, they sacrificed publicly 200. young men, such as were the choycest & best borne among all their Nobility, and found out three hundred more, which (with their owne good liking, because they perceiued themselves to be suspected) gaue their liues freely to be sacrificed.

They had a Statue of *Saturne*, made of Brass, which was of wonderfull greatnesse, the hands wherof were extended in round circling manner on the ground, and children, being followed with eager pursuite, were enforced to enter into the roundure, and then fell into a very deepe pit, full of fire. If any man be desirous to haue more ample and certaine testimony hereof: *Eusebius*, in the fourth Booke & seventh Chapter of his Ecclesiasticall history, recounteth many examples of this Religion, obserued then in diuers Nations. Affirming further, that in the time of

Titus Livius in
lib. 6. cap. 1.

Dionys. Ha-
licar. in An.
Rom. Lib. 1.

Died in Lib. 10
A Statue of
Saturne at
Carthage.

Children sac-
rificed to the
Gods.

An exag-
geration to o-
uer-cruellous
people.

Another Sta-
ue of Saturne
of admirable
greatnesse.

Euseb. in Hist.
Eccles. lib. 4. c. 7.

Pomponius Me-
la in lib. 3. cap. 7.

In can. in lib. 1.

Of the cere-
monies obser-
ued among the
Britaines &
Germanes.
Jul. Caf. in com.
lib. 6.

Com. Tacitus in
lib. 2. cap. 1.

* Sonneto to
Tevon, of
whom the
Allmaligner
descended.

Mercury their
cheefest God
in honour.

Adrian, and when the Evangelicall doctrine began to appeare in some bright splendour: those abominable cruelties were commonly abolished, albeit they remained still among the Celts. Neuertheless, *Mela* writeth, that they tooke ending in his time. Moreover he saith, some markes of this brutish cruelty, formerly abolished, yet notwithstanding, when they brought their offerings to their Altars, which were consecrated and dedicated to be sacrificed, they would make an essay or prooff of them, and with much deliberation. These then were the sinister & wile sacrifices of the Gaules, wherof *Lucanus* speaketh thus.

You Druides, after you forsooke your Arms, You fell to savage and barbarous customes Of wicked sacrifices. Only to you was given, To know the Gods, and holinesse of Heauen, Or not to know them.

This shall suffice, for the manner of sacrifices obserued among the Gaules. What shall we now say, concerning the ceremonies of the Britaines and Germanes? Already we haue related, what was the manner of behaviour, as also the disciplines of the Britaines. The Germanes (*Casfar* were farre differing from these customes and orders: For they had not their Druides to command in diuine matters, and to take care of their sacrifices. They held opinion of such as they beheld, and by whose aide they conceiued themselves to be succored manifestly; that they were worthy to be ranked in number among the Gods: As the Sunne, Vulcan, and the Moone, of others they neuer heard a ny speech. These are the words of *Casfar*. But *Tacitus*, ouer and beside these, speaking of the Germanes Gods, nameth *Tuiston*, or *Tenton*, a God borne of the earth, and of his Sonne * *Mannus*, who were the originall and beginners of their Nation. Then of the Sonnes of *Mannus*, by whose names, the neerest neighbours to the Ocean, called themselves *Ingenoues*; and they that dwelt neerer to the middle region, *Hermiones*; and the other *Ilernoues*. Among other Gods, they worshipped *Mercury*, in the honour of whom, it was permitted them (on certaine dayes) to offer humane sacrifices. They also appeased *Heracles* and *Mars*, by the sacrifices of beasts, which likewise was permit-

ted vnto them. A part or certaine number of the *Sveues*, performed their sacrifices, to * *Iffr*; and yet, the cause and originall of such sacrificing, is not certainly knowne.

Casfar, in his first Booke, attributeth charmes, spels, & incantations to the Germanes, which were performed by women. For when *Casfar* questioned with a prisoner, wherfore *Arminius* would not bid him bataille: he found it to be a custome among the Germanes, that the mothers in their seuerall families, did declare by spels and vaticinations, whether it were profitable to offer bataille, or not, and they would say that it was not possible for the Germanes to be Conquerors, if they gaue the bataille before the new Moone. *Tacitus* speaketh much more of these diuinations, & among the rest, relateth the pre-fages and incantations which they most obserued. *The very simplest, and most vulgar manner of their diuining (saith hee) was, by taking a branch cut off from a fruit tree, which they would cut into diuers peeces, with certaine very knowledgable markes made upon them, and afterward throw or scaype the (casually, and without any regard at all) vpon some white garment. If the matter were to be consulted publicly, then it was done by the Priest of the City. But if it were in private, or particularly, the father of the family, husing made his prayers to the Gods, and eleuating his eyes vnto heauen, taketh the peeces of the branch by three and three, and when he hath lifted them aloft, he maketh his interpretation, according as he findeth the marks that were formerly engrauen. If he finde the case to be prohibited, he maketh no other consultation (concerning that matter) that day: but if he finde it to be permitted, then he seeketh further for the truth thereof, by other kindes of predictions, which giueh perfect knowledge in that place, both by questioned voices, and also by the sight of Birds.*

Moreover, it was proper and particular to this Nation, to make experience of pre-fages and aduertisements by herbes, which publicly had bene bred in their Woods and Forrests, and were all wholly white, without any spotte vpon them, and had neuer bene labored or employed, or vfed in any seruice of man: The Prielt, or the King, or else the Prince of the Citie, ascending then vnto the sacred Chariot, and

* Daughter to
the Ruer Ina-
clapt.

Tacitus refer in
coment. lib. 1
Of Spelles,
Charmes, and
Incantations
performed by
the Germane
women.

Com. Tacitus
in lib. 2. cap. 1.

The manner
of their diu-
ination, by any
branch cut
from a fruit
tree.

Prefages
made by her-
bes bred in
Forrests, by
the manner
of their neigh-
ing & myle.

and going along with the: did very heedfully regard their neighing and noyes. And there was not any other preface, whereto the people (but especially the very principall persons in the City, yea, and the Priests themselves) did give more credite, then to this: as perswading themselves that they were the Ministers of the Gods, and came neereft in counsell to the. They had another obseruation of prefaging, whereby they could foretell the issue of their warres, how cruell or dangerous fouer they were, and how they should succeed. They would take a prisoner of that Nation, with who they intended to make warre, and he should combat with one of the brauest and most gallant spirits of all their owne people, & with those weapons belonging to the Country. Afterward, the victory of the one or other, turned to the preiudice and disadvantage of the vanquished, and of his Nation.

CHAP. XV.

What Ceremonies were obserued among the Gaules at the times of their Burials, or Funerals, &c.



HE manner and Ceremonies of their Funerals, are set downe in *Caesar*. Their Funerals (saith he) are (after the Gaulish brauery) magnificent and sumptuous, with throwing all those things (what fouer) into the fire, which they imagined that the dead person (during his life time) most esteemed and affected, especially his Reast. And some short while before this memory, such seruants and domestick attendants, as were induged to be dearely loued of their Masters (to make the Funerall Ceremony the more intire and compleate) were burned together with the other things. *Caesar* hauing affirmed this, methinkes *Pausanias* as deseruet to be laughed at, when hee saith in the tenth Booke of the warres of *Brennus*: That the Gaules contemned, and held the buriall of their dead in disdaine, because, that by the opinion of such cruelty, they might affright their enemies, not hauing any more pity on the dead, then on other living persons. In this point *Caesar* refuteth *Pausanias* and *Titus Livius* also, where he specketh of the Gaules besiedging Rome, his

words, in the fift Booke of his third Decade, are these. They heaped and piled men one vpon another, and so burned them indifferently together: because they would not bury them each after other, whereby they ennobled the place magnificently in imitation, and answerable to the name of the Gaules: sepulchers.

As for that which *Caesar* saith, That all that which was pleasing to the dead person, was cast into the fire with him: At Rome, into the fire made for *Iulius Caesar* himself, the Trumpeters threw their torne garments; the Legionaries, their Armes; the Matrones their Chaines and Jewels, yea, and the precious purple deckings of their children. *Caesar* doth not declare apparently, whether the seruants & domesticks were throwne into the fire, living or dead: but that he meant the living, may easily be coniectured by that which *Mela* saith.

They wer such (saith he) as voluntarily wold cast themselves into the fires made for their parents kindred, and masters, holding opinion, that so they were sure to liue with them. We haue such another example, in the 5. of *Cicero*es *Tusculanes*, where it is said, That the women of India, when their husbands died, had a custome of combat and iudgment, to make prooff thereby, which of them was best beloued of her husband, for one man had many wives. She that carried the honour of the combat, being followed and attended by her other companions, was (with great joy) placed in the fire, and there burned with him: the other that had fought, and lost the day, returned home mourning, and disconsolate to her house. This cruell manner of behaviour, may well keepe company with the other ceremony, of immolating or sacrificing humane oblations.

Tacitus speaketh in this manner, concerning the Funerall of the Germanes. They bring the bodies of their companions into doubtfull battels, and that there may be found no ambition of glory among them, for interring of their dead: they onely obserue, that the bodies of the most noble, or of greatest apparence, may be burned with certaine wood. They do not heape vpon the pile of wood, neither their garments, or any odours: but onely allow to each man his proper Armes, & in the fire of some, they make addition of their horses. One only sod or urse of earth is building sufficient for the sepulcher, they contemne pompous workmanship and honourable

Ti. Liv. in li. 5. Dec. 3.

Such things as were burned with the dead person at Rome.

Pomponius Mela in li. 4. cap. 1.

Cicero in Tusculan. 5. A custome among the women of India, to try who best affected her husband.

The manner of the German Funerals, according to *Corn. Tacitus*

labor about Monuments, as being offensive to the dead. Complaints and teares are some ouerpass with them, but griefe & sadness is of longer continuance: for women to weep is honest, onely men are to remember.

But *Pliny* in his thirteenth book & first chapter, speaking of the Sacrifices, & the whole discipline of the ancient Gaules, sets himselfe against the Magick Arts, as fraudulent and deceitfull, seeming to reproue and accuse the discipline of our *Druides* with the same crime. Let no man meruail (saith he of the Art-Magick) if great authority be giuen to such discipline. Because it onely will comprehend and rediggest the three Sciences all into one, which haue most command ouer our humane will.

First of all, no one doubteth, but that it receiuieth birth & beginning from Physicke, and that vnder pretence of yeelding helpe by little and little: it hath vlsurped the place, as feigning it selfe to be more high and healthfull, then Physicke, and with such enticing and delirious promises, makes addition of some strength and power of Religion, whereby men (yet to this day) do abuse themselves. And yet to satisfie them better, they haue intermingled the Mathematicks, because there is not any one, but he is very conetous, and desirous to vnderstand future things concerning himselfe, and of his fortune, as beleeuing vndoubtedly, that such knowledge cometh from Heauen. Thus the reason and vnderstanding of men being surprized, and seriously busied in this manner: the discipline is fortified with a triple bond, and growne to such an encreasing greatnes; as euen in these dayes (in most parts of the world) it beares away the reputation from all other, commanding ouer the Kings and Princes of the East. From whence issued the Magick faction, Persian, Mosaiacall, and Ciprian. Finally, the fixe hundred, sixty & seuenth yeere from the building of Rome, *Cneus Cornelius Lentulus*, and *Publius Licinius Crassus* being the Consuls, an Edict was made, that no man was to be offered in sacrifice, and assuredly, the celebration of such prodigious sacrifices vanished away. But contrariwise, the Gaules kept them, euen till our memory: For *Tiberius Caesar* wholly abolished the *Druides*, & such kind of Prophets & Physitions. What menti-

on shall I make of this discipline, which hath out-stept the bounds of the Ocean, entering into Britanny, where (at this day) it is celebrated with all reuerence, & such ceremonies, as it seemes that they haue taught it to the Persians? It hath attained to such consent with the whole vniuersie, (although it can grow to no agreement, or can well know it selfe): as we do little conceiue, how highly we are beholden to the Romans, who vterly abandoned all such monstrous behaviour: being formerly fauoured (as a charitable work) to kill and sacrifice men, yea, and a very wholesome thing to eate them.

So far extend the works of *Pliny*, whereby one and beside the Arts formerly remembered, he attributeth Physicke also to the Gaulish *Druides*. But he greatly blameth the frauds therein concealed, & deseruedly commendeth the Romanes, for excluding such monstrous qualities out of their Empire. But would to God, that they had onely abolished the frauds and deceipts in such Arts, and not the true Arts themselves, nor the Schooles and profession of them: For then vndoubtedly, wee should in duty thanke them, and crowne them with honour. But *Pliny* saith, that *Tiberius* wholly ouerthrow the *Druides*. Notwithstanding, the same man dislouered Magick, by some example of the *Druides*, as in the last Chapter of his seauenth Booke, speaking of *Glew*, or a certaine Gumme, hee hath these words.

We may not omit (saith he) in this case, one admirable matter of the Gaules. The *Druides* (by such name they terme their Magicians) esteeme nothing more precious then *Glew* and *Gum*, and that the Tree where it groweth, during the time it hath vigour: they themselves do then make chaffe in their Woods and Forests, which haue such power to nourish those Gummes, that they will not offer any sacrifice, without the leaues of such a Tree. And it may be very likely, that from the Greeke interpretation, vpon this occasion, they were called *Druides*. In briefe, they hold opinion, that that which taketh but its original with those Trees, is sent from heauen in such sort, that such a Tree is chosen of the Gods. Such a Tree is very rare to finde, but being found, they take it with great ceremony and religion, & as one al other, at the time of the Noons festiue, or first Aeon, which is the beginning of their

Britaine embraced such behaviour equal with the Gaules.

Physicke attributed to the *Druides*, among the Gaules.

Plin. in li. 17. cap. vlt. Concerning the *Glew* and *Gum* esteemed among the *Druides*.

At what time the *Druides* used to gather their Gumme & *Glew*.

A prediction for the lucces of their dangerous war.

The manner & ceremonies of their Funerals.

Pausan. in li. 10. de Bel. Grec.

Plin. in li. 6. 3. cap. 1. His accusation against the *Druides*, concerning the Magick Art.

The Mathematicks made a colour to their deceipting.

Cornelius Lentulus, and *Publius Licinius Crassus*, Consuls of Rome.

Moneths and yeares, and of the world after thirty yeares. Because that then she is in her strength, you being in diminution of her moiety, and they terme it by a word in their language, signifying, To be helping in all things. They prepare the sacrifice and a banquet under those Trees bringing thither two Bulles wholly white, the hornes whereof are as yet scarce able to be bound. The Priest, clothed in a white Robe, mounteth up the Tree, and cutteth the branches with a Sickle of Gold, and such as fall are received in a white cloth. Then they offer their sacrifices, making their prayers that God will make their gift prosperous and happy, for them to whom they intend the giving. They are of opinion, that such things being given in drinke to any sterile or barren body, either of women or beasts, will make them fruitful, and be able that it is a soveraigne remedy against all poisons. Thus sometimes a Religion is made among men in matters merely frivolous, and not of any importance.

Thus you see what Pliny saith, concerning the mysteries of the Gaules Magick, wherein he findes the greeke etymology of the name of the Druides (although that it is a Gaulish name, to wit, of Dryon, as already hath bene said) as in all languages you may finde infinite words, which (by some conniunity) seeme to be derived from another tongue: as in like manner the Mathematicians, in their moneths and yeares, and the Chronology of their ages, do declare sufficiently, that the Mathematicall disciplines, albeit after the Greekes descriptions, do not alwaies fall out to be one and the same. But letvs pursue some other examples of Pliny.

In his one and twentieth Booke, and the eleventh Chapter, hee speaketh thus. There is a certaine hearbe, like unto Sabine, called Selago, which is gathered without any yron weapon, by the right hand, thrust into some left-handed plowe or steene, in manner of a sheefe. And the party must be clothed with a white garment, having his feete naked and cleanly washed: and sacrifice must be performed with Bread and Wine, before any offer of gathering, and modestly brought thither in a new Napkin. The Druides of the Gaules have written, that this hearbe is very soveraigne against any perill or dreaded danger, and also that the smoke thereof is profitable for the diseases in the eyes. They haue also another hearbe, which they call Samola,

which groweth in moist and waterish places, and they use to gather it alwaies with the left hand: it serueth against all diseases in Swine and Kine, and whoeuer gathereth it, must not (by any meanes) be seene, neither must he bring it into any other place, then a gutter or brooke, and there breake or bruise it in the water, that the Beasts may swallow it in their drinking.

In the same place is recited another Magick of the Gaulish Druides, whereunto (in the third Chapter of the twentieth Booke, written by the said Author) there is another very like euery way. Moreover (saith hee) there are a certaine kinde of Egges, whereof great account is made in Gaul, and whereof the Greekes haue not made any mention. Summer causeth an infinite number of Serpents to heape themselves together, writhing and embracing in a kinde of artificiall hugging: when either by the moisture issuing from their mouthes, or slimy scumme of their owne bodies, that which they call the Serpentine Egge is engendered. The Druides say, that (by their hissing or whistling) it is exalted up into the Ayre, and in the meane while it must be received downe in some robe or garment, because it may not touch the earth. But he that receiues it, must make great speed away upon a horse, because the Serpents will pursue him swiftly, untill they find hinderance by some River or Water. The proofe and experience thereof is, when it is floated against the water, especially when it is enchaied in gold. But as the cunning of Magicians is well contriued, for the more ingenious conueryng of their fraud: so they say, that it must be taken in a certaine Moone, as if it were lawfull in humane iudgement, to accord such an operation of Serpents. Verily, I haue seene this kinde of Egge, of the bignesse of an indifferent round Apple, bearing a crust or shell like a gristle, seamed with little mouthes or opening, like to them which are on the armes of the Polypus or Pourcortrell, and the Druides holde it for a most notable thing. It is highly esteemed, as for gaining victory in fights and combats, and to haue access to Kings & Princes: by such an abuse, and no other reason that I know, a Romaine knight of the Poenitians, was put to death by the Emperor Claudius, onely in regard of fighting, for he alwaies carried such an Egge in his bosome. Neuertheless, the embracing and colligation of Serpents, and the alliance of the most cruell creatures, seemeth to haue bene

Another
hearb for the
help of cast.

Plin. in lib. 20.
cap. 3.
Concerning the
Egges of
Serpents.

The Druids
opinion of the
Serpentine
Egge.

The Author
saith hee
to haue
seene
such an Egge.

A Romaine
Knight put to
death by the
Emperor
Claudius
in regard
of the
Serpentine
Egge.

The ceremonies
in the sacrifice of the
Druides.

A present remedy
against barrenness
and poyson.

Plin. in lib.
21. cap. 11.
A hearb
used much of
the Druides,
for all eyeforeshed:
hylope

bee the cause, whereby strange Nations (as an argument of peace) made a Caduceus of Serpents writhed round about, and it hath bene a custom: also, that they should be created in the Caduceus.

Thus hath Pliny noted the Serpentine Egge, to proceede from the Gaules Magick, and that for this cause onely, the Knight was thine by the Emperor, who stood in feare of this Magick. Finally, the Romanes, to abolish utterly the discipline of the Druides, tooke occasion by this Magickall superstition: but though impiety, superstition, magick and vices may be rooted out, yet vertue will continue still sound and intire. Would to God that the Romanes had maintained in like place, and in like number, the Gaules as the Greeks. The Empire hath bene snatched from the Greeks, but Learning and Artes was left with them still. Greeke hath bene contriained to make way for the Latine tongue: but yet continually Grammer, Rhetorick and Philosophy hath bene, and yet is taught in greeke. What greeke then was it to the Romanes, to expulse not onely the Gaulish Iudges from their seates: but the professors also, yea, the very sciences & disciplines of the Gaules out of their Schooles?

Immortal Gods, the Gaules authentick race,
You thought to hold true eminence and place,
And so should still, were gifts in equal grace.

But we conuert our affections too earnestly, to the glory and honour of our owne particular, which honour we may becomae, being too greedily carried away with a mighty spleene against the name of the Gaules. But let vs now proceede to finish the rest.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the Iustice exercised in Ancient Gaule, compared with that of the Romanes, by dividing the chiefe men into two degrees, of Druides and Knights, and two kinde of Magistrates, with the punishment of disobedience to superior Officers.



therto we haue gone thorough three parts of the proposed labour, to wit; The prudence of discipline. The entire knowledge of truth; and likewise of providence. There yet remaineth the fourth part, namely of Iustice, which is Princesse and Mistresse of all other manners. It behooveth vs then, to seeke for the principality of ancient Gaule, and what it was; what power the people had, and what policy was maintained among them: that which we terme the Platonick good and benefit of Temperance, Fortitude, & of Providence, whereby each man hath that belonging to him, without vamping on any thing appertaining to another.

The Common-wealth, at least that of Gaule, whose lockes of hayre being long enough in Cæsars time; was mecerly Timocraticall, and in many parts very like vnto the Roman liberty, as by that which followeth, hee which will examine things particularly, may easily perceiue. Let vs then obserue what Cæsar hath said, and especially concerning customes and behaviour. In all Gaule, or Gallia (saith he in his sixth Booke) all men that are of any make, or made any account of, are diuided into two sorts; to wit, into Druides, and into Obenalliers: for the common people is of no other reckoning, but as vnderlings and flaves, not daring (of themselves) to do any thing, neither are they admitted to conuence in any matter. Be hold what partition Iulius Cæsar hath instituted of himselfe, albeit it is not altogether true which he speaketh of the people, as shall at large bee deliuered hereafter, in place more conuenient for the purpose.

In this partition of Cæsar, There is one (saith he) that Presideth, or is as Primate ouer all the other Druides, that hath cheefe command and authority of the rest. He being dead, if there be any one among the other, that hath the aduantage in worthinesse, or desert: he is to succeed, if there be many of equal parity and condition; he is to be chosen (by votes of the Druides) from among the rest. Diuers times they contend for the soverainety or Mastership by weapons, and so strine who shall haue the prime place.

Here Cæsar propoeth two distinct kinde of Magistrats, one to rule or gouern in diuine things, y other in such as are humane and ciuill. Among the Druides, he institueth

The fourth
part of the
discipline, namely
of the Iustice of the
Gaules.

The common-
wealth of
Gaule in the
time of Cæsar.

Iul. Cæsar in
Com. Lib. 6.

Iul. Cæsar in
Com. Lib. 6.
ut sup.

Two kinds of Magistrats proposed by Caesar in Gaul

teth one, to be as the high or cheef Priest, and he defineth his election, to bee either by Dignity, or by Suffrages, or by Arms. And there is no great difference, between the institution of the Roman high Priest, and this other man: but onely, that at Rome he is annuall or yerely, & in Gaul it seemeth he hath bene perpetuall. That the Druides have bene spread ouer all Gaule, even in Cities, Townes and Burroughs, their estates haue shewne sufficient manifestation: for the Druides did euer command ouer the three principall parts of the Common-wealth: as in profession of Artes, in iudgments, pleading, & ceremonies belonging to their sacrifices. All the younger sort (saith Caesar) haue their recourse to them, to be instructed by them, and to learne sciences, as also a great number of verses; so that some continue there twenty yeares, only to learne knowledge. And surely, an honest stipend or recompence, can neuer want Masters to giue instruction.

The young men resort to the Druides, to learne of the

The Druides exempted from war & taxation.

The Druides (saith Caesar) are not wont to goe to warre, but stand exempted from it, and immunity of all other taxations & charges. So that in regard of such faire acknowledgements and freedoms, there are many that come to be ranked among them, and to follow the study of their disciplines, they are sent thither by their parents & kindred. Let me now entreate yee, and (euen in honest charity) but to obserue well this place alleged by Caesar. Can there be any thing more excellent, or more magnificent, thē when the Primates of a Country, or the Governours and very greatest Princes in a Common-wealth, do make profession of disciplines? Perhaps, some will consider sweatingly on this point, as though wee would haue the cheefest men, and those that are the grauest in our Cities, to keep Schooles, and apply their paines to instruct other. Notwithstanding, let me tell ye, Plato would haue such men (and no other) to take the charge of educating, & deliuering the knowledge of Sciences: because such a place should be as a Seminary or seed-plot, of great, iudicious, and learned men, meete to administer and beare authority in a Common-wealth: wherein the grafts and plants must needs be the more rare and excellent; by how much the grafters and planters are most vertuous and honourable.

Plato, his aduice concerning men of iudgement & learning.

I wonder at the opinion of Pliny, in many passages alledged by him, and especially in this, where he writes: *That with the ancient manners and fashions of Rome, the Land abounded, & did daily bring forth double increase. What was the cause (saith he) of such abundance? The earth was as then husbanded by the hands euen of the cheefest warriors, and, as it is credible, that the earth toyed and reioyced, to be honoured with a share or culture crowned with Laurell, and by the labour of a victorious triumphing conqueror: euen so did it transile and endeavour it selfe the more industriously, to produce the seed sowne in that nature, as to prosper their other warlike proceedings. And the like diligence, for well husbanding the ground, as also to order and direct a potent Army, or else in all other things, which are performed by noble and honest hands: do increase the more abundantly, and become so much the more fertile, by how much they are the more carefully executed. But now adiaies, this faire and honourable mystery, is exercised by foule, infamous, and condemned hands, by men that are either theues, or banifits, or haue lost their eares, or branded with some such other wicked impiation. Notwithstanding, the good earth is not deaffe, who being called Mother, and bids herselfe to labour and fructifie, by a Latine word, called Coli, which significth also to do honour, as beeing thence deriued: whereby it plainly appeareth, that what seuer she now doth or produceth, she doth it but in meere disdain, and against her owne liking. And therefore we must needs mernaile, that no such profits arise in the times of these labourers, as in the famous daies of these flourishing Captaines. So farre extend the words of Pliny.*

But by your fauour, do not we conceiue, that it is as conuenable for vs, to speake of the exercise of disciplines, as of those which concerne the earth? Euen such was the fertility and abundance of the Gaules disciplines, when in the times of our Druides, the Schooles of the Muses, became the Pallaces of Kings; the chaires of Masters, were the seates of Princes; the number of Students, was the company & following of honorable Lords. Then Palles delighted to be in a royall Colledge, vsing one & the same Rector or governor in the common-wealths affaires, & to declare the Sciences and disciplines, explicating those instructions in one self-same manner,

Plin. in lib. 23. cap. 4. Of the ancient manners and behauiours of Rome in the earthis husbandry.

Good and commendable actions doe euer illustrate & manifest themselves.

The Authors answer to the former allegation of Pliny, concerning the flourishing condition of Rome.

The voluntary inclination of the Gaules in former times.

Lucian his picture of Hercules among the Gaules, & the allusion thereof.

manner, for gouerning their Common-wealths. And by the same discretion and providence, they instituted the rules of Arts, Lawes, and Ordinances: wherein all things increased the more prosperously, and more abundantly (by honest labours) as they were the more diligently and respectfully followed. There were many in those daies, who being spurred on by such recompences, and the expectation of those proposed honours, addicted themselves (gladly) to apprehend those disciplines, being sent to the same end & purpose (from the remotest parts) by their parents and kindred.

Hereupon, and for the same occasion, Lucian was the more willing to haue the Gaulish and Cymian Hercules depicted; not onely couered with the depoyle of a Lyon, and a massy Club: but also decrepite, bald, aged, wrinkled, and meager; drawing a great number of Conquered men after him, in chaines of gold fastned to their eares. Their tongues also were pierced thorow, and at them hung little Chaines of gold, in such sort, that those valiant disposed and conquered gallants, followed the Hercules that drew them, he turning oftsoons his face and looks to behold them, with very milde & affable behauiour. And what else was all this, but the eloquence of the Bardes, as also the wisdom of the Sarronides and Druides? which euen at the first sight (without any more regarding) caused such admirable affection to the same. The great number of Students, which submitted themselves vnder their charge, onely to learn their disciplines and goodly knowledge in so many noble things: figured those Chaines of golde. And euen so the Schollers, hung by the eares at the mouths of their Master, as being taken & bound by his rich words, and the sweet doctrine flowing thence. Then did all disciplines flourish, in regard that the professors of them were rare and excellent. But so soon as by the Romaine Empire, the salary and honour of Learning was taken away and abolished, euen as sodainly was the profession of those Disciplines esteemed and held to bee but a seruite and mechanickal thing. Which was the onely occasion, that (necessarily as it were) those honest and liberall studies languished for a long time, and by an ouer-tedious experience,

The extremity of the Romain Emperies, against the Gaules Learning.

hath approoued the saying of the Orator to be true; *That Honor is the Nurse of arts, and all hearts are enflamed with the love of the Sciences, onely in regard of their glorie.* For neuer should any account bee made of such things as are misprized and condemned by euery man.

Thus the loose and burying of the Gaules disciplines, are due to none but vnto the Romaines, by whose tyranny the honour of their profession, and their liberty together, was violently taken from the Druides. Wherefore Melas (who flourisheth vnder Claudius saith. Now are not the braue and worthy Schooles of the Dryydes, because they are become clandestine, and suppressed by other, banished into the deepe & furthest off Forrests. So that the Discipline of the Dryydes, was not onely robbed of her former honour, but compelled in meere feare of danger, to hide her selfe in caues and thickest woodes. Lucane seemeth to take knowledge thereof with Melas, speaking thus of the Dryydes.

—Your dwelling now, is in the strongest and profoundest Forrests.

Caesar also in his fifth booke. The Gaules (saith hee) perceiving from whence the beginning of warres came, held their consultations in the night time, and in desert places. Likewise in the sixteenth booke. The Princes of the Gaules, in their Councells (appointed in Woods and concealed places) complained amongst themselves of their seruitude. Neuertheless, we conclude not, neither by the authority of Melas, nor of Lucane, nor of Caesar, that the Colleges of the Dryydes, that the assembly of Councell, and deliberation of their men of Warre, were in the woods: for that would appeare rather to be a signe of seruitude and constraint, then of erudition or consultation. But proceede we on to speake of the fallacy of wages, and honest presents, usually giuen to the ancient Dryydes. The Dryydes (saith Caesar) doe not onely take the reward of their honest profession, but ouer & besides, the Gaules giue them great honor and reuerence. All castes in controuersie, bee they either publicke or private, are referred to their iudgement. If there happen any thing to bee done amisse, or any murther committed: if there arise any dissention, concerning inheritance, succession, or bounds of Landes: they are

The Gaules discipline overturned by the Romaines tyranny. Pomp. Melas lib. 4. c. 9.

Tal. Caf. in comment. lib. 5. c. lib. 7.

Of the wages and gifts to the ancient Dryydes.

Tal. Caesar in comment. lib. 6.

are them that give sentence, and constitute the reward of well doing, and punishment of misdemeanors. Strabo addeth hecetero (I know not how) that by their Magical superstition, they judge of the fertility of the year, according to the multitude of criminal causes.

But proceede we with the rest of Caesar. If there be any man, either a private, or publique person among the common people, that will not obey their ordinances & decrees: he is interdicted from coming to the sacrifices, which is the most greivous punishment in all their Nation. They that stand so interdicted from the sacrifices, are reputed among the number of lewd & wicked people: All men flyes from them, and euery man stands in feare to speake to them, or to keepe company with them, as dreading some Contagion or Plague should happen to them by such frequentation. And if they demand Law or Justice, it is denied, and may not be granted them, neither may they enjoy any preferment or honor, or the least reverence done vnto them by any. But what manner of sentences or iudgements do the Germanes obserue? What penalties, and punishments are amongst them? It appertaineth to none but Priests, who haue the full power of commanding (saith Tacitus) to impose silence in publicke consultation. Moreover, it is not permitted but to Priests onely, to chastise, beate, or bind them, not as the paine or punishment of the offence, nor by the command of the Prince: but euen as by diuine permission, & as a commandement given by God, whom they make account to be then in presence, and to be assisting in their fights. In Warre also they carry certaine Pictures and Images, vpon which they bring away from their halloved places. The difference of punishment is an inuincible run to the delict. Traytors, and such as forsake their Captaines of their Nation, to doe any seruice vnto a stranger enemy, are hanged vpon the Trees. Vagabondes, Rogues, ydle liuers, and all such as are noted of foule infamie, are drowned in muddie, or in some Adarish place, & covered all ouer with slish. The variety of punishment is much respected there, to the end, that the enormity of the offence, may be knowne by the qualitie of the infliction, and that vice may by no means be couered. But in crimes of lesser nature, the parties which are conuicted, are condemned in Fines, of a certaine number of Horsettes, or other Beasts, whereof one part of the forfeite

is giuen vnto the King, or to the Cittie: and the other part is giuen to him, for whom the penaltie is done, or to his nearest Kindred.

Returne we now again vnto the Druides of the Gaules: for, Caesar defendeth the times and the places, where they did vie to keepe their Sessions. The Druides (saith hee) vpon certaine dayes in the year, and vpon the Borders of the Carnutes (the which Countrey is reputed to bee the verie midst of all Gaule or Gallia) do vse to keepe their great dayes meeting, in a certaine consecrated place, where all sortes of men, that haue suites or Controuersies, make their Assembly, being obedient vnto the sentences & iudgements of the Druides. Caesar doeth not distinguish the times of the year, but onely the place, which was on the Limes and Confines of the Carnutes, as being the Center and middle of Gaule, where the Druides of all the Countreies of Gaule (euen as of all the world) were wont to meete together. Neuertheless, the Cittie of the Carnutes, named Chartres, was (in those ancient times) of much larger extendure, then now it is; and it is very likely, that it contained not onely the Chartrain Diocesse, but that also of Orleans. For before that Caesar arrived there, it was a Realme, which afterward was put by Caesar into the power of Tugetus the Carant, as himselfe hath written in his 5. booke.

In breefe; it seemeth that the Realme of Orleans, which afterwards was a long time maintained to bee a Realme by the Franconians, was the very same of Chartres: Considering withall, that Genabum or Genaba, was one of the Townes in the Carnutes Kingdome, and leated vpon the Riuer of Lotre, beeing in the time of Caesar beyond Orleans, a farr off by a great many Miles, and which hindered him in his way, when hee went from Agendicum to Gergobia. But those Druides assembled themselves together in that place from all partes, as in the Center of Gaule, according as Caesar hath spoken. I say then, that in all Gaule, and in the Citties, Townes, and Villages of Gaule, there were Druides, who gouerned in suites and Controuersies, and likewise in the Ceremonies of Religion: In breefe, the care of all things was committed to them. The Druides were then dispersed thoroughout Gaule, as now adayes are the

Intime Caesar in Com. lib 6

People about Chartres in Celtica.

The generall meeting of all the Druides of Gaule together.

Int. Caesar in Com. lib 5.

A Towne of Denons in Celtica, call'd, Scut or Prouence. b The Towne of Clermont in Auvergne.

Cef. in Com. lib 4. cap. 1.

The obseruation amongst the Germanes

Com. Tacitus in lib. 4. cap. 1.

Priests onely haue the pre-eminence to inflict punishment.

Punishment inflicted according to the qualitie of the offence.

the men of the Church: notwistanding the Princes were wont to refer to a common Councell (at certaine times of the year) all the suites of their Citizens and subiects, wherein the chiefe Priest of the Druides gouerned onely.

Such (in elder times) was the Councell of the Amphictiones, which during the liberty of Greece was kept in Delphos (as Pausanias reporteth in his Phociques) & in the middle of Greece. Whereby appeareth, that the Druides of the Gaules, were like to the Amphictions of Greece, & their place as sacred in the Chartrain Countrey, as inuenerable to the Temple of Delphos, made so famous by the Oracles of Apollo. The matter would haue bene a little the more noble, if Caesar had called the place Delphos, which was consecrated within the limites of the Countrey of Chartres. Herein is shewen the authority, and (almost) royall power, which the Druides not onely held in priuate and particular, but intirely ouer all the people. The profession of Disciplines was in great reputation; the estate of iudgment a most famous authority; the power to performe sacrifices, and to speake of Divination, appertained vnto royall Maiestie.

The first degree of the Gaulish Commonwealth, was that of the Iupreme Magistrat; next, the Princes; then, the Chathalliers; the people made election according to his aduice, and for his benefit, and the commodity in generall, the Princes gaue him order how to make his warres; and such as did not well by their instruction, they would expulse and banish the. But you may demand of me, how this is to be proued? I will answer from Caesar, who speaketh thus in his sixth Booke. In Gaule (saith he) there are certaine factions, not onely in all Citties, Burroughes, and quarters, but also in euery particular Honbold, or the Princes or Heads of such Factions, are they whom they conceine (in their iudgment) to be the worthiest persons for authority: by whose aduice and determination, the verie greatest matters of weight or importance, either for publique affaires or Councell, are wholly disposed. Vpon which occasion it seemeth, that this matter hath bin thus ordered from reuerend Antiquity, that none of the meaneft should be deliuite of helpe, against a rich or potent superior. For there is no man,

that will indure or suffer, that such as appertaine or depend vpon him, shall any way be oppressed or circumuented: for if he offered to do otherwise, hee shall not beare any sway among the people.

Thus you heare what Caesar saith, whereby may be vnderstood, the Timocraticall gouernment of a Commonwealth, which Plato and Aristotle so much commended, and which Greece (being in her libertie, and Italy also) did keepe so carefully: wherein, all the kinds of a iust and equitable policy are comprehended. Note the selfsame reason, in the whole charge of the affaires of Gaule; for there was royaltie in the annuall Magistrate, whereas Aristotle was discerned in the Senate, and briefly, Timocratie in the plaine power & authority of the people, by whom the Senators and Magistrats were created. And therefore let vs goe somewhat neerer, and examine the testimony of Caesar a little more narrowly, speaking of the Common-wealth of our Ancestors.

Such was the freedom and liberty of Gaule (saith Caesar) that in euery City, Towne, and Burrough, and almost in euery house, there were certaine factions, and it was in such sort, that euery one was permitted to deale closely and vnderhandly by voices and suffrages: so that the very meaneft and simplest, had power to giue their sentence, and deliuer their voyces. Heere then we are to vnderstand, that the Electors of the Magistrats amongst the Gaules, were such kind of men. And heereby wee plainly perceiue, that the authority of the people was not small in their Commonwealth: in regard that by voices and suffrages of the people, the Magistrats were then created. But what was hee that had the power to make election of these men? He that was reputed to be in the greatest authority, beside, all the affaires of consequence, and the whole deliberation of the Councell came onely to him. But why was it requisite, that so much authority should be in one Magistrat? Caesar himselfe makes answer vnto this Obiection. Because (vpon this occasion) it seemed that Antiquity (venerably) had so instituted it: to the end, that no man among the people (how meane or poore soeuer) should stand in neede of ayde against the richest oppressor. For he might not indure that any of his faction should be oppressed or circumuented. This then was the end of the

The Timocraticall gouernment of a Commonwealth allowed by Plato & Aristotle.

Caesar in Com. lib 6

Authority of the people amongst the Gauls in creation of their Magistrats.

The voyce of the people in election of their Magistrates.

The punishment of one that beginneth well, and neglecteth his care of the weale publike.

The political authority of the people.

Strabo in lib. 4. c. p. 7.

* Marfiles in France, a Citie, in Provence, which was as famous for Learning as Athens. Strabo in li. 4. cap. 9.

Int. Cas. in com. mem. lib. 1.

the Magistrate, and the reason why the people said; *We will not have this man, except by his vertue, and by his authority, he do defend that no man offer vs injury. We will not have this man, because he is both bad and ignorant.*

But if a good Prince, who (at the beginning) hath made prooffe of his vertue, happened afterwards to change his manners; and as one that hath no longer care of the weale publike, propofeth his owne particular profit before the publike, and carry himfelfe otherwise then the Ordinances of the people haue commanded: he is excluded and banished, and (as Caesar saith) *Deprived of all power and authority among his owne people.* And to the end that this might not be imagined to be observed in some one Citie only, *The selfe same course (saith Caesar) is kept thoroughout all Gaule.* Herein then may be noted, the political authority of the people, when Magistrates are not onely chosen by the people, but also depofed & expelled. But Caesar saith nothing, whether this principality was constituted in the authority of many, or of one onely, neither for how long time it continued. Neithertheleffe, Strabo (in his fourth booke) defineth both the one and the other, saying: *There were many kinds of Aristocratical policy, in ancient times they elected every yeare a Prince, as the people elected a Chief or Commander for the warre.* Thus wee see, what Strabo saith: but a matter for goodly and commendable, should bee enriched with fower examples.

Cicero hath fo highly extolled the commonwealth of the Massilians, that before the people of Rome, in the defence of Fonticus, hee sayde: That the Discipline and grauity of the City of * Marfiles, deserved not onely to bee preferred equall to Greece, but almost with all other Nations of the world. In that Citie (saith Strabo) there were fixe hundred Senators, whome they termed *Timouches*, as men honourable, and who (all their life time) enjoyed that honour: from forth of which number, were elected and chosen fifteene Princes, to iudge such suits & causes, as happened day by day amongst them. And questionleffe, these were the fixe hundred *Marfilians*, and the fifteene cheefest men among them, whereof Caesar speaketh in his first booke. But let vs

go on with the words of Strabo. *Out of these fifteene (saith hee) they elected three, which had the most authority and power.* In this manner Strabo describeth the Common-wealth of the Massilians, which neuertheles I alledge not as a name of Gaule onely, because it was better beloued and esteemed to be Greekish, rather the Gaulish: but also, because none of those *Timouches* was to bee elected, that had not bin a childe borne there, and had not bene a Citizen, euen to the third race or descent, as the same Strabo saith. Vpon this occasion, Aristotle (and very delectfully) calleth the Common-wealth of the Massilians *Oligarchie*, and not *Aristocratie*: for this declareth her Oligarchie, that Princes were not elected by their vertue, but in regard of their race.

I doe not alledge (I say) this Common-wealth, as an example of the Gaules Common-wealth: I desire to deliuer their owne true estates indeed, and those that truly were of Gaule, and first of all in general of all Gaule; next, of the Nations, and then particularly of euery Citie. The fcauenth Booke of Iulius Caesar, shall serue as a sufficient Testimonie in my common example, wherein Gaule is intirely described, both in orders, and all reuennues: albeit in the fcauenth yeare of the warres in Gaule, great store of the afflicted Townes and Citties, had diminished much of their reuennues. First (by a Common Councell) *Percingetorix* was elected for cheefe Commander, as Caesar himfelfe saith, when the *Hedunians* fought, that the Empire might bee giuen to them, as the matter came then in controuerfie. *The whole Councell of Gaul (saith hee) was called as, Bibraete or Beaulne, where arrived a great number of men, and the Election was appointed to the most voyces: but by general consent it was concluded that Percingetorix should be Emperor, & the cheefe Leader of their Armies.* Onely Caesar saith, that the men of *Rhemus*, the *Lingones*, and the *Treuirians* were not present at this Councell: but hee maketh no mention at all of the Aquitaines.

Afterward, when *Percingetorix* was besieged nere to * *Alexia*, the Gauls then called another Councell; wherein was ordained, that a certaine number of martial men should command ouer euery towne. And it was concluded, that fixe & thirtie thou-

The nature of the timouch election among the people.

The Comm. wealths trulle of Gaule, and according as they were in the reuennue of the Gaulish warre,

a Bibraete Towne of Bray, in the country of Rochell in France.

b A Towne in Champagne in Belgica.

c Langres in the iurisdiction of Tullin in Belgica.

d Now called Allet, Lamoy, or Alys.

The powers that commanded ouer the feuerall townes and Citties.

a The whole Countrey of liule Britaine.

4. Captains to loyn with the other Councell.

b Artois in Belgica. Int. Cas. in com. lib. 7.

The Celts did differ from the Gaules in the ceremony of Councell.

c The people of Vannes in Britaine.

thousand men should command the *Hedunians*, and their neighbors the *Secufians*, *Ambinacres*, *Aulerkes*, *Brannonikes*, & the *Brannonians*. The like number was appointed to the men of *Anuerne*, together with the *Cadurcians*, *Heluterians*, *Gaballes*, and *Vellannians*, who were vnder the domination of the *Anuerians*. To the *Sequanes*, *Senones*, *Biturigians*, *Santorigians*, *Ruthenes* and *Carnutes*, were appoynted twelve thousand men. To the *Bellocanaces* ten thousand, and as many to the *Limoignes*. To the *Poitouines*, *Tourangeans*, *Parisians*, and *Heluetians*, eight thousand to each. To the *Sueffones*, *Amangeans*, *Mediomatrics*, *Petrocorians*, *Neruians*, *Morines*, and the *Nitiobrigians*, fixe thousand to each. To the *Aulerians* and *Cenomanians* as many. To the *Atrebatians* four thousand. To the *Bellocasians*, *Lexobians*, and *Aulerkes Eburones*, three thousand to each. To the *Rauracians* and *hoians*, two thousand a peece. To all the Citties that border vpon the Ocean, and (according to their manner) are called * *Armorica*, fixe thousand.

Heere we haue a view of the publique Councell, vniuersally obserued thoroughout Gaule, and one selfe same manner of behauiour, and answerable to the *Amphytriones*, of assigning by a Councell publique, the estate and reuennues of euery Citie. Notwithstanding, one onely man did not command ouer all these Companies: but there were foure captains, with whom were ioyned some Councillors of these Citties. Caesar in the same place saith: *That the whole charge of these affaires of the Empire, was giuen to Camius the Atrebatian, to Viridomarus, to Eporodix the Hedunian, and to Iergasilanus of Anuerne, Cosine Germane to Percingetorix by the mothers side: and vnto them were assigned certaine other chosen persons of the Citties, as Councillors for the warre.* Neuertheleffe, we may obserue, if in all the Gaulish Nations, the same estate of commonwealth was kept, as among the Celts, Belges, and Aquitaines.

In the time of the warre in Gaul, it neuer hapned, that the Celts kept the like ceremony of Councell: for the greater part of them were associated with the Romaines, either by amity or alliance, or by what kind of dutie else, I know not. Notwithstanding, in the war of the * *Ventes*,

a coniuration was made of the *Armorican* Citties, the * *Ventes*, the * *Ofsifians*, the * *Lexobians*, the * *Nannets* or *Nannetians*, the * *Disblinters*, the * *Curiofolites*, the * *Vuellians*, the *Ambiliates*, and the *Eburones*. Suddenly were *Ambassadors* sent (saith Iulius Caesar in his third booke) and by aduice of their Princes & Noblemen, they conferred together. *To do nothing without Councell, and to abide such disasters as Fortune should send vnto them. Soliciting the rest of the Citties, to choofe rather to continue in the liberty which they had receyued from their Ancestors, then to endure the seruitude of the Romaines.* Neuertheleffe, the cheefe Head or Commander of all the Army, is not named by Caesar in any part whatsoever. And yet in the publique councell of the Belgians (whereby was plainly and openly determined against Caesar, the intire liberty of all Gallia:) the maine and eminent charge of the affaires (by the wil and consent of all men) was put on Gallia King of the * *Sueffones*, as well in regard of his owne good deservings, as for his wisdom and prouidence.

In this warre at that time, the * *Bellouacanes* contributed to the number of three score thousand armed men; the *Sueffones* fifty thousand; as many the *Neruians*, the *Atrebatians* fifteene; the *Ambians* ten; the *Morines* fixe and twenty; the * *Menapians* feuen; the *Caletines* ten; the *Pelocassians* & *Veromandunians* as many; the *Aduatians* nineteene; the *Condrusians*, *Eburones*, *Ceressians*, *Pemianians* (which all by one name are called *Germanes*) forty thousand. Here is to be seene a Common Councell indeede, and thereby likewise, the intire power and authority of euery Citie. Such a coniuration also was amongst the Aquitaines, of whom Caesar writeth thus: *Then the Aquitaines began to send forth Ambassadors, and to interchange Hostages, to muster men of warre, and to craue ayde of the Cantabrians their Neighbors: as also to elect for their Capitaines, certain men that had serued (all their time) with Q. Sertorius: & therefore were reputed to bee most expert in the actions of Armes.* It is then plaine and apparant by the places before alledged; that the policy proposed by Caesar, was not onely common to all Gaules; but likewise generally in recommendation to all the Nations.

CHAP.

d People of Landreque in Britaine.
e Or Londall, in liule Britaine.
f Or Nannet in Britaine.
g Or Councell in liule Britaine.
h Of Perche.
i Of Auariche in liule Britaine.
k Of Liege in Belgica.

k The people of Soissons in Belgica.

l The people of Beausoyun in Celtica.

m The people of Galesiad & Cleueland.

Int. Cas. in com. lib. 4.

n The people of Biscay in Spaine.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the forme of Government observed in the Common-wealths of the severall Cities and Nations: and what their Rulers and Magistrates: as also how they attained to their authority.



ET vs now particularly illustrate the Governments in the Common-wealths of the Nations and Cities of the people. And first of all, let vs speake of the Celts, among whom the Heluetians have bene reputed to be the most braue and valiant Nation. What administration & government of Common-wealth hath bene observed in their cheefest City? The City of the *Heluetians* was situated betwene *Rhein* & *Rhone*, as also the Mountain *Jura*, in a triangular forme or shape, having twelue towns, and foure hundred Villages, & the whole diuided into foure Regions: yet not for warre onely, but likewise for Iustice, and for doing right to all men. There were two, named by *Caesar* himselfe, * *Tigurine* and *Verbigenia*. These Regions were as one Parliament, that had the whol charge of the affairs of the Realme, and for matters of consequence, were wont to come into a publike Councell, where for the Election of a Prince, hapned a coniuration amongst them of the Citie, to burne all their Townes, Burroughes, and Villages, to forsake their owne limites, and by force to seize and surprize the kingdome of the Gaules.

For the better execution of this enterprize, *Orgetorix*, one of the most apparant and Noblemen was made choise of; and this act declared at the first, even a meere and certaine *Timocraticall* affliction. *Orgetorix* overcome with a courteous affection of Soueraignty and reigning, imbraceth this Conspiracie: but the issue requieth obseruation, after the matter came to be discouered. This happening to the knowledge of the Heluetians, by some presumptions and coniectures, *Orgetorix* was taken prisoner, and they would haue

compelled him (according to their manner) to confesse the truth: which if he fell out to be approued, their Law condemned him to be burned with fire. *Orgetorix* summoned to this Sessions all his friends, kindred, and alliance, who were in number ten thousand men, together with his seruants and debtors, who were a great company, that they might assit in the case of iudgement. Hee preuayled so well by this multitude of men, that hee freed himselfe from answering to his enditement, or disclosing vpon what occasion hee was incited to this matter of conspiracy.

In the meane space, while the Citie (being offended) sought to maintain the execution of their Lawes by the sword, & the Magistrates nexted men from all parts: *Orgetorix* dyed in prison, not without suspicion (as the Heluetians imagined) of murdering himselfe. *Kingdomes* (saith *Caesar*) were bought in Gaul, by such as were most potent and abounding in riches, and such as had the meanes to command most men at their pay. But what these kingdomes were, is easily to be coniectured, by the example of *Orgetorix*, and by others beside, whereof we are to speake hereafter. The Common-wealth then of the Heluetians, was parted in this manner by Regions, as at this day that of the Switzers is, who viurp and make vse of the borders of the Heluetians. Next, there were three great Cities of the *Heduanes* and * *Aruernians*; let vs now suruey these Common-wealths, and first that of the *Heduanes*, who were the very brauest and most valiant people, when *Caesar* made his warre in Gaule. Let vs make a good obseruation of this Common-wealth, and how (in three kindes of a iust and commendable government) it was iudicially ordered & maintained.

By a yearly election of Priests, in a certaine place, at a certaine time, & of diuers delects, amongst the *Heduanes* was chosen one called a *Vergobret*, who had full power as a King, and absolute authoritie of life and death; but he was not permitted to go forth of their iurisdiccions. *Caesar* in his first booke, making mention of the *Heduanes*, speaketh in this manner. After he had summoned together the cheefe Noblemen and Princes in his Campe, amongst whom were *Dinnianus* and *Liscus*, who at that

Orgetorix supported his bad cause by power.

Orgetorix thought by the Heluetians to kill himselfe in prison. Jul. *Caes.* in com. lib. 1.

* People by the River of Leyre in France

The election year by year: of a *Vergobret* among the *Heduanes*

Jul. *Caes.* in com. lib. 1.

The particular government in every Common-wealth of the Nations.

The situation of the Heluetians in their Cities, townes and villages.

* The Canton of Zurich.

Orgetorix cheefe in the conspiracie against the Heluetians, which hapned to be reuealed, and hee imprioued.

that time was the cheefe Magistrate, and by the *Heduanes* called *Vergobret*, created year by year, & having power of life and death.

The rest is reported in the tenth Booke, where is declared how the Senate and people of the *Heduanes*, were in a great sedition about their Magistrate, for the appealing whereof, *Caesar* was called: these are his own words. The Princes Ambassadors of the *Heduanes*, came to *Caesar* & intreated him, that he would come to succour their Citie, especially in a time of such necessity, when their Common-wealth was in great danger. For where as (in former time) they were wont to haue but one Magistrate year by year, who had authority Royall: now there were two that bare that Office, yet both making their account, to be created by order of Law. One of them was called *Conuictolitanus*, a man in the flower of his youth, of great power, and well allyed: the other named himselfe *Cottus*, of a most ancient race, and one that was able to doe much: whose brother, named *Valetiacus*, had borne the same Office the year before. Moreover they sayd, that all the City was up in Armes, that the Senate and the people were diuided, each holding apart their severall factions: And if this mutinie should bee suffered for any long time among them, and no other means of help were afforded, they would make prize and bootie of one another, and all must goe to generall ruine.

Caesar, though he knew it to be a dangerous matter, to forbear his wars, and depart from his enemy: yet, in regard he was not ignorant what great inconveniences do grow out of such distentions; and fearing withall, that such a Citie, so well allyed to the Roman people, which he had alwayes maintained, and furnished with all things he could devise; least also the part that was most distrustfull of him, should send for ayde to King *Vercingetorix*, he resolved to go thither, & prevent the perill betimes. And because, by the Lawes of the *Heduanes*, the cheefe Magistrate might not absent himselfe out of the countrey, as doubting thereby, that hee should diminish any part of their right & Lawes; hee went himselfe in person vnto them, and called before him all the Senat, and they also among whom the strife had happened. When the whole Citie was (well-neere) assembled together, and hee was fully informed, that by the consent

of a few, priuily congregated together in an vnmeete place, and at an vnlawfull time; vnderstanding withall, that one brother had subrogated the other in his place; contrary to the lawes, which plainly did prohibit, that two of one Linage and family (being both liuing) should not onely bee disabled from creation in the Magistracie, but also not admitted into the Senat: *Cottus* was compelled to giue ouer his Office, and *Conuictolitanus* (who according to the custome of the City, vpon the ceasing of the former Magistrate, had bene created by the Priestles) had the full authority appointed to him. *Caesar* wrote all this himselfe, about the commotion of the *Heduanes*, whereby most clearly appeareth: that the royall dignitie was in the *Vergobret*, and the authority of the Seigneurie in the Senat; and finally, the Democraticall power in all the people.

But to know what, and how noble this City was, wee need no more then to look vpon many Townes, as were in the protection of the *Heduanes*, whereof *Caesar* speaketh in his Commentaries. Among them of greatest note in this Common-wealth, is *Sibrac* named, whereinto *Caesar* (as he writeth in his first booke) meant to go (as to the principal place of the *Heduanes* Nation) to haue Corne of the *Heduanes*. And to this place (as it is recorded in his tenth booke) *Litanicus* had withdrawn himselfe, because this was a Citie highly authorized among the *Heduanes*, and there the Magistrate *Conuictolitanus*, with a great part of the Senat came vnto him. Thither also were all the hostes of Gaule brought, when *Caesar's* Guards were slaine at *Noviodunum*. And there likewise was assigned the Councell of all Gaule, against *Caesar*: and thither also (finally) *Caesar*, after that he had recovered the *Heduanes*, betooke himselfe to winter for that season. This City (I say) was the very principal of the *Heduanes*, & (as the ambassador said in the Panegyricke of *Conuictolitanus*) it was after called *Italia*, *Polia*, *Florentia*, *Flania*. Moreover (in his 7. booke) *Cabilone*, & *Maticon* on *Arar*, are named among the *Heduanes*, and *Noviodunum* on *Leyre*. These that I haue named were their Tributaries, but their honors were the greatest in all Gaul. For the *Riturgis*, where in elder times were the ancient Kings of the Gaules; the *Senones*, and

Caesar's sentence concerning this important difference.

Briefe of a cheefe Citie among the *Heduanes*, & whereinto *Litanicus* had made his retreat.

a The Towne of Chalons in Burgundy.
b The River Saone.
c Maticon, a city of Celtica by the River Saone, now called Malmont or Mascort.
d Leyre, a River in Loire.

The *Heduanes* in sedition about their Magistrate Jul. *Caes.* in com. lib. 7.

Two Magistrates instead of one, *Conuictolitanus* & *Cottus*.

Great dangers grow out of particular variations.

Caesar goeth in person, to appease the distention amongst the *Heduanes*.

§ The People of Beauvoisyne in Celtica.

Jul. Caesar in Com. lib. 6.

Plin. in Lib. 9. cap. 17. & 18

The Commonwealth of the Aruernians, and the extendure thereof.

Strabo in lib. 4. cap. 7.

The two famous batells of the Gauls.

Titus Livius in lib. 61. cap. 10.

Jul. Caesar in Com. lib. 1.

and (by the same meanes) the *Parisians* (who were in the protection of the *Senones*) their Clients, as being under their protection. So then, the City and Commonwealth of the *Hedunnes* had the most absolute authority in all Gaul anciently: according as hee hath written in his first Booke, but as wee may sooner see in his first booke; at all times it had the principality throughout Gaul, especially before it had aspired to the friendship of the Romane people. But after that the *Hedunnes* were called: Cousins and Brothers to the Romains: what decrees of the Senate, how many times, and in what honourable manner were they pronounced on their behalfe? VVe see then, that such and so great a City of Celtick Gaul, had had this *Democraticall* Commonwealth, and *Pliny* numbers it not among the Tributaries, but among the Cities allied together.

Now, concerning the commonwealth of the *Aruernians*, it was sometime the cheefest of Gaul; for (anciently) there were two Leagues throughout Gaul, as we read in the first booke: the *Hedunnes* were the ring-leaders of the one, and the *Aruernians* of the other. And *Strabo* hath related in his 4. booke, that that of the *Aruernians*, was more potent than the other; extending their Seignidury so farre as the confines of the *Narbonians* and *Maisilins*: to the Pyrenean Mountaines, to the Ocean, and to the *Rhine*. In like manner he speaketh faithfully concerning two cruell batrailes of the Gauls, giuen under the conduct of *Bittus* the *Aruernian*: and *Strabo* reporteth them in the same place, & *Titus Livius* in his 61. booke. The one was against *Domitius*, at the confluent of *Sulgo* and of *Rhone*; and the other against *Fabius* at *Tijara* & the same *Rhone*: where by we may plainly perceiue, that there was the same forme of Commonwealth, as formerly we haue spoken of.

For the Romane Senate, as it is in the first booke, being willing that the vanquished Gauls, or repulsed (at least) from the confines of the Roman Prouince, should continue in their franchises and liberties: nay, which is more, to the end that Gaul might remaine in the greater libertie; or, indeed, that *Bittus* himselfe (King of the *Aruernians*, according as *Titus Livius* ter-

meth him in his 61. booke) who was gone to Rome to purge himselfe, should be kept in guard within *Alba*: but *Centuriatus* his son was taken and brought to Rome. Afterward, *Celtillus* the Father of *Percingetorix*, although he had held the principall place of all Gaul in a warre, yet notwithstanding, because hee pretended to make himselfe King, as is the 7. booke, the City put him to death. *Percingetorix*, by the meanes of his own people, was saluted as King of the *Aruernians*, and likewise it is said in the same booke, that all the Gauls called him King: neuertheless, vpon the same occasion hee was charged with treason, and hee came in iudgement before them as soueraigne Iudges, and in the end, couetousnes in desire of rule, procured alike to the father and son.

Thus the Kings were excluded out of the Commonwealth of the *Aruernians*, & they remained at liberty, even to the time of *Caesar*. And *Pliny* (in his time) remembereth it amongst the Cities of the *Celts*, which were at freedom: and then it had no lesse protection, then they of the *Hedunnes* as is already made manifest by the numbring of military forces formerly declared. The City then of the *Aruernians* hath anciently bin the Lady ouer that of the *Hedunnes*, and after that, the *Hedunnes* affected rather to bee brethren and cosines of the *Romans*, then of the *Aruernians*: they became like vnto them in habits and manners. And when at the last coming of *Caesar*, the *Hedunnes* were overcome & spoiled by the *Germanes*, yet were they then far greater in forces. Finally, when (by the courtesie and fauor of *Caesar*) the *Hedunnes* were not only replanted in their former condition; but it plainly appeared that they had more countenance and authority, then euer before: yet the other were equall to them, and alike in wealthie possessions. But in fauour and esteem throughout all Gaul, they were much greater; as the election of *Percingetorix* hath sufficiently shewne. VVherefore we may perceiue, that the liberty of a Commonwealth remained in these two cities of *Celtick* Gaul. For the remainder of the other that were of meaner ranke, hee speaketh not so much as of any one King, or of a Prince: but only we heare no other name, then of the people, and of the City.

The *Hedunnes* vanquished and spoiled by the *Germanes*.

Bittus & his son *Centuriatus* sent to Rome to the Senate.

Percingetorix and his father both put to death.

King expelled out of the *Aruernians* commonwealth.

The *Hedunnes* vanquished and spoiled by the *Germanes*.

The freedom of a commonwealth, in two *Celtick* Gaul Cities.

People of *Sensio* in *Celtica*.

Villennus in Loitane.

Canarinus K. of the *Senons* but expelled by them.

Jul. Caesar in Com. lib. 7. The commonwealth of the *Parisians*.

The Cittle Character in Loitane.

Tafgetius K. of the *Canarnes*, slain by his cuemies.

People of Mount pelier in Celtica.

The commonwealth observed among the *Belgians*.

among the principals, and of great authority among the *Celts*. Of some store of Towns that were vnder it, *Caesar* hath named two, *Agnetecum* & *Vellunodunum*. *Caesar* wrought by certaine meanes, that *Canarinus* was their King; because *Mortisagus*, brother to *Canarinus* and his ancestors, had held the same authority in that realme, for *Caesar* had undertaken this colour, only to establish a kingdom there. Neuertheless, the *Senones*, although *Caesar* was present, essayed by a councill publike, to put *Canarinus* to death. And as he (hauing intelligence thereof) fled away, they pursued him so far as the Frontiers, expelling him from his house & kingdom. The commonwealth of the *Parisians* was the like, by that which we read in his 7. Booke. For the *Parisians*, by a Common Councell of diuers Cities, vnderooke warre for the liberty of their country, electing *Camulogenus* to bee their commander, by reason of the experience hee had in actions of Armes, and the good will they bare vnto him.

Carnutum also was a great City, as already hath bin shewn, & *Caesar* wrought the like meanes to establish a kingdom there. Among the *Carnutes* there was one *Tafgetius*, a man descended of a great place and whose Ancestors had held dominion in that City. *Caesar* (as he saith himself) in regard of his vertue, and for the good will hee had found in him, because hee had bene a great helpe to him in all the wars, planned him in the same place which his Ancestors had held. Hee had reigned but 3. yeeres, when his enemies being authorized by many men of the city, openly slew him. These Cities then had their *Bruti*, as well as Rome. So *Caesar* named the Senate of the *Eburones*, *Lexobians*, and *Vennetes*. At the same time, *Teutomatus* was king of the *Nitiobrigians*, but by a publike Councell of Gaul, hee yielded obedience against *Caesar*. This may serue as sufficient, concerning the government of the *Celtic* Cities.

What then is to be said of the Cities of the *Belgians*? By what manner of Empire were they particularly gouerned? The extendure of the men of *Rhemes* was very great: because it ioyned with the *Segnans*, *Mediomatrics*, *Treuirians*, *Veromandunians*, and the *Sweftones*. Notwithstanding, in all these parts, hee nameth but two towns

or Cities, *Durocororum* and *Bibrax*. In the first Booke, the councell of Gaul was assigned at *Durocororum*; and in the second booke *Bibrax* was besieged. Concerning the men of *Rhemes*, in the time of *Caesar*, they hadde the managing of the Gauls, and held the second place in dignity, next to the *Hedunnes*. *Caesar* nameth their Senate, and the Prince and Prouost of the city, as that *Pertiscus*, whereof wee haue already spoken.

In the time of *Caesar*, the *Sweftones* had *Diuitiacus* as their king, who was the most powerfull man in all Gaul, and who opened a great part on this side of the Empire which hee helde, holding also the Empire of Great *Bretaigne*. After *Galba* (of whom hee hath spoken) hee succeeded. But wee may vcll perceiue hereby, what manner of kingdom this was: in regard that the *Sweftions* (who were brothers & cosines to the men of *Rhemes*) vsed the same course of authority, and the same lawes, hauing one and the same Gouernement, and one Magistrate, as they had. For such are the vwords of *Caesar* himself, by whom one only Magistrate was allowed in their cities. But yet notwithstanding, the *Sweftions*, although they were brethren; yet they had a field (apart) of great largeness, and very fertile, and twelue towns, vvhich of *Caesar* nameth onely one, vvhich is *Naiudunum*, and vvhich *Caesar* (after the *Belgians* were retired to him) paising thorough the countrey, essayed to surprize. But hee could not compasse it, by reason of the deepnesse of the ditch, and height of the wall: and yet there were but vvere few people to defend it.

Wee come now to the *Bellouacenses*, what kind of commonwealth was kept among them? These men were highly esteemed with the *Belgians*, for their vertue, authority & number of people. For their extendure was from the limits of the *Senons*, & also fro the *Normans*, so termed at this day (even there where the river of *Seine*, throwes it selfe into the sea) so far as *Callete*, known by the name of *Calice*. *Caesar* nameth *Bratupanium*, a city of the *Bellouacenses*. But by what forme of commonwealth did they gouern their city? They chose their Princes, as (among other) *Corbus*, vvhich though his Army had bin defeated yet vould he neuer for any discomfort hapning, or possible to befall him; nei-

§ The City of *shemes* in France.

Diuitiacus K. of the *Sweftions*, and held the Empire of Great Britain

A Towne in *Belgica*, next to *P. ris*, call'd *Noyon*.

Briget, 68. *dis*, *celsum*.

b Riding nere the borders of *Langres*, and low *Bourguindy*.

ther forfake the fight, nor retire into the woods, but fought valiantly, & in wounding many, compelled his conquerors to runne in vpon him, and so to kill him in their rage and fury. *Caſar* alſo maketh mention of the Senate of the *Belouacanes*, and authority of the Comminality: whence enſued the excuſe, which the Senate of the *Belouacanes* made to *Caſar*: That during the life of *Corbus* the Senate had neuer the like power in the City, as the common ignorantans had.

But now concerning the moſt potent Citie of the * *Neruians*, after what manner of order were they governed? The body of the *Neruians*, is diuided into members of diuers names, as of *Hannonia*, *Fladders*, and *Brabant*, and the name of the *Neruians* ſignifieth no more than a Citie or Towne, including (as now adays our words are) of *Hannoyers*, *Flemings*, & *Brabanters*. And why you may aſke mee? Where to I can make no other anſwere, then as already I haue done, when as the *Neruians* had neither Towne or City: but I will diſcouſe the bounds and limites of that ſometime moſt noble Citie, according as *Caſar* himſelfe hath deſcribed it; obſerue then what I ſhall ſay vnto you.

When the *Ambians* had ſubmitted themſelues, *Caſar* went thither, to goe to the *Neruians* which were their Neighbors. And hauing made three daies journey into the Country of the *Neruians*, he found by report of ſome that hee had taken: that there was no more then tenne miles diſtance from his Campe to the riuer * *Scaldus*. This *Scaldus*, which paſſed through the middeſt of the *Neruians* Country, runneth now through the middeſt of *Hennault*: wherefore the Country of the *Hannoyers*, is comprehended within y of the *Neruians*. Of *Caſar* himſelfe we may learne the limites of the country of *Flanders*, which is in firme land, and alſo of *Brabant*, for there is a paſſage in the ſift booke, which maketh well to this purpoſe. VVhen *Ambiorix* (after that *Sabinus* and *Cotta*, Lieutenants Generals, were ouercome with a Legion and ſixe Companies neere to *Vatua*, which is in the *Eburones* land) exhorted the *Neruians* to doe the like to the Legion that paſſed the winter ſeaſon to their country, vnder the charge of *Quintus Cicero*. Hee perſwaded eaſily (ſaith *Caſar*) the *Neruians*, and there-

upon diſpatched meſſengers immediately to the *Centrones*, *Grudians*, *Leukes*, *Pleumofians* and *Gordunes*, who were all vnder their obedience, and ioyned together the greateſt forces that they were able to make. Theſe are the very words of *Caſar*. But the *Grudians* & *Leukes* were enſkirted with *Lothane*, in the Country of *Brabant*; and the *Gordunes* (as much to ſay as the men of *Gauwt*) were in the Mediterrane country of *Flanders*. Likewise the *Pleumofians*, whom ſome doe hold to be them of *Cortray*: And they that are of this opinion, do plant the *Centrones* in the Dioceſſe of *Liege*.

This ſo great Commonwealth of the *Neruians*, and which was of ſuch large extendure, elected a Prince, ſuch as *Bodwognatus* was in the firſt warre of the *Neruians*. It had alſo a very great Senat, for *Caſar* reckoneth vp ſixe hundred Senators of the *Neruians*. After that the *Atrebatians* were vanquiſhed, *Caſar* gae them *Comius* (who was of the ſame country) to bee their King: that is to ſay, that of a Prince, which was but for a time, he created one that ſhould continue. Hee maintained the franchises of the City, & gae to them their laws and rights, and annexed the *Morines* to his Empire. Neuertheleſſe, this King enioyed his authoritie no long while, for after that the *Atrebatians* had put themſelues vnder *Caſars* obedience: his ſway ceaſed, & *Comius* bare Armes againſt *Caſar* again. The *Eburones* then alſo had two Kings, *Ambiorix* & *Catimulcus*; but their authority was ſuch, that the commons had no leſſe command ouer them, then they had to contradiſt them.

The Commonwealth of the *Morines* was anſwerable to that of the *Helvetians*, although it was diuided by diuers villages, & had extendure farre off from them: as to *Calles*, and all along the coaſt of *Picardie* and *Flanders*, in the *Porreſſes* & *marſhes* ſeuen ſo far as the * *Menapians*, who dwell vpon the confluent of the *haine*, as alſo of the *Meuze* or *Maze*, and who were their neighbors, as is to be ſcene in the *Tencthers* war, in the 4. booke. But the *Treuirians*, as well for a kinde of gouernement, (wherein they were very ſkilfull) as alſo for the occaſion of tumult and ſedition, very frequent among them; reſembled in quality the *Heduns*. *Cingetorix* and *Indiciomarus* quarrelled for the principalltie, euen

Centrones,
Grudians, Leukes,
Pleumofians, and
Gordunes.

The Prince &
Senate of the
Neruians.

*The people
of Twinn in
Belgica, or of
the Flemings
Mortet (ſaith)
the Flemings.

*The people
of Gelderland
& Cleueland,
or of Iuſtes
in Belgia

The Senate &
Comminality
of the Belouacanes.

*People inhabiting about
Tournay in
Belgica.

Hannoyers,
Flemings and
Brabanters.

Caſar his
journey to the
Neruians.

*The Riuer
Sceld, running
through
Tournay & falling
into the
Maze.

Int. Caſar in com.
lib. 5.

euen as did y other two, *Comuſſolitane* & *Cottus*, but *Caſar* ſeated again *Cingetorix* as he had done *Comuſſolitane*. Thus the gouernment of the *Belgian* Cities, were mingled with three formes of citates.

The *Santone Aquitaines* ſeemed to bee gouerned by ſuch a kind of commonwealth. For that City, when the made prooffe of her own vertue, by fighting both on foot and horſeback, and well to ſuſtaine all aſſaults in her own defence: the rendred hir necke to ſuch authority. But *Adactianus* their Prince (of his owne power) ſtept in to do his duty, and ſallied forth with 600 * *Soldayres*, or *Soldurij*. Wherefore I thinke that the gouernment of the *Gauls* Commonwealths, hath bin already ſufficiently explicated, and by ſo many examples, as we may well conclude, that the principalities of the *Gaules* (according to *Caſar*) were ſuch, as wold not ſuffer that the ſubiects ſhould be oppreſſed or circumuented; but if any Prince did otherwiſe, hee helde no authority amongſt his ſubiects. VV e haue ſpoken then enough of the gouernment and authority obſerued among the ancient *Gaules*.

Let vs now liſten vnto the Commonwealth of *Great Brittain*, and that likewise of the *Germanis*. There is mention made in the fourth Booke, concerning the Princes of the *Britains*, with their conferences and conſultations held among theſelues, for the common good of *Great Brittain*. And in the ſift booke, the common council is obſerued by *Caſar*; and that the whole charge and command of warre againſt *Caſar*, was put into the power of *Caſſibelane*, and the diuerſity of Kingdoms which were ſubiect vnto that common Council, doe ſufficiently declare, that *Great Brittain* vſed the ſame kinde of gouernment that *Gaul* did, *Caſar* alſo deliuereth (almoſt) very ſame gouernment of the *Germanes*. When a Commonwealth (ſaith he) either endured war made vpon it, or attempted any, Magiſtrates were elected to vndertake the charge of the war, and they might alſo take or ſaue life. In times of peace, there was no common Magiſtrate, but the Lordes of the Countries, and of the *Burroughes*, who exerciſed law to their ſuſſals, and appoynted all their contentions.

In the time of *Tacitus*, Germany had ſome Kings: but they were ſuch as had more honor then power; in other mar-

ters they were like to the *Gauls* manners. They made Kings (ſaith he) for their Nobility, and Captaines for their vertue. Nor had thoſe Kings any vndeſined or free power, & the Captaines were obeyed more by example, then by command: either, whether they were deliberated in fight, or doing their deuoye vpon the point, making wonderful prooffe of their proweſſe. As concerning the Captaines or Princes (as the ſame Author relateth) & likewise for them, termed companions of the Princes, thus it followeth.

The Princes alſo they elect in the publique Councils, which doe hold the iuriſdiction of *Burroughes* and villages. Every man hath an hundred Companions, who are of the popularity, and doe giue aſſiſtance vnto them in Council together, and alſo in their Authority. A Noble or generous ſtock of ſtame, whoſe high deſerts of their Fore-fathers, doe challenge to haue the dignity of a Prince, amongſt the younger ſort of people: They are accompanied with other of more robuſt complexion; and ſuch as haue had (long time) good prooffe made of them: and yet they blaſt not a worde, to bee ſcene amongſt ſuch Companions, albeit there are ſome degrees in this compaignie, according to his iudgement whom they follow. VVhy then I may ſaſely ſay of the *Germanes* (according to *Tacitus*) that their Magiſtrates haue bin anſwerable to their Kings, Captaines, or Princes, and likewise to them called, the Companions of Princes.

I come againe vnto the Knights of the *Gaules*, which (in the times of warre) haue the managing of the affaires. And theſe Knights (thus ſaith *Caſar* in his ſift booke) when there is neede, and any warre happeneth: they are all employed, and according as each man hath authority and meanes, ſo hath hee moſt ſeruants and clients about him, & this is the onely fauour and power that they doe know. Heerein is continued the ancient *Gauls* manner, for election of Magiſtrates, and we may learne by a new argument: that the *Gauls* Princes were choſen for their Vertues, and for their deſerts towards the Commonwealth, and that this eminencie came from Vertue onely. For every Prince wold not ſuffer his ſubiects to bee oppreſſed, nor decayed (ſaith *Tacitus* *Caſar* formerly ſaid) but if hee ſhould be otherwiſe, he muſt beare no authority among his people. And hereto doth this

Concerning
Kings & Cap-
taines among
the Germanis,
and the Com-
panions of
Princes.

The election
of their Prin-
ces.

The ſtronger
ought alwayes
to helpe the
weaker.

Int. Caſar in
com. lib. 6.
The knights
of the Gaules
The words of
Caſar himſelf

*The people
of Santone in
Aquitaine.

*Soldurij (ſaith
Caſar ſaith)
were in the
Gauliſh Lan-
guage, ſuch
kinde of men,
as defined &
vowed them-
ſelues to the
unity of any,
to take part in
all their good
or bad For-
tunes.

Caſar in com-
ment lib. 4. & 5

Great Brittain
had the ſame
gouernment
as *Gaul*, and
the *Germanis*
very little di-
ſtating.

com. Tacitus in
lib. 4. cap. 7.

justly make answer: That this is the onely fauour and power which the Knights knowe, if according as they haue most meanes and authoritie, so they shall haue the more seruants, and the more Clients about them.

The difference betweene seruants and clients.

By seruants or vassalles, are meant such as stand obliged or indebted (of whom I haue formerly spoken) and who, vpon that occasion are dedicated to the seruice of those Knights: for, these vassalls serue as Waggoners to their Masters, and carry their shields. And the Clients (as it is in the seauenth Booke) neuer dare, euen in the extremitie of all misfortune, forsake or leaue their Lords. Thus then the vassalls or seruants, do accompanie their Knights and Masters in warre, and the Clients doe attend on their Lords, and these are the companions of the *Germanes*, whereof *Tacitus* speaketh, as already hath bene saide.

Strife for popularity, and eminency in the Princes fauour.

There is great ieaiousie amongst these companions, who shall haue the cheefest place about his Prince: and amongst the Princes, who shall be followed by the most and best companions or attendants. It is held a high dignity, to bee dayly rounded with a great troope of young and choyse men: it is an honour in time of peace, & security in time of warre. This honor, and this glorie is not onely in euerie Nation, but euen in the neighbouring Cities, coeucting as much to be accompanied with such a company of men, as with so manie vertues. Whereof practise is made by Ambassages, and plenty of presents sent; nay, oftentimes, they will vndertake Armes, for the bare name to be termed a souldier. When a man is in the fight, it is shame to a Prince to be fūrmounted in vertue: and it is a more shame to his follower, if he doe not equal the Vertue of his Prince. It is a most infamous & shame full thing, and not to be washed off in a mans whole life time, to return from the battell, his Prince being there slaine. The principall Oath that he takes, is to defend and sustaine him, and if he doe any braue or worthy acte in his owne person, to referre it to his Princes glory onely. Princes fight for victory, companions and followers fight for their Prince. *Tacitus* writeth: The Prince recompenseth such as follow him: for they receiue (saith he) from the Princes liberality: this Horse of service, that

Princes and their followers should be alike in their vertues.

Corn. Tacit. in l. 5. c. 11.

victorious and bloodied Sword: for such Bankers, although they are not properly serued, yet are they sumptuous to them, & men are well contented with such wages.

But can you tell me, what were the recompences of the Knights amongst the Gaules, and who managed this other part of their Common-wealth? As for the recompence of the *Druides*, it hath bin spoken of already, which was honor, the greatest payment that could be, and only proper to vertue. Neuertheless, the Common-wealth it selfe could not be ingratefull towards them in recompences: considering that there were *Imposts* & *Tolles*, which appertained to each Citie, as is to be seene in the first Booke, and their greatness of Tribute, in the first Booke. *Tacitus* hath declared among the *Germanes*, what worthy recompences were performed to Princes. Cities had a custome, to collect (with their owne good liking) by the poll or head, either of their cattle, or of their fruites, to giue to their Princes: which being received as an honor, serued also to supply necessity. About all, they tooke delight in presents giuen by their neighbouring Nations, not onely by particular persons, but in generalis of choise Horses, faire Armour, trappings for seruice, and also of Chaines. And since then they haue taught vs to accept of money.

But let vs pursue other manners of the Gaules Common-wealth. *Cæsar* doth often accuse the infirmity of the Gaules, because in aduice they were fadain and mutable: but especially in this place of his 4. Booke. There is a common custome (saith he) amongst them, to compell passengers or way-faring men, to say whether they will or no, and to enquire of them, what each man hath heard, or knoweth of euery matter what soeuer. The popular and common people, they flocke about Merchants in the Citie, and constrain them to tell, out of what countries they come, and what things they knowe, or haue heard of there. The ancient Gaules, had not onely this wonderful desire, to know matters of nouelty: but besides, that they should be imparted, and made knowne to them and theirs.

I will set downe two examples of some admiration, the first is in the first booke, of the victory which *Julius Cæsar* had against the *Neruians*. During the bruite of *Cæsar*'s victory (this he writes himselfe)

Recompence to the Gaules Knights for their seruice.

Recompence to Princes amongst the Germanes.

Cæsar his blaming the Gaules for their vailiblenes & fustianess. *Jul. Cæsar* in Corn. lib. 4.

Cæsar's victory of the *Neruians*. *Jul. Cæsar* in Corn. lib. 5.

the men of *Rhemes* (with incredible swiftnesse) carried tidings thereof to *Labienus*, in somach, that where he was about threescore miles from the Garrison of *Cicero*, and that *Cæsar* came: thether after the ninth hour of the day: yet notwithstanding, there arose such a cry or noise before the gates of the Campe, and before it was midnight, that the men of *Rhemes* (onely thereby) gaue understanding to *Labienus* of the victory, & made a signe of their reioicing with him. But the other is an especiall, and most notable cry or noise, when the Romanes were ouerthrowne at *Genabum* before Sun-setting: yet before the first watch was set, the cry was heard to the *Arnernians*; the noise running through all the Townes of *Gaul*, as *Cæsar* affirmeth in his seuenth Booke. For so soone as any important matter happened, by a cry they made it knowne in the fields, and so along thorough the Countries, and still as it was heard, others sent it in like manner to their neighbours, and according as it came to them. And that which had bene done at *Genabum* before Sun-setting, was knowne in the confines of *Arnerne* before the first watch, & yet the distance was about an hundred & sixty miles. So saith *Cæsar*, and haply it may seeme, that that singular description of Fame, which is set downe in *Virgill*, tooke hence the first originall.

Virgill lib. 9. de Aeneid.

Fame, an euill, vnmatchable in swiftnesse, Is sudden, moing, gadding with rapidnesse.

Rumor is commonly a babbling liar.

Julius Cæsar in Corn. lib. 6.

Cæsar describeth the like celerity and effect of this cry, as *Virgill* doth of Fame. This concerneth the bruite and cries among the Gaules, whereby being moued, they often held Councils of important matters: whereof (not long after) they repented themselves, in regard they gaue credite to vncertaine novles, and found them in the end to be nothing but fables. But hee that thus reproued the common people of *Gaul* of lightnesse, commended their constant & politicall wisdom. Those Citties (saith he) which are accustomed to gouern best their Common-weales, haue their Lawes, which or haue, that if a man that hath heard any thing of his neighbour (either by report or otherwise) concerning the estate of the Common-wealth: he is to impart the same to the Magistrate, and not to any other whatsoever. Because it hath bin of old seen, that rashly

headed men, and of small understanding, are affrighted by false noises, or prouoked on to unhappy attempts, and (dreadleffe) enter into important enterprizes. The Magistrate concealeth what he thinketh fittest; & discouereth to the Commons, any matter needfull to be knowne.

This last passage of *Cæsar*, reſureth (very strongly) popular seruitude, for it testifieth, that euen in those Cities, which gouerned best their Common-weales: that yet the Commons haue their authority, because the Magistrate imparteth to the people, what is necessary for the to know. *Strabo* auoucheth in his fourth Booke, that this was also vfed in the Councils of the Gaules. If any one (saith he) did interrupt him that spake: the publicke Mimister stepped up with a drawn sword, and vſing threatnings to the party, commanded him to hold his peace. If he would not do it, he aduertised him in the same manner a second and third time. In the end, he would cut off such a peece of his garment, as the rest should afterward do him no seruice. *Tacitus* expreſſeth it more plainly, as hee doth many other things; concerning the manner of electing Magistrates, and the Councils kept among the Germanes.

The Princes (saith hee) hold a Councell, wherein matters of meaneſt importance, and such also as are of greateſt consequence, are handled together: And yet in such manner, that those affaires which appertaine vnto the people, are managed and ordered by the Princes. They assemble together (if there happen no sudden accident or aduerture) on certaine daies, either at the new Moone, or the full of the Moone: For they beleue, that those seasons are most happy to treat on their affaires. And they do not make their account by the daies, as we vse to doe, but by the nights. The fault ensuing on their liberty, is, that they are not altogether on the day assigned: but two or three daies is lost to attend for such as slacke to come.

The same Authour declareth another strange thing of the Germanes, affirming, that many times they deliberate at Banquets, to reconcile enemies, to make alliances, and to gaine grace of Princes, yea, euen then to consult of peace or warre: because as then (rather then at any other time) they haue their spirits most open, cyther to simple thoughts, or more earnest to them of greater importance. This

Nation,

A good obseruation to prevent yale tumors.

Popular seruitude reproved by *Cæsar*.

Strabo in lib. 4. cap. 7.

Corn. Tacit. in lib. 5. cap. 3.

Ceremoniall daies of meeting for general conference.

Matters consulted on at Banquets by the Germanes.

Nation, which is neyther subtiler nor cautelous, will discover the secrets of their foules in iesting manner: for the minde being naked and discovered, be thinks it selfe better on the day following, & then hath more regard to cyther time. They deliberate when they know no dissembling, and determine when they cannot erre. Such also was the custome of the Country, when the Gaules helde their chieft confutations: as hath already bene declared, in the leuying of their men for warre.

Tit. Liv. lib. 31
Decad. 6.

The ancient
Gaules came
armed to
Councell.

Titus Livius, speaking of the Gaules, reporteth the same in his one and thirtieth Booke, saying. *Tunc is scene in them a new and terrible apparance, because (according to the custome of their Nation) they are armed when they come to Councell.* Why then the *Pallus* of the ancient Gauls, came herselfe armed to the Councell: and because they would not do any thing, but it should expresse the courage of the *Gauls*, their assemblies were always made by sound of Trumpet. For *Livius* writeth so of the *Bellouacanes* Senate, having knowne their misfortunes by all contrary things. *Corbus* being flaine, all their Cavallery overthrowne, and the very valiantest of their foote-souldiers, when they thought that the Romans drew nere vnto them; then suddenly they assembled a Councell by sound of Trumpet, crying all with one voyce, to send Ambassadors and Hostages to *Cæsar*.

The garments
of the german
sitting in
council.

What shall wee say of the Germanes? What garments did they weare whē they came to councell? *They did not any thing (saith Tacitus) neither in affaires publike or particular, but all in Armes. They went armed about their daily negotiations, and came in the same manner to their Banquets.* Blame not then the counells of the Gaules to be done in Armes: for the Romane Orator could say in his owne Language.

Let Armes giue place to Gownes.

The habite of
Warre and
Peace.

Because Armes are the accoustrements of Warre, and the Gowne is the habite of Peace, followed and attended on by Eloquence. And when the Court of Rome was enuironed with souldiers of Armes, at the pleading of * *Milo*: the spirit thereof was not onely terrified, but the whole body also trembled with feare. But Elo-

* The Roman
that was de-
fended by
Tully

quence vnited it selfe with the Armes of the Gaules, so that there wanted not at one time and place, both Commanders of warre, and learned Orators: for the Gaules Orators (by the irradiation of Armes) were encouraged to speake the more brauely. Princes were pleading Orators in the Gaules counells, where (in generally) all might heare, that had interest in the case in question, as is euidēt by the examples of *Cæsar*.

Princes were
pleading O-
rators.

*Among the Germanes (saith Tacitus) in publike Counells, the King or Prince, according to his age, according to Nobility, according to the place for warre, and according to his readinesse in utterance: was much rather heard for authority in perswading, then any power in commanding. It was also permitted in a full Councell, to accuse of crimes: deserving death. The cry or noise of the people, by listening fauourably, or otherwise: signified to the Romane Orators, that their Oration had found good or bad successe. But the counsell of the Gaules, which was made in Armes, as it was reasonable, made a signe by their Arms (although the clattering of weapons was a signe among the Gaules) how they tooke liking of that which had bene said. *Cæsar* writeth so in his 7. Booke, speaking of the Oration of *Vercingetorix*: All the people made a cry (saith he) and according to their custome, made a clattering with their Armes, as they do, when they approve the Oration of any man.*

Corn. Tacit.
in li. 9. cap. 9

Tullius Cæsar in
comment. lib. 5

Marcellinus li. 1.

Marcellinus declareth in his 21. Booke, that after *Julian* had made his Oration: the Army of the Gaules applauded him, and mingled dreadfull cries, among the loud clashings of their Targets. The Gaules confutations were in Armes; their Orationes were approved by Armes, and the oath they take, was vpon Armes. The *Carmentis* (as it is in the 7. Booke) promised in a full councell of the Gaules, that they would be chieft in the warre against *Cæsar*, and because they could not in fielde giue assurance by the meanes of Hostages, fearing how matters might come about to the end that all might be certaine and sworne, after they had brought together all their Ensignes of warre (as alwaies they vsed to do in very ceremonious manner) they requested, that they wold begin the war, and the other would not forsake them. And in the same Booke there is a most holy oath, to assure the battel giuen by

The Carmentis
in the war
against Cæsar

A sacred oath
made in war
in open field.

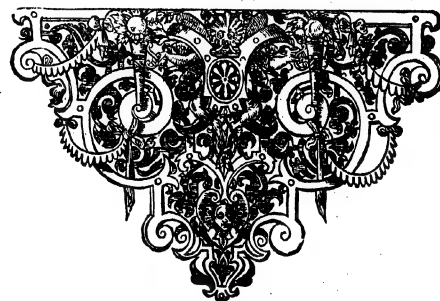
by the horsemen. They on horse cry altogether, that this holy oath may be imposed on euery man: Neuer to be receiued into his house; neuer to goe backe to his parents, nor to his wife, vnill hee haue twice thwarted ouer the enemies armies. Wherto that of *Marcellinus* conformeth, speaking of *Julian*: All were commanded to sweare in his Name, & setting solemnly the points of their swords vnto their throates, made execrable oathes and curses on themselfes, if they brake their vowes.

But now it is time to finish our discourse. Hauing thus reported the man-

ners and customes of ancient Gaule, the temperance of the peoples liues, their assurance in dangers, their wiledome in artes and disciplines, their iustice, in ruling and establishing the best meanes, for good ordering and gouerning their common-wealth: There remaineth now no more, but if we can recouer the like leysure (hauing finished some other studies already entred on) we hope to proceed in the manners and customes of our new Gaules or Frenchmen, which will yeelde the more delight and pleasure, because the subiect is of a farre more excellent nature.

The Authors
conclusion of
his long labor

The End of the first Booke.





THE SECOND BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Of the new Gaules, or those that are called (now adaies) Frenchmen, or the people of France, succeeding after their Predecessors, the Ancient Gaules.



Among all parts of the Earth, Europe, (though it is the least) holdeth the verie cheefest rancke, as beeing the principall, and most worthy: So

France the cheefest country of Europe

it is not to beedoubted, but that among all the Countries of Europe, France must needs be the most excellent in al respects. The people of Arabia that now are, haue a customay kinde of saying, that if the world were a Ring, the City of *Ormus* must bee the Beazell, Collect or Head, wherein the most precious Stone is to be enchafed. By much better reason then, may it lawfully be saide of France, and a true saying:

Romard in Cant. 5.

It is the lesser eye, & the Pearle of the world.

France abounding in the fertility of all things.

As one of her owne Poets formerly hath sung, Which no way can be accounted strange, when consideration is iustly made, of the great blessings, commodities, and graces of Heauen, wherewith the Land is and hath beene endowed. For there is nothing else found to be compared therewith; be it if we regard the fertility and abundance of all things, not only necessary for the life of man, but also for all sorts of pleasures and delights. Bee it also, for the sweetnesse, temperature, & amenity of the Ayre: not hauing any other, more graciously regarded by the eie

of the Sunne. No lesse commendable (for valour) is the courage and spirit of the people, which haue inhabited there to this present time, who not only haue extended their renoune through all Lands habitable: but also haue excelled in whatsoever can be applied to the height of minde.

Aboveall (as most admirable) is the dignity, greatnesse, and Maiesty of their Kings, redoubtable and exalted (for their vertues truly heroycall) about all other on the earth. In this excellency then, there are three things to be discoursed: the first is that of the Land it selfe; the second is of the People; and the third is of their Kings, which reule as well from the two Precedents, as from their owne proper vertue.

Concerning the goodnes of the Land, it were an infinite labour to expresse to many blessings, and all things else which it produceth, euen of best vie for the life of man, and that in such abundance, as sufficeth not only for the people; but also are imparted and dispersed to other Nations, without any incommody to it selfe, and (in a manner) not to be discerned. The fat fields, covered with good wheate and all graines else of any kinde, fill the Graunges & Garners euery harvest season. The Mountaines and Hilles, clothed with goodly Vineyards, which bring forth most healthfull and delicate wines; & almost euery where stord with all kinde of fruite trees. There is not a iote of vnprofitable Land, all is laboured and husbanded, or serues for pasturage for feeding beasts, which causeth such plenty of all sorts of fesh. There ye may likewise behold goodly VVoods & Forrests, filled with all kinde of game and Venison. Most excellent Flax & Hempe, wherof cloth is made in great abundance. Dyers woad also, Scarlet holme-oake, Saffron, with many

The Maiesty and dignity of the Kings of France.

The three arguments of this instant discourse.

The goodnes and excellency of the Country.

Cornes.

Wines.

Fruites.

Pastures.

Woods and Forrests.

Flax & Hempe.

Chap. 1.

Of the Country of France.

Nauigable & fishing riuers.

Houset, Cities, Townes, and Villages.

The great plenty of people.

Of Wheate & other Corne.

Strabo in lib. 4. Polybius cap. 4. Pomponius Mela in lib. 3. c. 1. Cicero pro P. Cotta.

Plin. in lib. 18. cap. 7. Nidulum graui, & quatuor libra plus ponia redire, quam far alind.

many singular Plants and Hearbs, not only for Medicine, but also nourishable.

Heereto I may adde, the admirable sight of great and goodly Riuer, both nauigable, and abounding with fish, dispersing themselves through France, as veines in the body of man: making the mid-land Regions as apers for commerce, as those on the Sea-coasts. Beside a great number of other waters, great Pooles & Ponds, Fountaines, and cleere running Riuer, all metuailous and delectable. Then haue yee goodly houes and buildings; an infinite number of rich and great Cities, Townes, Burroughs, Villages, Castels, and other Edifices. Moreover, greater plenty of people, then in any other Region of the world. This is that which is so much wondred at by strangers, who haue thought France to be a terrestriall Paradise: making more account (in this case) then Frenchmen do themselves, because it is so ordinary and frequent vnto them. But to such as haue sayled into farre remote strange Countries, or otherwise haue had intelligence of them: they hold it a happinesse to themselves, to see the felicity of France so far beyond other, and thereby to know their owne good. All these graces might much better be acknowledged, if we did but seuer and consider them particularly.

First, for VVheate and other Corne, which is the principall sustentation, to maintain and strengthen the bodye of man: it encreaseeth and aboundeth so in France (and that of the best that can bee) more then in any part of the world, and likewise all other sorts of graine. It is not a time now to acknowledge so great a happinesse, for wee see that our Elders haue better knowne and felt it, when the Land was not thoroughly so well husbanded and tilled. As wee discern by that which is written by Strabo, *Iulius Solinus Polybius*, & *Pomponius Mela*, who speake thereof expressly. Also *Cicero* reporteth, that (in his time) was brought to Rome, and into Italy, great quantities of Corne from the Gaules. *Pliny* the Great hath also observed the same, for speaking of the Corne of France, he saith: *That it was most cleane Corne, and that it yielded foure pound of Bread, more then any other.* It is well known in these dayes, that *Spain*

furnisheeth herselfe with the WHeate and Graine of France, and that it is to her as a nursing Mother. And *Portugall* it selfe, which is described to bee one of the most happy and fertile countries of the Spains, hath recourse to France: as we may see by which *Ozarius* saith, a *Portugall* Bishop of *Syluaz*; & the same is reported likewise by others, who haue written of Relations.

And for VVines, the country is no lesse fruitfull, in producing such as are very good, and in great affluence. This hath also beene confessed by our Ancients, according to the testimonie of *Solinus* and *Pliny*, who renoune *Bituricam vitem*, Perhaps this may be interpreted, not of *Bourges*; but of the wine about *Bordeaux*, wherof the people are called *Bituriges Vinifci*. He speaketh also of the wine of *Rezers*, whereto hee giueth the cheefest place among all them of Gaule. And *Iulian* the Emperor said, that there were good vines in the grounds of *Paris*. Behold how *Columella* makes his moane, at that which the Italians did, for planting of Vines: forsaking their owne country, they went to seek in the delicate grounds of *France*, in the *Iles Cyclades*, and those of *Andalonia*. Whereby we may perceiue, that hee equalleth the grounds of France and their wines, with them of *Muscadella*, *Greece*, and of *Spain*.

Pliny saith, that in Italy they highly esteemed the Grapes of France, making mention also of a certaine kinde of admirable Grape there growing; which daily turneth it selfe to the Sunne, like as the *Heliotropium* doth, and therefore is called after the Greeke word *Strepitos*. Wine is transported from France to Rome, which is there accounted very delicious: especially that which is gathered in the groinds of *Piem*, which they call *Picenum*, as *Plutarch* declarcth in his *Symposiakes*. Notwithstanding, there is a difficulty found in these words, as namely, that which *Propius* saith, in the life of the Emperor *Probus*. That he had permitted to the Frenchmen to haue and plant Vines. Notwithstanding, it appeareth, that they were in France before his time.

The restitution of this, dependeth thus; that by the Edict of the Emperor *Domitian*, he had enioyned to the inhabitants of the Provinces, to cut all the Vines, soe except

Of the plenty of Wines. Polybius cap. 24. Bituricam vitem. Plin. in li. 14. cap. 2. Bituriges Vinifci. Plin. in lib. 14. cap. 6.

In Hispania. pueri sunt vitibus amantissimi. In praefat. lib. 1. ac 18. Ruff. 17. m. d. m. x. cond. m. x. inf. m. x. Cycladibus ac regionibus Gal. lib. 1. c. 1.

Plin. lib. 14. c. 8. Mirum vbiq. cum Sole circumagi vnam que ob id Strepitos dicitur. In Italia Gallici cum placentia trans Alpes uenit Picenum.

Plut. lib. 5. qu. 3.

Sueton. in De-
mit. cap. 7.The former
doubt re-
solved.Of the plenty
of fruit-trees.Strabo in Lib. 4.
v. 4. ubi dicitur
habetur eorum
modum et
omnem in Italia.Plenty of Par-
tridges.

Strabo in Lib. 4.

Plenty of
Deare and o-
ther game.Plenty of good
horses.In Claudii.
Quid equorum
quasi summa no-
bilis cultus
non?
Gronov. lib. 5.
cap. 9.

excepted. Induced so to do, because vpon view taken, that some yeares there was abundance of Wine, & scarcity of Come: he conceived, that the earable Landes were left barren, in regard of the Vines. Afterward, the Emperor *Probus* tooke off those inhibitions in Gaule, permitting them to have Vines. And so to this day, the wines of France are transported by great quantity into *England, Flanders, Holland, Germany, Denmarke, Sweden*, and into other Notherne Regions.

Moreover, France produceth store of fruite Trees, bearing (in abundance & fluence) most excellent, dainty and delicious fruites: as well stone-fruit of all sorts, as those of other nature. And yet notwithstanding, *Italy* and *Spain* cannot vaunt to have any that come not into France: as Oranges, Citrones, Pomegranates, Oliues, &c. For though the Land doth not produce these euery where: yet notwithstanding, *Provence* & *Languedock*, which is the Narbone Gaule of our Ancients, do beare the same fruites, yea, and much better, as hath bene noted by experience. Also *Strabo* obserued it well enough. The Country of *Narbone* (saith he) produceth all the same fruites as *Italy* doth.

Our Ancients have also giuen thereto another commendation, to haue great store of pasture grounds, and so (by consequence) plenty of beasts to feed in the. *Strabo* testifieth as much, making so good esteeme of the woollens and clothes of this Country: that they are carried thence to diuers parts, and therewith all *Italy* is sufficiently furnished. But ouer and beside the great commodity, ensuing by the flesh of domestick creatures: there are Deare in abundance, as also all kinde of game, & Fowles in no meane plenty.

And to the end that nothing should be wanting, in necessary matters for support of life: the Country is not destitute of good, proper and profitable horses, as well for ordinary trauell, as also for combats, fights, and battels, bred in the Nation, and continually nourished. The Romans were thereto addicted, but principally to the horses of France: as is to be seene in *Trebellius Pollux*, who saith, That the Horses of the Celts, were renowned aboue all other. *Pollux* the Grammarian, interleaceh (among the rest) dogges of a good and gallant breede, apt for the Celts

hunting, or such dogs as the Gauls vsed.

This may serue sufficiently for terrestriall creatures, because to number this particularly, would require an infinite labor: let vs come now to them that live in the waters. It is apparently knowne, that the coasts of the Sea which enuiron France, are richly stored with fish, and the fish also to be delicate and excellent, better the elsewhere is to be found. And as for the mid-land Regions, where Sea-fish is wanting: the fresh and sweete waters are most copiously stored. For the Rivers, Streams, Pooles, Ponds and Riuolets haue most dainty fresh-fish, and countlesse in number. Daily experience makes prooffe thereof, *Strabo* auoucheth it, and *Aulusius* sings it, making mention thereof in his worke called *Mosella*.

There are many other commodities, which come and encrease vnder this ayre, for the necessity, vility and ornament of mans life. Among other, Flax and Hemp, and the clothes made of them, are labored and sought for by strangers: wherof great traffique and transportation goes to other Nations, & returns home store of money to France: In briefe, it is one of her best wealths and riches.

In this place, to stay no longer on a matter so frequent, and ordinary in vs, as clothes and other works, it may appeare lawfull (with *Pliny*) to enter into consideration (it may bee) of one of the most admired things that is in nature: To say, that so small a plant should bee the cause, that the Sea cannot bound men within limits, nor separate their Countries, but suffers herselfe (thereby) to bee vanquished. This is that herb that drawes *Syria* neere to vs, *Egipt* to *Italy*, and *Africa* and *America* to France. In a word, it is that which makes man tread vnder his feete, and trauesse ouer that dreadfull gulfie, the heape, or pile of the whole Element of water, the vaste and profound Ocean; wherein principally appeareth the admirable workes of the high and Soueraigne Creator of all things. And the same *Pliny* wondreth not a little, that (so small a graine) such a matter should come, as carries men through all the Cantons of the world. Which only is by the means of *Sayles* & *Cordages*, the principall helpe and wings of navigation. Such workmanshipes are performed in France in mighty quanti-

Abounding
plenty of fish.Strabo in lib. 4.
Aulusius in
Mosella.Of the Flax
and Hemp.Plin. lib. 19. in
Praelo.
Quandem mira-
culum maius
herbarum esse,
que aduocet
Egyptum Italia
et Italia
Democritum
Panaetum
Istius, quod or-
bem terrarum
vitae citiusque
pariet.

quantities, and thence transported to in-
spaire other Countries: especially into
Spain, where they haue greatest need, to
arme and prepare their Ships for seruice.
And this is that & hath so often serued
them, and yet daily doth in their greatest
navigations: beside their very finest
clothes, and others of all fashions, brought
together to them. *Pliny* also recordeth, that
(in his time) the Gauls, were esteemed
and renowned for this reuenue.

France produceth also Wood, apt and
needfull for all good Dyers; and the grain
for Scarlet dye, anciently called *Coccus*,
which groweth in the Country of *Nar-
bone*, and *Saffron* likewise, with infinite
other shrubs & hearbs of great vse, espe-
cially in Physicke. *Boterus*, *Bensius*, and o-
ther strangers haue obserued and re-
ported, that there is a Mount in *Auvergne*,
called the Mount of gold, full of an in-
finite number of rare and singular simples,
proper for Physicke, which nature there
produceth liberally, & without any con-
straint. So that to speake no more then
truth, France hath no neede of the rich
East & West Indies. It is a little world,
a collection and an abridgement of the
happinesse and felicity of all Lands: not
onely for necessity and profite, but also
for the delicacy of life. And if we goe so
farre as medicaments themselves, such
Simples are there to be found, as equall
the drugs of strange Countries, which
yeeld nothing else.

There are also goodly Thickets, Woods
and Forrests, to furnish whatsoeuer is re-
quisite (beside fewell) for building, en-
gines for warre, fabrication of ships, and
other vessels, as also for moueables and
household-lustre. Heerewithall one of the
cheefest considerations which caueth
France to be esteemed, is, that it is wholly
inhabited and well husbanded: not a iote
of desert or waste ground, no place em-
pty, nor any thing but hath his vse. Heare
what *Strabo* acknowledged in his time,
vnder the Empire of *Augustus*. There is
not any thing unprofitable (saith he) nor any
idle grounds: except such as are bindred &
vsed with Pooles and Forrests. By much
more reason may we now say, all grounds
there are better tilled and husbanded, the
in those times they were: & that Pooles
and Forrests yet remaining, are not a iote
the lesse beneficiall, but rather more then

some other grounds be.

But no man can better breefly figure
forth the felicity of this goodly peece of
Landship, seeming heere to be done but
in dissembler or day colour; then that
bin already wrought by two Ancients, *Julius Solinus Polyhistor*, and *Pomponius Mela*, the one of the describing it thus. *De Rebus Gestis in fatis Landis, quodlibet proper, et commodum, in bringing the reuenues of fruites: A great part planted with Vines, shrubs, and fruit-trees. Most happy and rich, to produce all kinde of creatures, and that which is needfull for them: walled with cleere wyters of Riuers and Fontaines.*

Pomponius Mela speaks thus. *Terra est frumenti præcipue & pabuli ferax, et amena, luscio immensis: noxio genere animalium minime frequens. It is a land principally fertile, and abounding in Corne & pastures, goodly pleasant and delightfull for goods, and great Woods, and wherein few living creatures are to be found hurtfull, or doing any harme.*

In like manner, *Messire Michel Suriano*, a Venetian Lord, and one of the *Glorious*, having bene Ambassador from his high and honourable Commonwealth of Venice, in France, in the time of King Charles the 9. left vs this figure, of his own skilfull handy-wooke.

Pa sempre riputata la Francia ricchissima, & piena d'ogni commodità; & abbondantissima di tutte le cose ne essarie alla vita humana: perche essenda quasi nel mezzo della più nobil parte del mondo, che è l'Europa, ha il cielo molto temperato & benigno, libera da quei freddi grandissimi di Alemagna, & da gli eccessi caldi di Spagna. L'ueri benchè sia alquanto uentofo, & però salubre, & fertile, & non ha del grosso & paludoso come la Fiandra vicina. Il paese è aueno & piacevole, pieno di fiumi, & tutti navigabili: non ha monti aspri, salvo nel estremata de' confini: ma nel mezzo per tutto sono colline & pianure, tutte fertili & lavorate. Et fa tanta copia di biade, & di vini di lini & canape, di giardi, di altre cose, che non solamente bastano per vso del regno, ma serue ancora a mandarne fino in Spagna, Portogallo, in Inghilterra, & in Italia, Danemarka & altri paesi più lontani.

France was alwaies reputed to be most rich and full of all commodities, and abounding in all those things necessary for the life of man. For (being as it were) in the midst of the most noble part of the world, which is Europe: it hath the heavens very temperate

Plin. lib. 19
cap. 1.
Iste Gessit
capituli hoc
reduci
Et infra
Panaetum Gal-
liæ vultu
Wood grow-
ing in FranceA Mount of
gold in Au-
vergne.France hath
no neede of
the Indies.Of Woods &
Forrests.Strabo in
lib. 4.Sol in poly. 5.
Felles prop-
agibus globis,
acumde pro-
uenitibus fruct-
ibus vitibus
et arboribus, om-
ni ad vsum cu-
mulum salu
tissimum. Ri-
guis aquis
minimus & fan-
tum.
Pomponius Mela
in lib. 3. cap. 2.

and benigne, free from those mighty coldes of Germany, and the excessive heates of Spaine. The Ayre, although it be somewhat windy, is therefore healthy and subtle, and hath no grosse & paludus moistures, as mere neighboring Flanders hath. The Country is wide & pleasing, full of Rivers, and all navigable. It hath no sharpe Mountaines, except on the extremity of the Confines: but in the middlest, every where are little hilltokes & plaine champaigne grounds, all fertile, and husbanded or tilled. Ankeeldeth such plenty of Corne & Wine of Flax and Hempe of Wood, and of other things: as not onely serve for the use of the kingdom, but also sufficeth to send into Spaine, Portugall, into England, Scotland, Denmark, & into other Countries further off. The same *Strabo*, having bene (before that time) Ambassador in Spaine, & made therethis Relation: speaketh not in the same manner, but in other termes farre different.

Among the causes of this fertility, and delicious abundance in so happy a feasting: one part of this felicity may be referred to the temperatour of the Ayre, & the Climate of Heaven; vnder which it is situated: Being iustly the middest of one of the temperate Zones, to wit, the 42. degree of Latitude, about which is *Marsellus*, and the coast of *Prouence* and *Languedock*, so farre as about the 50. degree towards the North; which is the breadth of *France*. Whereunto in like manner do contribute, the great number of waters wherewith it is bedewed: which serve as well for the generation of fruites, as pleasure and amenity, beside (in greater manner) for commerce and traffique. For *Gauls* hath bene alwayes (throughout) furnished with sprightly Fountains, and cleare running Rivers, with some of small and greater current, yet very navigable, for the carriage and recarriage of Merchandizes, and communication of the Prouinces one with another; a mighty commodity, (and then which) there is not a greater in the world.

This is that also, which makes the midland Regions, and the Cities & Townes there seated, as Merchantable as the Sea coasts, as strangers themselves haue both knowne & reported; that there are more great and navigable Rivers in *France*, than in all other parts of the earth; & though they speak it as an hyperbole, yet nothing

commeth neerer to truth. For in all *Italy*, hardly can any navigable River be found beside that of *Poes*; and likewise in *Spaine* almost as few, at least that haue any course (how little soever) in length. *Strabo* hath made good obseruation thereof, as before is saide, and that in every Country heere; are Rivers, which come and retorne to all parts, coasting the very principall places. But (about all) that of *Seine* is to be admired, a sweet River, the most profitable and commodious for navigation, & this only (among all those in the world) is best bounded and restrained within his bed, sildome or little overflowing, and when it once floweth, doth little or no harme at all, yielding (beside) a most cleare water, and fit to be drunke; abounding also with plenty of fish.

Which noted the Emperor *Julian* to speake in this manner. Very sildome (saith he) doth this River exalt or abate it selfe, & it keepeth (almost) one ordinary course in winter, as it doth in summer: furnishing generally with a most neate water, sweet & cleare to the eye, and wholesome to be drunke by such as will. And although this should not be alwayes certaine: yet notwithstanding, there are few to be spoken of, concerning other Rivers to be seene, in comparison of this. Whereto may be added, that which is spoken by *Botero* Benefe the *Italian*, as these are his owne words. It beareth such great Ships, and sustaineth so mighty burthens, as they that see it, will not beleene it, and there is no River, that (in proportion) governe an equal weight: so that although it exceedeth not mediocrity, yet admirably it supplieth the businesse and the necessities of *Paris*, &c.

I might also make some reckoning of diuers waters there, producing effects admirable and prodigious: but because it would be a labour long and infinite, to stand vpon all their particularities; I will satisfie my selfe, so much that which concerneth matters wholesome and medicinall, wherewith the fauour of Heaven hath in like manner graced this Region, to the ende it should not faile in any thing.

There are many Wels or Springs, which are found in diuers parts of *France*, that haue certaine properties and vertues, as receiving a iuyce & taste, by the mixture of Niter, Sulpher, and Allum, which are vnder-

Strabo in lib. 4.

A River rising neere the borders of Landes, and lower Bourdeaux, in the country of Alect, humneth through Paris, & ending Celica from Belgia, falleth into the British Ocean by New-haven

In Milopoge

In lib. 4. de causis diluvij de quo dicitur in Porta nauis ante gurgitibus tantis gurgitibus, quod non possunt esse a propinquo regis, et quod quantunque in ecclesia mediocritas: superius parum mirabile et alie mensurae, & a lib. 4. in Parisi.

Wells and Springs of sundry vertues.

Wells that cure very strange diseases, onely by the vertue of their water.

Plin. in lib. 14. cap. 9.

Of Metals and Minerals in France.

Of Gold.

Strabo in lib. 4.

A hill by the Alpes not far from the N. lac Varus. Prop. in lib. 3. de lib. 4.

Gold in Rivers of France.

Gold in Rivers of France.

Gold in Rivers of France.

Gold in Rivers of France.

Gold in Rivers of France.

Gold in Rivers of France.

Gold in Rivers of France.

Gold in Rivers of France.

Gold in Rivers of France.

Gold in Rivers of France.

Gold in Rivers of France.

Gold in Rivers of France.

Gold in Rivers of France.

vnderneath, and entred into their fourle: in regard whereof, they haue power to remedy many great diseases, iudged otherwise incurable; as dropsies, and the stone in the reines, and others, the causes whereof are vnkowne, and ordinary remedies vtterly vnprofitable for them.

Quasique nocent artes, cessare magistri.

Such are the famous Wels of *Pongues* in *Nuernoy*, and of *Forges* in *Normandy*. Such also are many other, especially towards the *Pyrenean* Mountaines, which haue the vertue to stay the bloody fluxe; to soften and make come forth (in forme of paste) the stone that is in the bladder or reines; to fetch again sight almost lost, to warme and strengthen the nerves; and to cure the gout. In the time of *Pliny*, he had then discovered something, for hee makes mention of a certaine Well, in the Towne of *Tongri* among the *Gauls*; the water whereof fauoured like yron (as all other Wels almost doe) which healed Tertian Feuers, and the diseases of the stone, as also the running of the reines.

Now, to speake of Metals and Minerals, *France* cannot be destitute, neither can other Nations make vaunt of any advantage about it, if due search might be made. *Strabo* declareth, that in his time, the *Gauls* affirmed themselves, to haue the best in the *Cemenes* and *Pyreneans*; and that therefore they would not giue place to any other people, especially the *Spaniards*, who made their glory, in hauing great quantities. Gold, which is held and esteemed to be the most precious, shining, replenishing, and domineering about all other, yea, qualifying the Sunnes bright beames, is to be found in *France*. For *Strabo* testifieth, that there was excellent Gold, and in great quantity, in *Cemenus*. To which purpose, we reade in *Procopius*, a Greeke Historian, that the Kings of *France* caused money to be stamped of Gold, with their marke and character, found in *France*: reporting withall, that other barbarous Kings had not that prerogative, no, nor the Kings themselves of the *Persians*.

In like manner, *France* hath Rivers, among whose sandes, gold is mingled, as being excoaried from the Mines vnder their current, according to the opinion

of the most learned Philosophers. And they further say, that this gold commeth, as being deriued by continuall agitation of the waters rowling, and maketh it so much the purer, about the Marcasity or *Rocke*, yea, or that in the earth. Among other Ancients, *Diodorus Siculus* affirmeth vs, that there are many of these Rivers in *France*. *Ausonius* (by his verses) celebrates his golden *Turne*, and (euen now) it is a matter most certaine, that there are such Rivers in *Gascogne*, which descend, either from the *Pyreneans*, or the *Cemenes*. Let the *Cappadocians* cease the, to make vaunt of their *Pactolus*; the *Thracians*, of their *Hebrus* or *Marissia*; the *Colchians* of their *Phasis* the *Italians*, of their *Eridanus* or *Poes*; and the *Spaniards*, of their *Tagus*.

And as for Metall, whereunto the second value is giuen next to gold; *Strabo* affirmeth, that there are many Mines in *France*, as *Cesar* himselfe also doth the like; and (at this day) good proofe and experience hath bin made thereof. *Cesar* saith, there is found Copper and Brasse in large abundance. But about all, there is great plenty of excellent Iron & Steele: whence it came, that reuerend Antiquity so highly commended the Swords and Courtelasses of the ancient *Gauls*. Let the skillfull *Julius Pollux* be credited, who saith; that the Emperor *Marcus Aurelius* made his choise of such a man to bee Schoolemaster to his Sonne, who preferred the *Gauls* Courtelasse, among those other weapon that were most excellent. This Metall highly aboundeth there, & is the most common in *France*. Beside, it best agreeth with the Frenchmens generosity, who haue euermore made themselves famous by Armes, and bin knowne by their manhood, to all the vtmost parts of the world.

Gold and Silver, so much esteemed among vs to be precious, are no more apt for Armes, then other instruments and vensils for the commodity of men, and the great account we make of gold, proceedeth onely from the rarity thereof. But we ought rather, to value things by their vtility & vse, although they be common, as *Aristotle* saith among which is Iron, the most profitable Metall of all others, & not by the to be surmounted: so y (without it) with great difficulty can gold (more harmefull and lesse beneficial) be

H 2 obtai-

Diodor. Siculus lib. 5. cap. 7.

Ausonius.

Mettall in worth next to Gold.

Strabo in lib. 4.

Cesar bel. Gal. lib. 7.

Iron & Steele.

Quomodo lib. 1. cap. 10.

The Frenchmen haue euer bin worthy soldiers.

Gold onely esteemed for the rarity.

Arist. in Ethic.

Inundations
of water.

Earthquakes.

* People of
Libya abiding
on the land
neere the
Syrra.
*Herodot. in li. 4.*Seldome is a
ny delight
without dan-
ger.Perill of the
Aspicke.

The Snake.

The Viper.

The Basiliske
Earthquake.Deluge.
*Herodot. in li. 3.*The misery of
Pæcia in
Spaine.
*Strabo in Lib. 3.*The Gymna-
siades or
Baleares pla-
gued with
Conies.

cular houses; but Villages, Burroughs, & great Cities altogether, yea, many times whole Provinces. Deluges and inundations haue also wrought there strange effects, spoiling, ouerthrowing, and defacing whole Countries, & that very often Earthquakes, ingulfings, and impetuous showres of raine, are (as a man should say) there daily: thus you see what delight and happinesse, is in the greatest & most renowned kingdome of the East.

There are Countries, which suffer colds and insupportable freezings: as other are meere burnt and wasted with heates. Witnesse the * *Nasamones*, who in regard of this heate (they dwelling beyond the Torride Zoane) do curse the Sunne when it passeth ouer them. Thus then other Regions, being esteemed for happy for perfumes, odours, & such kinde of delights: doe sometime pay very dearely for their pleasures; perill is euermore neighbour to ioy, and contentment is close followed at the heeles, with some or other mishap.

Whosoeuer thinketh to gather the sweets of their fairest flowers, or the iuyce of their most delicious plants; may as soone meete with deadly poyson, and in stead of sweetnesse, finde such bitternesse, as quickly will bring him to his graue. Either by the Aspicke lying close hidden; whose pricking causeth sudden sleepe, & procureth death in that sleepe. The Snakes byting, bringeth a deadly drought with it. The Viper filleth the whole body full with venome, by his byting. The Basiliske slayeth by his very sight onely. The earth by quaking, endangereth to swallow men vp, or ouerthrow and kill them in their houses. A deluge suddenly carrieth away, and couers all with water. The Lyon or the Tyger comes onely to deuoure.

Strabo hauing related the goodnesse of *Bætica* in *spaine*, which is now *Granada* & *Andalusia*, saith withall; that the country is persecuted with an affliction very strange yet reputed to be ridiculous. It is by the great and immense multitude of Conies or Rabbits, which feede on, and consume their seedes, plants, and rootes of trees. He also saith, it hence ensueth, that almost throughout *spaine*, yea, and the neighboring isles, are thereby afflicted. Adding beside, that the inhabitants of the Isles *Gymnasiades* or *Baleares*, now called *Maiores* and *Miniores*, sent Ambassadors to

request ayd of the Romanes, against these hurtfull creatures, and to chafe them out of their country, as being vnable to endure their multitude. And succour was necessarily required in fo great a warre, which doth not alwayes happen (saith he) but when the country is subiect to be infected with some plague of pestilence, famine, or such other affliction and punishment sent from Heauen.

Marcus Varro writeth, that a Towne in *spaine* was wholly vndermined, and ruined by those Conies, & another in *Theffalije*, by Moales. Some that haue bene dispeopled & forsaken in regard of the great multitude of Frogs. Another in *Affrica*, by Locusts: Allothat the inhabitants of the City * *Gyaros*, now called *Gura*, in one of the *Cyclades*; were expelled thence by Rats: and that in *Italy*, an ancient City called *Amycles*, was vtterly ruined and lost by Serpents. There is a Region in *Affrica*, where a great extensure of the country is become desert, the people which dwelled there being driuen to all extremities, and quite exterminated, onely by Scorpions and Pissemites, which are a kinde of venomous Ants. *Theophrastus* reporteth, that others were expelled by * *Scalopendres*. And *Strabo* saith, that *spaine* was ordinarily infected with a strange multitude of Rats: whereupon (oftentimes) followed contagious diseases. The like happened once to the Romanes, when they were in the countries of the *Basques* and *Altures*: so that they were glad to hire men to chafe them away, the Rats came fo fast vpon them, and hardly could they saue themselves from them. An ancient Philosopher, named * *Dicarchus*, wrote a Book, of the ruine of men, and had collected together, how many ruines had happened in diuers countries, by reason of the inopinate multitude of beasts: by whose impetuous violence, he sheweth, that some Nations haue bene lost and consumed.

France, on the contrary (God be praised for it) neuer was subiect to so many miseries; & there is not any Region found in all the habitable world, being so happy, rathert lesse inconueniences. Deadly poyson cannot deceiue him that gathereth there her wholesome flowers & hearbs, or perfumes. The Lyon or Tyger, the rauenous Beare or Panther, cometh not to set vpon the traeller, or driue the husband-

Plin. in li. 8. cap. 29.
Died, in *Lib. 3. cap. 13.*

* An illu-
min the A. gum
teane of the
Sporadets

* A wom-
en that hath ma-
ny feete, and
is very veno-
mous.
Strabo in li. 3.

* A Sicilian
Philosofher,
Aristotell.

France may
compare with
any Region
whatsoeuer in
the world.

No venomous
creatures in
all France.Of the Aspicke
in France.

Init. x. cap. 1.

The flesh is
soueraign for
diseases.
*Rod. Ang. ab-
batine lib. de
Piperis.*

The Egyptian
hieroglyphick
of health.

None of these
monies are
in France.

Lib. 3. cap. 80.
Gallie terra-
minime
qualitatur.

man from his home. The Serpent cannot annoy the passenger, nor haruest Reaper by his byting, because there is none at all to be found there. A man may safely take the Evening or Mornings benefit on the greene grasse, without dread of any venomous creature, which are most dangerous in other countries. But admit that there were some kinde of Serpents or Snakes in some peculiar parts: yet are they very few, and no harme at all thence to come from them. No Egyptian Aspicke is there to be found, and that which is termed in *France* an Aspicke: it is no Aspicke at all but rather a Viper, as is verified in the Obseruations of *P. Bolognius*. Nevertheless, it is rare or sildome to be seene there, and benefit (rather then any harme) is to be receiued thereby. And say that this Serpent were very venomous: yet notwithstanding, it serueth most commodiously for the life of man, and Treacle is compounded thereof. The verie learnedst Physitians do hold, that the flesh thereof is soueraign for many diseases; and, that which is much more, it hath power to lengthen the life of man in such as make ordinary vse of it, as manie of our Ancients did, and other healthfull people yet liuing, who haue heretofore referred the cause of their so long healthfull continuance. Thus our Ancients, and especially the learned Egyptians, vfed the Snake as an Hieroglyphick, marke and signe of health: presenting it to their Goddesse *Sanitas*, rouled about with other creatures.

Moreover, *France* is not subiect to the miseries and horrors of earthquakes. Neuer shall ye there heare the earth grone, bellow, then tremble, shake, and swallow vp houses, Burroughes, & whol Townes, making growth of Mountaines, by leuellling and plaining other places, to drie vp waters and riuers, and then fodainly to let loose Flood-gates of Noulties; to stay their violent course of a streame, and then to make it run directly against his current: to let forth flaming fires, to finish that with greater defoliation, which the former Earth-quake had left behinde it. By an especiall priuiledge of heauen, *France* stands exempted from all these; experience hath made it apparant, & *Pliny* long ago witnessed it, when he saide: *That the Gauls were not shaken by tremblings of the earth.*

To know the quiet condition and felicity of *France* in this case, wee may compare and consider other Nations & Provinces, and what great afflictions and ruines haue ensued to them by such harmes, in most part of the worlds Regions. We finde, that in *Italy* and other Countries, in the time of the Punicke warres, the people were tormented with Earth-quakes, seuen and fifty times in one yeare. VVho would not be amazed, to heare that two hills should approach neere each to other, to iustle (as it were) together; then, to retire and auancer on againe, after the manner of fight, stirring and mouing furiously, with an horrible noise and breaking? A great fire and smoke rose vp betweene them; and by this their rude encounter, houses and villages (seated in the valley) were bruised and beaten downe, & both men and beasts smothered to death: euen as it happened in the Territorie of *Modena*, in the yeere 622. and in the City of *Rome*, in the time of the wars of *Marius* and *Sylla*. This was seene in broad day time, by a great number of passengers & *Romane* Cities, who beheld this wofull spectacle, from the neere-neighbouring high-way, or hill ascending to the Capitoll.

It was a strange thing, that trembling or Earth-quake, which happened vnder the Emperor *Tiberius*, and in the 5. yeare of his Empire (to the end we may not, as *Orosius* doth, confound it with that which chanced twelue yeares after, miraculously, euen at the passion of our Sauour) *Tacitus* reporteth, that in this yeere (which was the 770. of the City of *Rome*) in one night, twelue great and famous Cities of *Natolia*, were ruined and vtterly ouerthrowne, such as was *Ephesus*, *Sardis*, *Cuma*, *Philadelphus*, and other of the same ranke. And that which was most terrible, they had not the means of open fight, an ordinary succour in such misfortunes: yet thereof they were deprived, because the earth shrunke and opened vnder their feete, and swallowed them vp immediately. Herewithall arose thinings and flames of fire among the ruines; and that which was plaine champaigne ground before, was exalted to Mountaines, and contrarywise, Mountaines became euen and leuell ground.

Heere might also bee alledged, the v-

Plin. l. 1. cap. 84.

Two great
mountaines
met together.

Plin. l. 1. cap. 83.

*Corn. Tacit.
Annal. 1.*

*Plin. in Lib. 8. 4.
Enrich in Chron.*

Strage plague in Constantinople, and in the Grand Caire.

In Misopogus.

Lib. 1. Della casta della grandezza della Cite.

mented with a pestilence, which doeth greatly dispeople it: to the no meane amazement of many, that haue made deep search into the cause. So it is in like manner affirmed by diuers, that the *Grand Cairo* is euery yeare afflicted with the Pestilence. Vndoubtedly, when I consider with my selfe, that great *Louis*, vulgarly called *Chlouis*, stayed his opinion, and made *Paris* the seat of his kingdome, leauing many other Cities which were then far greater: and that before him, the Emperor *Julian* (being come into France) established there his ordinary abode, and called it *Amiable* or *Lovely*. I am compelled to admire therein, their great Wisdom and vnderstanding, in choosing a place so commodious, so pleasant and answerable; although then it seemed to be one of the least Citties of Gaul. It would require an entire volume to speak thereof, and yet none will credit what it is, except they haue the happinesse to see it: & the sight may much better satisfye them, then all that can be sayde or written of it. Therefore I wil end this discourse, adding onely that which is sayde by *Botero Parigi*, *Città che di popolo, e di abbondanza d'ogni cosa, auanza di gran lunga tutte l'altre di Christianità. Paris a City that in people and abundance of all things, goeth farre beyond all the rest of Christendome.*

CHAP. II.

Of the People dwelling in this fruitfull Land of France, what they were being ancient by Gaules, and afterwards Frenchmen: their Manhood, Valour, and successful Fortunes.



Land it selfe in all things: let vs now see (according vnto our intended purpose) what the people haue bene and are in their condition. Such as haue heard of

so extraordinary felicity, perhappes may quickly condemne mee, by alledging it as a matter impossible: that in a Region so pleasant, gracefull, and abounding in all kindes of goodnesse: the inhabitants can any way be vertuous, valiant, and courageous. Great *Cyrus* was of that Opinion, when his victorious *Persians* laboured to change their Countrey; in regard it was sharpe, rough, rude, and Mountainous; for one of them which they had conquered, that was more pleasant, consisting of goodly plaines, and euen Champaigne grounds. Which hee would not suffer them to doe, but shewed them, that like vnto seeds and plants, so are the liues of men made conformable vnto those Regions where they abide. As if hee would haue sayd, that in a fair & fortunate countrey, the mindes of men alter, and quickly become effeminate.

Hanniball, not onely inuincible by the Armies of the Romanes; but also by: so many victories ouer them, bringing them neerer to their viter ruine, then euer they were or had bene: was ouerthrowne and confounded, by the soft and carefull delights of *Capua*. The swines of his winter sojourning there, did enervate and weaken both him and all his army, which the rough Alpes and freezing snowes, had formerly made vnconquerable. Euen so we may say, and very truly, that the high and mighty courage of *Alexander*, was softened by the luxury, sumptuousnes, and dissolutions among the Persians.

It is a matter verie frequent and ordinarie, that the Provinces of greatest happinesse, become a prey to others, in being voluntarily destitute of courageous men. For, a more warlike people coming to inuade them, after they haue continued there for some time: they forget their former generosity, as if they were wholly changed, and with the very ayre of the countrey, had deriued to themselves the verie same Nature. *Sicily* hath alwaies bin the butte and ayme of all warlike people, as of the *Grecians*, the *Carthaginians*, and the *Romanes*, and of many other beside.

Also in Egypt, which is one of the verie choicest, fertilest, and richest Nations of the worlde: the most martiall people that come to stay there, doe after enter into such a lazic condition, that they stand in neede of chafing thence, euen as they

The wisdom of Cyrus against the folly of his followers.

Hanniball victorious against the Romanes, lost all his honor at Capua.

Alexanders dissolutions in Persia.

Sicily the aim of warlike nations.

The fruitfulness of Egypt, and how it doth to murther all people.

A Spring neere to Helyernation.

A morall Allusion of the Fable.

Frenchmen are truly borne warriors.

Zoroaster in vlt. Imp. Valentin.

they did to the first inhabitants. The like great and frequent changes haue bin often obserued, as well in ancient as more moderne times; and namely, vnder the Mahometane *Galyffes*. It is reported of the Wel *Salmacis* in *Caria* (which is one of the regions of *Natalia*) that such as drinke the water thereof; of men, doe immediately become women. But the truth is, according to the relation of *Vitruuius*, that it is a place so goodly, pleasant, and where the people liue in such delights and dissolutions; that the courages of men, after they haue liued there any long while, becometh altogether effeminate or womanish; which gaue such a subiect to the Fable, as if they had bene changed into women, and receyued into another Nature. Some haue attributed (to the selfe same reason) the vnmancinelle of the latter Grecian Emperors of *Constantinople*, through the ouer-much delicacie of the Countrey.

All this is contrary in France, for a mild such a great affluence, and euen among a world of pleasures; generous spirits are borne, truly warriors, and of men excelling in all vertues, yet cloyed withall the like abundance of euery oyster thing; yea, euen among those Frenchmen as lister themselves to be led into all pleasures, in peacefull & vndisturbed times; yet are they not thereby softened a iotte, neyther loose any of their courage, valour, and adresse to actions of Armes. But euen, as if they were merely borne thereto, nor euer learned any other kinde of exercise: being euer more readie to giue ouer all pleasures, to follow the warres, march to fights, and throw themselves first into the mouth of danger. This is their true exercise, their naturall inclination, which they knowe not how to forget or giue ouer: and whensoever they delight in hunting, yet are they more readie to returne to Armes.

The like naturall disposition is described by *Zozimus*, of the Emperor *Valentinian*, who although hee was a man giuen to much pleasure, and addicted himselfe thereto at due seasons: yet notwithstanding, when occasion required, he was alwayes readie to undertake Armes, whereof as patiently he endured all the paines, toiles, and incommodities, euen as if hee had taken a great pleasure and felicitie

therein. Such a man was *Demetrius* King of Macedonia among the Grecians, and *Marcus Antonius* among the Romanes, and *Scipio* giues very little ground vnto them in martiall disposition. *Cesar* also, speaking of his Army (composed for the most part of Gaules) saide: *That his Gauls, howeuer they were persumed, yet they left not (for all that) to fight valiantly, and courageously. Milites suos etiam vnguentos, bene pugnare.* The like account was heterofores made, that the Belgians were the most hardiest and valiant amongst the Gaules: because, they would permit no Merchandizes to be brought into their Countrey, that any way might serue to soften the naturall inclination of Men. But he knew well enough soon after, that valiancie and Militarie vertue was so naturall, vnto them that were borne and nourished vnder the ayre of Gaul, as it could not by any means bee quailed in them, or separated from them, by the plentie of any thing seruing vnto voluptuousnesse.

Some haue held opinion, that the rigour and austeritie of the Persian youths, and their continuall manner of liuing in so stricke a kinde, prouoed to be the onely cause, that they were much better men of warre, then their neighbours. And surely, the Lacedemonians differed not from this coniecture of them, when they saide: They made no great meruaile why they went so boldly to warre, and exposed themselves vnto death; considering, what small delight and contentment they tooke in life, in regard of the hard and rigorous discipline of their lawes. But the Gentlemen of France, although they be borne and bred delicately, they doe neuer faile in generous courage: Armes, and verie hard Trauailes in Warre, are vnto them as sportes and pastimes; and, to speake iustly, they are borne thereto, without neede of so much cunning and instruction, as others haue to exercise and prepare them.

Those people that France hath bred and yeldded, haue alwayes bene redoubtable for their Armes, to all other Nations of the world. The Romanes well seile it, when they were hewed in peeces by the Gaules, on the day at *Alia*. And afterward, when (vpon their soldaine coming on them) they were constrained

then a little to sinke by nature.

Sicily in Italy, cap. 87.

The stricke forme of life obserued amongst the young men of Persia, was directed at amongst the Lacedemonians.

The Romanes selte the manhood of the Gaules to their cost.

The error of
the Roman
historians.

Polib. lib. 1. l. 1

Suet. in vit. Ti.
berio cap. 3.

IN Lib. 7.

Cicero in Orat.
De provinciis
consularibus.

In fine Rel. Jug.
"fuit ad nostram
conferentiam Ro-
mani sic belu-
re alia omnia
victis suis pro-
prie esse. Gai-
lus pro salute, ut
pro gloria certi-
ficat.

to hide themselves in their Capitoll; the which yet was not sufficient to save them till (in the end) they were gladde to pay a great quantity of golde and silver to the Gauls, for their ransom. And although their historians labour to make men beleene, that Camillus the Dictator exterminated the greater part of the Gauls, & brought back againe that which was given for ransom; yet notwithstanding, Polybius a very ancient Author, neere enough to those times, well experienced in the history, & being an excellent writer beside, hee declareth the contrary, saying: *The Gauls went away victorious, having granted peace to the Romans, by means of a great summe of gold, which they brought thence with thē.* Which is moreover confirmed by Suetonius, who sayeth: *One of the house of the Neroses, Ancestors to the Emperor Tiberius, having made warre on the Gauls called Senones, descending from them that surprized Rome: brought backe the gold of the ransom which had bin payed them; & that it was not recovered by Camillus, as the rumour ranne.* And beside, those very men that sacked Rome, returning thorow Italy, made alliance with the elder Dionysius, the Tyrant of Siracusa, and aided him with their troops against the Locrians and Crotonas his enemies, as it is avouched by Trogus Pompeius.

If the losse of the Gauls had bin so notable, as Linius hath described it: they could not have peopled a greater country in Italy, & made war so often on the Romans, as at divers times they did. Wee had enough to do (saith Cicero) to resist them & to defend our selves, being continually assailed by them. And our Captaines and Commanders in war perpetually accounted, that it was fitter to defend by beare off their blowes in such a war, then to set on or assault them. It is well known of great Marius, when he opposed himselfe against the efforts and stratagems of the Gauls, that hee neuer durst attempt to enter their Lands. They to whome all other war was easie, lost all their fencing trickes against the Gauls. Hitherto (saith Salust) the Romans enermore conceived, that all things gaue way, and were to be yoked by their vertue. But only against the Gauls, when they were to fight with thē, not for honour and glory, but for defence of their lives.

Nor did they tearme this warre but tu-

mult & insurrection, because that by the promptitude of the Frēch, in vsing arms; they had not the leisure to beate their drum, to raise or call their companies; but suddenly, without any choise, tooke such for soldiers as could carry Armes. They had a particular Exchequer or Treasurie by it selfe, destined to be employed only about the charges of the Gaulish warres, whensoever they hapned: as being one of the greatest & most extreame necessities belonging to their City. And though in all other wars some stood exempted from going to them, as such as had spent their time in war, being called *Veteranes*, or ancient seruitors; yet (in such a case) they much needs march, without any regard at all of such exemption. *Et oportet bello Gallico ut maior iura moreq; prescribant, nemo est Civis Romanus qui sitis villa excusatio utendum puet.* According to the Lawes of our Ancestors (saith Cicero) and according unto ordinary custome, there is not any Romane Citizen that must think only to propound any exemption, when there happeneth any war with the French.

Nay, that which is more, the Romans quitted and gaue them freely the honour belonging to actions of arms. *Cato voluntarily contesteth in Salust, That the Grecians had gone beyond the Romans in eloquence, and the Gauls them, in the glory of war.* And this is the reason, why they alwaies stood in feare of the country that brought forth a people naturally warriors, & in so great a number. When they named that Province, they would say, *It was too fearefull for the Romaines.* Neuer was any speech of the least stir or tumult in Gaule, but they would all tremble. And thereupon, immediately after the death of great Caesar the Dictator, it was propounded to the Senate to give ouer Gaule, leaving it to full liberty, although it was formerly conquered and assured. These are the very words of Appian: *There was (saith hee) made a Decree and arret to the Senate, concerning Gaule: all the Senators being possessed with feare.* A little lower hee saith: *Some amongst them were of the minde, that they must needs give over, and forsake all the whole Country and People, leaving them at libertie, and to enfranchise them from subjection unto the Empire. So much they stood in feare and dread of the Neighbourhoode of Gaule.*

And

An Exche-
quer in Rome
only for the
Gauls warre.

Cicero pro Pe-
tito.

In Constitutio-
nem, Facundia
Grecos, glori-
a belli Gallos Ro-
manos ante fe-
rebat.

Cicero de provin-
cijs Consularib.
Gallia Romanis
ante timenda.

In lib. 3. de Bel.
Civili.

In Oratio pro-
vincijs, Ceteri
aliquot ita ille
monstrat ante
naturam, non sine
aliquo discri-
mine: nam si
ille ad Gal-
los immensi-
tati multitudi-
que transisset,
nunquam hoc
suum Imperio
dominatio-
nem ac fidem
prodidisset.

"People of the
Celts in
France, plant-
ing their
fences by the
River Iberus.

"A Citie of
Celtiberia in
Spain, besied-
ged 14 years
by the Ro-
mains.

Called also
Gallia Toga-
ta and Citer-
ior Gallia,
now named
Lombardie.

And Cicero saith: *Nature hath munited Italy with a rampier of Alpes, not without divine providence. For if that entrace (saith he) were laid open to the fury and multitude of the Gauls: ever would the City of Rome, the seat and dwelling place of the Emperre, only Sovereigne of the worlde, bee besiedged.*

It is not to the Romans only, that the French have made knowne their unconquerable corage, and to feel the strength of dreadles armes; what Captayn? what quarter of the world is there, where they have not planted their conquering Ensigns? The Celts (for so the Grecians termed the French) are found to dwell in most parts of the vniuerse, as having lefte France, in regard of their ouer-great multitude, to seeke new countries elsewhere, which they conquered with their swords, and became Masters of them. They are dispersed ouer all Europe, and hardly is there any quarter, where they have not left the markes of their victories, and records of their name. Spaine is full of such Colonies, whose names would bee considered out of diuers countries, according as ancient Geographers have stiled them. And first to speake of the *Celtiberians*, who are proove sufficient to our purpose, and accounted to be the most valiant people in Spaine. No doubt, as they stil retaine the name, so doe they (in like manner) keepe the vertue and valour of the Gauls their Ancestors, that came to inhabite there, and also to make a Plantation of their name.

Some foure thousand of those *Celtiberians*, defended most courageously the city of *Namantia*, and sustained the siege for fourteen years, against the Effortes of many Roman armies, yea, and of their very cheefest Captaines, untill such time as they were enforced to send their *Scipio* thither. In the end, the so long besiedged *Celtiberians*, chose rather to burn themselves and their City together, then to yeeld to their implacable Enemies, unto whom they left nothing to adorne their triumph, but their very name only.

At this very day, Portugal and Gallizia do carry the names of their first founders the Gauls. They entred also vpon a great part of Italy, comprehending (in the same respect) the name of *Gallia Cisalpina*, where they first entred in the reigne of Tarquini-

us Priscus, King of the Romaines, about the year of the world, MMM. CCC. LX. There they founded *Millan*, & afterward *Brescia*, *Verona* and other Cities; this country, ravenous, hardy, and warlike Nation (I vse the very wordes of Trogus) the cheefest next to *Hercules*, and iustly celebrating to be called immortal, they (I say) ouerwent the sharpest and bitternes of the Alpes, vnpossible for the snowes & colds. They are found to dwell thorow all Germanie, where are the *Boemes* and *Carnes*; in *Pannonia* or *Austria*, and *Hongaria*; in *Transylvania*, *Valachia*, and *Albania*; in *Thrace*, where they have reigned a sufficient length of time. This may be the reason, why from our Ancients named Europe, *Celtica*, *Keltica*, because that the most part of the inhabitants, called themselves *Celtes* or *Gauls*, as is plainly asseuared.

For the same respect, an ancient Geographer saide, that the Northern part of the earth was inhabited by the Scythians; the Eastern by the Indians, the Southerne by the *Ethyopians*; and the Occidental or Western by the *Celts* or *Gauls*; each place and part of the world taking first denomination according to the excellency of the people that were the principal and most renowned in euery part. The verie same Gauls haue made all Macedon and Greece to tremble, and haue solde peace to all other people, who came to buy it, before they were any way assailed, as affrighted with the name of the Gauls only. *Trogus* reporteth it in this manner: *Tantus terror Gallici nominis erat, ut etiam Reges non laceffiti, ultro pacem ingenti pecunia mercarentur.* Such was (saith he) the terrour of the Frenchmans name, that Kings neuer being encountered, came of themselves, and by their owne meere motion, to purchase their peace with great summes of Money.

All the lesser Asia were as slenderly able to resist them, for it hath bin, wholly subdued by them. In like manner, such account was made of their man-hood, that there hapned not any war in the East, but they were the forwardest partakers therein. It was euermore to them, that afflicted Princes fled for succour, as it is declared by the same *Trogus*, and here you may read his owne verie words. *Gallorum ea tempestate tanta fecunditate inuentus fuit, ut Asiam omnem velut exanime*

Trog. Pomp. in
lib. 34.

Many Lands
inhabited by
the Celtes.

Trogus lib. 2.
Quadrupart.

The four
quarters of
the world, and
how inhabi-
ted.

Trog. Pomp. lib. 34.

The lesser A-
sia subdued
by the Frēch.

Trog. Pomp. lib. 34.

Gallo-Grecia
so named of
the valiant
Gaules, that
declared their
valour there.

aliquo implerent: Denique, neq. Reges Orientis sine mercenario Gallorum exercitu villa bella gesserint, neq. pulsi regno ad alios quam ad Gallos confugerint. Tantus terror Gallici nominis sine armorum intuitu felicitas erat, ut aliter neq. Maiestatem suam tutam, neque amissam recuperare se posse, sine Gallica virtute arbitarentur. Denique in auxilium a Bithinia Rege invocati, regnum cum eo parta victoria dismerunt, eamq. regionem Gallo-Graciam cognominaverunt. There was as then such an abundance of youthfull French, that they filled Asia, even as if it had bin swarms of Bees: in such sort, that the Kings of those quarters of the East, attempted not any war, wherein they had not Frenchmen under pay. And if they chaced to be expelled from their cities, they had no other recourse, but to throwe themselves into the armes of the French. Such was the terror of the Frenchmen Name, or the invincible felicity of their Armes; that Kings knew not howe to provide, nor conserve their Maiestie, or to recover it againe being lost, without the valour of the French. To conclude, being called by the King of Bithinia, to lend him succour, after they had parted away with victory; they also parted or divided his kingdom with this, and named the Countrey Gallo-Grecia, or French-Greece.

Those verie Gaules whereof we now speake, were come away from Thrace, where they (before) had established a Kingdom: which continued afterward, till the time of *Cyarus* their last King, according to the report of *Polybius*. The people of Thrace, of *Bizantium*, and of *Cherronesus*, being then their tributaries. All this is affirmed and maintained of the ancient Gaules.

Nowe, as concerning such as have carried the name of Frenchmen or Gauls, ancient standers, and dwellers in partes neerer hand, as well on this side, as beyond the *Rhine*: they long time made warre with the Romanes, pursuing them with their Armes, and over-labouring them by so many courses; that at length they expelled them quite from amongst the Gaules. They were first observed to appeare vnder that name of Frenchmen, in the time of the Emperor *Galen*; and from thence onward, the Roman Histories are copious, how manie times they passed and repassed the *Rhine*, to make warre with the Romanes, when

they thought to teare away Gaule out of their hands. Panegyricall Authors, exalting those Emperors with praises to heaven, that had in any encounter (how silly foucer) got any advantage against the French; do yet make it sufficiently known what great account was made of this people and generous Nation, yea, more then of any other, as being most fearefull to them, and to whome (for this cause) they yielded themselves tributaries.

Vnder the Emperor *Claudius* the 11. they invaded *Holland*, and other neighboring Countries, and made thence theyr courses and wonted expeditions, as well by Land as Sea; vntill they extended their power so onward, that they entred somewhat farre into Spaine. *Zozimus* and the Rhetorician *Eumenius*, doe report a certaine voyage of theirs, and a chance well deferring memory. The Emperor *Probus* hauing made warre on them, and wonne the vpper-hand in some encounter; hee tooke diuers of them prisoners, which he led away into Asia. Soon after, they made an escape, & being imbarked in certaine small vessels, which they found sitting for their purpose: they ouer-ran and rauaged the coasts of Greece, and the Isles of the Ionian sea, besieging and taking *Siracusa*, and afterward passing the straites of *Gebaltare*, returned home againe into theyr owne country. The verie greatestt affairs, that euer the Romanes had with Straungers, were alwaies against the Gaules, or French, who neuer would suffer them to liue in quiet.

In the end, the Emperors well vnderstood their valour, and made vse thereof to their seruice. *Constantine* the Great, in the warre hee made against *Licinius*: had great store of them in his Armie, vnder conduct of a verie valiant French Capitaine, named *Bonicius*, whose manhood is well noted by *Ammianus Marcellinus*. At the same time, partly by conquest, partly by conuincence of the Emperours; they extended the Gaules name very farre, and did so great seruices to the Romanes, that they filled whole Legions of them. Especially vnder the Emperors *Constantius*, *Constantine*, *Valens* and *Valentinian*, as is to be seene in *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Zozimus*, and diuers other Historians of those times.

Afterwards, *Gratian*, hauing sworne more

The invasion
of Holland, &
other places
of the Gaules.

The successe
of the Gaules
that were led
prisoners into
Asia.

The warre of
Constantine
against Licinius;
and seruice
of the French to him

Marcellinus lib. 7.

Mellobandi.
The affection
of the Empe-
ror Gratian to
the Gaules for
his owne good.

more strict alliance with them, could find out a *Mellobandi*, Prince of the French, beside many other Captaines and Soldiers: by whose meanes he assured his owne estate, and carried away great Victories from the Germanes, whereof thirty thousand were slaine in the field. This Prince did so highly esteeme of them; as they serued him in all occasions: yea, they filled vp the Army which he gaue to *Theodosius*, to make quietnesse in the East; and to repulse thence the Gothes. Moreover, he fauoured and advanced them to great charges of his Court, and euen as if (in respect of them) he began to grow in distaste with his Romanes; so procured it (partly) to be the cause of death.

It is most plaine and apparant, that for the space of about 200. yeares, they were the threshing Flaile, the terror & amazement of the Romane Empire: wherto (vnto) the same words that *Claudius* sayth of them: *They sold peace and quietnesse at the prizes of money, and tooke great recompences to cease theyr fights*. The Epithets, which the Authors of those times gaue them, were the names of *Terrible*, *dreadfull*, and *redoubted Warrior*: as being the only nation, that (more then all other else could do) amared, bruised, yea, & utterly brake in peeces the Romane forces.

After that this Monarchy of the French in Gaule was fully established: they could then vndertake other great enterprizes & voyages. How many times did they passe in Armes, both into Asia and Affrica, to chase thence the Infidels, Sarazens, and Turkes, to deliuer the Holy land, and the Christians that were there in their seruitude? There hath not bene any expedition in Christendome, wherein they haue not bene heads and conducters, yea euen the better part it selfe. Many times haue they succoured & re-established the Emperors of *Constantinople*. And in the end, to reuenge the death of *Stacius Angelus*, (whom they had reuealed som short time before) cruelly murdered by the Tyrant *Mur Jusse*: they took in their assault) that great City, where they commanded (almost) four hundred yeares. They made themselves so knowne thoroughout the East and South parts, and haue so liuely engrauen there the memorie of theyr name: that (euen to this day) all the Orientals terme the inhabitants of Europe,

by the word *Franki*, as thinking that name to be vniuersall. As in like manner the Arabians and the Abyssinnes, who call Europe by the name of *Frankia*.

Orosius, the learned byshop of *Sylas* reporteth, that the *Indians* when the Portugals make warre against them: they call them by no other name then *Franchi*; as confessing naturally, that since the brasse expeditions of the French; against the Turkes and Sarazins; this name (full of admiration among those people) had so spread it selfe thoroughout all Asia and Affrica; that alwaies afterward, the same was to be attributed vnto all the Western people.

But to deliberate no longer at this time on all the expeditions of warre, and voyages attempted by the French for the christian name, for the defence of religion & the Church, against Moores; Sarazins; Turkes, and other Mahometanes; in diuers Countries of the world, and the glorious and goodly actions, thare by them performed: Can any thing bee tearmed more hardy, valiant & generous; than that which they did for conquest of the holy Land? Vndertaking so long a Voyage, crossing so many Countries, & with such store of difficulties: Nothing could dant or turne them; nothing seemed impossible to them, being altogether inflamed with a zealous & diuine desire. They exposed themselves to all kinds of dangers, inconuenience of places and passages, famine, thirst, pestilence and warre: meere prodigal of their liues, for religious zeale. In whatsoever we read concerning antiquity, yea euen of the fabulous ages, neuer art to be found such deedes of prowess, as they did in that conquest.

Let *Godfrey of Bullen* set himself before you, with his gallant French troopes, traueeling al *Germany* & *Hungary*, & arriuing at *Constantinople*; there is assailed by diuers ambascadoes on the Emperors behalf, yet overcoming them all, euen as if it were against his wil to preuaile. Then looke on him passing the straits of the *Hellepont*, besieging the city of *Nicea*, one of the strongest in all the East, munited with all things sustained and defended by a people refoled, as wel for assaults giuen, as sallies repulsed, or by any cunning to be circumvented. During this siege, the Army of *Soliman*, consisting of 500000. men,

The Portingals
warring on
the Indians.

The painefull
travailes of
the French,
for conquest
of the Holy
Land.

Guald. Tyrim in
Lib. 3. et 4.
De Belle Sarac.

Polybius lib. 4.

The ancient
Gaules inhabi-
ting on ey-
ther side the
Rhine.

The valour of
the Gaules in
the Emperor
Galen's time.

Nicea taken
by the Fréchu

A battell giue
by the French
in Carmania
against Scir-
man and his
Turkes.

Embassy sent
by the French
to the King of
France, to
request aid
against the
Turkes.

A worthy fra-
tation of
Godfrey of
Bullen, in an
urgent need
of.

The sharpe &
seuerer be-
siege of the
City of An-
tioch by God-
frey of Bullen.

comming expressly to rayle the siege,
is overcome, broken, and cut in peeces, &
the City surprized in the end.

After this, behold another battell giuen
in *Cilicia* or *Carmania*, by thirty thousand
French onely, against an Armie of two
hundred thousand Turkes and Mahome-
tanes, led by the same *Saliman*, and the
Sultan of *Persia*. These two hundred
thousand Turkes, hauing (at their first
charge from farre off) couered all the
Christian Army, with a cloud of Arrows;
and making a counterfet shew of flight,
sent another shower of shafts in the same
manner, and then a third, they not hauing
any means to ioyne or come nere them.
So that there was scarcely one man a-
mong the Christians, but was wounded
with their Steele Arrows, some in the
armes, others in the legges, and many in
diuers parts of their bodies, notwithstanding
the helpe of their Targets: euen as if
we had the Army of the Romanes led
by *Adrian* against the *Parthians*. Vn-
till such time as *Godfrey* refused to make
apace of flight, and (indeed) retired;
as if he had beene no longer able to endure
them, which moued the Turkes to pur-
sue after them out of order, as if they
were altogether overthrowne and disfla-
ned. But when the French behelde them
within their compass, that they might
deale with them by handy stroakes: all
wounded as they were, they giue such a
courageous charge vpon the Infidels, that
they foiled and vanquished the whole Ar-
my. So proceeding on, the Cities of
Tharsus and of *Edessa*, and all the other
betwene them, were likewise taken.

Antioche besieged by a long siege,
the besiegers being incessantly assailed,
as well with the ylling forth of an Ar-
my that was within, as by the ambu-
sades of many troopes at liberty abroad,
besides cutting off victuals, and all other
commodities from them. In these extre-
mities they were also oppressed with con-
tagious diseases, famine, and other kinds
of necessities and miseries, every thing
being opposite and contrary to them, and
the Emperor of *Constantinople*, doing his
very utmost to endamage them. All
which notwithstanding, they lost not a
iote of courage, or became any way at
disheartned in this their enterprize, al-
though to make their misery much more:

there came also on them another dread-
full Army, containing all the powers of
the East, and appearing impossible to be
resisted. But the Christians conducted by
Godfrey of Bullen, out-spent and wearied
as they were, hauing giuen the battaile,
ouercame the great Armies, and droue
them to flight.

It passeth an infinite number of parti-
cular charges, encounters, combates,
fights, ambushes, surprizes and assaults,
to come to the siege of *Ierusalem*, where
they met with all resistance possible, both
by force and cunning: which neuerthe-
lesse (in the end) after infinite famous
actions of Armes, was wonne by liuely
force, and in a general assault. All this
was done in lesse then two yeares, from
the yeare 1097, to the yeare 1099, when
Ierusalem was wonne, and in the Month
of Iuly. Then was *Godfrey* chosen King
of *Ierusalem*, who yet refused the crowne
of gold, saying: *It fitted not him to weare
that pompe, where his Lord and Saviour wore
one of sharpe pricking thornes*. Every one
of the other Princes & French Lords, which
made vp the body of the Army, were also
partakers in the chiefe possession of Ci-
ties and Prouinces thereof; & there
was not a man among them, but was ca-
pable of holding the Empire of the
world, and by farre greater reason, then
is reported of *Alexanders* Captaines. And
this may iustly be the cause (in part) that
the successe was not so great as it might
haue bene: they being able to haue pas-
sed on, so farre as the extremest parts of
the East, to conquer all the Country, and
plant their Ensignes on the banks of the
Indian Seas. In briefe, there was neuer a-
ny thing comparable thereto, neither for
religious piety, nor manhood in Armes.

It was also a matter admirable in *God-
frey*, that being Souldier; he should be
culpable of so great prouidence, iustice,
and moderation of spirit. It is reported
of him, that although he was King, yet
he cloathed himselfe, and liued so simply,
as the very meanest Souldier about him.
So that vpon a certain day, diuers Lords
of the Country being come vnto him, to
present him with gifts, but (to speak truly)
to espie and take knowledge of what they
could: being brought before him, they
found him sitting on a Sacke full of straw,
& vpon the ground. After they had well
observed

The happy
successe of
the Christi-
ans against
the Infidels.

The conquest
of Ierusalem
by Godfrey
of Bullen.

The honor &
rewards offe
great defe-
ting.

Gulfat Tyrant
in lib 7 cap 10

The admi-
rable mod-
eration of
God-
frey of Bullen
& his answer
to certaine
Lords.

How long
time the re-
bell held the
king-
dome of Ie-
rusalem.

The appar-
ent singu-
larity of
the French,
above all
other
Nations.

Strabo in lib. 3
de Syria, lib. 1
de Asia, lib. 1
de Europa, lib. 1
de Africa, lib. 1
de Asia, lib. 1
de Europa, lib. 1
de Africa, lib. 1

observed it, being driuen to no meane
admiration, they made enquiry: how so
great a Prince, being a Lord of such
matchlesse merit, hauing shaken all the
East, and seized on the very greatest king-
dome, should be seated so poorly, with-
out any pompe, no rich hangings, not a
ny Guard about him, to make him dread-
full to such as should come nere him.
But he demanding what they had saide,
replied thus: *It is the best seate for a mor-
tall man, and by good right, the earth should
suffer, and serue to haue him for a time: in
regard that (afterward) it must be the house
for his body to dwell in*. Which when the
Lords had heard, admiring his answer,
humility and wisdom, they returned
thence, saying: *This is (indeed) such
a man, as was to rule over all these Regions;
and to him (in equity of desert) is belongeth
to command ouer all other people vnder
the sun*.

Thus the kingdome of *Ierusalem* was
held for the space of about fourescore &
tenne yeares by the French, who (in the
meane while) made warre vpon the In-
fidels, being succoured from time to time
by the Kings of France: among whom,
Lewes the fourth, called the young, and
Philip Augustus went thither in person.
But afterward, this kingdome was con-
quered by *Saladine*, first Souldan of *Egypt*:
And then the French, vnder conduct
of their Kings, ceased not alwayes to at-
tempt voyages and expeditions, as shall
be declared in place more conuenient:
Heere I forbear to speake of the great
warres and goodly exploits in Armes,
of the French against the Allemaignes,
Hunnies, Danes, Normans, Saxons, Sar-
razins, Gothes, Lombards, and English,
which are to be discoursed heereafter.

There is not any other people, that
haue caused themselves more to be spo-
ken of, to spread their renouwe so far,
and enterprise matters more great, goodly,
& difficult, then they haue done. Other Na-
tions neuer could come neree them, no
the *Spaniards*, of whom *Strabo* yield-
eth testimony, that they neuer did, or euer
durst vndertake great occasions. They be-
ing (saith he) exercised and inured to slender
exploits, by lowe or base enterprizes; as some
light ambuscades, courses, and brigandages
or theueries. But concerning the valour
of the French, and the greatnesse of their

courage, there remaineth very sufficient
proofes in antiquity. Some haue attrib-
uted this quality to them, to be voyd of
feare, and boldly to cast themselves into
the midst of dangers. *Strabo* reporteth,
that certaine Frenchmen being brought
to *Alexander* the Great, when hee de-
manded of them, what it was they most
feared; made this answer: *Nothing at all,
except the Heauens should fall on our heads*.
Signifying by this manly reply, that feare
had no power to freeze their blood, or vi-
stipate any place in their warlike soules.

In like manner, they neuer knew what
it was to flye, or turne their backs in the
most dangerous fights; neither to giue
so much as the least inch of ground: as the
Emperour *Leo* declareth in his Art Mil-
itary or Tactics, and *Chalcidius* the
Grecian, in his Turkish History. Both of
these Authors do affirme, that they hold
this the heauiest sinne, which can happen
to be committed by them. The selfsame
is also toucht by *Aelianus*, who deliue-
reth these very words. *Among all men, they
least most affect dangers, and most valiantly
expose their liues to periles; I wonder that
them to be the Gauls. The whole subject
of their Songs, is of such men of vertue, as died
valiantly in foughten battels. Crowned they
combat, and adorned with Markes & Tro-
phies of their victories: as well to honor the
worthy acts which they haue done, as to serue
for memory to posterity, according to the
manner of the Grecians. But about all flight
is held so dishonest and shameful among them,
that very many times, they will not get them
gone, or make escape away from a tottering
house, though it be ready to fall vpon them,
or all on a flame, and themselves in im-
mediate danger to be burned. This may seeme
very strange, and rather blame worthy,
then commendable: yet it is done in no
other regard, but only to shew what their
resolution hath alwaies bene, as shunning
all occasions, whereby they might be re-
puted timorous.*

In like manner, the Emperour *Sulan*,
speaking of his sojourning among the
Gauls, saith; *That it was with the most
warlike, and onely courageous people of all
other Nations. Pausanias* declareth, that
although they were wounded quite thro-
rough their bodies with the sword, and
euen cleft in twaine with axes sharpe slic-
es; yet notwithstanding, not a iote of
their

Strabo in lib. 7.

A braue an-
swer of the
French to A-
lexander the
Great.

Leo Imp in Tac.
Chalcidius in
Hist. Turke.

Aelian. De var.
lib. lib. 11.

In Misopogon.
papa vltima
vltima vltima
vltima vltima
vltima vltima

Pausan Phocis

Vnconquerable resolution in the French and what opinion the Greeks had of them.

Arist. in Ethic. lib. 3. cap. 7.

No distinction of years among the Gauls from marching in Armes.

Marcellin l. 5.

* One that curseth off his thumb, because he will not go to war.

their courage abated. And when they were shot through with darts and arrowes, so long as any respite of life remained, or the very last gaspe or breathing; they fought still manfully, and made a massacre among their enemies: yea, there were many among them that snatched the Arrowes & Darts out of their own wounds, and shot them backe against the Greeks, or being neerer hand, slew them with the same Arrowes and Darts, even by meere stabs. Whereat the Greeks being amazed, to behold such wilfulness in fight, such courage, contempt of death, & prodigality of life; not knowing whereto they should attribute it, nor (to speake truly) what to say of it, (being wont to commend no men but themselves) they saide; *This goes quite beyond the nature of men.*

In the same case and respect, *Aristotle*, imagining that such strength and valiancy was without example, and about the capacity of any humane spirit: attributed this viuacite of soule, to a kinde of furious and naturall insensibility, not fearful of any thing; neither earthquakes, nor the roughest stormes or tempests: *Even like (saith hee) as it is reported of the Celts or Gauls.* Warre was their true trade & exercise, there was not a man among them, that would excuse himselfe from marching to the field, without any distinction of ages. The olde man, wearied and spent as he was, went to it as cheerefully, as hee that farre greater force and vigor. A yong lad, euen in the first floure of his time, found therein no difficulty at all; he made offer of his youthfull members freely, to be hardened by colds, and inured to traualles, alwayes disposed and ready to support most difficult occasions, yea, and the very dreadfulllest accidents of war.

In briefe, as it is confirmed by *Marcellinus* a faithfull Author, a Souldier or mās fit for the warre, who hath liued any time among them; shall neuer be there mette withall, as among the Romanes: where there were some, that to shun the warres, would cut off some member of their owne, especially their thumbs; *Whom we termed (saith he) in derision and mockery, * Murci.* To men of such base and feruile condition, as will thus cut off a ioynt, to make themselves vncapable of being Souldiers, may be referred that iniurious French

disgrace, *Poltron, à police trunco; A knave hath his thumb cut off.*

This generosity and greatnesse of courage, is likewise familiar among the womē of France, whereof we haue testimony in the same Author. *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who writeth thus: *If a man of Gaule enter into a quarrell, his wife being with him, there is not any troupe of strangers able to resist or stand against their strength. Especially, when the women are moued & enflamed with choller, stretching forth their brassey armes, gripping their strong knie hands together great and white as snow: so that both with feet & fists, they discharge blowes as liberally, as if they were stones from slings, or quarrels from Cross-bowes.* And as they are thus excelling in magnanimity, so are they as complete in other perfections: but chiefly in prouidence, discretion, and good aduice.

VVe reade, that before the Gauls passed into Italy, a strong sedition happened to grow among them, which dispersed it selfe into a ciuill warre. But the women, euen as the two Armies were ready to meete each other; threw themselves into the midst betweene them, and questioning the reason of their difference, drew them to so great equity, and fullnesse of content on eyther side; that they began admirable and reciprocall loue and kindnesse among them, not onely betweene the Townes and Cities, but also in the houses neighbouring together. VVherupon, after that time, they continued all consultations of their affaires: (as well concerning warre as peace) with their wiues, and pacified all quarrels and differences with their neighbors and kindred, onely by their meanes. And therefore, in the composition which they made with *Hanniball*, when he passed by the Gauls, they concluded (among other Articles) in this manner. That if it came to passe that if the Gauls pretended any wrong to be done them by the Carthegians; the Carthagien Capitaines and Gouernours (which were in Spaine) should be the Iudges thereof. Contrariwise, if the Carthegians could alleadge, that the Gauls had offered them any injury; the women of Gaule should bee Iudges therein. And therefore *Plutarke* had great reason, to ranke those Ladies in number, among them reputed to be vertuous women.

The

The spiritly courage of the Gaulish women. Marcell. l. 11.

Plot. in De Cleo. Malur.

The composition that was made betweene Hanniball & the Gauls.

The Gauls called their wiues to consultations and counsell.

Kingdomes in India where Noble men admit no marriage.

Of Bertrand du Guefclin, and his noble minded Lady, Tiphania.

Behold what generous words of a woman can doe.

The Gauls euer called them to their counsells and consultations, as well for warre as peace, because they knew their naturall disposition to be such; as not a woman among them, would seeke any to soften and weaken (willingly) the boldest or most couragious enterprize her husband could vndertake. And this may be the cause, why the ancient Romane Souldiers would not be married: As now at this day, there are certaine kingdomes of the Indies, where the Noble-men will by no meanes admit marriage. But the Gauls knew well enough, that this sexe were so farre off, from any way hindring their Martiall designs; that they would by no meanes permit the very least inclination to negligence or cowardise; they rather serued as sharpe spurres to their vertue, to excite, encourage, and animate them more and more.

To this purpose, I may not omit a notable example, though not of the ancient Gaulish women, but of a French Lady, as yet recent and fresh in memory. *Bertrand du Guefclin* had bene alwayes a most valiant Knight, and one highly renowned in all Histories. After he had performed many worthy enterprizes, euer to his fame and honour: he married with a beautiful Lady, named *Tiphania*, descended of a noble family. After which marriage, he growing to leaue, and discontinue his former exercise of Armes; as he sate discoursing with his Lady, she gently began to blame and reprove him, declaring, that (before their marriage) hee followed the warres, wherein hee had achieved the cheefest reputation. And that it neyther suted with the nature, nor duty of a true Gentleman, to lose the least repute of honour worne before, by ouer-much affecting a new made choise. As for mee (quoth shee) who ought to shine by the bright radiance of your fame, I shall account my selfe too low deiected, if you giue ouer a course so well begun, and lose your spirits in doating loue, w^{ch} it to one more worthy then my selfe.

These words did so neerely touch the Knight, that hee began againe to follow Armes, wherein he carried himselfe so valiantly, that they did well and worthily attribute it to him, to stand as a stout Ram-piet for France, in the very sharpest times of warre, and euermore made a meere

Barre of his body, against the hottest inuasions of the English. By vertue of his valour, King *Charles* the fifth, hauing reconquered most part of those territories, which had bene insulted on in the reignes of the precedent Kings: alwayes helde head against that valiant *Edward*, surnamed the Blacke Prince, and Prince of Wales, and disappointed all his hopes. It was he that re-established *Henry* the 11. King of *Castille*, in his kingdom, in despite of all the Armies and English forces. Hee was also made Constable of France, by King *Charles* the fifth, who helde him in such endeared affection for his valour, that hauing bestowed great gifts on him in his life time; after his death, hee did him so much honour, as to let him be buried at *S. Denis*, at the feete of the same *Toombe*, which this King had prepared there for himselfe.

Whatsoever is here set downe, concerning this honourable Lady *Tiphania*, hath bene, and is as familiar to all the Ladies of France, who partake in the selfe-same affection; and couet rather to enflame, the freeze their husbands forwardnes, in winning honour by Armes; and the like they are (in all respects) to their children. For whosoever will but aduisedly well consider, on the admirable generosity, and greatnesse of courage in the people of Gaule; they will make no meruaile at all, of those bolde words vled by the braue Souldier *Vercingetorix*. *If I could (quoth hee) unite together all the French: I should compose such an Army of men, as if the whole world did conspire, and bend all force against them, they were not able to withist and them.* Take it as a vaunt or brauado who will. The very proofe of their fights and conquests, made but by some part of their people, may yeeld sufficient testimony, that if the words spoken by *Vercingetorix* had bene put in execution; they would haue proued true, and the same effect must needs haue followed.

And to speake truly, if we conferre them with other Nations, we shall apparently perceiue, that the French haue gon beyond all in Military vertue. So many expeditions, and yet into farre remote Countries, so many warres attempted, & fortunately finished; so many foughten battels; and so many actions of Generosity,

The honorable actions of Bertrand du Guefclin.

All the Ladies of France are equall to Tiphania.

1. in Castille lib. 5.

ity, haue made them sufficiently knowne to the world. The Greeks and the Romans (albeit their sworn enemies) do render but too true testimonies thereof: not speaking (in the liketearmes) of any other people whatsoeuer. But especially the Romans, who neuer feared any Nation so much as they, whom they acknowledged to be fatal to their City, and the greatnesse thereof. So that when the Gauls of Italy, but particularly those on the higher side of the Alpes, made but a countenance of removing themselves: or designed any enterprife: they were immediately possessed with terror, and in a continuall apprehension; omitting no needfull prouision of all things, euen as if their City were to be besieged againe, or halfe surprized. Polybius saith. They verily perwaded themselves, that they should neuer become Masters of Italy; no, nor conserue their owne lands sufficiently; so long as they had the Gauls to be their neighbors.

Of the second Punic warre.

In a word, after that the Gaules of Italy were emptied of men (by continual wars) and brought into subiection, Polybius reporteth, *That there was the end of the Gauls war, the like whereof was neuer heard or seen, be it for courage, boldnesse, and resolution in souldiers; be it for greatnes of fights; be it for numbers of slaime men, or multitudes of their troups.* Further he proceedeth on

in the accidents of their wars, by way of giuing them more encouragement to weakne mindes, against the dreadful attempts of the Gauls : *Who made seizure* (saith he) *on the Greeks not only before, but also in my time.* Of any other nation he findeth none but the Grecians & the Romans, that can deliuer any such true testimony of them : which rendreth faith sufficiently on their side : y among all other people) they neuer could be followed. Albeit *Cicero* in his time, speaking of the Spaniards and the French faith, *That the Spaniards exceeded in number, but the Gauls or French in valiancy.* Wherby is evidently seene, that in the comparison of these two Nations, he giueth the honour to the French, attributing to the other, nothing but number

And yet me-thinks it is strange to be credited, that the Spaniards should exceed the French in multitude of men, considering that Spaine (as hath bin spoken hereofore) is described to be but sparsely inhabited, euen by ancient Geographers, and them more moderne : whereas contrariwise, that France is so filled with men, and so greatly inhabited, as it is wondrous full to behold. But it may bee, that the mighty numbers of the Gaules were not (as then) knowne, Gaule being not subjected to the Romanes, as Spaine was, which they held almost wholly. For whose sœuer shall consider, what Armies that Gaules gathered from time to time, to make warre vpon the Romanes, according to the recital of *Cæsar* himselfe will iudge, that Spaine, nor any other Province of Europe, could not be so fully furnished

Polyb in Lib. 7.

Polyb. etisipra

S Cicero pro Pla
e tio Hispani ma
i meo. fortitu.

Concerning
the slender
habiting of
Spaine.

1st. Cas. in co
Lib. 7.

The Romans had more mercenary soldiers from Spain than from France.

The Romans
always stood
in fear of the
Gaules.

Polyp. in lib. 2.

Of the second Punic war

Had leagu'd
with the
Gaules, & led
them into
Italy.
Polyb. in lib.

The Gauls
had war with
the Romans
about 200
years.

Stratagem
curing, 'at
the least
of manho-

The natural
breeding an
civility of th
Gaules.

The negligence of the Spaniards in tilling their grounds, leaving them to be done by their wives.

Learned studies among the Gauls.

Cicero pro M.
Marcello.

All Countries
subject to the
spoils of
strangers.
Italy & Rome

felues to no other exercifes, but to wander at randome among the Mountains, there to pilfer and rob from one another, or elfe to feue as mercenaries, partly to the Carthagenians, and partly to the Romans, after they had once got footing there. On the contrary, the Gauls (of whom no queftion was at any time made to be all warriors, excelling in valour and greatneffe of courage) in regard that they were much civilized, neuer lived after fo bafe a manner. And although they had fuch plenty of warlike people, yet wanted they no meanes of freeing themfelves from ydlenefle, when their grounds were to be tilled and husbanded, or other Arts and Trades vfed, neceffary for the life of man, as well in times of greateft turbulence, as feafons of more fecurity. For no where can it bee read of them, as it is of the Spaniards, that they left their Lands barren, becaufe they would not till them, but referred them wholly to their wives to take that pain: ſo who both before and after their times of childing, were feigne fo to toyle and mowe themfelves.

Other of our Gaules employed themselves in the studie of Letters, and exercises of Religion, and contemplation in celestiall matters: wittnesse for many skillfull *Druides*, and such beides as followed after them, renowned for their Learning through all the parts of the world. So that the Gaules dwelling beyond Gaule, served but very slemderly to the Romans, untill such time as they had conquered Gaule: then they found the sufficiency of their assistance, and acknowledged not only their vertue and valiancy, but also their infinite number of warriors. And this was the reason, why *Cicero*, speaking afterward to *Cæsar*, concerning his victories in Gaule, said: *That hee had overcome Nations, innumerable in multitudes.*

Now, to speake of all other Countries, there is hardly any one of them, but it hath bene as a prey to strangers. *Italy*, sometime the Conquerresse of many people, with her Rome, calling her selfe, cheefe Lady of the world: was then not (for long time) expoyled to the rauages, irruptions and pillages of the *Vaisigoths*, *Hermles*, *Cerpides*, *Ostrogoths*, and *Lombards*: who intirely tacked and rent her in peeces (each after other) and droue the people out of their dwellings: Spaine

became inuaded in the same manner, and afterward was canted by the *Vandales, Alanes, and Swenes*: yet were they also expulſed (in following time) by the *Viſigoths*, who eſtabliſhed their owne abiding there. Next to them, came the *Oſtrogoths*, who held the Countrey powerfully to long, till the *Sarrazines* ouercomming them, were viſually poſſeſſed of well neere all *Spaine*. *Allemagne*, or *Germany*, was not it likewise made ſubiect to the inuafions of thoſe people which dwell more Northerly, who at length ouerthrow the whole *Romane Empire*? I ſay nothing of ſome other quarters of the world, where the like fortune hath many times happened: yet this is moſt certaine, that thorough all the Provinces of the earth, there haue bene changes of people, and of frequent Colonies.

But to speake more particularly of *Spain*, at the first it was filled with people of the French Nation, as along the River ** Anas* or *Ana*, now called *Guadiana* in *Castille*, so farre as the Promontory *Artrabrum*, or *Cabo de finis terra*, in *Gallicia* in *Portengall*. Also the *Celiberians* in *Castile*, by the testimony of *Strabo*, *Ptoleme*, *Pomponius Mæla*, *Pliny* and *Appian*. From whence it enfueth, that some ancient Geographers, as *Ephorus* and others, haue comprized them vnder *France*. But be it howsoeuer, *Spain* hath continually bene taken, held and commanded by strangers: as by the *Ionians*, *Lydians*, *Thracians*, *Rhodiens*, *Phrygians*, *Cypriots*, *Phœnicians*, *Egyptians*, *Phœnices*, and *Carthaginians*, according as their owne Historians haue acknowledged. Since then, by the *Vandales*, *Alans*, and *Suenes*, that inhabited there for a long time: and afterward by the *Visigothes* and *Ostrogothes*. At last, wholly filled with *Moor*s and *Sarracens*, who held it in possition aboue seven hundred yeares. And there they remaine yet to this day (according to some Writers) in the Mountaines of *Andalouza*, called *Alpuexarras*; whether the Armies of Conquerours could neuer come or reach.

Heereby may bee gathered, that they are a mingled people, and composed of so many severall Nations, as haue dwelt there in the countries from time to time. As their very language it selfe (euen the best polished and most frequent) suffici-

Spain in the same condition.

Allemagne
or Germany
in no better
estate thē the
other.

* The Riuet Guadiana, which diuideth Granada from Portugal
Strabo in Lib. 4.

Diuers strange
Nations com-
manding
Spaine.
Vasens & Ta-
rapha.

**Moore and
Sarrazine yet
abiding in
Spain.**

The Spaniards are a compounded people.

The pure and
entire condi-
tion of France

* A Rhetori-
cian of Alex-
andria, teach-
ing in Pompey
house.
Marcel, in l. 15.

Marcellus in
France, built
by the Pho-
cenies.

Marcellin l. 15.

The Britons
expelled by
the English
Saxons.

Cornel. Tacitus
in vita Jul. A-
gricola.

Colonies pla-
ced in Armo-
rica or Bre-
tagne.

enly sheweth, consisteth (for the most part) of the Gothish and Arabick. It would aske an infinite and wearisome labour, to make search for all the mutations that haue there happened. But France is a Country, which hath least bene that way ill entreated: as hauing kept herselfe more pure, entire, and neate from ramage, and incursions of so great numbers of strangers.

* *Timagener*, an ancient Greeke Author that flourished in the time of *Augustus*, cited by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, saith; That according to the opinion of his Nation, the Gauls were *Autochthonos*, that is to say, Originaries, and borne in and of the selfsame Country. Declaring thereby, that they were not come or deriued of any strangers Colonies; which the Athenians allow attributed to bee a matter of great honour. I know well, how it may be objected to me, that *Marseilles* was builded, and inhabited by the *Phoenices*: yet there was none other but that only Colonie, beside that which is reported of the children of valiant *Hercules*, which he had by the women of France, and who there commanded for sometime, as is testified by ancient Monuments and Antiquities of the Gauls, which *Ammianus Marcellinus* saith, That he himselfe had seene in Gaul.

As concerning the Britannijs or Bretons, who being expelled out of *England* by the English Saxons: they withdrew themselves into *Bretaigne*, the called *Armorica*. I hold, agreeing with the iudgement of many learned men, that they being ancient Pillars of the French, parting from the firme land of the *Gauls*, to dwell in the Isle which was before it: coming backe afterward, to refuse themselves in France, did but re-establish their owne ancient Country, and returne to their true originall. Naturall reason, for the neighbourhood both of the one and other, doth apparently shew it selfe. The same is confirmed by *Cornelius Tacitus*, & by the common opinion that then was, as also by the similitude and likenes, both in faces and manners of the inhabitants. And beside, there is to be seene in the Geographical description of that Island (according to *Ptolomy*) the names of many Gaulish people, who vndoubtedly had planted Colonies there. Such were the *Belgians*, the *Parisians*, the *Arrebatians*, &

the *Cornabians*.

As for the French, they were no strangers, they entered among the Gauls, not as enemies, but as friends and bretheren to the Gauls: to deliuer them from the tyranny of the *Romanes* and *Goths*, who had expelled them, and were (in that manner) restored to their former freedome, and so the Gauls and French became but one people, as shall hereafter more plainly be declared.

The *Goths*, hauing so long time kept their reuels in Spaine, to speake truly, came also among the Gauls, but yet for a very short while: nor was there any Ensigne or remarkable valor in those *Goths*, making comparison of them with the French. It is said, that their property was to be fearefull, and soone put to flight: so reporteth *S. Gregory Florentius*, Arch-Bishop of *Tours*, who liued somewhat neere to those times. And *Salustianus*, that eloquent Priest of *Marseilles*, acknowledged the *Goths* to be the most feeble and slothfull, among the generous Nations of the North parts. When they were in Gaul, and stood to encounter with the French: they durst not tarry, or make any head against them. The Kings *Mero-ueus*, *Chlonis*, and *Childebert*, beheld them to passe ouer the Pyrenean Mountains, yet they assailed and ouercame them in bataille, even in Spaine, hard by *Toledo*, their capitall abiding. The *Burguignons* and *Germanes*, who had invaded those small parcels of France, were soone cut off, and quite exterminated.

So the French and Gauls, conferred themselves within their own limits, without hauing any strangers mingled among them. And as (in former times) they filled the world with their Colonies or troops of people, so did they continually the like afterward: hauing againe peopled Germany and Italy, vnder the Emperour *Charles* the Great, and his successors. So that it is not without good reason, that (at this instant) the very greatest houses of Germany, deriue their originall from the French: as is declared by *Hermanus*, Count of *Niear*, in an Epistle which hee sent to the Emperour *Charles* the 5. on the *Annales* of *Pepin* and *Charlemaigne*.

True it is, that the Gauls haue bene ouertaken by the Romans: but what people knew how to resist them; considering their

The entrance
of the French
among the
Gauls.

The Goths
came among
the Gauls.

S. Greg. Floren-
tius in lib. 2. cap. 25.

Alaricus Rex
Gothorum mu-
tuus rex prope
Syagrum trans
Francorum in-
currens, sed
Gothorum po-
tere non esse,
vincendum legiti-
mum dicit. Eod. l.
cap. 37. I unquam
Francorum con-
fessum est Gal-
lis terrore vin-
cent, Salustian. l.
6. c. 47.

The best ho-
uses of Ger-
many deriued
of the French
Hermanus Com-
de Nieur in E-
pistola c. 5.

Josephus lib. 2.
de bello iudaico.

The words of
Josephus con-
cerning the
Romans.

France last
conquered by
the Romans.

None of the
Romans could
conquer
France, but
Caesar.

Caesar made a
conquest of
France by
himselfe, and
in a time
when they
were at dissi-
on among
themselves.

their admirable order, and exact Military discipline: *Josephus*, very fitly to this purpose, attributeth thereto all their great conquests and large extendure of the Roman Empire. So that after he hath demonstrated the forme of their Campe, their ordinary exercises for Armes, and a summary obseruation of all their behaviour, he concludeth. *All these being well considered, wee neede make no doubt to say, that the possessions was much lesse then the possessors. Adding withall, that hee extended so farre in declaring all this, not as any commendation to the Romanes power; but rather as a comfort to the conquered.*

Moreover, of the Westerne Prouinces, France was the last conquered by them, whatsoeuer is else saide to the contrary. Whereas (on the other side) Spaine came among the first into their hands, in the time of the wars against the Carthaginians. France was that Country, that longest of all resisted, and against which (to speake no more then truth) their invincible Armies, yea, they that were victorious throughout the whole world; became meerey edgelesse and blunted, as not able to beare off their blows. All other Romane Captains utterly lost their labour, *Caesar* onely excepted. Which is no meane honor to the Gauls, to yeeld themselves vnder the yoke of so great a Prince: who is acknowledged to be the most wise and perfect Captaine that euer was. And yet for all that, France was not conquered at the first onset, neyther made surrender of her spoiles, without sweate and blood. That great Commander in warre, tooke intollerable paines, and trauelled for the space of ten yeares continually, with all the power and strength of the Romanes, which then held the more part of the wide world. And yet (euen then) he had not preuailed neither, if hee had not serued his turne with Frenchmen themselves, & made a conquest of France, by France. Diuisions and partialities, which were then on foot among them (an ordinary and fallall ruine to the most potent kingdomes) called him thither, where finding all to be diuided in diuers factions, ciuill warre kindled among them, allied with many, and fortified with their troops, as namely them of *Arthun* and others: it was so much the more easie to be surprized by him, and in such an op-

portunity of aduantage.

All which notwithstanding, it is an admirable matter, and well worth the obseruation, that in the resistance made against him, by people so defynted & perplexed: yet in ten whole yeares, the Gauls fought thirty ranged batailles, wherein, according to the account made by *Appian*, there were slaine well neere eleuen hundred thousand able fighting men. And beside, himselfe testifieth in his Memories sufficiently, with what manner of people they had to deal: & they likewise could no way performe, without receiving great losses, as there he seareth not to confesse.

If wee had but his Ephemerides, or particular Iournall booke, we should see other matters of his owne confession; considering, that *Ammianus Marcellinus*, speaking of the conquest of the Gauls, saith: *He pacified them, after many great losses on either side sustained in ten yeares war.* And as touching his owne person, it is recorded, that in a certain encounter, he was releued, (notwithstanding all his Greatnesse and goodly Armour) by a Gaul, who hauing remounted him vpon his owne horse, bare him away through all the throngs. But there came another Gaul, who brauely cryed to his companion, *Cecus Caesar* in the ancient Gaulish language which is as much to say, as *I see Caesar passe*, & this was the reason of his safe passage. Wherein they worthily declared, that it was honour enough to their generous mindes, to carry *Caesar* safely away from danger, when they had him in their power, and could haue slaine him, *satis est praesentasse*. The Grammarian *Seruius* citeth this example out of the Ephemerides or Iournals of *Caesar*, which wee cannot come by in these dayes. In like manner, *Caesar* knowing them wel, and hauing (on the other side) experimented the dulnes of the Easterne people, in the war which he had against * *Pharnaces*, King of *Pontus*, saide. *Most happy was Pompey, that hee had nothing to do with the resolute French, but with the faine-hearted men of the East.* *Got the surname of Great* as *Jo. de la Mare*. In briefe, the Gauls were neuer ioyned to the Romane Empire, by any power in the Romanes, but thorough their owne proper forces: as a great Captaine speakeeth in *Tacitus*. *Verè reputantibus Galliam suis met viribus concidisse.*

Appian in lib. 2.
de bello ciuili, c. 4.
in Celsis.

Caesar kept a
Diary booke
of all actions
in Armes.
Marcel in l. 6. c. 15

Caesar releued
by a Gaul
in great ex-
tremity.

Seruius Aem. ad
in hunc verbum
Dire praesentasse
ad equo.

* Who was
Some talking
Mithridates.

Histor. Lib. 4.

*Ioseph. lib. 1.
de Bell. jud.*

And as King *Agrippa* declareth in *Iosephus*. It was not through want of courage, or any dull neglect, that they were overcome: considering the Romanes themselves said, it was four score yeares, before they could fasten hold in one small Meridional or Southern Province of Gaule, & afterward fought so much against *Cæsar*: But rather it was by the frugall managing of their owne felicity, wherein they pacified both destiny and fortune: whereby they plainly saw that the Romanes got the upper hand rather by force than otherwise, and (in a word) by the divine permission or providence. Nay, and that which is much more, after so long warre, against such power, and so great a Captaine, yea, and after so many losses: yet notwithstanding, Gaule fell not into the Romans hands, as being subiected, but rather as allied, and in farre better fashion then all the other Provinces.

*De Bello Gallico.
lib. 8. in fi.*

He that continued *Cæsars* Commentaries, saith: That while hee wintered in *Belgia*, he had a careful eye, onely to maintain the people in amity, without giving to any one either will or occasion, to rise or take themselves to Armes. For that which hee most of all desired, was, that vpon his departing, there might happen no occasions to slay him: or if hee had cause to bring an Army thither againe, yet that he should not be troubled with any long warre, whereunto Gaule gaue listening with very good attention, when the law her selfe out of apparant danger. Vherfore, causing the Citties to come before him, with his best respect, and greatest honour he embraced them, and gaue very goodly gifts to the principall and most apparant persons: not imposing on the rest any charges, or extraordinary subsidies, wherby he contained them in peace, and the better disposition to obedience throughout all Gaule. And so by this cunning, Gaule (at last) gaue place, and became mildly quietted. For the affability of *Cæsar*, and the courties he extended towards them, did more conquer them in one winter, then all his Forces, Legions and Armies could doe in ten yeares.

One winters kindnesse in *Cæsar* wonne more then all his Legions could do in ten yeares warre.

Ouer and beside, the titles of Alliances, of Peace, and of friendly conference, are so frequent in the Romane Authors, euer where they speake of Gaule; that it plainly testifieth on her behalfe, that shee

was not conquered by Armes, but rather left at louely liberty, by friendly parlanes and confederations. Which *Ammianus Marcellinus* himselfe also confirmeth, for he saith, that *Cæsar*: After many losses on the one side & other sustained, during a war of ten yeares continuance: in the ende (by eternall pactions and agreements) ioynd the Gaules to the Romane society and alliance. We see also, that they left some people in Gaule wholly free, as (among other) the men of *Auvergne*, who termed themselves as Noble as the Romanes, and called them their brethren; the men of *Anthun*, the *Marcellians*; them of *Tonnos*, *Porrejs*, and the round neighbouring Countries.

Now as concerning Subdies & Contributions, a Romane Gouernour, named *Cerealis*, sheweth plainly in *Tacitus*: That such tribute was but for maintenance of the Legions, and for preseruacion of peace in the Provinces; which could not be continued without Armes nor Armes without wealth. As for the rest (saith hee, speaking to the Gaules) all is in common with vs, oftentimes you giue command to our legions, your selues also gouerne in the Provinces, as others do in our Empire. By the selfe-same reason, that which bound them most to duty, was the entire amity of the Romanes to them. *Cæsar* made a great number of their Cittizens Romanes, and *Augustus* in like manner, though in more sparing fashion, with some restriction fro vulgarizing to great an honour of the City or Bourgeship of the Romanes. Afterward, the Emperour *Claudius* gaue the right of Senatours to the principall of the Gaulish Lords. And in the ende, *Galba*, for the signale seruices which the Gaules had done to him and the Romane Empire against *Nero*: hee made them all Cittizens, without exception.

The like was neuer done in, or for *Spain*, where there were but some Colonies: which had the same right, and no more then to any other Province of the Empire: who obtained that priuiledge, but by general Edict of the Emperour *Antoninus Caracalla*. Nor was it without great reason, that they made such great account of this Province: considering, what great advantages it gaue vnto them. For, were it in respect of treasure, rich Gaule furnished them with more reuenues; then (by vsing the common manner of

Gaule not conquered by Armes, but courties.
*Morcelin lib. 1.
Post de comitiis
belli mariani
clades societati
iustis interuen
tibus aletur.*

*Plin. lib. 4.
cap. 19.*

*Corn. Tacit.
Hist. lib. 4.*

Cæsar made many of the Gaulish Cittizens Roman.

*Annal. Tacit.
idem. Hist. lib. 1.*

*L. in urbe Roma
M. de Di
Statu domi.*

Treasure of the Gaules.

*Velleius Paterculus.
Soldiers for the war out of Gaule chiefly.*

saying) all the rest of their Empire, as it is recorded by *Velleius Paterculus*. Were it for leuening vndaunted Souldiers, and for such as they mustered from thence: therein consisted the maine strength of all their troopes. And that *Cæsar* knew well enough, and published it sufficiently abroad, as hauing made choise of them a-boue all other, and (by their meanes onely) came to possesse the Empire of the whole world. For ouer and beside what hath formerly beene said, concerning the wealthy treasures of France: the valiauntie of the Gaules holdeth the most eminent place, by whose courage he was especially and principally, to gaine that greauesse, whereunto hee had so long time aspired.

Cæsar victoric against Pompey, ascribed to the Gaules.

*Plin. in vit. Cæsar.
Pompey was allonied at the bread whereon the Gaules fed on in warre.*

The Gaules sent to succor *M. Crassus* against the Parthians.

Plin. in M. Crassus.

The admirableness of the Gaules to young *Crassus*.

The victory which hee wonne against great *Pompey*, ought to be attributed to the valour & warlike vertue of the Gaules. And if he had not bin furnished with such men, valiant and strong, not onely against the enemy, but also to endure famine, and all other kindes of necessities, euen to the feeding on bread made of grasse & roots, he had bin lost in his hopes, and vterly defeated by the long & lingering delays of his enemy. This was that which most of all amazed *Pompey*, who gaue expresse charge, that such bread should not be scene in his Camps, for feare of disheartening his Souldiers, or driuing them into detestation of their paines, wherby they considered, the sharpe extremities suffered by their enemies, with whom they dealt so cruelly, that they left them nothing to feed on, but euen as brutish beasts.

Moreover, *Cæsar* hauing sent a small number of Gaules, for great succour to *M. Crassus* against the Parthians; these were the men, who (in that most vnhappy day for the Romans) performed most strange exploits of Armes, and shooke the enemies victory very sharply. These were the men, in whom young *Crassus* reposed most confidence, as being the warriours, with whom he performed admirable actions of prowess. For they receiued (with their bare hands) the sharpe points of the Parthians Pikes, and cloeing with their body to body, threw them to the ground, among their horses feetes, where they lay all along stretched out, vnable to releue themselves, onely through the massy weight of their Armor. Many ther

were beside, who forsaking their owne horses, crept vnder the bellies of the belonging to their enemies; to pierce & stab them with the points of their Swords: which causing the horses to bound aloft, by extremity of the anguish they felt, trampled vnder their feete both their masters & enemies together, and to fell dead without any rescue.

The same *Cæsar*, prepared a complete Legion of Gaulish Souldiers, which hee called the *Larke*, and added it to the Romane Legions, and whereto (at length) he gaue the honour of Bourgeship. Nay, and that is much more, hee not knowing how he might worthily enough recompence the Gaules: made a great number of them Senatours; to the great discontenting of many Romanes. And as for the Caually or horsemen, wherein the Gaules euermore excelled all other Nations in warre: *Cæsar* had (almost) none other, but continually ready at his seruice ten thousand Gaulish horse, according as it is declared by *Appian*. These were the French horse, that afforded so many great seruices to *Cæsar*: as well in *Spain* against *Afrimius* & *Petrinus*, Lieutenants to *Pompey*; as afterward in *Africa*. Wher it is said, that in one fight, lesse then thirty Gaules in number, fought against two thousand Mauritians, and droue them to flight.

Nere to *Munda* in *Spain*, *Cæsar* fought against the sonnes of *Pompey*, where all had bin vterly lost for him, hee knew not any meanes for helpe or redresse: till the Gaulish horsemen reconfirmed all, and was the cause, that the day (being before reputed for desperate) came shie to *Cæsar*. His successe found themselves alwayes well serued, both with ordinary horse and foote of the Gaules. *Tacitus* maketh mention of a Cohort or Regiment of the Sicambrians, which did many remarkable deeds; in the warre against the Thracian Mountaineers: Who were (saith he) prompt and hardy against dangers; and no lesse dreadfull for their Armes and order of marching in battaile array. This I do more willingly leste downe, because of those Gaulish Sicambrian Nation, the French are properly descended.

The Poet *Claudian* auoucheth, that as other Provinces furnished the Emperours with diuers commodities: so did

Cæsar Legion of Gaules, reconfirmed by him the Lark. Sueton. in Jul. cap. 44. Sueton. in Tullio cap. 76. & 80.

Appian. De Bel. civilib. 4.

Ant. de Bello Africo in princ. Suet. Bello. Civilis.

Cæsar succored by the Gaules on a desperate day.

Corn. Tacit. in Annal. 4.

De laudib. Seneca. De Gal. Sacerdot. militis.

Greece spoiled & waſteth by the Goths.

The Gauls hated to be commanded by a ſolitarie Emperours.

Tiberius, Pelliſſe. In xxx. Tyrannus. De Poſſumma 2.

Proſperus in Conſ.

The Gauls were neuer truly ſubjected to the Emperours.

France alwayes fit them with men for the warres. The ſame Author ſaith in another place, that vnder the Emperours *Arcaſius* & *Honorius*, about the time of the inſurrection and reuolt of *Gildon*, a great Army, compoſed (for the moſt part) of Gauls, was brought to ſuccour Greece, then rauaged and ſpoiled by the *Goths*: and they performed there ſuch deeds of valour, as holpe the Country to recouer her right. So that being (for long time) wel entreated by the Romans, partaking in the honours and adminiſtration of the Empire: it was no matter of muſaile, that their peace ſhould be of ſo long continuance. One onely thing alſo was irkeſom & burdenous to the, in regard whereof, they troubled the Romane Empire with ſome ſtirres and perturbations, the Gauls being naturally addicted to vertue and ſeuerity. And therefore they hated to be commanded by ſuch Emperours as were negligent, diſſolute, and quite giuen ouer to all vices: which made them deſpise ſubiection to ſuch as was *Tiberius*, *Nero*, *Domitian*, *Commodus*, *Heliogabalus*, *Galiens*, and other ſuch like monſters of their names. They would endure none but vertuous Princes, and ſuch Gouvernors were the fitteſt men to confirme and keepe them continually in peace.

Heereupon was it, that the Emperour *Valerian*, in a Letter of his ſaid; *That hee had made a certaine man, named Poſthumius, Gouvernor of Gaule. A man (ſaith he) well worthy of the Gauls ſeuerity.* A word ſufficient to reiect the obediẽtion of leuitie, where with ſome would haue reproched them. Another Author, writing the life of the Emperour *Cæſar*, confeſſeth: *That to command the Gauls, there needed an Emperour very conſtant and vertuous.* So that being vnable to ſuffer the detestable vices of many Romane Emperours, they departed (at every occaſion) in this reſpect frõ their obedience: whereby it may be juſtly ſaid, that they continued alwayes free, and being not truly ſubjected, gave their ſeruite to no other Emperours, but ſuch as themſelues repured worthy. Vntill ſuch time, as vpon the declination and fall of this great Empire, by the inſatiable auarice of Romane Gouvernors, and other inſupportable charges: they altogether fell off from them, and gaue ayde to their compatriots the French, and ſo wholly

did roote out the Romanes nation.

But to examine a point (heerebefore handled) ſomewhat more particularly, it cannot bee ſaide with any reaſon, that France was conquered by the Romanes before Spaine: neither that the Spaniards made any more reſiſtance, or continued longer time from ſubduing or ſubiection. For on the contrary, it appeareth, that the Carthagenians poſſeſſed themſelues (in few yeares) of a great part of Spaine: even at ſuch time as the Romanes fell like wiſe on it, and carried away their ſhare without any difficulty. Wines the treaty of peace, made betwene the Romanes & *Hafdruball*, chiefe Captaine for the Carthagenians, wherein it was couenanted, that the Riuer *Iberus*, now called *Ebura*, ſhould bee the bound of the Empire for theſe two people, and that the *Saguntines*, free people originally of Greece, who were betwene them both, ſhould conſederate with the one and other.

Aſter this, it is ſufficiently knowne, that the Romanes had long time made warre againſt the Carthagenians in Spain, who gaue them there many valiant fights. During which while, no citate, or ſewer, made mention off among the Spaniards; who ſtood but as ſpectators, in expectation of the yſſue, to ſee which of thoſe two people ſhould haue command ouer them. This was at the beginning of the ſecond Punicke warre, when the *Scipios* (after they had ſpent eight yeares in war) were ſlaine by the Carthagenians. And afterward, Great *Scipio*, ſurnamed *Africanus*, being ſent thither, after diuers encounters, and taking Townes from the Carthagenians: expulſed them wholly thence, & fiſt of all made it a Romane Province, in the yeare of the Citie of Romes foundation CCCCXXIIII. All the buſines which he had with the Spaniards, was for ſome reuolts of particular people, whom he likewiſe as ſoone ſuppreſſed. So that very truly *Ammianns Marcellinus* hath ſaide: *That all the Provinces of firme Land in Spaine, were the fiſt conquered, & made one Province by the Romanes.*

All Hiſtorians agree together, reporting alſo, that in the yeare CCCCCLII. two Pretors were created at Rome to gouerne Spaine, which was then diuided in two parts, and termed *Citerior* & *Pſterior*, to wit, on this ſide, and beyond *Ebu-*

France not conquered by the Romanes before Spaine.

T. Livius in l. 31. Anſ. de Vir. lib. l. c. 47.

* Sagunt, a City in Spain beyond the river and a mile from the S. A.

The ſecond Punick war wherein the Scipios were ſlaine, & the coming of Great Scipio into Spaine.

Marcellus lib. 5.

T. Livius in l. 31.

ra.

Cato Senior ſent into Spaine.

Plutarch in Catoe more. T. Livius in l. 31. Anſ. de Vir. lib. l. c. 47.

At what time the Romanes fiſt entered into Gaule.

Strabo in Lib. 4.

A deſcription of Gaule, ſaying warre.

* People of Boetia in Spaine.

* People betwene Gallia and Portugal.

ra. The elder *Cato* was alſo ſent thither, to qualifie the reuoltes of ſome people. When he had overcome them, & made prouiſion, that no more rebellions might afterward happen: he ſent his Letters & command to every City in particular, to this effect, that they ſhould caſt down to the ground their wals and fortifications, & diſpoſed the action ſo orderly, that his command was obeyed in the Cities, and he arrived there at the ſame time. So they being verily perſwaded in each City, that this command ſtretched but to that place onely: yielded the more willingly, which otherwiſe they would not haue done. Whereupon enſued, that in one day all their Townes were diſmantled, and their wals raced. In regard of which ſucceſſe, *Cato* made his vaunt; *That hee had taken more Townes in Spaine, then there were daies.*

Now, as concerning Gaul, the Romanes neuer had footing there, but in the yeare IVCXXII. & in Prouence onely: about an hundred yeares after that Spaine was wholly conquered. Nor had they there but a very ſmall parcel, which was a nere neighbor to them: all Gaule being neuer made a Province, but by *Cæſar*. By what likelihood of truth can it be ſaid, that Spaine was brought vnder the power of the Romane Empire, after France? Neuertheleſſe, it is very true (as *Strabo* ſaith) that the difficulties which the Romanes had in Spaine, to make it peaceable, grew onely through the reuolts of ſome particular Townes & people, and by the incursions of the reues gathered together in troops, and theſe (of neceſſity) were to be chaſtiſhed. So making war, not in groſſe, or with a body of iuſt Armes, but by peeces and parcels, one after another, in ſmall courſes and ſurprizes: the Romanes had more trouble to finde out, then conquer them. Again, although Spaine was held & commanded wholly by the Romanes, yet notwithstanding, there remained ſome people, dwelling in difficult, ſharpe & mountainous places, as * *Belſiques*, & * *Atures*: who afterward, in the time of *Augustus*, were wholly vanquiſhed, and added to the reſt of Spaine. As alſo (about the ſame time having conquered *Aquitaine*) he made it a Province, as the three other of Gaul. Moreover, there cannot bee found ſo great a number of worthy Capitaines, af-

foorded by any country, like vnto France. As were among the ancient *Bellovaſians* and *Sigonaſians*, chiefe of the fiſt & furtheſt off expeditions among the Gauls: *Brennus*, that ſurprized Rome, and another *Brennus*, who afterward ſubdued the moſt part of Europe and *Aſia*. *Dumnorix*, *Diuitacius*, *Ambiorix*, *Dumnatius*, *Vercingetorix*, *Diditiacius*, and many more recorded by *Cæſar*. And to ſet Kings aſide, who can count all the Dukes, Earls, Barons, Lords & Gentlemen, that haue excelled in the Art of wars. They are not to be numbred, ſuch as haue beene in later times, as *Godfrey of Bullen*, king of Ieruſalem: beſide ſo many Princes and Lords, as went in the expeditions to the holy Land, the wars of Spaine and *Africa*, againſt the *Turkes*, *Moors*, and *Sarrazans* at ſundry times. The Marſhall *Bouciquant*, in the dayes of king *Charles* the fiſt, as alſo *Iohn de Saintrè*, knight; *Bertrand du Gueſclin*, Conſtable of France; *Enguerrand*, Lord of *Concy*; the *Comte de Dunois*, chiefe of the famous houſe of *Longueville*, the right hand and maine helpe to King *Charles* the 7. for expulſion of the bolde Engliſh. *La Hire*, *Pothon de Xaintrailles*, *Tanneguy du Châſſell*; *Gaiſton de Foix*, Duke of *Nemours*, one of the Anceſtors to great *K. Henry*, hee, that after he had conquered a great part of Italy, bare away the renowned victory of *Rauenna*, trampling (vnder his feete) all the forces of Spaine and Italy coniuired againſt him. *Odet de Foix*, Lord of *Aurezac*, the Captain *Bayard*, the Lord of *Chamont*; *Louis de la Trimouille*; *Gul-laume* and *Martin du Bellay*; *Charles de Bourbon*, Conſtable of France; *Frances de Bourbon*, Duke of *Anguſen*; *Charles* and *Timoleon de Coſſe*, of the houſe of *Briffac*, and an infinite number more, moſt honourably remembered by the beſt Hiſtorians.

What ſhall we ſay of our Kings *Mero-nemus*, *Chlovis*, *Childbert*, *Chlotaire*, *Charles Martell*, *Pepin*, *Charles the Great*, *Hugh Capet*, *Louis le Gros*, *Phillip Augustus*, *S. Lo-uys*, *Phillip* the third, *Phillip le Bell*, *Charles* the fiſt, ſurnamed the wiſe, *Lewis* the twelfth, *Frances* the fiſt, and the valiant *Henry* the fourth, father to the King now reigning?

On the contrary, *Trogus*, ſpeaking of Spaine, ſaith, *In tanta ſeculorum ferie, nullus illis Dux magnus, præter Viriſum fuit.*

K 3 qui

What famous Capitaines France hath yielded from time to time.

Godfrey of Bullen, king of Ieruſalem.

One of the beſt Soldiers that euer France bred.

Famous war-like Kings of France.

Trog. Pompeius lib. 4.

Virtuous the
hardy Lusitanian.

qui annos decem Romanos varia victoria fatigauit. Adeo feris propiora quam hominibus ingenia sunt. In long successu of ages, they neuer had any chiefe Guide for warre, beside *Virtuous Lusitanus*, who laboured the Romanes for the space of ten yeares. So that (saith he) they came neerer in nature to *sausage beasts*, then to men. And addeth further, that they followed such a Captaine, rather by occasion, then out of any iudgement, hauing not made any election of him.

Strabo in Lib. 4.

Not can there be desired a better, and more certaine testimony of valour, and generous nature in the French, then that which *Strabo* deliuereth in these words. All those people whom we terme *Gauls*, are *Martiall*, *courageous*, & ready (of themselves) to fight: And yet notwithstanding, they are very simple, and no way wicked or euill inclined. Heereto he addeth. That they bring nothing to the fight but *vertue* and *courage*, without any craft, *superchery*, or *brauery*. And although (saith he) they are full of heat to fight; yet are they (for all that) capable to *understand* and *reason*, and easie to be *persuaded*. Willing to undertake the quarrell, for such as they see to be *uninjuriously* wronged and *offended*.

In Lib. 6.
Copiae habebat in Gallia bellicae consuetudinis, sed et contra Gallos homines aptos in iustitia, qui per virtutem non per dolum dimicare consueuerunt. Cicero in Philip. 5.

The Author of the Commentaries on the warre which *Caesar* made in *Africa*, be it *Hirtius*, be it *Oppian*, or whosoeuer else, saith. That the *Gauls* were *more open hearted*, and *no way deceiuers*, using to fight by *vertue*, and *not by subtilty or fraud*. The same *Strabo* auoucheth in another place, saying: They are all *warriors*, and principally good *Knights*, for the best *Cauallerie* of the *Romanes*, was composed of the *Gauls*. The *Romanes* alwayes made most especiall account of the *Gaulish* horsemen, for *Caesar* found himselfe to bee best serued with them. And *Cicero* hearing that the government of *Transalpine* *Gaul* should be giuen to *M. Anthony*, cryed out. *Est enim opinio decretum aliquem M. Anton. Gallum* vltimum quam *Plautius* obtinet: *Quid hoc est aliud, quam hosti arma largiri primum neruos belli pecuniam infinitam. Deinde equitatum quantum velis? Can any thing else be done heerein, but onely to thrust Armes into the hands of an enemy? First of all, infinite summes of money, which are the nerues and sinewes of warre: And next, as many men well horsed, as be wold haue with him.* This passage is sufficient, whereby

to conceiue and certainly obserue, the wealthy treasures of France, and the opinion held thereof.

The exercises of these people, spake fully the matter of war so much by them affected, alwayes louing a manly & cheerful disposition of the body, and contemning grosse corpulency: so that they condemned (in very great fines) all such young men, whose bellies exceeded the ordinary measure of their girdles, according to the auouching of *Strabo*. Moreouer, the French haue bene reputed to surpass all other Nations, in these two noble and warlike exercises, hunting, and ryding great horses. Hunting, which is nothing else but a lively image of warre, and an assidue meditation thereof, as *Xenophon* saith. *Eginhard*, the nursing child of *Charles* the Great, and his Secretary, writing his life, speaketh thus. *Exercebatur assidue equitatio ac venando quod illi gentilitium erat, quia vix vlla in terris natio inuenitur qua in hac re Francis possit avari. He exercised himselfe daily to hunting, and to mount on horsebacke. Wherein (saith he) he relieth of the whole Nation. For there is not any people in all the world, that can beerein surpass, but onely may endeavor to equal the French.*

But before I can finish this discourse, concerning the warlike vertue of the French. I cannot forbear to say somewhat of that which they performed on the day of * *Nicopolis* against the *Turkes*: where a man may well say, that a small handfull of French Gentlemen, excelled (in prowesse) whatsoeuer wee reade in Histories, of all the braue exploits in war that euer were done. Not *Leonides* of the *Greekes* at the *Thermopylae*, nor *Caditius* of the *Romanes* in *Sicily*, is any way worthy companion with them: the history followeth in this manner.

Charles the first reigning in France, the King of *Hungaria* sent Ambassadors vnto him, entreting that some succor might be afforded him, against *Baiazeth*'s first, Emperor of the *Turks*, the most remarkable warrior that euer was of the house of the *Ottomans*. The King consenting thereto very gladly, many Lords & Gentlemen of France prepared themselves to be scene in this voyage, to the number of about a thousand or twelue hundred. Among others, there was the *Conte d'En*, Countable of France; the *Conte de la Marche*;

The exercises of the Gaulish people declared their affection to Arms

Strabo in lib. 4.

Hunting and riding great horses.

Xenophon. In vita Caroli Magni.

A City in Bithynia.

Frassard in vol. 4.

The history of the few reformed French on the day fought at Nicopolis.

The greatest river in Europe, rising out of the hill Arctus in Germany. In Illyricum it receiueth 60. other rivers into it, where it is cold lither and there is broadest.

500. hundred French Lances, set vpon 30000. *Turkes* & their succors

A far vnto different army of *Turkes*, so meddle with few of the French.

Marche, the Lord of *Coucy*, the Lords of *Trimouille*, and *John, Conte de Reuers*, son to the Duke of *Burgogne*, who was chief Commander. When they were ioyned with the king of *Hungaries* army, hauing past the riuer * *Danubius*, they bare away (in assault) the honor of diuers Townes: and at length came to lay siege before the City of *Nicopolis*.

VWhile the greater part of the Army besieged the City, *Enguerrand* Lord of *Coucy*, taking with him five hundred Lances: made vp into the Countrey, to seeke some enemies that they might fight withall, and it is credibly reported, that (verie nere vnto them) there was a troop of *Turkes*, of about twenty thousand in number. Now, albeit this multitude exceeded their small companie beyond all measure: yet notwithstanding, they resolved to grapple with them. And hauing first of all drawne them beyond a wood, wherein there was an ambuscado; they came and charged them in the rerre. The fight was (for all that) cruell, and of long continuance, wherein the French, although they were so few against so great a number; yet they did performe wonders that day. So that in the end, the *Turkes* being disheartmed, faintned extraordinarily, & more then fifteen thousand lay slaine in the field.

Some thort while after, *Baiazeth* being come with a dreadfull Armie, consisting of more then three hundred thousand fighting men: they advanced themselves to deale with the enemies armie, being not worthy to be termed any number, because they were (in all) but seauen hundred, when they beganne the fight. The French small troops, made a goodly sight to behold, being all well armed and appointed, in rich glittering and gorgeous Armors, wanting no coist of golde and siluer, and brauely mounted on gallant horses, most sumptuously barbed & caparassoned; so that such as saw them, might well haue feared them an Armie of Kings. But (beyond all the rest) with what force, ardour and courage they fought, although they were meerey shut vp, and round railed or ringed in with innumerable enemies. At the first onfet, they wholly defeated and ouerthrew the auantgard and first battell of the *Turke*, beating them on flil before them, euen to

the verie midst of the bodie of the maine army, where was *Baiazeth* himselfe.

Many there were, who periuourning meet miracles of manhood in fight, cleit or hewed out their passage thorough the prease, and very thicke of all the *Turkish* Army, compelling them to make them way, both for going on and returning backe again, euen to two or three seuerall times of enforcement. And yet no one man among that poore small troop, who seeing the vnauoydable danger of death, was desirous to take hold on any advantage, or shew so much as a countenance of retiring, albeit their enemies (gladly) offered them many meanes. All refused to loose their liues, but yet the enemies bought them at very deere rate, filling the field with mountains made of their dead bodies: euen till such time as the fight hauing held a great deal of the day, the most part of the French lying dead on the ground, and the rest (a very small number) wearied with killing the *Turks*, and pierced through with wounds, being ouerwhelmed with multitudes, were (in the end) taken prisoners. But it was generally held for truth, that if the great body of the *Hungarian* army (beeing well nere the number of an hundred thousand able men) had seconded them, or vfed neuer so little resistance, in making but a shew of withstanding the enemy, to hinder the French from being so enclosed, (by any forwardnesse in redeeming them, and not fearefully fly away on heaps thorough the valley, as the *Hungarians* most cowardly did, suffering themselves to be murthred, without any offer of fight) the day had remained to the *Christians*. And I dare speake it, that the power of the *Turkes*, which afterwards so greatly enlarged it selfe (meerey thorough our diuisions) had then bin vterly ruined from the top to the bottom.

Then you plainly perceiue, that of this small troupe of resolute Champions, the greater part of them lay dead in the field, hauing made a slaughter of infinite enemies, more by fifty times then they were, and fought to their latest drop of blood; but verie few of them remayned prisoners. But on the next day, *Baiazeth* going himselfe in person, to view the field of battell, and take acknowledgement of the dead, when he found that for one French

Most admirable courage & manhood, deliuered apparently by the French, and in a time of most extreme trial

Great negligence in the armie of the Hungarians, to faile the men which fought for the

But few prisoners taken of the small French company.

Boianeth had but little joy in his deare victory, desiring to deale no more with the French.

Concerning matters belong to iustice

Plutarch in vit. Pom.

Agathias in l. 1.

The French great louers of iustice.

A notable example of iustice among the French. Strabon.

Frenchman slaine, whole heapes and piles of Turkes filled vp the field, and all his Army left in such pittifull condition, he tooke it for desperately, and entred into such outrageous choller, as being vnable to consider on his losse, or take any means for contentation, hee commanded a passage vnto death thorough the army, of all the prisoners, except about some twentie of the greatest Lords: as the *Comte de Nevers* the General, and others who being knowne, were faued and put to their ransomes. *Boianeth* complaining on so fadde a victory, which cost him so deare, could not depart thence but very pensiuely; and in plain truth, such another ouerthrow woulde absolutely haue confounded him altogether.

This may seeme sufficient for the valiance of the French. But som may obiekt, that such warlike people, accustomed to liue among Armes and Martiall exercises, should bee voluntary disdainers of matters appertaining to Iustice, acknowledging no other right then that of armes. *Forbear* (said *Pompey*) till to morrow, to alledge your Lawes to vs, who haue our swords by our sides. This is quite contrary to the French, who are no way to be lesse commended for their iustice then for their valor and excellency in actions of armes, and haue euermore bene accounted to be true louers of Iustice. *Agathias* a Grecian authour, who liued more then a thousand yeares since, hath prayed and commended the French for their Iustice. *Whereof* (saith hee) *they are verie desirous, as also great louers of their Country.* He further addeth, *That because they possesse a most assured estate, they haue (as their bases and support) many goodly principles engrauen in the hearts of their Kings and People.* Why then let mee vndoubtedly tell yee, that among all other Nations, the Gauls & the French haue most highly cherished and loued Iustice, and haue alwayes religiously honoured it, yielding themselves thereto, and making continuall exercise thereof, without any passion.

And not to make repetition of an infinite number of goodly institutions, and diuers examples of their Iustice, it may well appear by this notable custome, which both Greeke and other ancient authours haue observed among them. To wit, that if any one haue slaine a Citizen or Bourgesse, he hath no other infiction but banishment; whereas, if hee commit the like offence on

the person of a stranger, he is punished with death: for the paine is augmented in consideration of the stranger, to whome the more easily the injury may be offered, so much the more (they hold) that the offence which he hath done, ought to be severely punished and reuenged. It may be thought somewhat hard, that a stranger should be faoured and defended, more then a Citizen. To cutt off which difficulty, wee by the diuine law, ordained on the strangers behalfe, that he is so oftentimes repeated and defended, that a man must very carefully keepe himselfe from harming him, and that iustice must be rendered him equal with a Citizen. And questionles it may be truly said, that (euē at this day) ther is not any country in the world, where a stranger is more humanely entertained, lesse offended, and more defended in all right of iustice, then among the people of France.

In like manner, wee finde by probable histories, (that very often times) Princes and strange people haue referred their differences to the iustice of France, as well of the Kings, as of the Parliaments. Among other, the reputation of their Iustice in King *Dagobert*, was spread so farre into strange Nations, that the Hungarians, the Sclauonians, and other people neighboring about, desired him to be the Iudge in their differences. And more, the Sclauonians said, that if euē he came into their country, they would acknowledge & obey him, as if he were their King.

Furthermore, let it neuer be said or imagined, barbarism at any time had entertainment among the Gauls. Continually they were most human, hauing milde and well polished spirits by nature, & being aduantageously shaped or fashioned for the study of arts & Sciences: especially they studied eloquence in such sort, that the elder *Cato* in his originals cited by *Charissus* hath rendered this testimony of them. *That they were quick conceited & industrious principally in two things; in the Art military, & in well speaking.* The proof hereof appeared in that *Hercules of Gauls*, so much renowned by our forfathers, figured in such fashion, that from his mouth hung dangling downe at his tongue, manie small chaines of fine gold, wherewith he tied & bound the people by the eares, leading them whether so euē he pleased, & with their

A Stranger more faoured and defended then a Citizen by the law of God.

Strange princes & people haue referred causes in Controversy to the Iustice of France. Suet. in lib. 9. cap. 22.

No barbarisme at any time among the Gauls.

Charissus. Gallie duunt industriusque populusque militarem, & arguti loqui.

Words of more power then weapons

Suet. in vit. Calig. cap. 30.

Iuuenal. in Sat. 10. 1.

Sat. 15.

An answer to a false conceited opinion.

Suet. de claris Rhetor.

Suet. de illis Grammat.

their owne good wills, free from al constraint. Declaring by this figure, what precious account they made of well speaking, and what power wordes had: no lesse (but rather greater) then that of Armes, to subdue people, & cause them become obedient willingly.

Vnder the Romane Emperors, there was a combate of eloquence in the City of *Lyons*, fought in Greeke and Latine; wherein, such as were vanquished, gaue the prizes to their victors, and were constrained (besides) to write in their commendation. And as for such as performed no matter worth the esteeming, they were bound (by necessity) to wipe out what they had done with a Spunge, or with their owne tongues, except they better affected, to be either beaten with rods, or throwne headlong into the River. VVherto may be referred that which *Iuuenal* saith.

Pallent ut nudis pressit qui calibus anguem, Aut Lugdunensem Rhetor dicturus ad arā.

And the same Author makes mention also, concerning the Eloquence of the Gauls, which they instructed vnto other people.

Gallia cauidicos; docuit sacunda Britannos.

I am enforced to extend my selfe somewhat further in this discourse, by making report of a few more testimonies; to overthrow the false conceited opinion of some, who haue esteemed, that the people of France (in their first times) were not addicted to Sciences, erudition, nor the study of Letters, wherein they are very greatly deceived. For on the contrary, it is plain to be proued, that (as in all other things) so therein also they haue most singularly excelled, and taught this same to the Romans. He that first instructed the Art of eloquence or well speaking in Rome, was one *Lucius Plautius*; a Gaul born; vnder whom *Cicero* (being then but young) was some yeares with his Brother *Quintus* also. And about the same time, or not long after, another Gaul was highly renowned in Rome; named *M. Antonius Gnipho*, being endued with a mighty spirit of singular memory, and infinitely skilfull and eloquent, as wel

in Greeke as in Latine, and verie liberal (wherefoeuer he came) to teach what he knew. So that for these goodly and commendable qualities, hee bare such sway in those times as his house was much frequented by the very greatest Romaine Lords.

It cannot be denied also, but that the great Orator *Cicero* went often thither when he was Praetor. But that which (above all other) may make him most Famous, was, in being Teacher to the great Dictator *Caesar* himself. Surely, not without some especial providence therein, to the end, that this Prince might hold wholly from Gaul (not only the encreasing and establishing of his Greatnesse) but also this honor, wherein (not a jot lesse) hee excelled, then in actions of armes. Gaul hath euē since kept her selfe in this reputation. *Quintilian*, vvho was a Spaniard, made great reckoning of the eloquence which was taught in Gaul, and about the declination of the Roman Empire, *Symmachus* Gouernour of Rome at that time, in one of his Epistles, sayeth: *That if he would performe any worke worthy of memory, he must go of necessity, and dreine it out of the Gaulish knowledge and elegance.* The same man also acknowledged, *That whatsoeuer was in him, either of eloquent or polished speaking, ought the due thereof to the aire of France, where hee had learned them.* And in another place hee saith, *That Mount Helicon, sacred vnto the Muses, was transported from her owne place, into France.*

Saint *Hierome* writing to a certayne Father, who was very carefull for the institution of his sonne in well speaking, saith; *Post studia Galliarum que vellest, summa sunt, misit Romanos non parces iunipibus, ut roboratem Gallici morem, sermonis grauitas Romana condicit.* After (saith he) he hath performed his studies among the Gauls, where they are most flourishing, for sending him vnto Rome, make no spare of experiences, to the end, that the abundance, delicacy, and luster of the Gaulish language, may be seasoned with the Roman gravity. The same author sayeth in another place, *That France is fertile in Orators.* In another place also he saith: *That hee hath alwayes abounded in most eloquent men.* As illustrating vnder that title, *Attianus* in the time of *Augustus*, afterward relega-

A Gaul was schoolemaster for eloquence to Cicero and Great Caesar.

Quintil. in lib. 10. cap. 9.

Symmach. in lib. 2. Epist. 94. Gallie facundie haustus requirit.

In lib. 8. Epist. 64. Gallia dicitur Helicon.

S. Hierome ad Rusticum Monachum.

Proem. Epist. 2. ad Galatias.

Corn. Tacitus in *Annal.* 4.Tacit. *cod. Lib. Euseb. in Chron. Quint. in lib. 9 Trog. Comp. lib. 43. in Pl.*

Nazarius and his learned daughter Eudomia.

Clement in *Ref. Gallo.*Aulus in *Mosella*.

Druides, Vates, Eubages, & Bardes. The learning of the Bardes.

Strabo in *lib. 4.*

relegated or exiled into the Islands *Baleares*. *Domitius Afer* of *Nismes*, who came with great charges to Rome, being generally renowned for the chiefeft Orator of his time, and esteemed so highly by *Quintilian*, that he acknowledged him for his Master. Next, the father of *Trogus Pompeius* the historian, of the house of the *Vocantians*: who kept in his hand the ring of the Emperor *Caligula*, as being the keeper of his seales. Then *Gabinianus*, *M. Afer*, *Julius Florus*, *Julius Secundus*, verie famous Oratours vnder *Vespasian*, and many more whom I omit, to come to more moderne times, wherein *Aquitanie* only hath more furnished Rome with Senators and Orators, then all the rest of the world beside.

A testimony hereof was the Learned *Nazarius*, Author of some *Panegyrics*, yet remaining with vs. And that which is more admirable, was the daughter of this *Nazarius*, named *Eumonia*, the miracle of her age, who was not a lot inferior to the very worthiest Orators. Beside an infinite number of others, mentioned by the authors of those severall times, too troublesome for vs to rehearse but one halfe of them. Heere to appertaineth the writing of *Claudian*: That *Gaul* with her Learned Citizens, did ordinarily guard the Emperor, and served him in the most part of his affairs. Moreover the greater part of the Roman Senate, and a number of the Magistrates being great and famous persons of that age, are especially noted to bee Gauls. So that wee may very well avenge that, which *Aulus* sung in his *Mosella*: It is no longer Rome, that once made shew of her *Catoes*, in regard that *Gaul* did euer vnder equal her.

Other Sciences also have carried as full faile there. In the first times thee had her *Druides*, *Vates* or *Eubages*, & *Bardes*, of whose learning we have yet lesse some remains and memories. The *Bards* composed in Verses, and conserved to all posterities, the names and commendable actions of virtuous men, as pure sufficient to animate the very dullest corages. The *Eubages*, called also *Vates* by *Strabo*, applied their studies to the contemplation of celestiall things; as also vnto Naturall Philosophy. As for the *Druides*, they are sufficiently famous, and although wee have spoken to good purpose of them in

the former booke of the ancient *Gauls*; yet some especiall things there omitted; may the better in this place be remembered in larger manner.

They instructed and taught about all things else, that mens soules wer immortal: which is the foundation of all religion, and the very strongest bond of human society. They discoursed also on the stars, and of their course and motion: also of the greatness of the world, the earth, the nature of things, the power of God; & gave instruction in all these to their youth. This is avouched by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Mela*, and *Strabo*, who say, That the most of them held the world to be immortal. An opinion surely (after many great disputes and alterations) found to be most true by the verie best Philosophers and Diuines, framing a distinction thus.

Assuredly, the world is of eternal and incorruptible matter, in regard of the celestiall part, which receiveth no alteration, neither shall receive any at their consumption: but by a conjunction of light and whole perfection. But what is vnder the caue of the Moone, composed and mixed with Elements for the vse of man, shall perish by fire, and returne into their first essence and Elementary quality. The course of heauen shall stay, and by consequence, all motion and corruption cease; according as it was held by *Peter Lombard* long since Bishop of *Paris*; & called Master of the Sentences; and with him all the Theological Scholasticks, and the Angelical Doctor, *Thomas Aquinas*.

They beleued also, that (one day hereafter) the water and fire shall haue Dominion; whereby we may perceiue that they had notions comming neere to truth and our beleefe, albeit altered and confuted. For that which they conceived of the water, they faide was alreadye come, and for the matter of fire we doe credite the like, & expect the consummation of the world thereby. Why then it is no matter of matter, if having imparted their knowledge to other people; *Aristotle* should confesse, That Philosophy received her originall from the learned *Gauls*, whom hee calleth *Semnotheans*, and avoucheth France to bee the *Mistresse* of Greece. All the *Gaulish* Philosophers were in such reputation: that the people conceived the goodnesse of the yeare, the happinesse and honor of their

The immortality of the soul taught by the *Druides*.More in *lib. 10. cap. 14. Pomp. lib. 1. in 7. Strabo in lib. 4.*

A distinction of the world immortality.

Pet. Lombard, Sentent. dist. 4. The Aquinas contra gentes, lib. 1. cap. 7. Strabo in *lib. 4.*Arist. in *Metaph. 1. 2. cap. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.*Strabo in *lib. 4.*

Marcellinus in France equalled Athens in learning.

Strabo in *lib. 4.*Corn. Tacitus in *lib. 1.*Corn. Tacitus in *Annal.* 3.Orat. Eumenius at *Schola* in *France*.Lib. 1. 1. Cod. Theod. de *Proff* & *ne*.Aulus in *Proff*.

The increase of Schools, & Universities for Learning in France.

Strabo in *lib. 4.*

their times, to consist in the multiplicitie of them.

This shall suffice to shew, that such men were not well informed, as haue written, that the French did not adiect themselves to Sciences; considering, that they haue alwayes continued in the exercise of Letters and Learning. And for that purpose they had (from time to time) many famous Schooles, established for the instruction of youth. *Marcellinus* equalled Athens in learning; so that very oftentimes the *Romaines* sent their Sonnes to that Academy, rather then to Athens, as it is reported by *Strabo*, who wrote in the time of the Emperor *Tiberius*. We reade moreover, that the Emperour *Augustus*, sent thither *Julius Antonius*; the youngest sonne of his Sister, to study there. And *Tacitus* reporteth, that the probity, integrity, and knowledge of *Julius Agricola*, his Father in Law, came by the nouriture & instruction, which he receiued at *Marcellinus* in France.

About the same time, *Aulus* also became famous for the study of letters and liberal Arts, whereof wee haue the testimony in *Tacitus*. And againe, after these publike schools, who were established by the Emperor *Constantine*, father to *Constantine*, who to that purpose sent thither the Orator *Eumenius*. There is a Law in the Code *Theodosian*, of the Emperours *Valens*, *Gratian*, and *Valentinian*, wherein is declared, that there were a great number of Townes in France, which florished by the excellency of Masters, Oratours, and Grammmarians, in the learning both of Greeke and Latine. Among which towns also, were them of *Bordeaux*, *Tholouse*, *Narbona*, and many other. *Aulus* likewise speaking of that of *Bordeaux*, sayth; That then issued from the hand of one only Doctor, *Nector* or *Minervius*, a thousand Famous Advocates or Councellers at Law, twice as many Senators or graue State-men.

These Fountaines of all erudition, haue not dried vp in France vnder the reignes of their Kings, but rather haue encreased and abounded more and more, by multiplicity of Schooles, publicly established in many other Cities; wherto they since haue given the right of an incorporated body or vniuersity. And by this occasion, such Vniuersities, in fauour of the studie of Letters and Sciences so founded and

erected, haue bene endowed and adorned by diuers Kings, with goodly great priuileges and particular fauours. Among which, that of *Paris* hath extraordinarily surpassed all other in the world. To her, as to the Queene of Learning, resortes the affluence of people from strange Nations, there to learne the Sciences, and especially holy Diuinity. This is as the Faire, Mart, or Market of the whole world; for the liberal Arts, and for instruction in all Languages. This is as a Nurling Orchard of good plants and ingenious spirits, in all verue and faire erudition; from whence hath bene selected (like swarmes of Bees) learned men in infinite numbers, that haue dispersed themselves, and meerey peopled most parts of the earth. Also it hath bene the module and originall, whereby all other haue taken example, not onely for France it self, but likewise for all Europe.

Pope Innocent the third, made such estimation thereof, that from thence he selected all those men, whom hee intended to aduance to the Bishopricks of Christendome, and other dignities in the Church. Beside, it appeareth by good & sufficient testimonies of other Vniuersities, for more then three hundred yeares since, that the studies of *Paris* haue bene the Foundation (in great measure) of the Church. *Stadium Parisense esse fundamentum Ecclesie*. And euermore it hath bene the chiefeft in opposition against heresies, to combat and ouercome them, euen so soone as (at any time) they began to grow. Infinite victories and triumphs hath the crowned her selfe withal, in so famous a contention; whereof I spare to make any report; because they are no lesse carefully then elegantly set downe by the Lord *Loyell*, in his Tract of the Vniuersity of *Paris*. Wherein also hee hath most learnedly obserued, the true institution of that Vniuersity, against the vulgar Fables which haue bene noyed thereof. There are likewise many other Vniuersities, founded, and established in diuers Cities and Townes of France, as in *Tholouse*, *Bourges*, *Orleans*, *Angiers*, *Poitiers*, *Cahors*, *Mont-pellier*, *Nismes*, *Caen*, *Nantes*, *Rheims*, &c.

Also from France, and all her Schooles, haue proceeded men as learned and excellent in all kindes of Sciences, as in piety and

The famous Vniuersity of Paris, & great resort of scholars thither.

The affection of Pope Innocent 3. to the Vniuersity of Paris.

Paris the conqueror of infinite heresies.

A great many of Vniuersities founded in France.

France hath yielded great plenty of learned Bythops.

S. Hillarie, bythop of Poitiers.

S. Sulpitius Seuerus.

Pontius Paulinus the Senator.

Ruficius, Floebadius, Profer, Alethius.

3. archbishops of Vienna.

S. Germaine, bythoppe of Auxerre.

S. Gregorie Florent, Arch bythop of Tours, compared to S. Gregory Nazianzene.

and probity: and as this Discourse would require whole volumes, so yet it would exceede possibility to name and re-count them all. There haue beene many wife & learned Bythoppes canonized for their sanctity of life, who haue established Christian religion in many Countreies, and suppressed monstrous heresies; dispersed in many parts of the world. As S. *Hillarie* Bythop of *Poitiers*, the true confounder of the Arrian heresie; where-with the Church was too much tormented, euen at the beginning of her increasing. Saint *Sulpitius Seuerus*, whose learned writings lets vs yet sufficiently see his piety, and painfull endeuours together, as the Arch bythop of *Bourges*, that liued vnder the reigne of King *Contran*, and also a more ancient Priest of *Aquitaine*, of equal standing with S. *Therom* and S. *Martin*, with whom he was very familiar, & who wrote his life.

Pontius Paulinus, who being a Senator, defended of a great family, and infinitely rich, gaue all his goods to the poore, & becoming an Ecclesiasticall person, was afterward elected bythop of *Nola* in *Italy*. Of the same country of *Aquitaine*, were also S. *Ruficius*, S. *Phobadius*, and *Profer*, *Alethius* the Priest, so much commended by S. *Therom*, for his sanctity, eloquence, and learning. *Ecditius*, *Auitus*, and *Mamertus*, instituter of the Rogations, Arch bythops of *Vienna*: S. *Sidonius Apollonaris* Bythop of *Auuergne*; S. *Lupus* bythop of *Troyes*; and S. *Germaine* bythop of *Auxerre*, who settled and assured Christian religion in England. *Eucherius* Archbishop of *Lyons*, *Salutianus* and *Gennadius*, priests of *Marfeilles*, and S. *Vincetius* Monke of S. *Honoratus*, in the Isle of *Lerins*. And since the Monarchy of some later Kings, S. *Rhemigius*, and S. *Gregory Florentius*, Archbythop of *Tours*: who is compared by *Fortunatus*, an ancient Christian Poet, to S. *Gregory Nazianzene*, as given to the East, and by *Gregory* the Great, Pope, given to the South, as he for France was to the West. It was at the same time, when Pope *Gregory* (having scene at Rome) not only admired him, but did him so much honor as could bee deuised, *Arnold*, Bythop of *Metz*, *Hincmar* Archbythop of *Rheims*, *Lupus* Abbot of *Ferriers* in *Gaslinois*, *Arnold de Liffens*, *Fulbert* & *Tues*, Bythops of *Chartres*, *Sugerus* Abbot of

St. Denis, S. *Bernard* Abbot of *Cleruauux*, *Peter Abbaylard*, of whom there went a Prouerbe in his time, that there was not any thing in al the world, reaching either to the highest heauens, or to the lowest bottome of the profoundest deapes, but they were all familiarly knowne to him. Also *Peter Lombard*, bythop of *Paris*, so admirable in the verie day of Diuinitie, that (euen to this very day) all Christendome acknowledgeth him for her Maister.

Hee should neuer make an end, that would take on him to recite all the great men of France; not only such as haue preceded them of these times, but infinit numbers beside; whereby may bee iustly said, that Learning and the Sciences, not only receiued their ancient flourishing splendor in France; but also haue imparted themselves (as before) to all other regions of the earth. There hath bin heretofore (beside all them formerly named) one *Eumenides* of *Marfeilles*, a most wise Philosopher, who (among manie other things) made a very ferious inquisition, & learnedly wrote on the originall of *Nilus*. P. *Terentius Varro* (surnamed *Atacinus*, of his Countrey in *Narbone Gaul*, on the riuer of *Atax*, now called *Auda*, which belcheth it self into the sea at *Narbona*) much renowned among the Roman Poets, for making foure bookes of the *Argonautes* affaires, diuers Epigrams, and the Sequanes warres, recited by *Pliny* in many places, as also by the Grammarian *Priscian*.

Heere we may not forget the Philosopher *Phanorinus*, so highly renowned vnder the Emperor *Adrians* reigne: a native of *Arles* as *Philostrophus* reporteth in the discourse of his life. *Nazarius* the Orator, and *Latinius Pacatus*, Author of the excellnt *Panegyricke* of *Theodosius*. About the same time flourished *Rutilius Numatianus* a Poet, and *Ausonius* of *Burdeaux*, most worthy the name of a Poet, since the dayes of *Augustus*: diuers namelesse workes of his haue bene found, and (for their especiall deserving) haue bene attributed to be *Virgils*. Hee was chosen for Schoolemaister to the emperors *Gratian* and *Valentinian*: for it was an ordinary course in those times, when there was any necessity of learned men, eyther to instruct the Emperors sons, or the great

Peter Abaylard a famous man for Learning & knowledge.

Eumenides of Marfeilles, an excellent Philosopher.

A famous uicer in Narbonne.

He was the first to be called a Doctor, & wondered that being a Picta he should speak Greek to wit.

Ausonius Schoolemaister to two Emperors.

Strangers who haue learned their best knowledge in France.

The opinion of a few rascals concerning the French.

Jul. Cesar in his Comment. lib. 6. Sid. a.

Scaliger his opinion concerning the French.

test Lords of the Romane Empire, they were secht fro France, as we read in many places of the works of *Symmachus*, then *Gouernour* of Rome, & who sucked (himself) the milke of the Mules of France.

I forbear to speake of those strangers, who by becoming there learned, haue honored their owne countreies; though inspiring first the sweet ayre of France, and borrowed a beame from her bright splendour, to giue some lustre thereof to their places of birth. In breefe to speake truly, it is as difficult a thing, to name all the famous persons that haue flourished in France, as it is easie for other people to make a shew of all such as they haue had, which would rise to a far inferior number. Moreover, many great persons (being strangers there) hauing diligently suruayed the spirits of the French, haue found them by experienced iudgment, to be full of life, subtiltie, proper & prompt to all occasions, cleare sighted, and piercing into the Sciences; thinking it very conuenient that whereas some haue esteemed the ancient Gauls to be light and mutable, they should rather say, & very iustly, that they were tractable, apt and ready to performe any thing imposed on them whatsoeuer.

Of this minde was *Julius Cesar Scaliger*, an Italian, a man most learned and iudicious, who speaketh in this manner. *Ilud est comprimis aduertendum, non esse cum animorum mobilitate coniuncta fidei iacturam. Gallo enim videtur ad omnia momenta vel euentuum vel disciplinarum promptos, paratos, versatiles: ut semel quicquam vel usum vel audacum, illico apud eorum ingenia & deponat & amittat nonitatem, in eo ipso penitus extemplo videtur nati atque educati. Qui animorum vigor igneus, mutuaque celerritas nulli alij nationi data est a natura. Quod incubere felicitate sese dant, optime proficiunt gnaviter exercent: mercaturam, artes, arma, litteras, eruditione, subtilitatem, candorem, eloquentiam. Omnia tamen gentium atque nationum, fide sunt maxime integra & constantia. It is a matter that well deserueth to be noted or considered, that the defect of faith is not alwayes conioyned with the mobility and lightnesse of spirit. That it must needs be so, I see that the French are prompt, ready, and tractable at all moments and occasions, be it eyther for the diuersity of accidents, or be it for the Sciences: and that in such sort, as so soone as they haue scene or heard any thing,*

immediately it lefeth all novelty with them, and carrieth no such matter of newes in their mindes, for it seemeth as instantly bred and borne with them. This hot and fiery vigor of understanding, and this promptitude with maturity & iudgement, hath not bin given by nature to any other Nation. On what neuer they purpose a resolution, they apply the felmes thereto very happily, profite therein most speedily, and exercise it carefully: either Merchants, Artes, Armes, Letters, erudition, subtilty, affability, freedom, and eloquence, or any thing else. And yet notwithstanding, among all nations, they are the most upright, & iustly constant of their faith and word.

Moreover, as there is nothing that doth so much civilize and sweeten manners, the study of good letters, & to win knowledge in the Sciences, which do beget in our soules all humanity and courtesie, and expelleth all rudenesse in carriage: euen so it is very true, that there are none more gracious and humane, then the French, especially towards strangers. The mildnes that is inwardly, and lodged vp in a french mans heart, makes please outward fiew and appearance in his countenance. In his forehead he carrieth a naturall franchise, and freedom in life and ciuill conuersation: all laid downe evidently, without dissembling any thing, or vying any cunning or flattery. Good iudgement was made hereof by the emperor *Julian*, who said; He thought himselfe most happy to meet with such good natured men, so facile & fellowsly, & yes (newer the less) without flattery.

It is a world of time since the Gauls had no mean reputation, for entertaining curteously, and liberally welcoming strangers among them. *Diodorus* the *Sicilian* highly commended the courtesie of the Gauls in this point. And *Tacitus* hath written particularly of the Germans, that came from the Gauls, and had merely learned it of them. And when the French name began first to appeare, *Salutianus* of *Marfeilles* gaue them the vertue, to be kinde to strangers. About all, this people hath alwayes helde Religion in singular recommendation, as being a foundation of vertue; & they haue continually bin deuoted to diuinity, euen when they had no true knowledge thereof. *Cesar* saith, *Gallia admodum dedita religionibus*. And *Zinzus* describing the siege of the Gauls at the Capitole, saith, that a man of the house of the *Fabij*, being cast down fro the

The French are usually addicted to singular qualities.

None more benigne and kinde to strangers then the French.

In Diodorus.

Diod Siculus lib. 5.

Corn. Tacitus in lib. 4. cap. 9.

Julius Cesar in comment lib. 6. 71. ut. Livius in lib. 5. cap. 9.

*One of the seven Hills in Rome.

See attonit Gallis miraculo audacia, seu religione etiam metus, cuius haec, quaeque negligen- tiff.

Adust, et igit. Informem Ge- ryonem Hispa- niae prodige- runt. Gallia monstrum non ha- buit. Sed viri- tatem fortissi- ma & eloqui- tium abundan- tiam.

The Gauls made Judges of the Dona- tists schisme.

Opiatus Mil- li. Lib. 2.

Significat in lib. 3. Deregno Ital.

the top of the Cittadell: without dreading any thing, went to Mount * *Aventine*, to make an annuall and solemne sacrifice in his family, and returned to the Capitole thorough the midst of the enemies. They looked vpon him, without any violence or assailing, & suffered him to passe on; Being *astonished* at such resolution, as at a miracle: were it through respect and reverence to Religion, whereas (saith hee) that Nation is very carefull.

But after that the bright beames of the Gospell began to shew their splendour, it is hardly to be credited: with what fervor of soule this people embraced it, with what veneration, and (euen vpon heapes) voluntarily presented themselves to death, to testifie the zeale of their affection to Christian Religion, and seale with their blood the sincerity of their faith. On the other side, saith *S. Ierom*, *Spaine sometime brought forth Geryon the dreadful monster. Heresies haue swarmed in most part of the earths quarters: Gaule onely hath conserved her selfe in the truth, without denouncing herselfe. But hath abounded aboate in great personages, learned, and holy in life together. Arrianisme had infected all Christendome, only France hath continued pure: for her Bishops carefully employed their paines, quickly to stifle those heresies & schismes which grew too troublesome to the church.*

Whē it came so to passe, that the schisme of the *Donatists* exalted it selfe, and many partialities, quarrels, and hatreds by particular persons were intermingled: the Bishops that were in the faction with *Donatus*, required of the Emperor *Constantinus*, that Iudges might be sent from the *Gauls*, onely for their piety and learning. Wherevpon the Emperor granted vnto them 3 Bishops, *Rhetimus* of *Autun*, *Maternus* of *Cologne*, and *Marianus* of *Arles*: who went to Rome, and together with Pope *Miltiades*, hauing exactly lookt into the matter, decided the cause, and condemned (by their sentence) the error of the *Donatists*, as it is reported by *Opiatus*, one of the Orthodox Bishops of *Africa*, who hath left vs in writing the history of this schisme, & gaue his helpe to the suppression thereof.

In the year VCCCLVIII. Pope *Stephen* the third, entreated *Pepin* King of France, by his expresse *Nuncio*, that he would send him the very learnedst Bishops of France, to the ende, that by their authority, hee

might reforme & re-establish the church, which he performed accordingly. Whereby is plainly discovered, in what esteeme and account, the learning & piety of the Prelates of France hath alwayes bene.

According to this purpose of ours, it may be very truly maintained, that *Gaul*, among the Prouinces most towards the West, did first receiue the Christian faith, next vnto *Italy*; being brought thither in the first birth and infancy of the Church. For ouer & beside the Apostle of France, *S. Dionysius Areopagita*, who is said to bee sent thither by *S. Paul*: it is certaine, that one named *Crescentius*, the schooller of *S. Paul*, did first of all preach the christian faith in *Gaul*, and there performed the office of a Bishop and Pastor: as is to be gathered from *S. Paul* himselfe, from *Epiphanius*, *S. Clemens*, *S. Ierome*, & *Eusebius*, who report, that he was sent thither by *S. Peter*, and that there he dyed. I set aside what our Annallists haue recounted of *S. Peter* and *S. Phillip*, that they came thither. But I may not omit what is said by *Epiphanius*, that *S. Luke* came into France, and there declared the faith of Iesus Christ.

All that can be imputed to the ancient *Gauls*, concerning the acte of religion, is, that they sacrificed men. But this manner of sacrifice was not particularly to the *Gauls*, they hauing dealt no otherwise therein, then was vsed (well neere) by all other people. The like is reported of the *Scythians* in general, and *Mela* nameth this to be the *Effedones*. The *Carthaginians*, whē there hapned among the any plague or famine, or any other publike affliction, they made their recourse to this superstition, & ordinarily bloodied the Altars of their *Hercules* with humane sacrifices, yea they would sacrifice their owne children to *Saturne*. *Strabo* saith, that the *Lusitanians*, a people of *Spaine*, would offer vpon their prisoners in war. And *Seuerus* declareth, that the *Masilians*, a people of *Greece*, & well educated, would feed a man very immeasurably for some space of time, then they would conduct him through their city, charging him with accursed execrations & imprecations; and in the end they would sacrifice him, to expiate their publike offences, and to lay on him the penalty of all their sins. Among the *Grecians* it was very common, not onely during the Trojan warre, of *Iphigenia*, sacrificed at the

Gauls first receiued the Christian faith next to Italy.

Crescentius, discipule to *S. Paul*.

a Tim cap. 4. ver. 10. *Epiphanius* Her. 11. D. Clemens lib. 7. *Apollonius* confit cap. 46. D. *Hieronymus* Catalog. script. Ecclesiastic. Epiph. Her. 11.

An imputation laid on the Gauls for sacrificing men.

Plin. in l. 7. c. 3. *Pomp. Mela* in lib. 4. c. 9. *Trag. Pausan.*

Plin. lib. 3. cap. 5.

Strabo in lib. 3.

Seuerus in 3. Act. in p. 1.

Sacrifices of the Grecians

Plot. in The- mistic.

Plot. in Volo- pida.

A Gauls man and a Gauls woman sacrificed by the Romanes.

Plot. in Metel.

Titus Livius in lib. 3.

Tertul. in Apo- logico. cap. 10.

The Gladiators or Fencers of Rome

the gate of *Anlia*; but likewise of *Polexens*, in the Land of *Troye*. Long time after, *Themistocles* (a little before the day of *Salamina*) by command of his diuinators, caused three noble Persians to be sacrificed. And about the same time, *Xerxes*, King of *Persia*, offered twelue men in sacrifice. Many examples more are there of the Grecians, declared more at large by *Plutarche*. What thinke ye then of the Romanes? Were not they addicted to the same superstition, and vsed the like sacrifices of humane oblations? Wee finde it faithfully set downe, that they sacrificed two Gauls, a man and a woman, to their Tutelary or household God. I cannot imagine what should be the reason, why they chose their offerings to be of that people, rather then of any other; if it were not in this respect, that they supposed they shold present a more acceptable sacrifice (in so doing) to the God of their City, then to offer any other people, whereby he might be offended, because once they had consumed Rome in cinders, and therefore they might bee iudged the more able, (afterward) to overthrow the whole Empire.

Plutarche reporteth, that they caused some of the *Gauls* to be buried alive, during the Consulship of *Marcellus*: by reason of a Gaulish warre which had happened to them, and whereof they stood in fearful doubt. And that afterward, euen till his time, they would haue celebrated the like bloody anniuersaries; which might not be permitted (it may bee for the inhumanity) and all the world to see it.

The like was put in practise at Rome, soone after the dismal day at *Cannas*: & the Emperor *Domitian* likewise sacrificed two: They had a *Iupiter*, signamed *Lutalis*, to whom they made offerings of humane blood, and of the liues of men. This *Tertullian*, saith was ordinarily done in his time: and *Constantinus* and *Eusebius*, who liued soone after vnder the first Christian Emperours, do affirme as much.

The often & frequent spectacles, among the *Gladiators* or Fencers, were they. any thing else, but euē a cruel and bloody sacrifice of many men. Nay, which was most detestable, to cause them kill one another for other mens pleasure? They were not any small number of one or two, but ordinarily five hundred, a thousand, two thousand, and three thousand, and it hath bin

observed, that at such times, ten thousand haue bin thereto exposed. Let *Cicero* then and *Plutarche* cease to reprove the *Gauls* with this custome, seeing that they themselves, both *Grecs* & *Romans*, haue observed the same. Nay, the *Grecs* did far worse, for not contenting themselves with such sacrifices, they would needs know what good meate it was to feede on humane flesh, and as *Pliny* hath left written, to taste of all the parts of a man. If it was ill done to sacrifice a man, how much more detestable was it then, to serue in his flesh for food to the table? As for *Cicero*, I pardon him very willingly, for that which he said in one of his pleadings of the *Gauls*: because it was to serue his own cause, and for the reproofe of witnesses, which made whatsoever he saide the lesse considerable. Contrariwise also, as himselfe hath written. He may some deuide him selfe, that thinks out of mine Orations and Pleadings, to deriue any available authority of my opinion, or else a forme of testimony, by that which I haue said: Because (saith he) it was the cause that spake and not I. And yet if wee oblige more neerely, what *Cesar* hath said concerning this case, wee shall perceiue that the *Gauls* made glad sacrifices of malefactors, as thinking such an offering to be most agreeable to the gods, as (indeede) there could bee none more proper, then the iust punishment of wicked persons. And yet notwithstanding, sometimes they were contrayned to goe so farre as innocent folke, merely for the defect of other: because this opinion was noted in the, that the Gods could not be pleased, for the life and safety of one man, but by offering to them the life of another.

Howsoeuer, they deferred herein no imputation of blame, because what they did was by superstition, the excoesse of true religion, not holding it for any error, to offer to God what might bee most acceptable: which made them to present him with no noble a creature, the only perfect of all other, and so consecrated to him the most precious oblation of all oblations: wherein they are the lesse taxable for their custome (though indeed cruell) yet not proceeding so farre as other, as the *Grecians*, who fell voluntarily into Atheisme. Among Gods people, we see that *reprob* fel- lous, the sons of error, vnder the shadow of a yow & deuotion: albeit I know very well

Cicero in Orat. Pro *Fulcio*.

The *Grecs* would feede on the flesh of men. *Plin.* lib. 28. cap. 1.

Cicero in Orat. Pro *Cluentio*.

Int. Cesar in Com. Lib. 6.

A good and worthy opinion of the *Gauls* iustice

Superstition: thought to be the excoesse of true religion

Concerning the vow made by leprah for his faire daughter.

The Authors
opinion of
the Gauls fu-
perfluous, &
his excuse in
their behalfe.

How ancient
Gaul became
afterward to
be called
France.

Confusion of
actions may
not alter mat-
ters of truth.

That the
French should
be defended
from the
Troyans.

that the Hebrew Text hath no other carriage, but that he offered to God, no more but the virginity of his daughter only, & that this is the opinion and interpretation of the most learned Rabines. I passe over the abominable idolatries of the *Jewes*, to the Idoll *Moloch*, who practised the very same. Yet what hath bene said, might (perhaps) favour of some signale and sensible apprehension, or preface, that man could not be faued, but by a man himselfe: And that one day, man should bee redeemed, and brought into his former condition, by the blood and passion of a man. This haue I set downe in their excuse, it being a zeale proceeding from religion, when as then they walked in darkness, destitute of any knowledge of the true God.

Now, so far as much as I haue heretofore indifferently vsed these words, *Gauls* and *France*, *Frenchmen* and *Gauls*, as being no other then one and the same thing, whereof some may conceit very strangely; I hold it conuenient, & futable to our purpose, to deliuer a sufficient reason therefore. That which our Ancients had named *Gauls* or *Celtica*, was afterward designed by the name of *France*. Likewise, the Kings of France haue long time commanded in all those parts which were tearmed the ancient bounds of *Gauls*, betweene the *Rhine*, the *Alpes*, the *Pyreneans*, and the *Mediterranean* and *Ocean Seas*. These were the ancient limits of France, which also by seasons, and vnder certaine Kings, haue extended themselves a great deal further. But if any parcell thereof be at this day dismembered or cut off, that may not change the true appellation of things. Considering, that such distraction is nothing but the acte, the right alwaies remains in his perfect integrity: And as for the French, it will be auouched, that they are one selfe same people with the *Gauls*, on whatsoever side search be made, and the truth set downe of their originall.

I may not stay my selfe heere, to fight with the false opinion of such, who thinking to make the *Gauls* the more honourable, would haue them to be defended from the *Troyans*, because it hath bin already done by others. But it is a point so cleare and apparant, that there is no man (now adayes) so silly versed in letters; but plainly knoweth, that they are altogether meere fables and fictions. There hath bin

another opinion, and pursued by many, who imagineth the French to bee come forth of *Allemagne* or *Germany*. And according to this conceit, there shall be no place of distinguishing the French with the *Gauls*: because it is most true to say, that *Germany* hath bene peopled by her neighbor *Gauls*. So in making the French to come from thence into *Gauls*, is to returne them backe to the place where they receiued their originall. For it is to be credited, that Provinces which are the most temperate, haue bin the first inhabited, & after that men are increased in multitude, they then make their recourse to more remote places, which are of ruder quality, and more subiect to cold. Beside, *Cæsar* himselfe (long since) testified, that the *Germanes* or *Allemaigns*, called the *Gauls* their Brethren: for the similitude of their manners, and the customes of both these people, reported by our ancestors, may instantly make faith for this their fraternity.

Others would fetch them from the *Pannoniæ*, as it is reported by *S. Gregory of Tours*. Now it is very certaine, that the *Gauls* did sometimes people both the *Pannoniæ*: especially at that time, as *Brutus* made warre in *Macedon*, and throughout all *Greece*. And the Geographers, as *Stephanus*, *Arrianus*, and *Strabo*, do nominate the *Celtes* among the people of *Pannonia*. There is yet another opinion, the truest and most certaine, and yet notwithstanding little enough knowne. For oftentimes (saith an ancient Writer) it cometh to passe, that the originall of great people is as much unknowne, as that of our greatest Rivers. This is that which hath bin observed by diuers passages of *Sidonius Apollinaris*, *S. Gregory of Tours*, and other neighbouring Authors, concerning the beginning of this Monarchy: that the French came from *Sicambria*, and that the *Sicambrians* are many times taken for the French.

Now we are to note, this *Sicambria* is not that *Sicambria*, which some haue vitiually seated in *Francia*: but it is described by ancient Geographers toward the North, wholly ioyning to the riuaiges of *Rhine*, as well on the one side, as the other. But more principally towards the place, where that goodly streame falleth into the Sea: a place of very difficult access, by reason of the great Marishes thereabout. *Suetonius* maketh mention that the Em-

That they
should come
out of Ger-
many into
Gauls.

Justin refusi-
commens lib.

S. Greg. Turon.
lib. 2. cap. 4.

Trog. Pontic.
lib. 2.

Stephanus,
Arrianus,
Strabo.

Sidonius vbi
lib. 1. in m.
lib.

Concerning
the diversities
of the Si-
cambrians,
that in Fran-
ce, and in
other.

Suetonius vbi
lib. 1. in m.
lib.

* Holland in
Jew Germany

Cor. Tacit. in
lib. 6. cap. 9.

The Sicambri-
ans renowned
by the name
of French.

The Sicam-
brians long
desired the li-
berty of Gaul

Ammian Mar-
cellin lib. 14. cap. 7.

Antiquit. de D.
Fauhet.

Z. Justin, Pro-
copius, and Zo-
narus.

The Sicam-
brians could
not endure
the slavery of
their country.

perour *Augustus* caused those valiant *Sicambrians* to passe on further into the firme land of the *Gauls*, and namely, that he gaue them * *Bataua* to dwell in. This he did, some way to content them, and to hinder their courses: as also to serue his owne turne with this warlike Nation, being upon the extremities or vtmost parts of *Gauls*. And beside, we reade in *Tacitus*, that there was daily at the Emperors seruice, a *Sicambrian* band or Cohort, highly esteemed for their valiancy.

Heereby we may know, that they are descended of the same country with the *Gauls*, and it is to bee credited, that these were the people onely, which neuer came into subiection of the *Romane* Empire, in the time of *Cæsar*: in regard of the difficult places, and badnesse of the country which then they held. This *Sicambrian* people, knowne & renowned by the name of French onely, in the time of *Gallien*, vnder *Posthumus*, one of the thirty tyrants, about the yeare of our Lord, CCLXIX. could not keepe themselves alwayes in their Northerly corner or angle of *Gauls*, (such as (at this day) *Holland* and part of *Friesland* are: but they made their exten-
dure into neighboring countries, & continually there tormented the *Romans* in *Gauls*, after whose liberty they longed from time to time. And part of them passing into *Gauls* among the *Romans*, were there highly esteemed, and came to vnder-
take the cheefest charges, as we may reade of many of them, in *Ammianus Marcellinus*.

Part of this people also, namely they that were transported by *Augustus*, continued (for long time) in obedience to the Empire, as appeareth by many examples, and Histories set downe by diuers Historians, which I may not heere recite, because (for the most part) they haue bene diligently collected by the Lord *Fauhet*, in his French Antiquities, where this true opinion is approved, by the passages of *Zozimus*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Procopius* and *Zonarus*. At the fall of that great Empire, those inuincible *Sicambrians*, *Francs*, or *French*, accustomed to make ordinary courses into *Gauls*, perceiving the inuasion of Northerly people, as the *Alans*, *Vandals*, *Bourguignons*, & *Goths*, they could not endure, that their ancient country should remaine any longer so subiect, neither by the tyranny of *Romane*

Magistrates, nor by the inuasions of barbarous people. Hereupon, taking occasion, they proceeded on further into the midst of the *Gauls*; where they were receiued (in open armes) by their olde mother, and by the other *Gauls*, who ioyning with them, shooke off the yoke of the *Romans*, & expelled also the strange Nations, which had so insolently intruded on the.

From thence forward, both one & other named them *Frenchmen*, as being but one people by originall. Nor can it be conceiued, that the *Sicambrian* people should be enemies to the *Gauls*, but rather called by the as their fellowly brethren, to helpe in their enfranchizing, being receiued with the liking of euery one: as these places of *S. Gregory of Tours* do sufficiently shew. *Inter cunctum iam terror Francorum resonaret in partibus, & omnes eos, amore desiderabili cuperent imperare, &c.* Also in another place: *Multi ex Gallijs habere Francos dominos sumo desiderio cupiebant.* Moreover, it is to be seen in many places of the histories, written by the same *S. Gregory*, that the *Gauls* were neuer trod downe by the French; but administered in publique charges, & took part in their honors; not as a conquered people, but as companions, friends, and associates, and as making but one people. In regard whereof, a man may vfe the names of *French* and *Gauls*, & *France* and *Gauls*, being but one and the same thing. And the country euermore inhabited by the same people originallly, being neuer thence expelled, nor subiected.

A country the most happy, the most fertile, the most abounding in all things, and the most agreeable with the world, & least incommodious. The people dwelling therein, the most martiall, & warriors at all times, that the Sunne neuer beheld better. By others also commended, for all those good and vertuous qualities, wherewith any humane spirit can be adorned, quick, apt, & ready to whatsoever they apply themselves, with moderation, curtesie, and humanity, as none greater can be desired. The happiness & felicity of this Land, together with so many commendable qualities of the people, haue bene published (in some measure) by the Poet *Buchanan* of Scotland, when at their returne from *Portugal*, coming backe into *France*, he made these verses, which I thought fit here to insert, to serue for a conclusion of this discourse.

The Sicam-
brians and
Gauls called
Frenchmen.

S. Greg. Turon.
in lib. 2. cap. 9.
Eod. lib. cap. 16.

His conclu-
sion for the
Gauls and
French.

The excellen-
cy of the
country and
people of
France will
be remembered
by Buchanan.

*Ieiuna miser a tesqua Lusitania,
Glebaque tantum fertiles penuria
Valget longum. At tu beata Gallia
Salve, bonarum blanda nutritrix artium,
Cælo salubris, fertili frugum solo,
Vmbrosa colles pampini molli coma,
Pecorosa salus, rigua valles fontibus,
Præsit viventi picta campos floribus,
Pulsata longis amniis decursibus,
Piscosa stagnis, rivulis lacubus mari,
Et hinc & illinc portuoso littore
Orbem receptans huiusmodi atque orbi tuas,
Opes vicissim non avara impertiens:
Amæna villis, tuta muris, turribus
Superba, tectis laeta, cultu splendida,
Vixit in modesta moribus non aspera,
Sermone comitis patria gentium omnium
Communis animi fida, pace florida,
lucunda, facili, Marte terrifico minax,
Inuita, rebus non fecundis insolens,
Nec forte dubia fracta, cultrix numinis
Sincera, ritum in externum non degener.
Nescit calores lenis aestus torridos,
Frangit rigores bruma flammis asperos,
Non pesilentis pallet Austri spiritum
Autumnus: aquis temperatus fluitibus:
Non ver salus amniis repagulis
Inundat agros, & labores eluit.
Nipatrio te amore diligam, & colam
Dum vivo, yursum non recuso vivere
Ieiuna miser a tesqua Lusitania,
Glebaque tantum fertiles penuria.*

CHAP. III.

*Of the Maieity, Dignity, and high Eminency
of the Kings of France: And what infi-
nite actions of Honour they have done
from time to time, to renew the glory of
that kingdom.*

IT is not yet sufficient, ney-
ther maketh it vp a perfect
felicity, that France should
bee filled with so much
wealth and commodities,
as the earth can any way yeeld: also that
the people are so generous, endued with
so many commendable qualities, beside,
most humane and acceptable conversation.
If all do not correspond to this prof-
perity, and that the forme of her estate &
good government, is not the main height

of all this happinesse. Wherein it may
well be said, that France hath bene as gra-
tiously fauoured by heauen, as in al other
things whatsoever. There hath neuer
beeene scene so many ciuill warres and fa-
ctions, for change and alteration of the
State, as hath often happened in many o-
ther Prouinces. After he had once tasted
the Monarchall Government of one on-
ly naturall Prince (which all the greatest
Philosophers, such as were brought vp in
free cities, haue confessed to be the best)
she neuer found any change, neyther did
it euer make offer of it selfe, nor any way
propofed.

France well may boast this in com-
mon, with a great part of the people of
the world, that she is a Monarchall estate:
but yet this is more particular to her, that
she hath suffered no mutation for so ma-
ny Ages; but hath beeene inuolubly al-
ways continued in her owne Royall es-
tate and government. And it may as tru-
ly be said, that her Kings haue excelled as
much aboue others in the world, as France
it selfe hath gon beyond all other Lands.
Then to come to the paint of her Kings,
and of their Greatnesse and Excellency:
it refuseth first of all, from that which hath
beeene discoursed heeretofore: Because
there is no man, but will tearme that king
potent, rich, and redoubtable, that com-
mandeth ouer a country so fertile & well
furnished: and he will also vouchsafe, that
Kings commanding a people so vertuous
and generous together, must needs be Pa-
ragons in generosity and courage, yea, &
true models of all vertue. Moreover, what
other Kings can make their vaunt, to haue
so goodly, so opulent, and so happy terri-
tories, and to command ouer such a peo-
ple? In like manner, what Land can say,
that it hath had like Kings, and so great
in all respects, as they of France haue bin?
This is in general, and the touching of
this point thus were sufficient, without
need of any further inquisition; because it
is euident to the eyes of all men, euen as
what hath bin related in our former chap.

But to discourse more particularly on
their other prerogatives. First, it is a mat-
ter most constant and certaine, that the
Kings of France are Soueraignes in their
State, holding their kingdom but of God
only, and by the Sword: this needs no o-
ther profe, because it is granted without

The Monar-
chall govern-
ment of a na-
tural Prince.

France neuer
sublied to ma-
tation in go-
uernment.

The happi-
ness of Kings
in their govern-
ment.

The Kings of
France are
truly Souer-
aignes in their
State, & their
Souerainety hath
continued so
hundreds of years

dition. Also, they haue bene in this pos-
session, not onely for exceeding the me-
mories of men, or for three hundred years
a tearme more then sufficient, for establi-
shing sure and inuolubly a Soueraigne
estate, as maintained *septab*, chiefe of the
Israelites against the Ammonites, but also
for twelue hundred years. There needeth
no other testimony then that of Pope *In-
nocent* the third, who speaketh it expressly
in his Decretall, That the King of France
acknowledged not any Soueraigne, in tempo-
ral occasions.

This was it which made so superfluous
impertinent, inept, and idle, the disputa-
tion so much canauazed amongst the Do-
ctors Imperialists, to witte; Whether the
King of France were subiect to the Empire,
or no, and whereabouts the Doctors dis-
puting vainly, contraried themselves, and
sufficiently ouerthrew their owne iudge-
ments. Peter Belluga, an ancient Spanish
Doctor, in his treatise of a Prince, & Old-
radus an Italian Doctour (the chiefeest of
his time do maintaine; That the kingdome
of France acknowledgeth not, either by acte
or right, any Prince of the world.

The Emperors themselves also, haue
aouched as much; declaring by diuers
actes, That the King of France is Soue-
raigne, & that he depended not on them
in any fashion whatsoever, which will be
more amply handled, in a place fitter for
the purpose. To as silly effect was that,
which Doctor Lopez, Madera, a Spaniard
hath written; That the Kings of France doe
take their Title, by a concession made vnto
them by the Emperor *Institian*, according to
the receipt of *Procopius*. But a man can see
no sure footing, on that which is faide by
a subiect to the Empire. And beside, soon
after, *Institian* himselfe could say; That he
quoted whatsoever hee had pretended to the
Gauls, because he held not there any thing.
And in other places, he spake not of al
the Gauls, but onely concerning them of
Provence, and the neighbouring Landes,
which the Gothes held before, & which he
pretended appertaining vnto him, by his
conquest made of them. VVhich Lands,
the Gothes hauing made ouer to the Kings
of France, *Institian* approued the conces-
sion, and on that consideration, departed
with all his rights and pretensions.

The French do not ground their grants,
as the same Lopez did for Spaine; on the

grant which he pretended to be made by
the Emperor *Honorius*, to the Gothe *Ala-
ricke*. They deriue their title from higher
place, and not from the Romaines: who
had no other right, but an vnjust inuasion
by Armes. For these are the Gauls, name-
ly, such as enfranchised themselves from
the Romanes, and that by means of the
French, their ancient Columenes and
Compatriots: And therefore it is appa-
rantly scene, that they haue no way vlti-
mated by nouelty, but rather haue regained
their first condition and liberty, as being
reduced to their primitive nature. A mat-
ter very favorable; and a reason most im-
pertinent among the Ciuill Lawyers. In
like manner, what was more iust then that
which the Romanes caried away by force
of Armes, and was taken again from them
by the very same meanes? But this is in-
fallible, that the Kings of France are So-
ueraignes, knowne to be such, at all times
and euery where, without any controuer-
sie, or finisious contradiction.

It cannot bee so sayde of many other
Kings, and namely it hath called in ques-
tion the King of Spaine. For Pope *Gre-
gory* maintaineth in his Register, that
Spaine is parcel of Saint Peters patrimo-
ny, and is to make prouision for his Lord:
hauing therefore inuested a certain Count
or Earle of all that which he had conque-
red from the Moores. In consequence
whereof, by report of their own Spanish
writers, *Ramirus* the first, King of *Arra-
gon*, payed a tribute to the Popes: which
his son *Sanecho* after continued to Pope
Alexander the second. And since this sub-
iection to the Romane Church, as from
feodatories, it hath beeene acknowledged
by other Kings.

VVe read that Peter the second, King
of *Arragon*, beside acknowledgement of
feodality, submitted & rendred his king-
dome, by ordinary censuall (to Pope *In-
nocent* the third) of two hundred and fifty
peeces of Arabian Golde, which had free
course then, as appeareth by the Registers
in the *Patience*, which were extracted and
ouer-written by *Ciacconius* a Spanish au-
thor, who wrote the liues of the Popes, &
by diuers histories of Spaine.

In like manner, the Realmes of *Sar-
digna* and *Carficia* doe depend vpon the
holy See, and the inuestiture of them kept
in the *Patience*, which was made by the
Pope

L. Si P. natus, q. n.
Pallus ne Petri-
ro, D. de Paul.

In l. ap. l. 6.
c. 7.

Zuic in lib. 1.
cap. 22.

Ciacconius in
Regist. v. atani.

What it is
that maketh
the full felici-
ty of any king
dome.

Pope to Peter the third, King of Arragon. In consequence whereof afterward, Jaques of Arragon, did homage liege at Valencia, betweene the hands of the Legate, in the year, MCCCCLIII.

I finde also, that Ferdinand and Alphonsus, Kings of Arragon, did make faith and homage, in the year MCCCXLV. The Islands of the Canaries, and Cape du Verd, are held in the same sort, and I reade, that Lewes of Spaine was inuested, and redred faith and hominage to the Pope, in the year MCCCXLI. being charged to pay to the Apostolical Chamber, four hundred Florins of gold, whereof Petrarch also maketh mention. And as for the East Indies and Persia, it is very certaine, that Pope Alexander the sixth, in making partage of that which was newly discovered, betweene the kings of Castile and Portugal: referred expressly to himselfe, the full power and soveraignty, by consent of both the kings, whom afterward he constituted his vassals, in all acquiesce & conquests by them made, or that should be made thence forward, as the Spaniards themselves have written. In like case, pope Julius the second, gave to Ferdinand the sixth, King of Arragon and of Castile, the kingdom of Granada, which hee had conquered from the Moores: with this charge, to hold it of the Roman Church, in faith and homage.

All these feodall acknowledgements and subiections of the estate of Spaine, as well in generall as in particular, are no matters of novelty. For before them, and during the reignes of the Gothes: the kings always payed tribute to the holy See, in acknowledgement of soveraignty: untill that a tyrant named Vitiza, a little before the ruine made by the Sarrazins, refused to pay it. And afterward by the generall iurisdiction of Spaine, having bin wholly discontinued by Pope Gregory the seventh complained thereof in his Register, as is well observed by the worthy Cardinal Baronius. Which may be the cause, that each particular king, beginning to strengthen himselfe against the oppression of the Sarrazins, would returne againe to the duty of his submission, and ancient subiection.

On the other side, it is found recorded, that the kingdom of Castile is in Fief to France. For Henry the second, King of

Castile, submitting himselfe to Charles the first, king of France, promised as well for himselfe, as for his successors, to be vassall, and to hold his kingdom of Castile, of the Kings of France, by a treaty in the year MCCCCLXIX. which is kept in good forme in the Treasury of France. This king of Castile, being expelled thence by his Brother Don Peter, was at length re-established there againe, by power from the king of France, vnder conduct of that valiant knight, Bertrand de Guescline, Constable of France, notwithstanding all the efforts of the English, banded to the contrary.

There is another notable quality, which is no meane advantage vnto the Realme of France, in that it is, and euermore hath beene successiue hereditary, and not elective. And like as by generall custome, in all succession in the Realme, death seizeth on the liuing: euen so this taketh place, & is observed so much the more certainly, for succession in the State. Not vnlike compared to the golden branch in Virgil, which being pluckt away, another springeth vp instantly, so that there is neuer any defallance.

Pro amulo non desit alter.

Whence arose the common saying among the French, *That the King neuer dyeth*. Because that there is alwayes (naturally) another of the same kinde, who (without any controuersie or difficulty) succeedeth at the same instant in the others place. And when as France happeneth to be ouer-trauailed and pressed by potent enemies, euen to the losse of her King; yet it causeth no confusion or disorder, neither giueth any advantage to the enemy, or can he (by such an accident) vsurpe vpon the State. It hath beene proued (to the cost of some) like vnto a reuiuing Hydra, not to bee firmest; or rather as a Phoenix, that reiumeth another out of herselfe. Also, that the Kings of France were truly bred of an immortal race, neuer parting from hence, to returne to the true place of their celestiall and diuine original; but they left a successour, who (in the same moment) is made King, without any other formality.

But to render their succession the more assured, & (therby) the kings immortal, it hath

The kingdom of France is by hereditary succession, & not by election.

Virg. in Aen. lib. 6.

The king neuer dyeth in France.

Comparisons concerning the kings of France in succeeding one after another.

Concerning them that are of the blood-royall in France.

Baldus in cap. 2. De iure Mar. chie. lib. 1.

Agath. in Lib. 1.

In Ead. Lib.

Affurance in succession one off infinit dangers.

Such successions are not alwayes in Spaine.

Lopez. Madaga.

A people in Spaine, betwene Galicia & Portugal. Arden. de Belg. prim. lib. 1. c. 14.

hath alwayes beene receyued in France, that such as are of the blood-royall, although they or hee should stand farre off by a thousand degrees: yet notwithstanding, if there be not any other that is neerer, they or hee are called to the succession of the kingdom, and possessed thereof, onely by the others decease, without any other contradiiction; which hath beene well observed by Baldus, an Italian Doctor, and hath euermore bene so continued, euen to the person of the King nowe happily reigning, to bee descended from the King, called Saint Lewes. *Si in Francia moreretur toto domus Regia, extaret vnus de sanguine antiquo, puta de domo Bourbonie, & non esset alius proximior, esto quod esset millesimo gradu, tamen iure sanguinis, & perpetua consuetudinis, succederet in Regno Francorum. Item Guliel. Benedicti, in Cap. Raynuitus in ver. duos habens, Num. 78.*

Agathias the Greek, who wrote in the time of Iustinian, observed the same also, saying, *Amongst the French, Children take the kingdom, by succession to their Fathers*. And in another place, hee saith and reciteth, *That Theobert King of Metz, being deceased, his sonne Theudibaldus, or Thibault succeeded him, although hee was but an infant. But (saith hee) it was the Lawe of the Countrey that called him thereto*. Assuredly a most wise institution, especially, for the representation of succession to infinite ages: to obuiate disorders, inconueniences, and ouerthrowing an Estate, which may happen during a vacancy, and when the successor is vncertaine.

Before I passe any further, I may heere tell you, that such succession in a kingdom hath not alwayes beene in Spaine. And there needeth no other proofe thereof, but the confession or acknowledgement of Spanish Authors; and particularly, of Lopez. Madaga, who wrote in the Spanish tongue, and yet but little for the dignity of the Kings of Spaine. For we find, that the Kings were ther established by election, not onely during the kingdom of the Gothes; but also, after that they were ruined, and in the invasion of the Sarrazins. Relagius, king of the *Asturians*, & (after him) many other his successors, came by the very same means, as is exactly approved by Molina a Spanish Authour. In a word, all that Lopez produceth, is, that

the Kinges were elective: but yet, that none were at any time elected, excepting that they were of the Family and House-Royall.

The contrary appeareth, by the certaine sequels of Histories, and namely by the Councils of Toledo, who permitted, that the election should be made indefinitely of all persons; except of Slaues, strangers, and others, that were not of the race of the Gothes. Wherein (it may be) an equiuocation is made, when as Lopez sayth, *Decadem gente*: the interpretation beareth, *Of the Family and House-Royall*, and not of the Nation of the Gothes, as the Councils vnderstood it. Therein also were many constitutions, for the honour and consuetudine of such as were of the race of the precedent Kings: it being a matter necessary to assure them in that manner, because there were other Kinges of their house. For whom there needed no such provision, nor search for such assurances, if the Kings should haue bene successiue. But yet much more by the fifth Council of Toledo, there is denounced a curse and excommunication agaynst such as shall come to the kingdom of the Gothes otherwise then by election. As we read in Ritsius, one of their owne Historians, that *Bamba* a labouring man was made king of Spaine by Pope Leo, and approved by the election of the people.

It neuer hath bene so in France, where the right of succession hath euermore bin inuolubly kept: There, the Race-Royall which surpasseth the rest in greatness and vertue, are borne and defenyed to reigne.

Nor was it without good cause, that in Greece they made fo exact an inquisition and search for such as were of the Linage of *Heracles*, and of the *Acades*, to make them Kings, Captains in warre, and Gouernours of estates. *Plato*, and nexte to him *Aristotle*, are of opinion, that Monarchy is indeede the best forme of Government: *Veret not as a dream* (say they) *to find a good king*. As thinking it a matter impossible for a humane spirit, in fo great a fortune, affluence of so many goods and delights, and such liberty without contradiction; and in so supreme a power, to keepe in, and command ouer his owne passions. *Plato* addeth, *Wee liue not in the Commonwealsh of Bees, where naturally one*

Cru. Tol. 6. c. 17

The Kinges to be made by election, & not succession.

Council. Tol. 5.

Ritsius in lib. 1.

No such prescription of Kinges in France.

A worthy curiosity, as well in Greece.

Plato and Aristotle.

An excellent comparison of Plato.

Iles in the Ocean, four hundred miles from Spaine, and feared the fortunate Isles.

In lib. 5. De vi. fol. 1. The East Indies & Persia.

The Pope giues a king his owne by conquest.

Which the Pope refused to pay the Pope tribute.

Baronius in lib. 1. cap. 17.

As hee dyed by homage, vpon promise of assistance in war.

The difficulties and dangers in a state elective.

* People with out a Prince.

The kings of Thunis, Soldanes of Egypt, and election of some Popes.

The Empire of the East becoming elective, & the kingdoms of divers countries beside.

Contrarious election in the Empire of Germany.

And

Great estate and dignity as potentially partitioned withall.

is bred much greater and better, to command over all the other. And yet the very same happeneth to the French, whose Kings come from their very birth, more great (not of body) but of courage, generosity, and understanding, then all the rest: borne and esteemed (by heaven) of another nature, then any common person to reigne.

Would we but a little consider the great difficulties and inconveniences, which are noted in an elective estate, by reason of such forme of election we should the better know, what an advantage, excellency, and prerogative France hath. In an estate elective, the death of the Prince happening, there is an *interregnum*, during which time, it falls into *Anarchy*, which causeth disorder, vnrulinesse, and confusion; whereon ensue infinite evils, murders, assassines, violences and theses. As hath beene well obserued in those elections, made for the Kings of *Thunis*, & the Soldanes of Egypt by the *Mammelukes*. Nay, and hath sometimes happened at the election of Popes, in *Sede vacante*.

And which is yet farre worse, the *interregnum* sometimes lasteth for many dayes, because, beside vnder-handed suites and made factions, there is an naturall inclination to dissention in men. As hath oft bene seene to happen in the Empire of the East, after it yielded it selfe to be elective: And in the Realmes of *Hungary*, *Polonia*, *Bohemia*, *Denmarke*, and *Sweden*. During these *interregnums*, nothing happeneth but schismes, diuisions, and many menacings of diuers persons, which ordinarily do draw on ciuill warres, every one courting to haue a Prince of his partaking, or as he would haue it.

It hath also bene obserued in the Empire of *Germany*, that many Emperors haue bene elected, vntill they haue had seuen or eight at a time, as after the death of the Emperour *Fredericke* the second. And there could no sufficient remedy be found, for the establishing of a Government, that might haue commanded in the meane while; because about the election of that Governour, there grew on still the same inconueniences. And perhaps it might haue so fallen out, that the Governour being seized on the estate, would attend no other election, as some haue done heretofore: finding but few men, that will render vp so great an engagement,

& a thing so attracting, he repuring himselfe in all things, if he can keepe such dignity from violation.

Moreover, it cometh so to passe sometimes, that such as haue the right to elect Princes, will deliuer forth some apparances of credence to themselves to haue them murdered and massacred, if they please them not, or else by corruption leaue them and elect some other. Hereof the Roman Empire can furnish vs with sufficient examples, and that it neuer was more calme, then when her Princes came to the Empire by succession. On the contrary, when the election was in the Soldiours hands, they set the Empire to sale, and filled all the State with rapines, theses, murders, cruelties, and barbarous brutishnesse. When an Emperour pleased them not, were he the most vertuous man and the best Prince in the world; they would massacre him, without any difficulty, and establish another; as it befell to the good Emperour *Pertinax*, after whose murder, they caused it to bee published through the City, that the Empire was to be sold to the fairest offerer.

In like manner, they murdered *Alexander Severus*, one of the best and most vertuous Princes that euer was. And so they dealt with *Probus*, *Tacitus*, and many more, as may bee gathered by the sequell of Histories from time to time. Yet this is not all, each Legion and each Army made his Emperour, all which (in the end) had their throates cut, after cruell ciuill waies: the poore people enduring all this while, infinite miseries, and there are obserued (in that time) well neere thirty, among whom there was two women.

These inconueniences were ordinary (inciently) in the estate of *Spain*. *S. Gregory of Tours* saith: *Sumptuosa Gothorum decessibilibus consuetudinem, ut si quis de regibus non placuisset, gladio eum adpererent: Et qui libuisset animo, hunc sibi statuerunt Regni.* The Gothes had taken this detestable custome, that if any one of their Kings did not please them, they would murder him, and establish whosoever falleth into their fantasie, to be their King. This he wrote concerning *Thendos*, *Thendogiles*, and *Agilas*. And in *Germany*, after that this order of election got footing there, there were eight or nine Emperors slain; as *William* of *Holland*, *Raoull*, *Albert*, *Henry* the

The Roman Empire was full with all of her own miseries and calamities.

The Emperour Pertinax murdered.

Alexander Severus, Probus, Tacitus, & many more Emperours murdered.

S. Greg. Turm. lib. 3. c. 4. p. 6.

Kings of the Gothes murdered.

Emperours of Germany slain.

Seuf Sultan of Egypt murdered.

Eminency brooketh no competitor.

The felicity of France.

Are not well worth the observation.

Rodolfe of Habsbourg Emperour, & what great indignity he did to the empire.

The hereditary patrimony of the Empire alienated, and nothing but the bare name remaining.

the seventh, *Frederick* the second, and *Leues of Bamaria*, &c. beside them that haue shamefully bene expelled from the Imperiall Throne. And of fifteene Sultanes that reigned in Egypt, seauen were murdered.

VVith these wee could ranke many equall, and equally worthy, growing one ly through hatreds and discontentment: from whence haue proceeded diuisions and seditions; so that the choise and preferring of one man, hath proued the viceroy contempr of another. And questionlesse, it will be very hard for him that hath bene refused, intirely to be obedient to him with whom hee hath contested for the royall authority, as his equal in house, reputation and merit.

Happy *France*, and truly happy, where-to God hath giuen the grace, to breathe but one acceptable libertie, vnder the sweet command of thy naturall and successiue Kings: which hath bene thy warrant from ruine, dangers, & deadly tempests, and hath kept thy State alwaies flourishing, yea, in full strength and vigor.

Amongst other inconueniences that may be met within an elective estate, this is one: A Prince elective will neuer bee careful of the state, which he holdeth but by entreaty, or at other mens liking, but of his owne family. For knowing well, that he cannot leaue the kingdome to his children, he makes his profite of the publicke purse, deriuing and turning it to his own particulars, by venditions and other alienations. According as *Rodolfe of Habsbourg* did, who coming to bee elected Emperour, by the fauour of his Master Elector, the Arch-Bishop of *Magunce*, founded & built vp the house of *Austria* upon the ruines of the Empire. Euen so farre, as to sell at prices of money, her freedoms and Seigneuries to Citties of *Italy*; as to *Florence* for six thousand crowns, and to *Lucara* for ten thousand, and so to other in like manner. Which proued to be the end of the kingdom and command of the Emperors in *Italy*: in regard whereof, he was highly blamed by all the Historians of those times, and by such as haue written euer since.

I forbear to speake of many other Emperours, who practised in the same manner, and alienated the hereditary patrimony of the Empire, Citties, Townes,

Territories, and Seigneuries, as well in *Germany*, as in *Italy*, and other places. And by this means, diuers Principalities established, and great cities franchised, beare now no more but the bare name of soveraignty for the Empire. Also it is to bee credited, that a Prince doing what he can, will ouerthrow all, yet not toptic turly: but will mingle as one faith/ heaven with earth, but he will make his issue to succeed, so strong and mighty is this passion. Few or none are found to follow the example of *Moses*, who knowing and acknowledging his finnes to bee incapable to command the people of *Israel* after him; rather chose to establish another, as preferring the weale publike, before affection or charity to his owne. It is recorded, that the Emperour *Charles* the fourth, promised an hundred thousand crowns to each one of the Princes Electours, to haue his sonne *Wenceslaus* elected emperour; and being vnable to pay them, hee was constrained to giue ouer to them the ordinary reuenues of the empire in payment.

The case is quite contrary in *France*, where the inheritance and patrimony of him that cometh to the crowne by succession, accrue and reuinteth it selfe (by the same means) to the crowne. In regard whereof, the Kings haue not two kinds of inheritances, the one particular, and the other publike for all cometh of one and the same nature, & all is made publike. Wherein is discerned the full effect, of that which the emperour *Antoninus Pius* said to his wife. *Seeing* (sayeth he) *that we are come to the Empire, wee haue lost that which we had before.*

But although this kingdome bee successiue in this manner, by the inuoluable custom of the country, rather then by hereditary right; yet notwithstanding, women, and the descendants of them in that kind, neuer haue bene, neither euer can be admitted, no nor in the defect of Males. VVithout reason, some enemies to the French name, and enuious (to speake truly) of this prerogative; would strue to call in doubt the *Salique Law*, which rejecteth women from succession in the kingdome, saying, that the original therof is doubtfull and vncertaine. As if a man can desire a better and more certain prooffe, then the successiue and possession of so many hundred yeares, since the settled

The liberrall promise of the Emperour Charles the 4.

No two kinds of inheritances in France coming to the crowne by the King.

Capitulum in ciuitate.

No female succession in France, according to the Salique law.

led establishment of that estate. That law hath bene engraven, not in Marble or Copper, but in the hearts of Frenchmen and alwayes certainly kept.

Lopez, Madera in his Epig. lib. 3. cap. 3.
Lopez, Madera the Spaniard, seeing that the like could not be in Spaine, and that the dignity was much lesse, to cover the defect, and bring some shadow for it, labourerth to prouoe, by stretching out a long discourse, that the succession of women is very naturall. This carryeth good reason in matter of succession for Patrimony in particulars. In which case (nevertheless) we can shew, that the successions by right (well neere of all people) hath alwayes bene referred to the Males: who are as firme pillars and Anchors of assurance to great Families. But in the succession of a mighty estate or kingdom it were a mockery for the French to imagine, that the maintaining of womens succession could be the better. *There is verie great difference* (sayde the Emperour Adrian) *betweene the search of an heire of my patrimony, and a successor in an Empire.*

Moreover, it were superfluous to goe seeke for the originall of this Salique law, and enquire any further, when or how it was made; because it appeareth of a certaine vie, and that it hath alwayes bin kept by the French. Law hath no force, if it be not by custome, which is the very strongest Law of all other. And it may well be sayde, that it is a right of great authority, when it hath bene obserued so strictly: as there is no neede of reducing it to a law by writing.

It is no written Law, but borne with them, neither haue they inuented it, but suckt it from nature her selfe, who gaue it them by instinct, & so instructed them: which not only the French, but most part of the people of the world, haue likewise most religiously obserued. If we look vpon royalty and imitation of government general in the world, by the Soueraigne vinity, from the very first birth, that is to say, when the world tooke beginning, we shall find, that the first fathers of families gaue command in their houses themselves and not by their wiues, and that the male children succeeded them in the soueraignty of the Family, whereas the Daughters passed to another house, without hauing any part there.

Whence came it, that all people (in

the first ages) were governed by Kinges, (not of many Prouinces) but of a Citie, or small territory only, which had bene before but the inclosure of a father of a Family? As is to be seene, as well in holy Writ, as by the ancient histories of each Countrey. That which great Aristotle so faithfully interpreted of nature, hee hath well acknowledged. *In the beginning* (saith hee) *Townes and Citties were governed by Kinges, as now adays people and strange Nations are. For they were composed of people that liued vnder Royalty: each Family being governed by the most ancient.* So women could not come to the Royaltie; neyther hold part in the succession of particulars. Contrarywise, Fathers of the family receiued commoditie by rich gifts and presents which were given them, by such as made request for their daughters: as wee read in holye Writ, of the Father, Mother, and Brethren of Rebecca, the wife to Isaac, and as (at this day) it is a common right among all strange people, as well of the East, west, and South, where it is obserued in the same sort.

Aristotle reporteth, that the ancient Greeks did buy their wiues: whereof (as yet) we haue the testimony of Homer. But since the prime simplicity & good nature of men forlooke and gaue them ouer, iustice and peace withdrawing themselves: while in this truly Iron Age) all began to grow more strong, without any right or iustice, and that ambition (a most pestilent disease) ranne currant in the hearts of men: that goodly order became peruered and ouertrowne: when the most mightie, such as the Scripture reporteth, as of Nimrod and others, of *Sennacherib, Nebuchadonazar, and Cyrus*, troubled the quietnes of their neighbours, and inuaded their lands. So, on the ruine of a great number of small estates, mightie Empires and Monarchies grewe to bee grounded, and gaue command both in length and largeness.

In this inuasion, confusion, & ouertrowing of kingdomes, as also particular and naturall Principalities, some also mounting vp against their Soueraignes: in stead of naturall Royalty, brought estates to popularity or Oligarchy. Afterward in regard of these disorders thus happening, the greater part of the people being not willing to liue so: became at length con-

stray-

Arist in Polit. lib. 1. cap. 2.

Arist in Polit. lib. 3.

Gen. 14. 5.

Arist in Polit. lib. 3.

The Iniquitie of this Iron Age of the world, age and the Primitive iustice that is lost.

strained to render themselves to their owne nature, & return to the good government of kings, to enjoy their former iustice. To the ende that the weakest might bee in as safe security as the strongest, and y which pertained to euery private person, might peaceably be possessed, and defended by their kings, against the violence of neighbors which were 2 principall functions, that incited wading people to reunite & submit themselves to kings. VVherin Aristotle also hath placed the definition of royalty, to wit: *As well to render iustice, as to defend the subject from inuasion of enemies.* Such were the Iudges that governed the Estate of Israel, before the establishment of kings. Wherto is referred that which Herodotus said: *That the Medes would haue Deioes to bee their Kings to the end to render iustice.* Be it then, that we regard the first original and naturall institution of kings, or be it the establishment of great Monarchies: yet it is doubtles, that women neither could or can be any participants. And as for the last institution of kings, for recourse of people, to the ende, they might be defended against violence, & to enjoy iustice: we plainly perceiue, this could neuer agree with the naturall disposition of women; because the vertue of pudicity reiecteth the from those functions, of iudging people, & defending them by Armes. And if in popular and Oligarchall Common-weals, women haue alwayes bin barred from government, and enterming with the publike affaires: by much stronger reason: then they ought to bee frō Royalty, in as much as that forme of State is more excellent then the other. It hath bin obserued throughout all the Monarchies, euer pursuing the right of nature. And during fabulous times, if ther be found a *Semiramis* among *Assyrians*; yet that breaketh not the rule. Considering the story it selfe saith, that to bring her purpose to passe, she disguised herselfe in the habit of a man: and was taken, not for *Semiramis*, but for her Son *Ninus*. And thereby it appeareth, that the *Assyrians* did not willingly endure the dominion of a woman, as *Lopez Madera* fondly suppoeth. Contrarywise we read, that *Caused* the ruine of their Monarchy, was, when *Sardanapalus* (their last King) imitating the manners, fashions, & behavior of women, offended men so much, that by a iust indignation,

for so many men to bee subiect to such a woman, who had no more but the forme of a man; they revolted from him, and contrayned him to kill himselfe.

Women then are not capable of succeeding in the kingdome of France, as we haue already approoued, that in ancient times (ordinarily) they were not. For out of the fabulous times, there is obserued only a Queene of *Saba*, and a *Cleopatra* in Egypt, and so few beside; that their rarity declareth, how contrary a thing it is, violent, and extraordinary to nature. Since the declination of the race and Empire of *Charlemaigne* only, we haue seene in some parts of the West, where valour & virility hath failed or relaxed: soueraigne swords and scepters conuerted into distaffes, and by the succession of women, many the like indignities haue met together in one body. This was that which rayled the houses of *Spaine* and of *Anitria*, to the greatnes they hold: a kinde of encreasing vknown before, in any other house or souerainty, because there was no right at all.

When then the Spaniards demand of the French, the prooue and foundation of the Salique Law; it is fit for themselves to shew the original and beginning of the right for their feminine Crownes, seeing France hath kept the vie of Antiquity, & they haue falne to change among themselves. VVhich hath bin heretofore obserued and discoursed, by Seigneur *LeThouffier*, in his Tract of the right of Nature: where he sheweth, that by the right of nature, women stand exempted from succession in the Realm of France. I remember the answer which *Licurgus* made to one, who discoursed, that the government of many was the best forme of an Estate. *Bring it first of all* (quoth he) *into thine own house.* In like manner, to such as will maintain the government of women in kingdomes and great Empires, especially in France: a man may well say, let them begin that establishment in their owne houses. It is by good reason saide, that there is neyther beginning nor writing found for the Salique Law. It is a Law of nature, borne with men, and not written, as Aristotle saith: *That whosoeuer is by right of nature, & by right of people, is not written at all.* Wherto I may adde moreover, that it is the common right of inheritances, which ought by stronger reason to be obserued in

Women not capable of succeeding in the Crowne of France.

Soueraigne Swords and Scepters changed to Distaffes.

The defence of the French for their Salique Law.

A witty answer made by Licurgus.

Arist in lib. 1. tit. 1. q. 1. Hec notandum in Euclid.

M Roy-

The wife saying of the Emperor Adrian.

Law hath no power but by custome.

The Salique Law bred and borne with the French.

A comparison of the worlds first beginning.

The happy condition of liuing vnder kings.

Arist in Polit. lib. 3.

Herodot. lib. 1. * Sonne to Pharoates.

Concerning the last institution of kings.

Trag. Pomp in lib. 1. Concerning Semiramis among the Assyrians.

Lopez, Madera in his Epig.

Of Sardanapalus.

Royalty, as being the last and most eminent title of inheritance, and whereon dependeth all the other. So then this right, so naturally, hath euermore beene exactly kept in the estate of France.

Beside, the ancient lawes of the *Salians*, will not permit, that any part of *Salique* land or inheritance (that is to say, of lands distributed to the French, in their entring to the *Gauls*) shall come into the hands of women: but willeth, that it bee wholly left to the males. The same is also ordained in the law of the *French Ripnarians*. If this then tooke place in the succession of particulars, that the lands assigned vnto the French warriors, for recompence of their cruauales, and to serue for defence of the Country, should not fall (as one faith) from the Lance to the Distaffe: by how much greater reason then ought we to esteeme, that this should be obserued, in the estate and succession of the kingdom of France, as the sequell of her owne Histories maketh knowne, that it hath bin at all times so held and practised there?

The great *Louis* or *Chlovis* had foure Sonnes, who by custome (then) receiued and diuided his Monarchies equally. *Childebert* the eldest, was king of *Paris*; *Chlothaire* of *Saizon*; *Chlodamere* of *Orleans*, and *Thierry* of *Mets*. *Childebert* had two Daughters, the one named *Chrodeinda*, and the other *Chrosberga*, as appeareth by the Charter of exemption, of the Abbey of *S. Germaine des Prez*, and by that which *Fortunatus*, Bishop of *Poitiers* hath written in his Poems, who addeth, that King *Charibert* was Tutor to those two daughters. Neuertheless, neither of them succeeded in the kingdom of *Childebert*: their Father: but without all further dispute, it was *Chlothaire* their Vnkle, as hath in like manner bin obserued by *Agathias* the Greeke. Afterward, *Charibert* the son of *Chlovis*, had three daughters also, without leauing any male-child: the one was married to a king of *Denmark*; the second named *Berthelede*, of whom *Fortunatus* made an Epigram; and the third, called *Chrodeinda*, entred Religion in the Abbey of *S. Croffe* in *Poitiers*: so that none of these daughters succeeded their Father, but *Sigebert*, brother to the deceased king, & that without difficulty or controuersie.

Now if there had bin any means or subiect to worke vpon, it is not to be thought,

that the king of *Denmark*, who had married one of the daughters, could otherwise haue bin removed. Or if he had bin impeached by power, at least he would haue complained, & the authors of those times could not forget to make mention of it. But they not making any account of the daughters, do report, that *Sigebert* succeeded his brother *Charibert*, according to the custome of the Country. *Gonthram*, King of *Bourgongne*, brother to *Charibert*, had but one only daughter, named *Chlothilda*. And yet notwithstanding he inuested and inlinited his Nephew *Childebert* in the kingdom of *Bourgongne*, to enioy it after his death. It is not here to be obeyed, that hee did it for any ill will he bare to his daughter, or because hee would disinherit her: For by an acte of accord or agreement, made with his Nephew *Childebert*, transcribed at large by *S. Gregory of Tours*, who liued in those very times, he stipulated great Lands and Seigneuries for her, declaring well therein his fatherly affection; but because the law of France hindered her succeeding in the Crowne, he aduantaged her otherwise as he found the best means to do. The same may be confirmed by the testimony of many strangers, who do all agree in this point, that women are not to succeed in the kingdom of France: the names of whom, as also their authorities, haue beene (for the most part) noted, and collected by a learned man of this time, in an Epistle which he hath written concerning this subiect.

Nodgerus, Bishop of *Liege*, in the life of *S. Landolsde*, written by him in the yeare *VCCCCLXXX*. faith, *Francorum Regni a sui principio semper per infatigabile, &c. Maximu autem accepit incrementu & firmu sub eo sancta Dei Ecclesia statum, cum Chlotharius Rex IVSTA SPCESSIONE, Chlodowes quartus Monarchiam singulariterium regabat regnorum. The kingdom of France fro her beginning, hath euermore bin inuincible and indefatigable, &c. But the holy Church of God hath taken a great and firme encreasing in that State, when as king Chlotharius, the fourth Son of Chlovis was Monarch BY IVST SPCESSIONE of three kingdoms. He faith by iust succession, and yet notwithstanding, *Childebert* had left two daughters behinde him.*

Albert of *Strasbourg* reporteth in his Chronicle: *In Francia nullus per formam lineam*

The ancient custome of a country is a mighty and preuailing motive.

S. Gregory of Tours, in lib. vi. cap. 10.

This point confirmed by diuers strange Writers.

Nodger in vit. Landolsdi. lib. 1. cap. 3.

Chlovis was Monarch of 3 kingdoms.

Albert Strah. in Chron.

linea successisse dicitur. Neuer hath any person succeeded in France by the line of women.

The Emperor *Charles* the fourth, Son to *Iohn*, king of *bohemia*, in his life it is thus written. *Eodem Anno obiit Carolus Francorum Rex relicta uxore pregnant, quae peperit filiam. Et cum de consuetudine regni filia non succedat, prouersus est Philippus, filius Iocri mei in regem Francia. That yeare (saith he) died Charles, king of France, leauing his wife great with child, who was deliuered of a daughter. And because by the custome of the kingdom, daughters are not to succeed: Philip, Sonne of my Father in law, was made king of France.*

Froissard a partaker with England writeth thus. Then after the death of *K. Charles*, the 12 Peeres and Barons of France, assembled themselves together at *Paris*, with all respect they could make and gane the kingdom (by a common consent) to *Mesire Philip de Valois*, and tooke it from the *Queene of England* her Son, who was left Sister germane to king *Charles*, by this respect and reason; because they said, that the Realm of France was of so great nobility, as it ought not to go by any means to a Female. And indeed, the *Q. of England*, and *Edward* her Son, would not go to the contrary: but acknowledged *Philip de Valois* for legitimate successour to the kingdom. And that which is more, *Edward* voluntarily did him homage, in regard of the Dutchy of *Cuyenne*, and the acte of homage was deliberated and aduised by his counsell of *England*.

Now as concerning that which hapned some while after, warre being moued betwene the two kings, for another cause and enmity excited among the, that *Edward* tooke on him the Name and Armes of France: this was only done by the inuention of the *Flemings*, who saide, that they could not aide him, except he would qualifie on himselfe, the name of King of France: because they stood bound by oath, not to beare Armes against the *K. of France*, on paine of paying two millions of *Florens*. So that in taking Armes for him against *Philip de Valois*, and to take the felues of that payment; *Edward* gaue them a discharge and quittance, as being *K. of France*. And yet notwithstanding, the *K. of England* made difficulty of vnderstanding it, hauing attempted war vpon another subiect, as being Vicar of the Empire, and for recouering the towne of

Cambray, which the King then held. But in the end, to haue the helpe of the *Flemings*, & their allies, who were most important vpon him: he was induced to take the title of king, & the Arms of France, as may more particularly be seene in the sequell of the history set down by *Froissard*.

Eliuan de *Caribuy* y *Gamaillon*, a Spaniard, speaketh of the very same, saying. Porque Philip Conde de Valoes descendida de la corona Real por linea masculina: fue coronado por Rey di Francia por virtud de la Ley Salica. Al key *Eduardo* por descender de linea de muger, exluyeron de la successon Real, &c. Aunque todas ellas razones de *Eduardo*, quando y se cielen los *Francieses* con *Leys Salica*, que en ellos dize y a comendo grande rigor y fuerca para los siglos futuros. Because *Philip*, Count of *Valois*, descended of the Crowne Royall by the masculine line: he was crowned King of France by vertue of the *Salique* law. For king *Edward*, being descended by the Mothers line, he stood excluded from the Royall succession, &c. And all the reason alledged by *Edward*, were euaded & excluded for the French by the *Salique* Law, which in those daies was in great force, and continueth also for future times.

Doctor Baldus on the *Pandecks* faith. *Filia Regis Francorum non succedit in regno, ex rationabili consuetudine Francorum.* The Daughter to the *K. of France*, succeedeth not as all in the kingdom, by a reasonable custome among the French. Which is also confirmed by *Doctor Petrus Iacobi*, on the booke of *Fiefs* or Inheritances, & many other Doctors. This may (by good right) bee registered among the honors, dignities & preeminences of France. And such as contend against it, as willing to impugn such a Law, or call it in doubtfull question; do slenderly conceiue, that the state of their owne Country could neuer pretend, nor attribute vnto it selfe such a prerogative.

The King of France hath also this great aduantage about others, that he is not on ly Soueraigne, but likewise absolute, with full power & authority truly Royall; which is not common to all Princes, although they be Soueraignes. There are very few or none, but are restrained, eyther by lawes, or by assemblies of the generall Estates: who therefore cannot reame themselves absolute, being so subiected, & their power limited. The perfection & height of a royall estate, is, when the Prince ordaineth

Eliuan de *Caribuy*, Histor. in lib. vi. cap. 16.

Baldus in l. 1. de Successor.

Petrus Iacobi, in l. ex quib. cons. v. 1. de fidei.

Apph the great aduantage of the king of France.

The perfection of a royall estate.

Art in Polit.
lib. 3. c. 10.

Eccle 8. 3. 4.

The honourable
disputations of Alex-
ander & Ce-
sar in their
actions of
warre, and o-
therwise.

The absolute
power of the
Romanes
Dictatour.

The wife say-
ing of Metel-
lus Numidicus

Two other
considerati-
ons well de-
serving ob-
servation.

daineth all by his owne will, doth what he would, without any restriction, and being no way answerable for any of his actions. This was the reason, that *Aristotle* elegantly named such an estate, by the name of *tyranny*, as one would say, *Full and perfect Royalty*. And wife *Salomon* speaking of a true king indeed, faith; *He will do what he neuer pleaseth him. Where the word of the king is, there is power; and who shall say unto him, What dost thou?* This is also of no meane importance for the good government of an estate; be it to resolve more certainly on the affaires; be it to keepe counsels & designs secret; be it for facility, promptitude, and speedines of execution. He that hath such power, especially in actions of war, as the two great warriors *Alexander* and *Cesar* had, may sway the Empire of the world. One of them being demanded, how in so short a time, hee had made so many famous conquests: *It was* (quoth he) *by neuer deferring occasion, or using remissnesse*. And the other was so prompt & ready, as many times he was at his iournies end with his Army, before any newes was heard of his comming. Yea, and in such sort, as enemies felt his fingers, before they tooke aduice for his comming. Nor can this be done, if a man depend vpon another, in any manner whatsoever, & the his power is not absolute. The Romanes tooke good acknowledgement hereof, being wont in their very greatestt affaires, & dangers of the estate, were it in peace or war, to create a Magistrate, whom they called Dictatour, with such full power & absolute authority. In breefe, for the government of great estates, and likewise of great affaires, the account can neuer be well rendered, except it be to one man only. Otherwise, a Prince, although a Soueraigne, can neuer say, as *Metellus Numidicus*, and as it was after vied by king *Lewes* the 11. *That if he thought his thirt knew his counsell, he would tear it from his backe and burne it*. He that is truly an absolute king, may well vte the aduice of his counsell, in such affaires as present themselves: but in an arrest and resolve, what seems good to himselfe. The excellency of that kingdom, as also of her kings, refuteth yet from two other considerations. One is the long continuance of the estate: a certain prooffe, as well of her good government, as of the supreme and celestiall fauor. The

other, is the antiquity of her race of kings: for to speake truly, there is not any more worthy, no nor more generous blood in the world. Who can in all the kingdoms through the Vniuers, shew another the like estate, as firm and stable, as hath continued for 1200. yeares? Who can nominate such a nobility & ancientnes of race, so fairly approued, and in so long succession of so many kings. Since the year 440. according to most certaine History, *Meroneur* planted the foundation of that Monarchy, and established it to the *Gauls*: & euen to this instant, the estate hath bin alwaies maintained, and valiantly stood against all violent assaults. In such sort, as the more it hath bin attempted, yea, in very dangerous extremities, then found the her selfe strongest, and more flourishing then before. There is not any thing comparable to such a succession of kings, in all other Realmes, as it will be easily verified.

Moreover, the noblenesse, dignity, and greatnes of that royall race, hath received no diminution by those two changes, which historians haue there observed. Let not *Lopez Madera* alledge then, that such changes hapned, because France would not admit the regiment of women. For if we regard the side & line feminine, though the succession be not therein; three races finde themselves all vnited with the other. The second of *Pepin* with the first, as some Chronicles of those times do proue. And that of the *Capets* which is the third, and reigneth at this present happily with the second, as *M. Guillaume de Nangis* hath deduced the Genealogy. The which Pope *Innocent* the 4. in his Decretale, speaking of king *Philip Augustus*, full well acknowledged, when he aouched that king to be descended of the race of *Charlemaigne*.

But beside this, there are other faithfull Authors, who do declare, that the second race is ioynd to the first, by the males side, prouing from father to sonne, that *Pepin* was descended in direct line by the males, of *Chlodion*, K. of the French, before *Meroneur*, as issued from *Albericus*, one of the sonnes of *Chlodion*. And as for the third race, the true originall thereof, was in that noble and so ancient house of *Saxony*, & of great *Fritichind*, king of the *Saxons*, who made himselfe Christian with his people, & came to dwell in France, in the time of *Charlemaigne*. He was descended of *Sigwardus*,

Long continuance of the State & Antiquity of race.

The first station of the Monarchy by Meroneur.

Two changes noted by the historians concerning France

Cap. 11. Di. Indica and Gregal.

Pepin descended of king Chlodion before Meroneur.

The third race of the house of Saxony only by king Fritichind, and that descended.

Robert the Strong, & his Sonne Orto, Tutor to Charles the Simple.

Hugh Capet Son of Hugh the Great.

Warriors that terrified and amazed the Romanes.

Meroneur founder of the monarchy in Gaule.

Attila king of the Hunnes called himselfe Flagellum Dei.

Sigwardus, who was made Duke of the *Saxons*, in the year VCXXXVI. At such time as *Dagobert* was king of France. Be-hold the certain succession, *Fritichind* the great had another Son cald *Fritichind*, & that *Fritichind* had another *Fritichind* 3. who had to Sonne *Rupert* or *Robert the Strong*, Count of *Anion*, he being slain against the *Normanes*, in the time of *Charles* the Bauld, king of France, and Emperor.

That *Robert the Strong* left his Son *Orto* or *Eudo*, who was Tutor to king *Charles* the Simple, and afterward crowned king, as also was his brother *Rupert*, Father to *Hugh* the Great, Count of *Paris*, Sonne in law to the Emperor *Orto* the first. And by this marriage of *Hugh* the Great, was born *Hugh Capet*, established king by the Nobility of France, through default in the legitimate line of *Charlemaigne*, in the year VCCCCLXXXVII. Since which time, the kingdom hath alwaies bene in the hand of that generous and flourishing Lineage, excelling still more and more, and reigning to perpetuity.

Next hereunto, there cometh also to our consideration, the admirable and heroyicall virtues of the kings of France, which hath mounted their glory vp vnto heauen, & made them known through all the Cantons of the earth. But to forbear the most ancient warriors, the affright & terrout of the Romanes, *Afcariens*, *Gaisio*, *Marcomir*, *Sunno*, *Mellauboder*, and *Chlodion*: what a warrior was *Meroneur*, the founder of that Monarchy in *Gaule*? This was the man, who (in despite of the Romanes, and such a mingle-mangle of barbarous people, scattered and dispersed by the *Gauls*) planted there his Standards, and made himselfe absolute Lord of one part. And as for *Attila*, king of the *Hunnes*, that caused himself to be cald, *The scourge of God*: he came to rauage France, as hee had done all other Prouinces where hee had past. The wife *Aetius*, Gouvernour to what then remained of the Romanes in *Gaule*, was perswaded, that he was not able, nor all the barbarous people releaged with him, so endure the furious and tearfull shock, of that huge thunderbolt of war. But made his recourse to the verue of the French, and to their great *Meroneur*, to fight against the furious entrance of the *Huns*. Wherein he had good success, for the pride of *Attila* was soone reba-

ted on the *Cathalanian* plaines, by great *Meroneur*, who put to the edge of the sword, that dreaded masse and number of enemies.

Alas, there is no roome here, in a work of no larger circumference, to recount the goodly deeds, and actes heroyically, well deseruing eternall memory, of all the kings that haue reigned in France: for many great volumes can hardly containe them. So high an ascending lubiect, deferred to meete with such Writers, as can as worthily set down in writing, what these kings did boldly and virtuously performe. Beside, the abundance of matter, and dignity of the subiect, would afford them scarcity of ground, and trouble them with a thousand difficulties. It is a subiect much more great, then the wars and encounters of petty Townes and Villages in Greece, banded the one against the other: which neuertheless, by the learning & eloquence of such, as haue attempted to write thereof, are become so much celebrated, and thought worthy of immortality. But Frenchmen, who haue established this Monarchy, contending themselves with the glory and honour of well doing, care little for any pride of the Pen, adding themselves rather, to execute high & hardy enterprizes, then to set down in writing those of others, much lesse of themselves.

Neuertheless, though destitute of such exquisite meanes, whereby to mount to immortality: yet it hath so well falne out, that all their faire actions haue not bin vterly buried, nor forgotten. But in stead of a worthy Historiā, admiration hath thrust into the mouths of all people, to know and speake of them; deliuering it so from hand to hand, euen to such as dwell in the remotest Climates, familiarly acquainting them with their manners. And indeede, there are to be found more testimonies of French vertue, in the Histories, Memories, and Annals of strangers, then in their owne. I will therefore leane that labour to others, that can better acquit themselves thereof, if I touch any thing, it shall bee but in my passage along, and onely to make a light demonstration.

It hath bin observed for an ancient saying, *That all the good kings might be enclosed within the Beasall or Colles of a small king*. But this saying cannot hold in France, & hath euermore met with good kings, most

M 3 excel.

This labourer to containe the famous actions of the Kings of France.

The Greek were not comparable with them of the French.

Admiration (in stead of writing history) hath made the French generally famous through out the world.

An ancient Adage concerning good kings.

excellent and most vertuous: having bin always happy therein, as in all other things. I will call then vnto you diuine spirits, & generous soules, who haue sometime swayd that Monarchy; to the ende, that being put on by your inspiration, I may, if not worthily sing your merits, yet (at least) figure forth to life some part of them.

Next to Great *Meroneus*, who first established himselfe in France, repulsed the *Hunnes*, and ouercame King *Attila*, the horrour and the whippe of the world, account is to be made of that *Chlouis* or *Louis*, who possessed himselfe thoroughly of the *Gauls*, and vterly exterminated the Romanes name. This was the quayer of the Romanes and Germanes, and he that expulled so quickly the *Goths* beyond the Pyrenean Mountaines, and made them thinke, that hardly could they get ground enough to flie away vpon, or where to hide themselves from his victorious arm. The *Goths* hauing offended him many times, and broken all agreements made: this Prince vnderooke war against them, to chastise them, and purge the *Gauls* of such a people, as eagerly followed the error of *Arrius*, and laboured to plant it euery yeare.

Chlouis or Louis that drove the Romanes quite out of Gaule, & made the Gothes to flie beyond the Pyrenean Mountain.

When as the two Armies were met together, somewhat neere to *Poitiers*, the battaile was giuen, wherein the *Goths* were wholly ruined, and driuen away in rout. Historians do adde heere to, that the King of the *Goths*, being named *Alarick*, was met withall in the fight by King *Chlouis*, and fighting hand to hand, hee smote him downe dead to the ground. This is the selfe-same Prince, who (first of all the French) embraced Christian Religion, whereof both he and his successors were alwaies afterward true protectors and defenders. He was the most redoubted of all the kings in the world, and of whom the Emperour *Anastasiu*, *Theodorick* the *Ostrogothe*, and the *Visigoths* of *Spaine* made no meane account, were it in admiration of his vertue, or were it for feare, they thought themselves vey happy, to haue peace and friendship with him, seeking it by diuersity of Ambassadors, & by plenty of most exquisite gifts.

His Sonnes *Childebert*, *Chlothaire*, *Chlodamire*, and *Thierry*, as heires to his crowne, and likewise to his valour and pi-

ety, made themselves admirable & dreadfull to strangers. *Childebert*, induced thereto, by horrible persecutions inflicted on the Orthodox Christians, as also by the bad and vnworthy vsage offered to his Sister, by *Almarick* her husband, King of the *Visigoths* in *Spaine*, who seuerly maintained the *Arian* heresie: passed with his Army into *Spaine*, quailed & ouercame the powers of the *Goths*, wonne diuers Citties by assault, and at length took *Tolledo*, cheefe of all, ruinating it in ranged battaile, where also was slaine *Almarick* their king; returning triumphantly into France, hauing added to his Empire, the very greatest part of *Spaine*. Afterward the three Brethren together, wholly ouerthrew the estate of the *Bourguignons*. And loone after, the emperour *Iustinian*, making warre on the *Goths* of *Italy*, the *Goths* made recourse to *Theodebert*, king of *Mets*, and youngest Sonne to *Chlouis*, who defended them for a good space of time, giuing such prooffe to the Greekes, of vertue in the French, that *Iustinian* was constrained to compound with the french, as Historians (on his own side) do testifie.

In this first race, there was also *Chlothaire*, who by his victorious arms, wholly subdued Germany, and vanquished the vnconquerable Saxons. On a day, the two Armies being somewhat neere each to other, and the River *Wurgis* running betwene them, this *Chlothaire* being on horse-backe and well armed; espied *Bertoldus*, Duke of the Saxons, in like furnishment on the Riuer's other side. Alone & without attending for any other troops, suddenly he crossed over the Riuer, to encounter and fight with his enemy, who betaking himselfe to flight, he pursued after with all possible speed, and hauing ouertooke him, fought with him, and left him dead on the ground. So returning victorious backe againe, bearing his enemies head in his hand, he found his people much offended, because they had neglected to follow him. He left *Dagobert* his Sonne to be his Successor, a worthy heire both to his estate and valour, as also excelling in piety and deuotion, as many Churches richly founded and builded by him can well testifie.

Hauing finished the first race, wee come to the second, wherein let vs consider first of all, the cheefe man thereof, *Charles*

S. Greg. T. 1. lib. 3. cap. 1. Armanus lib. 2. cap. 3. c. 1.

The Emperour Iustinian was rector on the Gothes of Italy. Procopius lib. 2. c. 1. c. 1.

Chlothaire subdued all Germany and the Saxons.

Armanus in lib. 4. cap. 1. c. 1.

Dagobert, heire and successor to his Father Chlothaire.

Charles Martell, Prince of the French; whose name remaineth engrauen (perpetually) in memorie of all the people of *Europe*, for being their conseruator, in warranting them from the certaine yoke and seruitude of the Sarazins. It was then when the *Arabian* Sarazens (holding all *Affrica*) passed into *Spaine* with very final troops; where finding but slender resistance, the *Spaniards* and *Goths* bequeathing themselves, as ingulged in all pleasures and delights, and no way addicted to the exercise of Armes, became immediately Masters of all *Spaine*. This victory and conquest drew on thither Millions of Moores and Sarrazins, and in so great number, that *Spaine* being no longer able of comprehending them, they made account of passing further on, euen to run throw all *Europe*, and quite to exterminate Christian Religion.

Into France they entred with a most dreadfull Army, lacking and spoyling all that they met with, and passed on so farre as *Tours*, seeming, as if there were no force or power great enough, that could resist or stay the course of their conquests. All people and Christian Princes, were full of feare and terror, and (in a worde) *Europe* had vterly bene vndone: if this *Charles Martell* had not then bene present neere or before the City of *Tours*, making there a barre of his body and French forces. Hauing giuen them battell with few French as then were with him: hee ouercame and meerey hewed them in pieces, to the number of three hundred, threecore, and sixtene thousand Sarrazins. After this, being aduerted that there were yet other great troops, towards *Narbona* and *Auignon*; hee went thither to finde them, & in another daies good successe, wholly ouercame them; & left not a man liuing. So that it appeareth by iust records, that there were slaine in all, seven or eight hundred thousand: in regard whereof, the fir-name of *Martell* was giuen him. Thus did he dissipate this dangerous tempest, wherewith all Christendome was threatened, and ready to be confounded.

This also gaue good ease to the *Spaniards*, who were scattered in *Spaine*; fled & hidden in the *Asurian* mountaines. So that he might wel be named, & in good right, the Buckler, Hammer, (sharp sword) and

Rampier of Christendome. But for him, *Europe* had now bin the feare of *Cathays* and *Atramelines*. In stead of adoration giuen to the true God, the name of prophane *Asahemet*, and his execrable *Alcoran* (should haue bene here preached. The Saxons, who were Pagans then, and not capable, but to giue offence to a peaceable king, by their reuolts and wonted seditions; could they haue bin any hindrance The Germanes, diuided into many small Principalities, and gouerned (for the most part) by the kings of France, could they haue resisted? In Italy there were but the *Lombards*, who in the space of almost two hundred yeares, could not become Masters of all Italy, neyther conquer any more but a part, whoe their first king *Alboin* obtained at a clap, euen when they first entred. The rest was so miserably tormented, by the courtes and piracies of the *Sarrazins*: as the poore inhabitants knew not where to hide themselves. The Empire of *Constantinople* remained, hauing worke enough to do, to keepe herselfe within her owne small bounds and limits: being pursued by the *Arabes* and *Mahometanes* of the East. Question. Ife, the Christian name had bene extinct, had it not pleased God to serue himselfe with the victorious arme, and courage inuincible of this French Prince, to conferre his faithfull seruants to glorify his name.

This was the same Prince, of whom it was said; That hee affected rather to command Kings, then to bee a King himselfe; which was engrauen on his Toombe in these tearmes.

Non vult Regnare, sed Regibus imperare ipse.

Thus imitated by the *Virgil* of France.

This was Great Martel, Prince of the Frēch; Not King in name, but a Master of Kings.

Much more to be esteemed heerein, then he that saide, Hee affected rather to command them that had Gold, then to haue any himselfe. Because the passion and feruour which is borne to libor, and which searcheth itselfe willingly in the souls of the most generous, is much more quaint, tickling and violent, then is the desire and thirst after riches. The reputation and valour of that great *Martel* protector of Christen-

Armanus in lib. 4. cap. 1. c. 1.

Christendome) being such, the Church hauing no other prop nor succour, euery one fixing their eyes on him; Pope *Gregory* the third sent him the chaines of Saint *Peter*, and the keyes of the Sepulcher, committing himselfe and the whole *Romane Church* into his protection, to be warranted, not onely against inuasion of Sarrazens, but also against the continual courses of the Lombards, wherewith hee had bene afflicted beyond all extremitie.

Pepin, the son
of Charles
Martell.

Aymon, cousin
to *Ch. 4. p. 63*

Pepin, King of France, son to *Charles Martell*, wonne not a iot lesse glory by his haughty deeds of Armes. This was hee that danted the Aquitaniens, and them of *Bavaria*, ouercomming them in diuers battailes, and likewise the revolted Saxons. Soone after, being called for succor by Pope *Stephen*, to defend the *Romane Church* (vexed more then euer) and oppressed by *Attilpho*, King of the Lombards, he went with all diligence, & constrained *Attilpho* (who felt his power not equal to his) to flye, and shut himselfe vp in *Paulia* his Capitall City, where hee besieged him, and could not raise his siege vntill hee hadde made an aduantageable composition for the Pope, with whom he left many French souldiers for his further assurance. This composition being afterward broken by the perfidie of *Attilpho*, *Pepin* returned thither againe, and besieged him the second time; compelling him to surrender the Exarquate of *Ravenna*, and many other places, which he gaue vp to the *Romane Church*. And returning home into France, hee found there the Ambassadors of *Constantine*, Emperor of *Constantinople*, who bringing him many goodly presents, came onely to request his alliance.

The Licence
of the
Empire.

Charlemaign
or Charls
the Great, sonne
to King *Pepin*

But what can we speake of more admiration, then his sonne *Charles*, to whom (by good right, and for his high deserts) the whole *Vniuers*, by one consent, gaue the fir-name of *Great*? Hee attempted, maintained, conducted, and brought to end, ten or twelue feuerall warres, all of most great importance & difficulties in all kindes; as well in regard of the places, as for the great multitude and strength of the enemies, against whom hee was to deale. First, against the *Aquitaniens* and *Basques* or *Gascogons*, a meruailous strong people; yet after many overthrowes, hee

ranged them vnder his obedience.

Next, another warre against the Lombards, who hauing violated the Articles of peace, which had bene councounated with them by King *Pepin*, Father to this *Charles*; they infested and tormented the *Romane Church*, without the least breathing or respite. Which was the reason that this Prince, as pious and iust, as valiant, vnderooke (according to the ordinary vse of the French Kings) the defence of the holy See, ouercomming & ruinating the Lombards from the toppes to the bottomes. He also besieged *Didier* their king, tooke, and led him captive into France, where ended the kingdome of the Lombards in *Italy*; and whereby he augmented and enlarged his owne estate. Thus hee purchased rest to the Pope, and beside enriched the *Romane Church*, giuing it no meane part of his Conquests, and encreasing the patrimony of *S. Peter*.

Hee attempted warre also against the Sarrazins, passed into *Spain* to fight with them, where hee foyled them in many encounters, enforcing them to hide themselves in Towns, which hee besieged and wonne away from them, so that hee conquered a great part of *Spain*, chasing the Sarrazins thence, and continued warre alwayes ther afterward against them, which gaue no small ease vnto the Spaniards, who were mightily oppressed and ouerburdened before.

Then he made an expedition into *Italy*, against the revolted Lombards and *Italians*. Many the like into *Germany*, against the *Bavarians*, the *Danes*, *Bohemians*, *Sclauonians*, and *Fuinides*, all warlike people, and whom hee conquered. Also against the *Hunnies*, an vndaunted people, after they had gotten habitation in *Pannonia*; vnder the conduct of *Attila* their King; yet he vanquished them, and hewed them in peeces in many fougher battailes, plucking out of their throats the spoiles of Europe, which they had enioyed and triumphed ouer for so many yeares. And there hee found such wealth and abundance of riches, as the very simplest fouldiour in the Camp, was wonderfully rich for euer after.

Furthermore, hee had no meane meddling with the Saxons, against whom hee had warre for the space of three and thirty yeares: they being a people that could neuer

His warre
against the
Lombards, &
bringing their
King prisoner
into France.

His warre
against the Sa-
razins in
Spain.

His warre
against the
Saxons 103
yeares.

neuer liue nor abide in quiet, reuolting incessantly, especially when they knew this Prince to be farre off from them, & troubled in some other places. Hee added to his owne estate *Gascogny*, a great part of *spaine*, *Saxony*, and the *Pannoniaes*; restraining so powerfully the ordinary courses of the Sarrazins, as all Europe lyued quietly vnder his reigne. Beside, hee was so redoubted, loued, and admired altogether by forraigne Kings, that *Aaron*, Califfe of the East, who held (well-neere) all *Asia*, and was feared by all the greatest Kings; sought for his friendship, and sent him rare presents at diuers times, auouching him to be the most woorthy King in the whole world. And although this Califfe was rude and harsh vnto Christians, that dwelt in his countries; yet notwithstanding, he forbore to persecute them, in consideration of *Charlemaigne*, to whom he gaue the City of *Ierusalem*, by sending him the keyes thereof, as also them of the holy Sepulcher.

Aaron the
great Califfe
of the East.

He was loued
and feared by
the Emperors
of *Constanti-
nople*.

Eginhard in
an. lib. 4. cap. 9

The Emperours of *Constantinople* also did so esteeme, loue, and honor him, that oftentimes they sent him rich giftes by their Ambassadors, dreading nothing more, then to haue any contending in warre against him. In like manner, *Alphonfus* King of *Gallicia*, and of the *Asturians*, would call himselfe no other, but with this qualification towards Great *Charles*, His humble and faithfull Subiect, who by him; *Proprius sum* in Latine, as *Eginhard* hath recorded.

But what can be thought more admirable, or tearmed to bee a matter more rare, then in a Prince that was so stout a warrior, all other ciuill vertues and most humane, should haue an equall meeting together? Singular clemency did euermore accompany his victorious arme. The same *Eginhard* reporteth, that hee could not be enforced to choller, by any occasion whatsoeuer. Nay, he would neuer yeeld, that one of them which had attempted against his life and State, should be put to death, but onely was contented with their safe keeping. In his victory against the Lombards, hee did not onely pardon *Paulus Warnefridus*, Deacon of *Aquila*; but also kept him neere about his person, greatly honouring and gratifying him, for the esteeme of his erudition and knowledge.

This Lombard was vnwoorthy of so great grace, in conspiring afterward with other Rebels, and vling treason against his King and Benefactor. VVho neuertheless, after he had discovered the conspiracy, & surmoued all that the reuolts could do, againe he pardoned this *Paulus Warnefridus*, being no way willing, that he should be punished for his perfidie and rebellion. Onely he commanded his retirement, and banished him (for a while) to a certaine place. Afterward hee brake the bounds of his banishment, and fledde to *Ragaisus*, Duke of *Beneuento*, to excite him also to reuolt. An occasion, whereby the king was counselled, greediously to punish both the one and other for this double treason. Yet the good Prince would lend no eare thereto, but saued & pardoned both their liues: onely he charged *Paulus Warnefridus*, to write the History of the Lombards, the continuation of Europe, and some other works.

This was not only a light punishment, but honourable also to him that had the charge thereof: wherein, beside a most singular example of clemency, appeared an admirable affection vnto learning, for that onely respect, to loue and honor the man, who had so often falne into treason. Such was the loue & great account which he made of learning; and himselfe, albeit liuing in an age vngracious enough, & full of barbarisme, yet did hee speake Latine elegantly, and his mother tongue so readily, euen with naturall eloquence and admirable perswasion: hee vnderstoode Greeke also, but spake it hardly. Beside, he was well scene in all the Sciences, hauing *Alecinus* to bee his Schoole-master. All dinner while, hee caused one to discourse, or read ancient Historiies: wherein he tooke no meane pleasure, but moulded thereafter the forme of his owne life.

No lesse was he to bee commended for his iustice, careful for rendering it to his subiects with all sincerity: himselfe taking knowledge of such causes as concerned any difficulty, vndertaking the defence and protection of VVidowes, Orphanes, and other miserable people, to warrant them against all oppressions of the mighty. Hauing also established many good Lawes and Ordinances, for the rooting vp of vices, and furtherance of iustice.

Good nature
in a Prince
may be too
much abused
by Traitor.

A mercifull
iunction by
a wronged
Prince.

His Iustice &
vprightnesse
to his subiects

stice. In regard of his piety and singular deuotion, hee made sufficient apparance thereof, as remaineth witnessed to this day in strange Countreys, by his weakly foundation of Churches and Monasteries. He was ordinarily present at solemn prayers in the Church, and at all Canonically houres, euen in the night time. Great care had hee, that diuine seruice should be honourably celebrated, & the Churches well serued, despending great summes of money, to haue them fitted and furnished with all convenient rich Ornaments, and matters to them belonging.

Hee caused
five Councells
to be called
for the
good of the
Church.

Moreover, he was somewhat proud and curious, that the church should be beautified and shining, by the probity, integritie, and sanctitie, expressed in the liues of the Ministers, and Ecclesiasticall persons to them appertaining. Being alwayes herein so careful, and for establishment of the better order, that hee caused five Councelles to be called and holden, and collecting the Decrees of them, made the to be published & obserued: holding nothing in more great recommendation, then to see the Church honoured, and flourishing in all holines. He was liberrall vnto all men, especially to the poore, as well of his owne Kingdome, whom hee mercifully releued: as also in strange countreys, whereto hee sent rich Almes; alwayes coueting friendship with the Easterne Kinges, to aswage the persecutions of poore Christians.

Charlemaign
could neuer
be tempted
by a thought
of Ambition.

But aboue all the rest, one thing seemeth very strange, that Ambition could neuer gette footing in the soule of this Prince, although it had bene, and it, a frequent and ordinary disease, in the very greatest courages, and most generous spirits. For, although hee was crowned Emperor of the East at Rome, by Pope *Leo* the third, vpon the cries and acclamations of the Roman people, who both desired and elected him: yet let mee tell ye, it was so farre from any search or proceeding thereto in him, as hee knew nothing thereof, neither euer gaue his consent thereto. For *Leginhard* assureth, hauing heard himselfe to confirme it, that if hee had knowen the purpose of the Pope and people; he would not haue gone in to the Church on Christmasse day, in

Leginhard in
Antiq. p. 10.

the year VCCC. when that acclamation, election, and coronation was performed. It was a thing so much against his minde, and whereof hee made such slender reckoning. Hee dyed at the age of threescore and eleuen yeares, hauing reigned seuen and forty yeares. And, at his height of humane felicity, hee left his Sonne *Lewes* his successor, and heyre to his vertues, who for his exceeding great mildenesse and meekenesse, deserved the sur-name of *Pious*, or the *Debonnaire*.

In his young yeares, his Father made him King of *Aquitaine*, where he carried himselfe in such sort, governing so wisely and with such discretion, that such prudence and vertue was highly admyred, especially in those tender yeeres. Himselfe rendered iustice to his subiectes, attending thereon three dayes in euery weeke. Hee vsed great iudgement for well choosung men of worth and merite, to vndergoe places of important charge, as Officers and Magistrats. Hee eased the people so much as possibly hee could, in taking away harde Tributes and Subsidyes, and moderating others, euen in the mildest manner.

And yet notwithstanding, hee was a good Warrior, not onely in defending & safe keeping his owne Frontiers: but also proceeding very farre into Spain, to make warre vpon the inuading Sarazins, whom hee foyled in many battels, encounters, & besiedgings of Citties conquered by him, hauing maintained and enlarged the lads of his Father *Charlemaigne*, which hee had wonne in Spaine. So that by his Vertues, wife carriage and deportment, hee gaue a wonderfull contentment to his Father. Hee succeeded him in the kingdome of *France*, and in the Empire of the East. He continued warre against the Sarrazins in Spaine, & weakened them in such sort, that he gaue good means to the Spanish Christians, to defend themselves against them and to extend their territories farther off. *Marineus Siculus*, who wrote the historie of Spain, declareth the expeditions of this French Emperour, reporting moreover, that he imposed a tribute on the people, which were conquered and subiected by him in Spaine: where he was cald in the dayes of this Author *Romanus*.

He conferred in greates the Empire of

The death of
Charlemaigne

Charles the
Debonnaire
succeeded his
Father Char-
lemaigne.

Charles was
also a worthe
warrior, con-
quering the
Sarrazins in
Spaine.

Marineus Sic-
ulus lib. 9.

Romanus.

of the West towards Germany, and valiantly imbarred the courses of the Northerly people, from their manifold inuasions. And neuer could any defect or vice be noted in him: but that he was too good, too humane and debonnaire. His piety, zeale, and deuotion towards God and his Church was such, as neuer in any man was obserued greater. Forty dayes before his decease, hee tooke no other soode, but the blessed Communion onely, which hee receiued with wonderful humility, and extraordinary contrition: continuing alwayes in prayer, or causing to be sung in his presence and hearing the Ecclesiasticall offices.

The 5. race of
Kings in France
the first being
Hugh Capet,
of Saxony.

Come we now to the third race, the cheefe whereof was *Hugh Capet*, yssued from the house of *Saxony*; who happily reigned, and wisely governed his Kingdome, with much piety and iustice. His Sonne *Robert*, with like piety and integrity of life, loued Learning, and was so earnestly addicted thereto, that hee himselfe composed sundry Books: and among the rest, he wrote many goodly & pious Hymns, which were receiued, and are yet (at this present) sung in the Church. Of him it is thus credibly reported, & being (at a certain time) mockt by an ignorant Duke, because hee sung in the Church among Ecclesiasticall persons, hee made him this answer: *That he better affected to see a King learned, then an Assc Crowned*, making his allusion vnto the Duke, who wore his Dukall Crowne on that solemn day.

A worthy an-
swer of a iudi-
cious King.

His loue and
charity to the
poore, and ex-
tension of
Churches.

Hee was very pittifull, and a great Almoner on the poores behalfe; so that when hee tooke his owne repast, great troopes of poore people were admitted to be about him, whom hee would suffer freely to come neere him, and gaue vnto them that soode which was set there before him, & many other things that they stood in need of. Nor was hee a iorte lesse liberrall to Churches, in causing many to be builded, founded, and endowing them bountifullly, as also re-establishing and enriching others. There was no want in him likewise of all other royall vertues, maintaining and conseruing his estate very well, and making the people happy, that were vnder his obedience.

I am feigne to passe ouer others, to come to King *Lewes* the sixt, surnamed *Le*

Gras, a true imitator of his Auincestours vertues. He employed all his life time, to containe his people in peace and quietnesse, and (according to the dutie of a good King) to shield them from oppression of the greatest & most potent Earles and Barons of France, who stood then vpon very peremptory termes. Which made him to attempt diuers wayes against them vpon that occasion, and oftentimes expose his life to dangers, preferring the well-fare of his people, before all other considerations whatsoeuer, and so he well witnessed from time to time.

After hee had chafuled and raunged all such as had revolted, flying from him vpon the like occasions, and was become feared, respected, and obeyed of all the Rebels, as also beloued of all his subiects, the Emperor *Henry* the first, being departed from Germany with a mighty & dreadful Army, to ouer-run him and his country, he went to meet him nere to *Ribemont*, hauing but a handfull of men with him. But he so affrighted the Emperor *Henry*, and all the potent Army with him, that fearing the valour and inuincible arme of the French, whose courage will giue way to nothing whatsoeuer: he thought it farre better for him to quit the place, & get him gone, then to hazard his estate against so valiant a King, though hee vvas attended but with so small a troope. And so this Emperor made his retreat, at the very noyle of the Kings coming, whose name (indeed) was very dreadful.

This Prince also excelled in Piety and Religion, vertues proper to the Kinges of France: being the true props, supports, and Bulwarkes to the Church. For we reade, that in his time, Pope *Paschall* the second came into France for refuge, and to consult with the *Gallicane* church, concerning those differences which hee hadde with the Emperor. And afterwards, the Popes *Calixtus* the second, *Honorius* the second, and *Innocentius* the second, being tormented and expelled by the Emperors of Germany, and brought to great misery, yet succoured in that kingdome, their ordinary retreat and refuge. Hee entertained them honourably, assisting them with riches, respecting them worthily & royally. In the end, hauing succoured them to his utmost power, hee tooke pains to pacify those discords and contentions. Some-

K. Lewes the
sixt, surnamed
the Gracie or
Gras.

The Emperor
Henry the first
came with a
great army against
Lewes
the Gracie, &
reueled France
without striking
a blow.

Verones pro-
per to the
Kings of
France.

Successors in
Ludens Gracie.

Suzger. Abbot.
S. Denis for
Mori Ludens
Grifo.

Something more I may adde concerning his death, as it is set downe by *Suzgerus*, Abbot of Saint *Denis*, his principall friend, and an eye-witnesse thereof. Feeling the end of his life approaching, & the holy Eucharist being brought to him, he arose out of his bed to meete it, falling downe on his knees, and receiuing it with great deuotion. Hauing before taken order for al his affaires, and made both profession of his faith, and confession of his sinnes, in the hearing of all there present. Afterward, being taken forth of his bed againe, & laid vpon ahes disperfed abroad he gaue vp the ghost.

Lewes the
succeedeth
his Father
Lewes legros

His Sonne *Lewes* the feuenth, called, *The Touthfull*, was a true remeber of his Father, hauing ioyned piety and valiancy together. By the counsell of *S. Bernard*, he made a voyage into *Palestine* to helpe it with a puissant Army, against the inuasion of the Turkes. And hauing obtained many great victories against the enemies of the Christian Faith, he returned home to his Kingdome, pressed by the discomforts of Famine, where-with his Armie was very fore afflicted, thorough the disloyalty of the Emperour of *Constantinople*.

Philip Augustus
succeedeth
his Father
Lewes legros
14 years
age.

V Who can sufficiently admire the valor and good guidance of *Philip Augustus*, who (by good right) also carried the surname of *Conqueror*? At the age of fourteene yeares, he tooke into his hand the reines of the State, and in that tender age performed all exploits and actions, not onely of valiancy, but also of a great and perfect Captaine; watching & spending whole nights, to execute and accomplish his enterprizes. By which meanes, hee out-lept his enemies, tooke Towns and strong places, where himselfe would be scene in person at the scalado, yea, and at the assault at the breake of day, instead of adding himselfe to pleasures, whereto his youth might rather haue induced him. He fo vanquished his enemies, and chastised rebels in so tender yeares, as if hee had bin another *Alexander*.

The English
incited to
armes, against
Philip Augustus.

Afterwards, the English being prouoked against him, gaue the better and more worthy subiect to his victories: for he conquered and tooke from them all that they held in France, weakening them in diuers battailes, and famous encounters. Also this Conqueror, incited by the same pie-

ty of his Ancestors, made a voyage to the Holy Land; where he fought diuers times against the Turkes and Sarazins, and carried many triumphes from them. Being returned home to France, he wonne that great day of *Bouines*, neere vnto *Tournay*, which I will touch a little more largely in this place, it being fearfully known, though (indeed) it was most signale and famous. For this king fought in that battell, against the forces of the Emperour *Otho* the fift, the King of *England*, the Earles of *Flanders*, *Hennault*, and *Bologne*, all conured against his estate.

The great
day of Bouin
neere to
Tournay.

Those Earles being reuolted and leagued with the King of *England*, had likewise caused the emperor *Otho* the fift, to come into France, with a very great and puissant army of Germanes and Saxons. VVith them were ioyned the Forces of *Flanders*, *Hennault*, and other French subiects and vassals, associated with the Earl of *Bologne*. The King went on before with his Army, and met the enemy somewhat neere to *Tournay*, where he had Lodged him aloft in a place for his best aduantage, which the King hauing well perceiued, & that he was frustrate of all meanes for coming at them on that side, resolved to fetch a further course about, and to assaile them on the other side.

The manner
of the battell
proceeding
betweene the
Emperour and
confederates
against the
King of France.

Being withdrawne to effect this intent, the Emperour *Otho* taking it for a sight, did cause his army to march on with speed to ouertake the King, who was encamped in a village called *Bouines*. There he had intelligence how the enemy was come very neere, and the noyse of their armes gaue apparance, that they would fall in hande presently with them, and charge the rearguard: all which notwithstanding, before hee would doe any thing else, hee entred first into a Church, and there sayde his Prayers.

The King
about to
lead his
armie in
readines.

Afterward, being armed, hee mounted on horse-backe, giuing order for the Armes readinesse, riding thorough the ranks, for the better disposition of his people; yet nothing at all was done that day. On the morrow morning, hauing againe ranged his Army in battaile array, hee gaue his people a Kingly encouragement, by breely acquainting them with these circumstances: That they were to fight with one, who was an enemy vnto God and Men, come to lend a strong hand

The King of
France first
marcheth his
armie against
the enemy.

hand to Rebels, leading an army that had no other wages then sacriledges, spoiles of the Churches goods, and the blood & teares of the poore. Therefore they were to consider, that God had brought them thither, to punish their iust defenings, & had chosen the French for the instrument of his iustice. Hee further aduised his soldiers, that they should not labor to buckle the bodies one of another: but euery man to do for himselfe the best he could, without any eye or respect to his friend and companion.

Hauing animated them with such or the like speeches, hee caused his Army first to march on, assailling and sharply setting on that of the enemy. The French Chieualiers, after they had broken their Lances, came to handy blowes, fighting with all the heate and valour could be deuised: throwing themselves into the midst of the maine battell, piercing and passing through the thickest battalions, hewing in peeces, and overthrowing all that durst meete them. Great was the resistance, & wonderfull deeds of Armes performed on either side. The King was alwaies the most forward man, rushing into the greatest throngs, and where the fight was fiercest, to succour his people. Hee found himselfe enuironed with a huge battallion of enemies, where hee sharply layed about him on all sides, and cleared his passage still as hee rode on. But in the end, his horse being slaine between his legges fell downe vpon him; yet he was quickly remounted againe by a French knight, called *Sir Peter de Tristram*, who gaue him his owne horse.

The King's
horse slaine
vnder him, &
he remounted
by Sir Peter
de Tristram.

Now charged hee the enemy more fiercely then before, his strength & courage being redoubled at the indignation of his fall, nor ceased he with his French Lords, who neerely followed him, vntill he came to the very midst, where the Emperour *Otho* was, he being then very luely affayed.

The Emperour
incited to
turn his back.

Heere did he meet with many French Knights, who being on foot, some tooke hold on his bridle, others hung about the neck and maine of his horse to stay him, which compelled him to turne his backe. But the Count *Reignald de Bologne*, hee would not budge a foote from the field of battell, but continued there & his followers valiantly fighting, euen to all ex-

tremities, willing (by no means) to yeeld himselfe, till in the end, his horse beeing slaine vnder him, and hee fore wounded, his throate threatned to be cut by a Villaine, hee yeelded himselfe to *Lorde Guarin*, a Knight of Saint *Johns of Ierusalem*, and elected byshop of *Sens*, one of the principall Captains for the King, saying, *I had rather yeeld my selfe, and be iudged by the King and his Peeres, then to dye unworthily by the hand of a slaue.*

The noble
murder of
Count Reig-
nald of Bo-
logne.

So the field of battaile remained vnto the King, as also the victorie full & wholly, all the enemies being broken and scattered, a great part of them slaine, and very many taken prisoners, euen of the chieftest men. The King would permit none to pursue the Emperour, who fledde with the Count of *Brabant*, and many *Germanis* further off then two or three Leagues. Among the prisoners, was *Ferrand* Earle of *Hennault*, Nephew to the Queen, Countesse of *Flanders*, and Daughter vnto the King of *Portugall*. Shee being a medler with Magicall Sciences, would needes consult with her Diuiners, concerning the successe of this Battaile, and it was tolde her, *That the King should be layde on the ground, without any Sepulcher: And that Ferrand Earle of Hennault, her Cousin, should enter Paris in Triumph*. All which was true, but farre off from her interpretation.

The Coun-
tesse of Flan-
ders decour'd
by her Wis-
ards.

It is also faithfully reported, that the King, before the fight, in presence of all his Earles, Barons, and Lords (knowing full well that some were tottering and vncertaine, as beeing not thorowly affected to him) tooke the Crowne from off his head, and set it vpon an Altar, standing by him, saying in this manner. *If there bee any man heere amongst yee, that shinkes more capably and worthily of himselfe, then this day to fight for libertie, being in such danger, both to the Honour and Renouue of France: let him willingly leaue and forsake this Crowne, and that man (what soeuer bee) let him boldly put this Crowne vpon his head.* VVhereat all of them standing amazed, and being moued with admiration and enflamed affections, threw them selues before his feete, saying; That they were all his humble seruants, and that they would euery one of them dye with him that day, rather then be commanded by any other.

Most hono-
rable murder
the King, be-
fore hee went
to the fight.

The selfe same day of this great victory, *Monfieur Lewes de France*, eldest Son to the King; wonne another against the English, in the Countrey of *Amou*, at *La Roche du Mayne*, against the King, called *John without Land*. For this double victory, obtained both in one day, the King rendred thanks to God: and desiring that some marke might remayn for a Trophie thereof to all posterity, hee caused an Abbey to be builded neere to *Senlis*, which (in that respect) he named, *The Abbey of Victory*, and endowd it with great revenues.

I can hardly stay at *Lewes* the eight, Son to this King, and Succesor in his vertues, wherein he seconded him living, and partaked in many of his expeditions and enterprizes. But reigning so short a time after his Father; I must come to the King, called *S. Lewes*, whose piety, religion, and sanctity of life, hath sufficiently commended him to all men, & acknowledged him by quality, worthy the name of Saint. But that which is to be reckoned as a matter most rare is, that he excelled no lesse in all other vertues, both Military & Politique. He brought about many warres, wherein still he had a finger, and performed worthy exploits of Armes: beeing most valiant of his person, & a very wile Captaine.

Hee toyled and droue in disorder a great Army, wherein was the King of England, and the Counts *de la Marche*, and *de Lussignan*, at *Taillebourg*, on the River *Charante* in *Poitou*. Where having gotten before, with very fewe people, to winne a Bridge, long time he endured all the stratagems of the enemies Army, which was in number a hundred to one: yet hee performed so much by his valiancy, that his Army had leysure for their passage, whereby the enemies were defeated, a great number slaine, many taken prisoners, some say foure thousand, and the rest were disperfed and driuen to flight.

No where can be found more famous deeds of Armes, or any actions more generous, then his kingly expeditions against the *Turkes* and *Sarrazines*, where hee wonne the best in many foughten battailes, hazarding his owne person, and exposing himselfe to all dangers, even in the cheefest heate of fight, running where hee saw the enemy strongest, and his owne

followers in any distresse. So that wherefoeuer he went, hee made all to giue him way, none being able to withstand him; but gaue place to the greatnesse of his courage, and strength of his powerful arme. The Lord of *Joynville*, an eye-witnesse thereof, speaking of one day among others, vied these very words.

And bee you very certaine, that that day the King performed most high deedes of Armes, more then euer I saw in all the Battails whereto I haue bene present. And one side after the Battaille, that if it had not bene for his person, wee had all bene utterly lost and slaine that day. And surely, I can no otherwise imagine, but at the very instant, his vertue and strength was doubled on him by the grace of God. For hee feared not to vote to thrust himselfe into the dangers and perils of the battaille: and where hee saw his people in any distresse, there hee laide most about him to helpe them, deliuering so many blowes with his Sword and Battle-Axe, as none of the *Turkes* durst come neere him. The Lord of *Courtinay*, and *Messire John de Salony* reported to me, that they saw fixe Turkes (about him) preparing towards the King, and hadde forcibly laide hold on the bridle of his Horse, intending to leaue him away. But the vertuous Prince, seeing the danger wherein hee was, strove with all his might, and (in meere height of courage) laide such loading strokes upon the *Turkes* which ledde him, so that hee alone freed himselfe from them.

In another place the same Lord relateth, that the king vnderstanding how the Earl of *Amou* his Brother was engirt & hemd in with enemies, yea, and in such extremity, as hee had no meanes to get out from them; hee gallowed immediately to rescue him. And (saith he) without tarrying for any man, gave the Spurs to his horse, his Sword in his hand, & rushed mainly into the battaille, charging the *Turkes* and *Sarrazines* heavily, untill hee came to the place where his Brother was. But at his arrivall, God knows what paines hee tooke, and how many worthy deedes of Armes hee did: for it is most certaine, that where hee saw the greatest danger and prease, there hee bestowed himselfe without any feare. So that by his admirable proffesse, he brought his Brother out of danger, and droue the *Sarrazines* to flight, chasing them quite out of their owne Host or Army.

Another

Le Sieur de Joynville in the 29. Chapter of his Booke.

Six Turkes (about him) the King (about him) and yet hee freed himselfe from them all.

In the 29. chapter of his Booke.

A very manly resolution in fight.

Damieta won from the Infidels, and three great battails fought in Egypt.

In the 11. Chapter of his Booke. How the King rescued his Brother the Earl of Amou.

The King of France elected to be Soldan of Egypt.

In chap 31. of his Booke.

Another day, speaking how the King was ready to assaile the enemy, & exhorted his followers to all forwardnesse; His *Helmets* (saith he) was richly gilded, and in his hand he held a sword of Germanie, readily drawne. But let me tell you, that I neuer saw a more goodly man then hee was, for hee appeared above all the rest, by the height of his head and shoulder: and it is a thing hardly to be credited, how chearefully all the Soldiours were encouraged to the battaille, when they but looked on the King in that manner. So that many Knights, without attending for the King, mingled themselves amongst the *Turkes*, and there assailed them courageously. The King would alwayes be the foremost, and when he came neere to the *Turkes*, the battaille beganne so fiercely, as it was a matter marvellous to behold. And that verie day, there were far more woorthy actions of Armes performed, as well on the one side, as the other, as neuer had bene observed in all the voyages beyond the Seas. For no man drew a Dart, an Arrow, nor other Artillery: but all of them fought manfully, hand to hand, allpel-mell, one with another, onely by strokes of Swords and Battle Axes. Further hee addeth; That the King did more then merwayes in fighting, and would alwayes be in the verie strongest of the Battaille.

After the rout and flight of the *Turks*, at his descent and taking of *Damieta*, and after the three great battailes in Egypt, betwene the Channels of *Nilus*, where hee obtained full victory: if famine, and a certaine strange disease (extraordinarily contagious) had, not falne amongst his people: it had bene Doomesday vnto the *Turkes* and *Sarrazines*, and doubtles, they had bene quite exterminated, both out of Egypt, and the Holy Land. The Infidels so admired the vertue of this Prince, that although hee was contrary to them in Religion, and their very seuer persecutor, yet after the death of their Soldan, it was offered to him, and they would haue elected him to be their Lord. And they had done it, as beeing a matter already resolved on among themselves: but that some labored to alter this deliberation, by alledging him to be the fiercest, fiercest, and most determinate Christian that euer they did know. And they said among themselves; That if their *Mahames* had suffered them to doe so many mischiefes, as his God hadde let

him (being a King) to taste: they would neuer more haue adored or beleueed in him. And yet (neuertheless) some amongst them, onely by the example, and good Life of this holy King, received the Christian Faith.

Moreover, he ordained so well for the state and policy of his Kingdome: that his subiects (beeing before mightily oppressed) lived in perfect peace and quietnes. He vied great wisdom and prouidence in all his affaires, having thorby quenched and qualified many troubles and commotions in his kingdome: and by taking away the causes thereof, constrained the Duke of *Bretaigne* to acknowledge him, and tender such satisfaction as himselfe desired. With very much iudgement also he pacified the differences with the English, and induced the king of England to such friendlinesse, that he became his Liegeman by faith, and one of the Barons of France: so that hee left not any way to his successors, which caused them to enioy so long a peace.

About all other things, hee loured Iustice especially, and was verie carefull thereof in himselfe; correcting (by his owne example, and holy Ordinances) such Vices and Abuses as reigned among his Subiects. Hee was such a Lover of trueth, that (as the Lord of *Joynville* saith) He was neuer knowne to falsify his Word. For, it was reported vnto him, That the *Sarrazines*, in receyuing his Ransome, were discontented with tenne thousand pounds, hee caused more to bee giuen to them.

Neuer could any feare or misfortune disfigure him of reason; but evermore hee was thankfull to God in all his aduersities. When hee saw his army in danger, by no meanes in the world, or for safetie of his owne person, would hee part from it; but would alwayes abide by his people, and endure (with them) the latest hazards and euents of fortune. Neuer should hee make an end, I would recoune the deeds (well deserving immortality) of this good King. It shall suffice then to say, as the same Lord of *Joynville* reports of his time. The common people called him true Father, the Nobility, iust Prince, and preseruer of the Lawes of France, her King of Trueth, and the Church, her Tutor and defender from oppression.

A King carefull for his kingdome, as well in his absence, as presence.

None can commendations in logs; cat a perion, whose life was a precious example to all his people.

In chapter 19 of his Booke.

In chapter 16 of his Booke.

Philip the 3
succeeded his
father S. Le-
opold who de-
ceased in Afri-
ca at the ci-
ty of Thunis.

In the same Schoole was bred and no-
rished Philip the third, to whom the good
ly examples, and profitable instructions
of this good King his Father, served as
an absolute pattern and excellent institu-
tion, which he understood so well, and
made profit of in such sort, as, although
he got not so great a name, yet notwith-
standing, he was the most worthy heire
of his Fathers vertues. And albeit S. Le-
opold died at the siege of Thunis in Afri-
ca, making warre the second time against
the Infidels; yet this young Prince gave
so good assurance to the Armie, much
danted by the death of the King; that hee
bare away many famous victories from
his enemies, although they exceeded his
strength in huge multitudes. In the end,
he constrained the king of Thunis, to come
humbly, and entreat for peace: render-
ing himselfe, and his Vnckle Charles king
of Sicily tributaries to him.

Afterwards, returning home towards
France, he passed thorow Italy, where he
was entertained with such fauour and ap-
plauses by all the inhabitants, as the most
part came and entreated him, that hee
would take the command oner them, de-
siring (about all things else) to be gover-
ned by so good a King, so loving and re-
spectiue of his people. Being returned
into his owne kingdom, he maineyned
it in peace a long time; vntill being mol-
lest by the King of Arragon, and the
Count de Foix, hee undertooke Armes.
Heereupon he entred into Spaine, where
having made war very happily, by assault
he tooke many places reputed impregna-
ble, conquered a great part of the king-
dome of Arragon, ouerthrow the Arra-
gonians in diuers encounters, and slew their
King, so returning home ward with Tri-
umphall victory, he died at Pampun.

But one thing may not be omitted,
that this king most oftentimes did weare
sackcloth, and a shirt of haire, liuing so
holly, and vying such abstinence, that the
Authors of those times were enforced to
confesse, that he rather resembled a good
Religious man, then a King. Yet was hee
a great Prince, & knew well enough how
to gouerne his kingdom.

Charles the first, descended also to be set
in this ranke of choyse men, being furna-
med of his time, the Wise. Onely by his
councell and good aduice, without fust-

ring from his Chamber, he reconquered
what ouer his Predecessors had lost, by
the Armies of the English. His prou-
ident and well tempered wisdom, did di-
uers times rebate the keene edged sword
of valiant Edward the Prince of Wales,
and disappointed many of his forwaide
purposes; so that, notwithstanding his
high spirit, and well ordered Armies, he
gained very little from him, nor yet the
King of England his Father, but what
they wonne one day, they lost againe in
another.

Heere also I cannot omit Charles the
seuenth, who coming to the Crowne,
his kingdom (for the most part) was in
the power of the English: but yet recou-
ered it miraculously, as not onely he re-
gained what he had lost, but also (as some
say) all that the Englishmen did hold in
France, wishing them to rest contented
with their owne Island: And heere me-
thinkes it is very strange; what all Histori-
ans haue reported of those times, that this
king, being toyled & wearied by the long
warres of the English, to him much vn-
profitable, and lesse pleasing: should yet
be excited by a poore Maide, dwelling in
a village of Lorraine, named Joane d'Arc.
For the being brought before him, & be-
ieving of great resolution, made him man-
saire remonstrences, whereby to entice
and kindle his courage, for the recouerie
of his kingdom, and expulsion of his eni-
mies, which surely could not bee but by
miracle. And it cannot be denied but that
there was a Genius in this Maide, far sur-
passing the natural and ordinary condi-
tion of her sexe. And so much the more
strange, because she served as a Capitaine,
conducted the Armies, and fought verie
valiantly, when as occasion served.

Non hac sine numine diuina veniunt.

Consider we also Charles the eight, his
youngest son, who hauing past into Italy, to
reconquer that which the Arragonians v-
suered from his predecessours, filled all
the Citties and Townes of Italy (at his ar-
riual, with no meane terror of his armies,
none being found that durst make heade
against him. Every City submitted to
him, and set open their gates, in meeet af-
fection and respect, both to the vertue of
the French, and dread of their name; O-

Charles the
much mole-
sted by the
armies of the
English.

Otherwise
called Joane
the Puellier
France.

Charles the
son & suc-
cessor to Cha-
les 7.

The country
Croatia, be-
tweene Istria,
and Dalmatia

His intended
voyage against
Barreth the
second.

The Venet-
ian Duke
of Villaine, &
other Prince
leagued a-
gainst King
Charles, and
were voy-
led.

A very small
bill on the
Kings side a-
gainst his
Army.

thers for feare, not being able to contest
with them. So that in lesse then five mo-
neths, he made himselfe Master of all Ita-
ly, Geneway, Florence, Pisa, Sienna, and Li-
burna being all in his power. He recon-
quered the whole kingdom of Naples, and
expelled them of Arragon, who had vn-
iustly usurped there.

The Great Turke Bajazeth the second,
feared nothing more then to meddle with
him, & questionles, he would haue gon to
assault him in Constantinople, wherein hee
had shut vp himselfe in meeke teare, if vr-
gent occasions had not called him backe
to France, making full account to returne
thither againe afterward, to attempt that
great and honourable expedition against
the Turkes, whereunto hee was induced
and called on all sides, & for diuers good
considerations. At his coming back for
France, two maine impediments presen-
ted themselves to him, as well in regarde
of difficult waies and mountaines, where
(of necessity) hee was to passe his Artille-
ry: as for daunger of enemies in such pla-
ces, where they might worke vpon aduan-
tage many wayes; his army being also
much afflicted with famine.

Beside all this, a league was made against
him, by the Venetians, the Duke of Aul-
laine, and other Potentates, who had leuied
an army of 40000. men, to cut him off
quite: but yet hee surmounted all these
difficulties, and passed through the dan-
gers without any losse. The Arme of
40000. men was encamped on the Plaine
of Fornace, where it was most requisite for
the King to passe, they purposing to look
him vpe in this passage, to the end, that
they might consume his army, with Fa-
mine, necessity, and miserie, amongst the
Mountaines where he was. The king with
7000 able fighting men onely, affronted
this great army, gaue them battell, passed
ouer the bellies of all them that hindered
his way, and there was slaine about foure
thousand of them, the rest being driuen
to rout, or seized with feare, he sustaining
but very little losse, about thirtie French
slaine, and some threecore Varlets. So
not onely he renewed his army, which hee
led in safety with all his traine, baggage,
Artilletry, and carriages; but also fought
succesfully, and hadde the victory ouer
his enemies, which was a much more ho-
nourable Retreat, then that of tenne

thousand, so highly renowned by the
Greekes.

An example of rare vertue is recorded
of him. At the surprisall of a certaine
place in Italy, a young Maide (of most ex-
quisite beauty) flying from his Soldiours,
who would haue violated her honour:
came and threw her selfe at his feete, de-
siring him earnestly, to defend her from
the force and outrage of his soldiours. As
indeed he did; but yet himselfe fel into an
amorous affection toward her, & hauing
her priuate in his Chamber, with full in-
tent to accomplish his pleasure, the Maide
all drowned in tears, humbly desired him
on our knees, supplicating and adiuiring
him in the name of the blessed Virgin, the
vntoucht mother of the worlds Saviour,
whose picture she saw hanging by his bed
that hee would take pity on her, and not
compell her to that, for safety whereof she
had escaped from his ranshing Soldiours,
and put her selfe wholly into his handes.
The King became moued in such sort,
that being transported with loue and pas-
sion, and in the braue gallantry of his
youth, he made a Kingly conquest of him
selfe, and bedewed his cheeks with tears,
as being much ashamed at his immodest
offer, he would not touch her in any vn-
ciuill or vnchaste fashion, but gaue her
most honourable freedome, with a verie
liberal Dowrie to her marriage, setting
also at liberty both her Parents and Kin-
dred, that were then at that instant his
prisoners.

Surely, this was an acte verie strange
and almost miraculous, if we consider
him to bee a King, in the very vigour &
flower of his youth, victorious: yet
nearly touched with the loue of a May-
den, excelling, and no way inferior vn-
to any in Beautie, and hauing her whole-
lie in his priuate power. His great wise-
dome, singular iudgement, and infinite
goodnesse herein appeared; and being
a familiar Prince, hee would oftentimes
say to his Favourites; That hee had made
choyse of them, and loved them more then a-
ny other, because he was perswaded of their
honestie, and might safely trust them. On-
ly, he still feared one fault in them, that they
would suffer him to bee taxed with Auarice,
in being easily solicited, and tempted for
accepte: in regard of the creature they badde
with him; and his owne facility, in granting
what

A briefe hi-
story declar-
ing some-
times the
vertue in
this King.

Where vertue
and honor is
truly imated,
lust hath the
lesse power to
preuaile.

King Charles
his speeches
to his fauours

what they asked. But if afterwards, any such matter came to his knowledge, they vterly lost his fauour for euer: for he oft entreated them, to continue in the true profession of honour, the onely meanes to keep and preferue his good opinion of them.

A worthy and Royall munde in a King.

The same King also vsed to say, *I could wish, that my Court were a Mirror for all my other Subiectes, to maintaine and continue them in doing well.* The sweete smelling fauour of this renown, attracted the souls of strangers vnto his loue and liking. So that by very iust reason, the surname might bee accommodated to this good Prince, of *The louer and delight of Men*: as it was attributed vnto the Emperor *Titus*.

Lewes the 12. succeeded Charles in the kingdom of France.

His successor *Lewes* the twelfth, made himselfe likewise as famous, by his Conquests of Italy. In the beginning of his reigne, he attempted warre against *Lodouico Sforza*, who vlturped the Dukedome of *Milaine*, which belonged to him. In lesse space then a Moneth, he conquered all *Lombardie*, and expelled *Sforza*, who making a re-entry afterward, and causing the people to revolt: the King went thither in person; where, after hee had vanquished *Sforza* (whom hee sent prisoner into France) he reconquered *Milaine*, and receyued the most part of the Potentates Cities, and Common-weales of Italy, which ran (on heapes) to yeelde their obedience to him.

The successe of his wars in Italy, and the kingdom of Naples.

From thence he sent an Armie to the kingdom of *Naples*, which had revolted after the departure of King *Charles* the 8. Then *Fredericke*, King of *Arragon*, seeing he could not resist him, and being offended at the perfidie of the Spaniards, who he had called to his ayde, and who (neuertheless) would possesse themselves of all: he submitted himselfe into the hands of the King, who vsed him royally, and gratified him with the Dukedome of *Anjou*, beside thirty thousand Crownes of rent. Heere (me thinks) I should not endure the malignity of *Paulus Iouius*, who hath set downe, that the King gaue nothing to *Fredericke*, and that he dyed miserably in France. Afterward, war was alwaies continued at *Naples* against the Spaniards, where were performed many goodly exploits, famous combates of enemy to enemy, charges, skirmishes, encounters, af-

Paulus Iouius caused with vntreuch.

faults, and fallies: and where the French had many victories, & the issue of all had succeeded happily, if the enemy had not diuers times abused the King, vnder colour of treaties of peace, appointments, and arrefts. He beleeuing their plighted faith and slender assurances, was sometime the more slacke in succouring his people; so that their perfidious dealing, rayled a Million of enemies, leagued and conspired against this King, who found himselfe assayed on all sides. And yet notwithstanding, he went away with honour, hauing astonished and filled with terror, all them that were thus banded against him.

War continued against the Spaniards at Naples.

He made war vpon the Venetians, in regard of that which they had detained & vsurped, during those wars. He entered into their countries, and with a small troop, & in a place of no aduantage, in the *Giaradada* neere to *Agnadell*, he gaue battell to *Barbolmeu d'Aluana*, Generall for the Venetians, and wonne the victory: there being slaine aboue eight thousand of the enemy, many taken prisoners, & the very cheefest Commander himselfe.

The warre made against the Venetian.

Concerning that dayes seruice, two memorable sayings of his are recorded. The one was at his arriuall there, when it had bin told him, that the enemy had taken vp *Agnadell*, and he came too late to haue any lodging there, hee returned this reply, *I will lodge vpon their belly, or they shall lodge on mine*. The other, was at his being so neere the enemies Artillery, as it might very easily play vpon the place, he was aduised to walke wanderingly, for feare he should thereby be offended, hee made answer *Neuer was King of France smitten by a Cannons bullet: And he that is afraid (quoth hee) let him come and stand behinde me*.

Two memorable sayings of the King on the day of battell.

Vpon the successe of this victory, those places in *Lombardie*, which appertained to the Venetians, were seized and made vse of by this King: but afterwards, they were manfully recouered by the Confederates, with whom *Ferdinand*, King of *Castile*, was a partaker, quite contrary to the contractes (not long before) passed by him vnto the French King. But the Lordes of *Trimouille*, of *Chaumont*, *Tiroultes*, and other worthy French Capitaines, rescued them backe againe so powerfully, that they continued alwayes Warriors. In the end, was giuen the bat-

Places in Lombardie, belonging to the Venetian seized by the King.

taile of *Raucenna*, where the French vanquished a puissant Army of *Italians* and *Spaniards* ioyned together. And an entire victory had ensued on the taking of *Raucenna*; but that they lost their cheefe Capitaine *Gaston de Foix*, Duke of *Nemours*, & Nephew to the king, who was slaine by pursuing (ouer-earnestly) the enemies, broken and flying in confusion.

The great battell at Raucenna, whereot we shall haue occasion to speake more heereafter.

The excellency of this good king consisted not onely in greatnesse of courage and valiancy; but likewise in all other vertues. Aboue all, he was most highly commendable, for loue to his people, to who (notwithstanding all his other serious affaires) he was a Royall ease and comfort: so that this famous name was deservfully giuen him: *Father of his people, and a good King*.

France the first, succeeded Lewis the twelfth.

He had as his Successor, Great *Frances* the first, a Prince as valiant as euer the other had bin, and who in his very youth, and at the beginning of his reigne, ouercame the vnconquerable Nation of the *Switzers*, on the hot and dreadfull day at *Maringano*, an enterprize, which had neuer before, or at any time since, succeeded to any other King. A most remarkable thing in this battaille, was, that so young a Prince continued seuen & twenty houres in Armes, without receiuing any sustenance, and spent one whole night in the fildes of battaille, without lying downe or a nod of sleepe.

Of this battell also we will speake heereafter.

He contended with the Emperour Charles the 5.

This was the man that made head against the great Emperour *Charles* the 5. who neuer met with a keener enemy, nor that more disappointed his designs, or euer way more hundred him. And yet notwithstanding, it is hardly to be credited, with what honor, magnificence publicly, and courtesie in particular, hee entertained in his kingdom this Emperour, his principall aduersary. And although he with-held some of his estate vnusually, yet would hee not demand any reason for it, when he might well haue done it, hauing him in his owne power: but kept inuolubly the faith he had giuen him; and moreover, gaue him all the contentment he could desire.

An admirable disposition in a king.

To speake no more then truth, hee was naturally generous & Royall, which evidently declared, that hee had no other ambition, then to excell all other men in vertue and well doing. He shall (for e-

uer) liue commended to posterity, for the loue which he bore to Learning, and to learned men: whom hee fought for euerly where, entertained, honoured, and gratified in all kinds. By which means, he filled France with learning and erudition in all Sciences: but especially the Vniuersity of *Paris*, which neuer was so flourishing, as in his reigne. So that (by good right) he was fir-named, *The Father of Learning*.

King Frances an enter lover of learning.

Wee may confesse as much of his Sonne *Henry* the second, a Prince truly generous and valiant: who continued warre against the Emperour *Charles* the 5. hauing sustained all his efforts, and stood continually opposite to his greatest enterprizes. But not long after, *Charles* the fifth drew himselfe into a Monastery, fearing (as some supposed) the vertue and fortune of this young Prince, leaving the reignes of his Germane Empire, to *Ferdinand of Austria*, being his brother, and the kingdom of *Spain* to *Philip* the second: who soone after made warre vpon the Pope, *Paul* the fourth, and then this King sent succour to his Holinesse, defended him, & reconquered the places which the King of *Spain* had taken from him. And in the end, by his entremise, the Pope and the King of *Spain* were accorded & reconciled.

Henry the second, Sonne & Successor to King Frances.

Charles the fifth, Emperour entred into a Monastery.

Occasion now carrieth me, to speake of Great *Henry* the fourth, miracle of the world: who gaue place (in nothing) to the vertue of his Predecessours, nor to the glory of all the greatest Princes and Monarches that euer were, if he did not surpass them. But my Pen is too feeble, to take to high a flight, it is a subiect ouerworthy, which ought to be reserved for the choysiest spirits of this age, or of posterity, if any man conceiue themselves capable to undertake it. For there hath bin some, the very best and skillfullest writers, who being thereto zealously affected, began to attempt the labour: but were constrained to giue ouer and leaue it, beeing overcome with the immense greatnesse of so many high and admirable actions, acknowledging and confessing, that they could not set downe any thing, to equal or come neere so famous merit.

King Henry the fourth, Father to the king now reigning.

What had can worthily describe so many wonne battailles, so many Cities and Townes taken (without losing any one)

He was reputed to be one of the worthiest Soldiers in all the world.

He saved France from an expected and hoped for ruin.

Two ancient
worthy say-
ings.

Plato in lib. 2.
De Legib.

Not cruelly
obtruded in
him towards
his greatest
enemies.

one) for many fights and diuersity of encounters? Who can figure him, shining in his glittering Armes, in the fiercest and hottest brunts of so many sharpe onsets, combates, ranged batailles, affautes, sieges, and surprisals, making himselfe way wheresoever he went? A true Commander and Capitaine, for counsell and conduct; a most valiant Souldiour, to giue example for effect and execution. Finding all France troubled, the people moued and diuided in parts, by the deuices and factions of strangers, all *Europe* (to speake truly) banded & coniu'd against him, in very deplorable affayres; he yet gotte the vpper hand of all, dissipated all storms and tempests, saued and preserued France fro that ruine, which euery one supposed certaine. All the enterprises of his enemies, serued but as matter for his Troopes. Look how many enemies, see so many Triumphs, and as many Laurels in his Helmet, to make his vertue the more illustrious, and fill the soules of his owne people and strangers, with terror, amazement, and admiration, such as cannot be sufficiently spoken off.

He guided all his intentions with such wisdom, and executed them with so high a courage, that they could have no other issue but happiness: and it plainly appeared, that his vertued Fortune by the hand: making truly knowne the ancient saying; *That the wiseman disposeth of Fortune, and on the contrary; It is slender purpose, to impute that to accident, which proves to be a mans owne error.* Neuer did any Prince finde an estate so confuted and hurried; and neuer could any reduce it to more peaceable calmines, thē he did meere by his vertue, he not only damed his enemies, but (of enemies) they became his principal friends: *A fouraign degree, & the sole perfections of a great Statesman, according to Plato.* His valiancy, height of courage, and address to adions of Armes were such, as admitted no comparison therewith: matchlesse clemency euen towards such as were his most determinate enemies. No acte of cruelty, neyther of reuenge in the very fiercest fury of warre: neuer was his sword scene vnflaunted, but in the hot extremity of fights. His singular prudence, appeared not onely in the managing of war, and when leue was therin very seriously employed; but

also in affaires of peace, whē he gaue him selfe wholly for the good and quiet of his people, shewing at all times, and in all places, that he was an admirable, good and wife king, exquisitely enabled with all perfections. Qualities in such sort incompatible by nature, as since the beginning of the world; they could hardly meet in any one man: in regard whereof, it hath bene sometime said & desired, that two should be taken to make one of,

In breefe, all things were so great and gracefull in him, as scarcely could any one spirit comprehend them: so that (to speak truly) the best that men could do, was to sit downe, and admire them with silence. This was the man, whom not only France acknowledged, & adored as her Conseruator: but likewise on whom the whole world cast an eye, as the true Arbitrator, Author, and Moderator of her quiermes. His right to the crown yielded him to be the cheefest king: but his owne vertues made him confessed, to be the most worthy among all other Princes.

In that then which is said to be the dignity of the French kings, for their rare vertues and great merits; no other people are thought to equal or come neere the. There are certaine vertues, which are termed heroycall or diuine, because they surpass that which is common in men, or of humane vnderstanding, euen as an excessse and hyperbole of vertue. So in *Hommer*, Priamus being desirous to commend the vertue of his Son *Heiſtor* said, *He seemed to be issued not of a mortall man, but rather of some God*. In like manner the *Lacedæmonians*, when they admired any rare or excellent vertue in any one, they would say, *That he was a diuine man*. Such great personages haue bene noted among our Ancients, whose vertues were so extraordinary: that their extraction was attributed to the Gods, as *Alexander* the great, and *Scipio Affricanus*: and the very Iane heroycall vertues haue bene carraied in the soules of French Kings, euen as being proper and particular to them.

It is a matter as common, as naturall, for a man to take Armes in his owne defence, or for his owne priuate profite, and to reuenge his vniust wrongs and iniuries. But a man to arme himselfe for another that is offended, to reuenge his cause in zeale of Iustice, without

Henry the fourth accounted to be the man of men.

Concerning
vertues di-
uine and he-
roycall.

Homer in Ill.
ed. Lib. 9.

That which
Nature al-
loweth, hardly
admitteth any
other excep-
tion.

¹ Sprabo in lib. 4.

The Justice of
the kings of
France.

Agathias Græc.
in lib. 1.

Justice & Honour are two good Pillars

1892

The first be-
ginning of
Parliaments
in France.

any other hope, and to re-establish him where he had bin formerly expelled; questionleſſe is a character of vertue truly heroicall, and sweetly favouring of the divinity; which evermore hath bene naturall to the French. *Strabo ſaith; That they would willingly grow into choller, and undertake Armes; for ſuch as they ſaw to be unjuſtly wronged, and manifeſt ſhames done unto them.*

The Kings of France haue bene accounted admirable for Iustice, and by an extraordinary affection in them thereto they haue taken care and paines, to exercise and render it in their owne persons, declaring themselves alwayes equitable Iudges, not onely betweene particulars, but also in their owne proper causes, whē in a doubtfull case, they haue layde the iudgement on themselves, rather then to injury any other. The Kings of Francee erred did so, as well when they rendered Iustice in their owne person, as by their Soueraigne Courts, and commendation of very ancient Iustice.

This report and praise of their Iustice is very ancient; for *Aeschines* the Greeke Historian admireth them herein, and seemed to fay with great judgment, or rather by a Prophetical spirit: *That living so, & carrying themselves in the like behaviour to their actions; here as not able to connecture otherwise, but that their Estate would be always stable invincible, & impregnable from enemies; being sustained with so sound bases and foundations, as Iustice and the desire of Honour are.* Among them most recent, *haldus*, a famous Italian Doctor, about the yeare MCCCXL. maketh especially reckoning of the Kings of France: which (for most certaine) long time they deliverted in their own person.

But the multitude of affairs encreasing, and they unable to be absent from rendering Justice to particular persons, except the State should receive some enlargement, disputes either by the war, or other important charges of the kingdom; they were faine to establish Parliaments to that effect, and therefore appointed ordinary and sedentary Officers. Before that time, the Estates made their meeting but four times every year, retained in the ancient *Annals; Commentus Generales*; wherein assisted the principal Lords of France, and Officers of the

Crowne, as well to discerne and aduise, in what was to be done for the generall Estate, as to decide the greatest and most notable differences, happening between the particulars.

Having then decreed and resolved on
their ordinary Parliament at Paris, there
was the appointed place for rendering ju-
dicial Justice: so that the arrests and
indemnities there concluded were as if
they had been pronounced by the Kings
own mouth, and thereupon inferred &
enrolled in his Name. They were like-
wise verified and published, as also Regis-
tered by Letters of special provision, in
the Offices and Dignities of the Crown,
with solemn & public reception of the
greater part.

It would notouched, (that oftentimes) Lords and Princes, being strangers, submitted their differences to the iudgment of that Court; in regard of the great opinion they held of their Justice. The Emperor *Frederick* the second, referred himselfe vnto the Parliament of the King of France; in the debate and cōtention betweene him, & Pope *Innocent* the fourth, concerning the kingdome of *Naples*. In the year *MCCCLIII*. The Barles of *Nemours*, in the year *MCCCLII*. disputed there the cause of his Barldome, against *Charles de Palois*, Brother to *Philip le Bel*, and won the day. Likewise the Prince of *Taranne*, in the year *MCCCLXX*. gained there a suite against the Duke of *Bourgonne*, concerning the charges & expences layde out, for the conquest and recovery of *Constantinople*.

In the year MCCCXIII. the Duke of *Lorraine*, and *Guy de Chastillon* debared there their parages. In like manner the *Dauphine*, and the Count of *Savoie*, having proccelle together, entered for their Judges the Court of Parliament, in the year MCCCXC. The kings of Spain made such account of Iustice in the kings of France, and integrity of theyr Parliament, that they sent their siddes to be considered there. The kings of *Castile* and *Portugall*, having made peace together in the year MCCCCIII. sent theyr difference to the Parliament, to be there verified, for the more solid and found assistance: and there it was fully confirmed at their request, and published at the open cloores.

The place for
Parliament
appointed at
Paris.

Differences
of Prices
being stran-
gers, decide
by the Parli-
ament of Pr
is, and wor-
thily ended
their contem-
ments.

The Kings of
Spain este-
med the lu-
stice of the
Kings & Pa-
rliament of
France.

We

The familiarity and man-
ner of the Kings of
France in tal-
king with
their subjects
plaine and
openly.

We may also account among the fa-
vours and prerogatives of the Kings of
France, as an especiall marke of their
greatnesse and Maiesty: one thing which
is found in few of the Kings & Monarchs
of other Nations. Which is, that they
themselves doe ordinarily conferre with
their subjects, suffering themselves to be
seene daily, not onely in publick, but also
in particular, vsing privacy, granting easie
access to any one: and yet notwithstanding
they are not a iote the lesse reuerenced,
obeyed, honoured, and respected, nay,
rather much more then some other kings,
who by artificiall trickes and mysteries,
seek to haue themselves honoured of
their people. Neyther doth this facility
in communication, and friendly familiar-
ity, beget any contempt towards them,
or diminish the least part of their Maie-
sty: but rather maketh an addition there-
to, causing them to bee the more esteem-
ed, in venerable and most happy man-
ner.

The subie-
like affection
of the French
to their kings
and Princes.

This is that which attracteth, & (most
of all) winneth the hearts of the French,
rendering themselves wholly affectionate,
yea, vowed and deuote to their Prince;
whom they loue, feare, and honour alto-
gether, euen with an entire and cordiall
affection, and nor by any force or con-
straint. A matter truly as admirable, as
rare, and which the Lord *Suriano* an ho-
nourable *Venetian*, and other strangers
hauiing well obserued, stand not a little a-
mazed thereat, it appearing (naturally) al-
most impossible & incompatible. Where-
in it is no easie matter to say, which is the
greatest honour and aduantage, eyther to
such kings, or to their subjects: but bee it
howsoeuer, it is a great happinesse both
to the one and other.

In this Delle
casti della
grandezza del-
la vita.

Most part of the kings in this world,
at all times haue fought many exteriour
meanes, by different habites, extraordinary
fashions, crafts, secrets, and diuersity of
inventions, to maintaine their Maiesty, to
make themselves feared and respected by
their subjects, and yet notwithstanding,
could not compasse it. The ancient *De-
iotes*, being elected king by the *Medes*, for
a particular man as hee was before, chan-
ged into all manner of behauiour. Hec
would build a great magnificent Castle,
enuioured with many walles, the very
sight wherof procured amazement. There

Of the De-
iotes elected
Kings of the
Medes.

would he shut vpe himselfe, cloathed in
garments of no vidual wearing, neuer
shewing himselfe to the people, but very
seldome and rarely: deliuering Iustice by
written papers, & by interposed persons,
and likewise all his answers, expeditions,
and affayres, euen as if they came from an
Oracle.

The kings of the Persians did vially
weare a *Tiaras* on their heads, a Diadem
or royall Head-band, all glistering with
Pearles and precious stones, causing the
selves to bee adored by such as shall see
them. And now adayes, most part of the
Kings and Lords in diuers countreyes, ob-
serue the very same order. The great
Duke of *Moscovia* will neuer be seene, but
cloathed with a rich Sacerdottall habite,
vnder a precious Paullian, accompanied
with a small choyse number of his Do-
mestiques, so sumptuously apparelled, as
one would say, they were an assembly of
Gods. The great king of the *Abyssinians*, or
Aethiopi, is neuer seene at all, he speak-
eth to Ambassadors, with a Curtaine
drawne betweene them, no other sight
haue they of him. But when he pleaseth
to shew himselfe, hee weares a Crowne
richly fashioned, exalted or rayed very
curiously, a garment all of beaten gold,
thickly beautified with precious stones;
hauiing his face couered with a veyle of
Taffata, for feare lest any should see his
face. It is also a rare, and no accustomed
fauour, when he lifts the Taffata neuer so
little, that any part of his visage may bee
seene.

The king of *China* neuer cometh a-
broad, but keeps himselfe continually en-
closed in a Pallace, round engirt with very
strong fortifications, and causeth his very
Pictures to be adored. The great Seig-
neur of the *Turkes* is neuer seene, but in a
habite wholly different from any other,
both for the fashion, as also the vnspaka-
ble riches on him: he dazeleth the eyes of
all such as looke on him, in regard of the
glorious stones shining on his head, and
causeth himselfe to bee serued with such
Maiesty, respect, & ceremonies, as is most
wonderfull. The king of *Monomatapa*,
is not serued but by men on their knees.
There are other, who cause themselves to
be serued with strange fashions, and very
seruile submissions: shewing themselves
seldome or neuer, and speake not a word,

The Kings
among the
Persians.

The great
Duke of Mos-
couia.

The king of
the Abyssin
and Ethiopi-
ans.

The king of
China.

The great
Seigneur of
the *Turke*.

The King of
Monomatapa.

The kings of
France iustice
to their
subjects.

but it is accounted as an especiall fauour.
But the Kings of France haue no med-
ling with these apparences, and exquisite
cunning, whereby to support their great-
nesse, authority, and Royall dignity: be-
cause they differ in nothing (for the most
part) neyther in habites, food and fashi-
ons, from their subjects, maintaining the
selves without any subilty. And the
more they are seene, the more are they
honoured, and not only honoured, but al-
so loued of the French: as being borne to
reigne, carrying Maiesty in their Fronts
naturally, which maketh them venerable;
rauiseth the people with obedience to
them, and crowneth them with continuall
respect. And although it is no matter
rare or difficult for the French, to see their
King, because it is so ordinary and com-
mon to them: yet as learned *Athenus* hath
discreetly obserued, the people runne on
heapes, when they heare that the King
passeth to any place, reputing it as a hap-
pinesse, to haue so fauourable a sight of
him.

Bodinus lib. 1.
cap. 7.

The kingdom
France hath
continued
1200. yeares.

Natural born
Princes, origi-
naries and
successive.

Cousins Ital.
lib. 4. Impre-
st.

To this great and immensd loue of
the French towards their naturall Prince,
may well be attributed the long continu-
ance of that Monarchy, one of her other
excellences, that hath subsisted twelue hun-
dred yeares, which few kingdomes else
can say beside. And that which is most
admirable of all, is, that the kings haue bin
of the same race and extraction, without
any change but twice, & yet in changing,
still it came to proximity and kindred, as
we haue already declared. One thing al-
so maketh it commendable, that it neuer
bare command of a strange Prince, nor
so much as desired it; but always hath bin
gouerned by her naturall Princes; origi-
naries, and of the most noble blood, nor
onely in Europe, but in all the rest of the
world.

Learned *Onuphrinus*, a famous Italian,
obserued it as a matter worth maruaile,
saying, that in no other Estate, can be ob-
serued the like felicity. I will see downe
his owne words. *Admirum illud obseruan-
dum est, quod cum nulla gens nunquam fuit,
qua aut externos Principes non admisit,
aut assumptos interdum non expulserit, fape
etiam per summum scelus non occiderit, solis
Francis peculiare. hoc est, ac proprium, nullis
nunquam exteris Reges pati, suos autem us-
que adeo amare, & colere, ut pro eorum dig-*

nitate & Maiestate tanta non opes tantum
sed vitam profundere soleant. Hinc censisse
credendum est, ut per mille & ducentorum
sepe annorum intervalum non misceat tribus
familias Reges orti sint. Wee must account
(saith he) that this is meruallous, albeit there
hardly hath bin any other Nation, but hath
receiued strange Kings, and after receipte of
them, hath expelled them againe, yea, many
times massacred them, through some extreme
mischiefe. Yet notwithstanding, it is proper
and particular to the French, to haue endu-
red no Kings strangers, and therefore haue
so loued and reuerenced their Princes, that
they not onely employed all their goods and
meanes, but likewise laide downe their liues,
for the defence of their Dignity and Maiesty.
And this may be thought to be the cause, that
for the space of about twelue hundred yeares,
there hath bene but three families, from
whence haue proceeded all their Kings.

CHAP. III.

A Funerall Oration, written upon, the most
vnnaturall and vntimely death of Great
Henry the fourth, Father to the King now
reigning.

HE *Egyptians*, hauiing suffi-
ciently tasted the fauours of
Harpocrates theyr God; did
consecrate the Peach-Tree
vnto him, in thankfull retri-
bution of his infinite benefits: The leaues
of this Tree are shaped like to tongues;
and the fruite doth carry a resemblance of

The God of
Silence,
Plin. lib. 9. c. 7.



hearts:

The greatest
loffe that euer
France sustain-
ed.

The strange
escape of Te-
lemachus pre-
served from
drowning by
a Dolphin.

A familiar
allusion to the
virtue of
Royall Henry.

Herod in
Teph. 16.

hearts: whereby they would seeme to say, that their hearts should thence-forward serve that *Harpocrates*, and their tongues be continually busied in celebrating his prayes. O France! wilt thou bee lesse thankfull then those people? So many choise benefits received fro the cheefest of thy Monarchs, can they well escape thy memory, or glide into the depth of bottomlesse oblivion? No, no, wee will not onely consecrate the Peach-tree vnto him, but our hearts and tongues ioynly together, because this is the best offering, remaining in our power to giue him.

Telemachus, the youngest Son of *Phyer*, sporting himselfe (on a day) child-like vpon the Sea-shore, by accident fell into the water: but a Dolphin happily came, who receiuing him vpon his backe, did set him safe and dry vpon the land againe. The Father, not knowing how to expresse his gratitude to the Fish, that quickly was carried farre off from him by the nimble waues; to auoyd the foule blemish of vnthankfulnesse, caused all his Gates to be painted with Dolphins, engraued them vpon his Sword, yea, hee honoured his Seale with a Dolphins Image.

Henry, great *Henry*, a most Christian, Potent, and Royall King, succourd France in a Sea of seditions & dreadfull tumults, and like a gracious Dolphin, receiued her on his shoulders, and fet her vp in safety, euen on the shore of a most happy peace, whereof as yet shee enioyeth the benefit. His name shall not onely bee written on our Gates and Walles, but his greatnes, his victories, his mildnesse and paternall bounties, shall bee engrauen on an euer-during Piramide of thankfull acknowledgement, neuer to depart out of our memories. Our eyes, hitherto busied in teares, granting no liberty to our sighing hearts, to let our mouthes memorize his Trophies, & tell the world his countes Tiumphs, we do now begin to open the, and now wee would breake the doores of some sad Funerall discourse, in remembrance of his great Maiesty, and excelling virtues.

If *Calisthenes* durst make refusal to *Alexander*, who commanded him to commend the *Macedonians*, alledging for his excuse, that their virtues were so well knowne, and their merits so great, as hee should not gaine the least honour or re-

putation (whatsoever) thereby. How dare I then appeare in publike, and in this common habite of mourning, to commend the eldest Sonne of the Church, the Father and Patrone of Soldiours; especially in these dull times, when that diuine fire of Eloquence, sometime stolne from the Gods by * *Tantalus*, seemes to haue taken her returne to heauen, from whence she came at the first.

There are now no *Ciceroes*, not a *Demosthenes* to be found, no, nor an *Hortensius*. And albeit they were all aliue againe, to ioyne their best abilities together in well speaking; yet could they not speake in such fort of that famous Prince, but their elegancy would fall farre short, and infinite goodly things would nere come neere them, which are no more then due to his happy memory. If then I speake, it is but by appointment, and as feeling a certaine combat within me, between bashfulnesse and nature. Bashfulnesse taxing me with shame, to be silent when the whol world cries and complaines; ashamed also, that I cannot ioyne my sighes & teares to yours. Nature likewise tells me, that by an indissoluable obligation, I ought to render this duty and seruice, to the eternall memory of my King, my Lord & my Prince. This then may serue for my discharge. The * *Epizephyrian* *Laureles*, in former times, not hauing the commodity to performe any solemne sacrifice to *Hercules*, according to their vow (because there were not any Oxen, Sheepe, or other Beasts for oblation left in their City, through the length of a greuous penitence, which had consumed them all) when their Elders aduised them to take Cucumbers, Mellons, and some other kindes of fruites, fitting them with short stickes in forme of feece, and then calling them Oxen, Sheepe, and such like Beasts, they threw them into the fire, & so made their sacrifices. Among their neighbours, there was not any but commended their inuention, and gaue cheerefull applause vnto this acte of theirs.

If I haue not wherewith (worthily) to answer the admirable vertues of that Monarch; let me accuse my necessity, and giue you what I can, which (I hope) will be acceptable to you. Or else (if you better affect it) I will imitate those *Sauages* of *Florida*, who reputed the Sunne to be their

* *Some to Jupiter and Pluto.*
No eloquent sufficiency to expresse his high deuiung.

An oblation on view among the *Sauages* people of *Florida*.

* People of great Greece, so called of the Promontory *Zeephyri* about which they dwell.

Caesars fune-
rall Oration
for his daughter
Julia.

1 Reg. 1. 19. 11

1 Reg. 1. 1. 1.

What ought
the nature of
Monuments
to be.

Blacke, best
bestiteth Fu-
nerall pompe

their God, and seeing him so highly exalted ouer their heads, as it is impossible for them to come neere him: in looking on him, they hold vp their hands at him, which bringing backe to their mouths, they kis, deliuering testimony (by this meanes) of the reuerence, honour, and respect they beare vnto him. If I cannot touch (dazzled with the beams) the Sun of so bright a Maiesty, or my tongue shall this day seeme dumbe, in the infinity of his glory: I will yet essay by signes, and shew some-what that way, when other helps faile me.

Concerning the rest, my aime hath no other end, then that of *Cesar*, in the Funerall Oration he made for his Daughter *Julia*: *Ut aditantes admonerentur quanta iactura ex illa morte facta esset*: That the bystanders might bee admonished, how great a losse ensued by her death. For what losse can be greater the ours? A losse which neuer had his like, a losse springing out of our iniquities, which made vs altogether vnworthy to enioy so great, so happy and so dreaded a Prince.

O desiderabilis terra Israel in excellētis tuis vulneratus est. *Quomodo ceciderunt patres tui? Quomodo abiectus est Clypeus fortium?* Thus did *Dauid* bemoane the death of *Saul*, King of *Israel*. Thus was a King extolled by a King, being filled with the spirit of Prophecie. Thus did the annoiored of God streame forth his teares, in A Funerall Oration for A Prince, slaine vpon the mountaines of *Gilboa*, which he wished might (for euer) continue barren like *Rocks*, listen the effect of his diuine maledictions, *Nec ros, nec pluuia descendat super eam, quia proiectus est Clypeus fortium*. Let neither dew nor raine descend vpon yee, because there the shield of the mighty is cast downe. Behold, how he would haue some sad and lamentable monument to remain there, answerable to an acte so sad & dismal. Monuments ought to agree in resemblance with the things which they signify. What thing could be more horrible then the murder of an *Israelite* Prince? The Monument then ought to bee euery way as yrelesome and horrible.

In Funerall pompes, we vse to goe in blacke garments. Dewes doe make the Mountaines verdant, and raine drunk vp by the Vallies, enammels the with a thousand flowers, and giues them such a garment of greene, as is both faire to see, and

marquillous pleasing. Therefore *Dauid* would haue nothing to grow vpon *Gilboa*, but thornes and brambles, that so (among made *Rocks*) nothing might appeare but rough thorny passages: to the ende, that such places might bee condemned, as of deeds of horror and darknesse; so likewise to sterility, and wooll perpetuall desolation. But are not dewes the gift of God? Dost not raine come from the hand of him that is almighty? The, not to receiue these, is a dreadfull malediction. It should seeme then, that *Dauid* inuoked the wrath of heauen vpon that *Gilboa*, the land being subiect to many curses, for the finnes that were there committed. Let neither dew nor raine descend vpon yee, because the shield of the mighty is there cast downe.

Alasse, what greater Shield of strength, more generous and mighty, then Great *Henry* the fourth? *Henry*, the Rampier of his people, the Shield of his Souldiers, & the Buckler that defended the heads and hearts of his Princes? He couered them against all their enemies attempts and encounters. Hee serued as an Armour of prooffe to the French Monarchy, vnder which defence they continually raunged themselves, yea, the Seigneurs and Principallities of many strangers, sheltered themselves vnder that Sunny Banck. Therefore of him may now be said, as sometimes was of *Dauid*: *The Lord sought him a man after his owne heart, and commanded him to bee a Governour ouer his people*. For if *Dauid* declared himselfe couragious, in the great heate of Alarmes and fights, *Henry*, great *Henry*, hath not hee beene (euery where) a true *Mars*, and a true thunder-bolt of warre? If *Dauid* were still crowned with victory, because his clemency was acceptable to the God of Armies, & therefore elected him among thousands, to bee the Ruler of his people: then may we say, that (after his fights) neuer was found a kinder Prince: then great *Henry* the fourth, to whom this Elogium rightly appertained. *Qui in actate compositis imperatus est, qui in pace nihil timuit: Euermore a Conqueror, both in warre and peace*, deriuing his victories no lesse from loue, then from power. Vnder which (as *Emodius* spake in the Panegyrique of *Thierry*, King of the Gothes) *pidimus enatus optimos ad aduersitate generari*, to may wee say, That out of greatest extremities,

Dewes and raine are the blessings of Hea. n.

No better Shield of defence to any kingdomes, then a truly generous King.

1 Reg. 13. 1. 4.

King *Dauid* crowned with many glorious victories.

Emodius Panegyricke of *Thierry* King.

we haue beheld the birth of highest and fairest fortunes.

For in conquering the Rampiers of our Cities, at the very same time he won our hearts also, and (by a foweraigne amplitude of kindnesse) sweetly insinuated himselfe into all our soules, that beheld him so brightly shining in Armes. So that saying was verified in him, which *Agapetus* spake to the Emperour *Iustinian*. *Imperium exornauit superiores Imperatores, suuero praestantissime illud uultu reddidit: That which Emperours (in former times) gave to their Emperours, shew thy selfe (O great Prince) hast giuen to thine, to wit, lustre and splendour.* Thou didst finde it full of quarrels, seditions, and tumults, thy vnciuill subiects made mad (by what new *Circes* I know not) became enemies to thy crown. But by the right hand of God, & strength of thy martiall arme, thou didst displant thy Fortresses, peopled with Spaniards, expelling both the one and other; and from the limits of thy French Empire, thou didst exterminate that proud *Belshazzar*, that (without all pitty) did cruelly labour to teare her in peeces, and quite deuoure her.

The hand of heauen euer supporteth the right of true kings.

The successefull issue of his long troublesome wars.

Victory that accompanied Great Henry.

Plin. in lib. 12. cap. 7.

frica a certaine precious stone, called *Liparis*, which hath to faire a looke, that all eyes are at a stand to gaze vpon it. Hunters there haue no need of sculking hounds for their game, or any Arrowes to kill it, because this stone, laide open in the midst of any field, all wilde beasts (getting but a glimpse thereof) gather together about it, and as amorous of the stones beauty, doe nothing else but looke vpon it. Our Monarch, our great Monarch, was as a *Liparis* in the midst of his French world, the *Germane*, Italian, Spaniard, English, Swethen, yea, the very *Turkes*, were all drawne hither by the fame of his vertues, & renown of his Armes, euery one stood at gaze to behold him, not any one but wished his presence, each one loued & admired him, as a new miracle, or prodigy of valour and greatnesse in the world. In so much, that his presence setued not onely as an ornament to this State: but it was also here as an horne of abundance, out of which, all kinds of goodnesse that could flow from a sacred peace, were in a most plentiful affluence deriued from him. The paysons of diffentions could heere no more produce their Gangrenas; the high vnderstanding of the King was too present an Antidote. And as the dried body of a Basilisk, hung with a golden thred in the midst of *Apollons* Temple (saith *Cesner*) kept it alwayes cleane, restraining (by an hidden vertue) Spiders from working cobwebs along the pillars and walles: Euen so great *Henry*, liuing in our France, kept it cleane from all the infolences of enemies, and suffered no strange Spiders to come weaue their webs of discord within his Prouinces. So auailable to this Monarchy was his long experience & promptitude, that he held the affaires (in euer condition) both of church and commonwealth, in an vpright sway of pollicy, were it in peace or warre. And so profitable did this people finde their subiects & obedience to him, that in all & quite through the body of France, they reuerenced him as their Lord, their Pastor, and Father.

Doe you not know the great vinity which Nature hath planted betweene the *Pinnothere* and the *Pinna*? Haue yee not read of the benefite ensuing to them both, by their mutual conuord & intelligence? France hath bene as the *Pinna*, and the King her *Pinnothere*. The *Pinna* is that great

There are vertues of the Stone Liparis.

Alleyes and haues drawne with admiration at the presence of Great Henry.

Gesner in lib. Animal. cap. 9.

His care of the Church and Commonweath.

Plin. in lib. 7. cap. 14.

great kinde of Cockle, which we vse to call a *Naker* or *Scallop*. The *Pinnothere* is a little creature, in the kinde of a *Crabbe* or *Cruise*, that continually stands as a *Porter*, awaiting the opening of the Cockle; which he keeps still wide gaping, vntill such time as he perceiue some prey to enter, which may be beneficall to them both. For then hee pricks or bytes the Cockle, and seee shutting her shell, they then feede both friendly together. And neuer (without this admonition) doth the *Naker* shut her shell, nor euer (without the liking of this her *Gouernour*) will shee admit any strange creature to come neere her.

A strange conformity betwene the *Naker* or *Scallop*, and the *Cruise* or *Crab*.

The comparison alluded to the Realm of France.

Euen so France, referring herselfe to the managing of the King her *Pinnothere*, and neuer receiuing any impression but his; she liued with that foode which was apt and naturall for her, and by this reason, she neuer felt in any of her parts and members, those intemperate vild diseases, that heere tofore bred her so many warres and troubles. A great misfortune it is the, when such a precious Iewell is taken from forth the midst of our Temple, where such a Master and *Gouernour* is carried away from his people. *O decus Israelis in excelsis tuis vulneratus est.* O France, the honour of *Israel*, glory of the Millitant church! O *Parisi*, the very fairest among the *Gauls*, or in the world, Metropolitane of the goodliest state in Christendome: thou hast seene him wounded in thy streetes, slaine in thy bosome, and particed inhumanely in *excelsis tuis*, in thy places most frequented. O vnspcakable mishap! *Quomodo proiecit us est Clypeus fortium? Hec est the shield of the mighty cast downe?*

Timanthes, a most famous Painter among the *Grecians*, being desirous to portraye a Soldior full of courage, sprightly in valour, and as fiery as *Mars*: gaue him all the grace, that Art could deuise vpon his cloth. But afterward, setting it before his doore to bee seene, hee caused foure Trumpets, to sound before the *Picture*, that the person might appeare the more furious and deadfull. O deare people, if I could worthily, and (according to true life) represent before your eyes, the providence, wisdom, and happiness of councell, that remained in this Prince, I should then set before you (one after another) euen all the great and serious assem-

A most excellent Painter, being in the time of *Parthianus* of *Ephesus*.

Plin. in lib. 7. cap. 14.

blies, of the cheefest Heads and Captains of war, and of all other states wherein hee presided. Then should you see him not like a silly *Nellor* by *Agamemnon*, but *Agamemnon* himselfe, and (in him) a million of *Nellors*. If you would see his vigilancy, & the care hee had of his State affairs, I should then set before yee (in grosse) the Ambassadors of the greatest Princes, the Courtiers and Postillions flying from all parts, their packers open, their Secretaries standing by, & that magnificent King in the midst, spending many nights together, for the confirmation of them, that soundly slepe in their beds at ease. If you would haue a picture from mee, of his mildnesse & clemency, then must I paint a thousand potent enemies, not humbled at his presence, or crouding to his feete, but seated in safety by him, at one and the same Table, in one and the same Caroch, yea, in one and the same bed.

In breefe, if it were in me to shew you his valour & *Non-pareil* courage; I should theere instantly set before ye so ranged batailles, with their Squadrons of armed horse, and Regiments of foote, their Pikes aptly placed, the flame and smoak smouldring from Canons, the noyse of Drums, the sound of Trumpets; and at the maine of every battailon, this king encouraging his followers to the fight; and then himselfe to giue the onser, & (like a true *Mars*) beating downe his enemies about him. Then would you say, that you saw a God armed, the terror of the world, the honour of valiancy; then where *Cassius* and *Alexanders* might well crowd in, there to learn warlike lessons of him. But oh insignifant disaster! he being dead. *Quomodo ceciderunt potentes? Proiecit us est Clypeus fortium? How are the mighty inderthrowne? And the Shield of the very strongest cast downe?*

Filii Israelis super Sionem fleu, quia non habebat uos cecidit in deliciis: Daughters of Israel weep for Sion, which clothed you in scarlet with purple. Ladies, Daughters, and *Virgins* of *Paris*, weep for your king, he that clothed you in scarlet with pleasures, Laces, and Bracelets of Gold. Indeed Ladies, peace purchased by the preciousse & sweet of this great king, gaue you all these things in great abundance; filled your houses with the beauties of the

* Sauntes to Nelus and Chloris, and being well neere 300 yeares old, went with the Cretes to Troy.

King Henry the might well be a mirror to all the warours in the world.

* Reg. 1. 2. 3.

Peace if the mourning be not of playne abundance.

East, and precious rarities brought from the cyther of the Poles. Rich and poore might eate their bread (fearelesse) with their families, might console themselves with God, and offer the sacrifice of their hearts (at ease) in his Church. Weepe then, weepe then rich and poore, great & small, the inhumane death of this common Father, vnder whom you receyved such infinity of pleasures.

2 Reg. 1.43.

Arist in Politic.
lib. 4. c. 2. 9.

The notable diligence and swiftnesse of the King, and in a very short time.

King Henry a second Hercules.

2 Reg. 13.3.

King Henry deceased to the holy S. Lewis.

thing (in his kinde) more abject and contemptible, then to be shut vp in the Pyrenean Dens or Grottes, badly followed by his owne, threatened and pursued by extreme accidents, throwne out of his Cradle, and the armes of his Nurse, into the Forge of Mars; wrapt vp in partiality of opinions, which held a high sayle in his time, and yet doth the like in many places of this Realme. They that fed his hopes, to preuaile thereby, deceived him: others that thought (by such instruments) to overthrow him, did the higher exalt him. And perforce must I (in this case) without looking on the pointes of his conscience, commend his morall vertues.

Achilles, the sonne of *Aecus*, who was to conclude the *Troians* greatness, & to overthrow their *Illium* from the top to the bottome, was long time hid vnder the garment of a woman, among the daughters of *Lycomedes*. And our great *Henry* (who was to be a terror to *Spain*) the prop and support of our French Commonwealth, was (in his younger yeares) euen as hidden vnder the habite of a poore & disinherited Prince, in the solitude of the Bearnish Lands and Mountains. But yet notwithstanding, God had (euen then) destined him to be a subiect of his wonders, yea, to the cheefest dignities, & very greatest powers of this Land. God I say, the great God of hosts, *Per quē Reges regnant*, & hath his hands full of crowns, & bestoweth them where himselfe best pleaseth.

Reade what *Iob* speaks of the Ostrich, & there shall you see this Prince naturally, euen according as description is ther made of her. That Bird (being deprived of wisdom & loue) without couering her eggs, leaves them in the dust, and so loseth all remembrance of them. The world would be quite bereft of Ostriches, if God did not play the part of a mother, and by the beames of his bright shining Sun, make the dust warme about the eggs, and so cause the yong to be hatched, to marvellous fayre and goodly forme. In like manner, our great *Henry*, was not he forsaken? Left in the dust of disfaour, and neglected all the time of his childhood? God had a care of him, notwithstanding, as purposing to make him an *Atlas*, for the support of his Church, and defence of this State. So that by beholding him so much abased in his beginning, and afterward so

Some troubles attending the couling his life.

* Troy was called Illium of Iliu, who enlarged greatly.

Iob 39. 13, 14, 15, 16.

Psal. 131. 1.

What God will heauen be present in despite of all extremities, shall not perill.

highly exalted: we haue great reason to say with the same *Iob*, *Lampas contemplant tempus fatum*. A Lambe, whereof no account at all was made, yet ordained for honour, and to be honoured at the time appointed. God would bring him by the paths of aduersity, to the highest place of prosperity, and made his traualles seeme as Mallets; to harden him for such paynes as hee was to endure, for the re-establishment of peace and vnty, in all the diuided Provinces of France.

In euery estate, afflictions do make the greatest persons, where contrariwise, in the midst of highest prosperities (as standing vpon an ouer-slippy place) oftentimes they, soonest lose themselves. We may deduce an example heereof, from a Glasse, vpon whose Christall, Flies can get no footing (saith *Plutarch*) & yet stand firmly on the borderings about it, because they are more rough and apprehensive.

Asphodelus melleus, & asphodelus, tenet non tenet.
Smoother paths are slippery, rougher wayes haue hold.

And from the same ground, it seemeth that *Homer*, stretch his *Moly*, the rootes whereof were blacke, but it bare fruite of most fine gold. So the life of this French *Atlas*, did thus himselfe (every where) to be very blacke in the bud, and wholly obscured with aduersity, but the best thereof (euen to his vtmost ending) carried three Flourts of true gold in an Azure field of heavenly beauty. Afflictions in him, serued as an apt subiect to *Polydorus* and *Airen*, whereby to mould, carue & forme the true shape of Vertue; which was the very fayrest and most goodly Statue, that euer could (by Arte) be imagined.

Let vs instantly conceite that happy houre, when wee beheld heauens providence to call him from *Bearne*, and the Banicks of *Garnas*, and (with goodly Enginicks) to shew him the *Loire*. He being (not long before) sharply pursued, was then sought for in the Grottes, many royall Armes (euen then) trusting to his game: but sent for (soone after) by the K. his brother, *Henry* the third, whom hee would not forsake at a time of need. Then was it, when France couered ouer with rebellions and Armies against her selfe, was constrained (more then euer before)

to approue the spirit, wisdom, and hand of him, who quickly became her *Halcyon*, to appease and calme those furious tempests.

The blowes began at *Tours* and at *Blais*, but within few daies the fiery fire of those Soldiers proceeded through *Beauvais*, vnto the omitting of *Paris*: where the execrable and bloody patricide committed on the person of the king, opened him the doore to the whole State. The Princes and French Nobility, both proclaimed and acknowledged him to be their king. Meane while, the troubles encreasing, and the *Auribus* (as it were) in many peeces, beheld him (euen then) as soote shut vpon himselfe, and like the Steele that strikes a hard Flint, to cast forth thence the fiery sparkes of fire: euen so, the neerer a warriour is pursued, the more splendour is added to his glory.

There lieth a certaine monster in the Sea, vulgarly called the *Scia* or *Sawe* of the Sea, in regard of a horn hee hath, serving him in stead of a snout, the carrying no meane resemblance with a *Sawe*. This creature, meeting with a Ship vnder full saile, by diuers means of attempting, doth grow angry thereat, and seeketh to make open warre against it. Hee passeth and repasseth many times vnderneath it, employing his home (with his vtmost strength) to sawe, as hee thinks, and cut in twaine the keele of the Ship. But in vaine doth hee torment himselfe, for so long hee lieth the teeth or razors of his snout, till beating himselfe out of breath in the conflict: at length hee boates on the water with his belly vpperward, remaining at the mercy and laughter of the Pilote.

And what great hast (I pray you) did so many Armies, as quite couered the plaines of France? They employed all their endebour and weapons in vaine, hoping to sawe in funder and diuide this State. After all their malicious wrangling with this Soueraigne holy Ship, did they not become enuiered and broken in peeces, by the power of this great King, her Pilote? Wherefore wee may well say, as *Voluise Paternus* saith of *Cato*. *Virtuti quam simillimus, & per omnia ingenia diu quam hominibus propior, qui non recte fortis sic facere videtur, sed quia aliter facere non poterat.*

It is not for any ambition, or desire of glory that

Troubles before the death of king Henry the third, who was murdered by a Iacobine Fryer.

Psal. 131. 9.

A very ingenious comparison with a sawe, apt an allusion.

Malice hath no greater enemy to contend against than it selfe.

Psal. 131. 9.

The honorable words of a Kingly Soldier.

A mighty Giant, the Son of Titan, called of the Gods Briarion.

The especiall care of a worthy Prince.

* A people of Scythia about the Lake of Mzotis.

A hard extremity, when people are perished by their enemy.

that I fight (would he oftentimes say) but to maintayne the liberty of my Subjects, and preferre my Crowne. And euen so did God fauour his designs, and laide at his feete (myraculoufly) an infinite number of Trophies. Heere Arques made her most signale surrender. There Turie published his high fortune. Dion, Fontaine-Francoise, S. Helena, and the Moates engirt his browes with a thousand Laurels: And for the higher pitch of his honours, the vanquished themselves did (euen then) reioyce at his prosperity and victories. He fought not in one place only at a time but like to a second * Briarion, with an hidden hand, and by his Lieutenants, hee smote in many places together. So that posterity reading his heroycall actions, not onely will make doubt to beleue the all, but rather grossly receiue, or repute them for fables.

I will leaue them to our Histories, & to telley, that his clemency appearing aboue his other vertues, did make him vniuersally both beloued and admired. O goodd God! how ready was he alwayes in helpe and subvention to the oppressed? How diligent, in finding out for our diseases both soveraigne, peculiar, & conuenient remedies? When I caſt mine eyes on the gally Theater of our France, methinks I doe there behold that terrible fight betwene Brutus and the * Xanthians, the very cheefest Inhabitants of Lycia, when they (being beliedged, the fire getting mischeuouly into the crannies of their wallles, threatening their neighbors houses, and the whole City together with a generall deuastation) in a desperate rage and fury, threw on fresh Faggots, made of dryed Reedes, the more to nourish and augment the flame, whereas Brutus (being their enemy) employed the vertermost endeavour, both of himselfe & all his Soldiours, to slake and quench it. He ſate on horse-backe, full of compassion, effaying by all possible meanes, to take some good order, and turning him round about, hee held out his hands to the vnhappy Inhabitants, desiring them to spare their owne City, and to saue themselves.

How many of our blinded French (desperately madd in our last wars) did the very like? What intended, those Armes, and hostile preparations in the greater number, but onely the ruine of

themselves, and the whole State together? And what was laboured (on the contrary part) by this great King our Brutus? Nothing else, but to preferre his people, and stille the fires, furiously flaming in the four corners of his kingdom; yea, to keepe his people from destroying themselves. This was euen (doubtlesse) the full butt and aine of all his warres, during which time, and euen in the very fiercest broyles, hee was heard to cry aloud in the thickest throngs: O Frenchmen, Frenchmen, saue your selves. And the blood of them, although they were in Armes against him, hee did value at a dearer rate then his owne. An acte truly generous, and which (afterwards) made him so much admired; that they who refused to accept him as their Lord; threw themselves at his feete, and (in endeared loue) called him their gracious Tutor and Father.

Let Paris (onely) stand as a witness of my words, which was seene (almost) without Subburbs, without Pallace, with out Vniuersity, or any other Ornament whatsoever. The Field of the Ioshull man, and the Vineyard of the mis-tyler-standng foole, described by Salomon in his Proverbs; which were all conuerged with Thornes and Nettles, and their Hedges broken downe, might be compared with it. Our buildings beautified with Porphyry and Marble; his Royall goodly places; his Loures; his Tuilleries; his new Bridges; his Arsenal; the streetes newly re-edified, and adorned with so many new deuices of Silke and Tapistry; the new foundations of publike Readings: these are so many Trumpets, to publish the loue and vigilancy of this King. Very true is it then, that his life, so obscured and trauesered in the beginning, did well resemble a fire, which in the making, and before it attaineth to any light, doth cast forth very grosse and thicke smokes: but being fully kindled, it yeeldeth a bright flame, & giueth no meane delight to the beholder. We haue seene his originall to be dimly obscured and darkened with the clouds of enuy. Afterward wee beheld him; not like to be despised Lampe, but shining as the Sunne in brightest splendor.

An industrious and skilfull Architeck, labouring his minde with the designe of an intended stately building, walking a-

A great honour in a King to preferre his people to sparing themselves.

The wooll condition of Paris, during the warres.

Christus Promer, 14 29. 30.

Verre long observed at length delueth the brighter splendor.

The Stone neglected and refused by the builders, became the head corner stone.

mong the stones in a Quarry, if hee perceiue any one to be of grosse Marble, half earthy, mishapen, and that hath not (as yet) felt the Hammer and Chizell, he doeth appoint that stone to some important place in his edifice. Euen so God, proiding (long time) the building of his Church; did not forget this Prince: but at the time appointed by his eternall preſcience, he tooke him out of the Quarrie of darknesse, to make him shine as bright day, and serue as the Master-pillar to the whole frame. Behold him then (O miracle) in midst of so many victories and fauours from heauen, prostrated at the feete of the Church, and no other cryes were among the people, but God saue the King.

Deare people, from the beginning of my Oration, I haue feared to fall short, & my feare is very iust, handling so high a subject, and so full of meruilles. Yet notwithstanding, that great goodnes of his furnished me with courage, and hath hitherto vpheld me, in the plentifull field of his flowing vertues. Wherein I felte so great a consolation, and such a boundles liberty of spirit, that my tongue (without impeachment) hath (in some weak manner) exprest those things which I conceyued of his praises. But now I feele my senses arrested by an accident, as nouell, as it strange and lamentable.

The Poets make mention of certayne trees, that sometime did grow about the Tombe of Proteſilaus, and they hauing attained to such height, that (with their tops) they could couer the ruine of olde Troy; withered in an inflame, and lost all their leaues. Euen so my discourse could entertaine it selfe vnto this point; but when I see this great Prince (alas) setting from his Laurels in his Caroch, a final traine, indeed, without traine; my whole heart is frozen, my discourse withereth; and thereto remaineth no verdure in my words. A mischeuouſ assassinat, let loose from Achoris, created of the filthy driuall falling from the soule chappes of Corberus, (to bury our whole France) followes hastily after him. I see the Caroch stayed, O Paris! haplesse City of Paris! in excelsis this, in one of thy cheefest foure cornered streets, I see the murderer likewise stay there with it.

O God! what illiue depends vpon his

boldnesse? Gracious Heauen, thou didst preferre this great King (before) for many times; as against Barriere at Melune, against Chastel in his Loure, and agaynst an infinite number more of most pernicious conuincations. Thy goodnesse (O Lord) shall it sleepe at this blow? Behold (deare people) it was our sins that weighed downe the ballance of eternall Iustice, for one chastisement. Answeretur ab impijs lux sua, & brachium excelsum confringetur. The light that shined vpon those Nations, rebellious against my Edicts, shall be take from them, and the strong Arme that defended them, shall be broken. Yea, and so farre it proceedeth, that our great God seemeth weary of further aduancing the Name of the glorious French.

O Fury! O barbarous wretch! instructed in the schoole of Sathan, and enchanted with a diuellish Doctrine, that (vnder the subbanned name of a tyrant) would approoue and maintaine the Massacre of Kinges. O Deuill, and no man, thy parricide hand is not hindered, but dares boldly imploy the vse of that hellish liberty, in a most detestable sacrilege, against God, against his Anointed, and against thy natural Prince. O Sunne, thou bright day-bribery, that heretofore veiled thy golden Tresses, and didst with-hold thy heavenly looks, from the infamous house of the Pelopides, and the enraged abiding of Buphales that unworthy Romane Citizen, because thou wouldst behold no Butcherics and massacres: how couldest thou keep thy Chariot in his ordinary way, but with one touch of thy hand turned it from way effe, that this day might haue bin couered with darknesse?

Among insect or injured Creatures, Bees (sayth Pliny) do so much honor their head and King, as they will not liue after the losse of him. And among other Animals, haue we not (almost) an infinite number, that haue conſected their liues for the defence of their Masters? Quintus Curtius, as one of the fairest ornaments of his History, brings in the Elephant of K. Porus, which Elephant seeing his Master on the ground, and the bloody barrel giuen him by Alexander, with his trunk drew him softly out of the crowd (as fearing to hurt him) notwithstanding all the pikes and staves of Lances, being thrust into his breast and sides.

Great thankes offered for great dangers before.

Jeremy 9. 9.

The doctrine of Marius of the Iustitie, in ſtriving to kill King, by his authoritie and warrant.

Plin. in lib. 7. cap. 14.

Quint. Curtius, in lib. 4. cap. 9.

The *Seythians* also do eternize the memory of a Horse, who seeing his Master slaine, became the reuenger of his murder, neuer ceasing till (with his heeles) he had instantly beaten out the braines of the murderer. The Dog of *Hesiodus* is also remembered, because he attained the children of *Ganius*, for the murder committed on the person of his Master.

But that which our owne Fathers haue seene, is much more memorable, of a worthy Dog, belonging to a Groom of the Chamber, attending on King *Frances* the first. Which Dog, not satisfied with the apprehension of him that had slaine his Master, in the Forrest of *Fontaine-belleau*; but being present (by command of the Prince) he rent him in peeces, before the face of the whole Court, that then were gathered together, to behold this spectacle. O most strange case, that brute beasts (shall lose, respect, and reuerence their Kings and Masters, and creatures reasonable (yet without all reason) contrary to Nature, or any instinct of her, shall foyle their felonious hands, in the sacred & venerable blood of their Prince.

Tertullian, speaking of Kings; *Secundis* *Iust post Deum* (saith he) *ipso quos & Deum optinimus maximum nullum est medium. They are next after God, between whom and the greatest God, there is no mean.* *Homer*, by a name more proper, doth call them, *The children of the great God*; as they that do very neere participate in the beames of his diuinity. The *Greekes* were wont to call them, *Bazilees* of *Bazis*, which signifies a Foundation. As in the holy Scripture, one of them is called *Femur*, the *Thigh*, he being as the *Thigh*, base and foundation, whereupon the repose of the State and people is supported. But to what end are all these Epithites, both sublime and diuine, in comparison of *The most Christian King*, the eldest Sonne of the Church, which Titles our kings attained vnto by infinite merits, euen from the Cradle of Christian Religion.

If *Emperours* haue done any good to the *Apofolicall See*, what deuotion can compare with that of our Kings? *Clodius*, the first Crown-bearer among so many kings, offered a Diadem of inestimable value, called *Regium*, vpon the Altar of *S. Peter*: the which Diadem, according as some of our Historians haue written, ser-

ued for the *Tiaras* to the holy Fathers presiding in the Church. What shall I say of *Charles Martell*, who received from *Gregory* the third, the keyes of the Sepulcher, and the Chaires wherewith *S. Peter* was bound? was not this done, as acknowledging him the Churches Protector, and yielding him an honourable summation, for defending that holy Toombe, and excellent prerogatives thereto belonging, against the fury and inuasions of the *Lombards*? Against whom, this Prince began to arme himselfe, when at the very first report of his preparation, the *Lombard* yielded, and submitted himselfe to the holy See.

I cannot let sleepe in silence, the piety of king *Pepin*, who went twice ouer the *Alpes*, to check the inuasions of the said *Lombards*, against *Stephen*, then sitting in the sacred seate. There remaineth (yet to this day) an ancient inscription, engrauen vpon one of the Towers of *Rauenna*; *Pipinus plus primus amplificande Ecclesie viam aperuit, &c.* Deliuering testimony to all Christendome, of that Princes gift and liberality to the Church. *Charles-maigne*, *Philip Augustus*, *S. Lewis*, many Kings among them, & many others since then, euen vnto our time, haue no way degenerated from this affection, in piety & succour answerable to the former Kings; and their enterprizes were most commendable & perillous, to maintaine the truth, and to confound the *Sarracins*, *Mahumetists*, and other sects of Infidels. VWhereof matter sufficient is giuen to our Historians, to make their volumes the more compleat; and to *Innocentius* the third, a worthy subiect of writing, in an Epistle which he directed *Archiepiscopo & Episcopo per Galliam constitutis*; *Exaltatio regni Francorum est sedis Apostolice sublimitas*. And if that execrable and diuelliish murderer, had not impeached the course of the great designs, and holy intentions of this King (*O France*, for whom thou now too iustly lamentest) he had shaken the Scepter of the Turke, and we might well haue hoped, to haue seene our faire Lillies glister in the Church of the Eastern Empire; & once more to haue made the true God worshipped in *Palestine*.

Then, O vnhappy Realme of France, redouble thy sorrowes, and reuiue the fource of thy teares, as often as thou shalt remem-

Charles Martell the Church Protector.

The ancient inscription in Rauenna.

The famous enterprizes of many French kings in defence of the church.

remember the death of this Prince. A Prince? yea, thy Shield, and the Shield of the mighty, proditoriously overthrowne in the Capitall of his Prouinces. Oh that I could (in this case) according to the manner of a *Pegasus*, strike with one foote into a fountaine of eloquence, or that the Muses and the Graces meeting together, would giue new motion, or rather new life to my languishing Oration, that I might reach to the point first propoled to my selfe, which was, either to lay open before you the praises of my King, or to let you see his life and heroycall vertues, and how much we are interested in his losse. These two attempts were very great, and if I feele my selfe to shrinke vnder the weight of the first, I must needs fall flat the with the charge of the second. Because the wretchednesse of a priuation can neuer be really vnderstood, but by knowing the excellency of the thing whereof we are deprived; so said (long agoe) a learned Philosopher.

For as a Player of Comedies, may easily bring forth vpon his Stage, a man of goodly shew, in shape of *Hercules*, couered with a Lyons skinne, and beating a long great Club on his shoulder, but yet made light and hollow within, and at this dreadfull appearance, comes nothing neere the vertues and incomparable strength of the true *Aleides*: Euen so an Orator may easily produce some grosse description of great *Henry*, that most invincible Prince, giuing him golden Armour, mounted on a gallant Courser, attended with Drums and Trumpets, in midst of a confusion of armed men, a thorny wood of Pikes and Lances about him, and as the last ornament of renown, writing with an Eagles quill (yet lagging weary with circling the world) to make knowne to the two Poles, the admirable batailles wonne by this Monarch, and all this nothing indeed to great *Henry* the 4. This were no other then a nicere phantasm, because his inward man, with his principall vertues, remained still hidden the viciacies of his spirit, the heates of his generous courage, and that true countenance of Majesty, which carried on his brow the loue of his subiects, and terror of his enemies: these are things that strike dumbe all tongues, and are not any way to be declared. The interest and the damage then, which the whole world endu-

reth by his death, can neuer be sufficiently declared. Euerie man by himselfe (from the least to the greatest) may frame out his owne discourse, and finde himselfe immeasurably offended: yet all this is nothing else, but as if each man should point with his finger at his owne heart, and no judgment to be made, whose paine is the most greuous?

Synganbis, the Mother of *Darius*, her Nieces and other Persian Ladies wept more extremely for the death of *Alexander* (saith the History) then did the *Greeks* and other *Macedonians*. For he was the common bond of peace, and hee being broken, they found themselves (among all them which he had left) the very weakest, furthest off from succour, and most subiect to the iniuries of warre. Without all question, our sorrow hath bin common through the whole State, for this vnhappy accident, false vpon the common and publike head. Our Princes pierced through with griefe, haue (to the whole world) sufficiently witnessed their affections. The great men stand fast on the board, the lesser serue as poore Pawnes, & they haue the greatest cause to complaine. That great chaine or bond of peace, which vnted together so many kindes of spirits, is broken in the midst; yet peace and vnity (God be thanked for it) doth still remaine among vs.

As an Arrow shot from a good strong arme, flyeth farre through the ayre, not in regard of his owne proper or naturall wings, but by the Archers vertue who (in the loofe) gaue it the vigor of aduantage; euen so our peace as yet continueth by that strength and vertue, which the high vnderstanding and credite of our deceased king gaue vnto her. If we war against abuses, if vices may be cut off, and vertues replanted; wherefore should not this strong bond be new knit againe? But if they encrease, as they do, look then (deare people) for your danger to be neere. The mighty can daily maintaine themselves; but the weak and feeble, they altogether vndergoe the worst, especially when disorders continue.

In this case, the body of a Common-wealth, and that of a beast do carry some resemblance. For as the members (which are found) doe not finde themselves so subiect to rheumes or distillations, but to loone

Plutarch, in vit. Alexander.

Common affections doe not so neerely touch great men, as they do the lesser men.

Comparison of a Common-wealth to the body of a Beast.

Hesiod in lib. 2. cap. 7.

Phil. Comm. in lib. 3. cap. 8.

Some men are more humane then brutish creatures.

Tertulian Dial. Ad Reg.

Homer in lib. 2. ad. 11.

Attributes and titles giuen to kings.

The offering of king Clodius on the Altar of S. Peter.

The worth of a Jewell is neuer truly vnderstood till it is lost.

Resemblance of a Player of Comedies.

The inward vertues of a man are his true glory.

soone as they present themselves, do send them to the diseased parts: Euen so, in a body politike, those great overflowings that engender discords, do not so nece- rily touch the strongest in the State. Noblemen, as being more robust & power- full, know how to hurle such annoyances behinde them, and then their weight falls vpon the vulgar, who are composed of slenderest resistance. Who seeth not then that the principall interest is ours? It is vpon vs that this blow is false. That fatall knife hath ript open our breasts, and hath sluiced forth our blood, euen so farre as the very furthest Nations; who wholly a- frighted at so damnable an attempte, haue testified, that this disaster was in common to them, communicating likewise in our sighes and teares.

But now wee sacrifice ouer much vnto griefe. O France! thou must giue a brea- thing time to thy sorrowes; thy great Hen- ry yet liueth, God hath not left him after so many victories; he hath rather snatcht him from beneath the armes of a tempo- rary peace, to lodge him in his euertlasting rest, & made him change the South-east of his Lillies for an eternal Diademe, the flowers whereof are without number and value, and the glory void of any date or li- mitation. This life hath nothing in pro- priety; what any man holds here, it is but as a deposit or pawne, it is but for a short- space, and a present of slender continu- ance. *Spuma grauius, quae apracella dispergi- tur*, saith the wise man: *Fumus qui a vento diffusus est*. It is a highway common to kings & subiects alike to the haughty, and to the humble. *Omne capax mouet vna no- men*. Death (not withstanding he is famili- ar to vs) yet in his passage along, if he hit his foot against a shepherds cottage on- ly, or if a poore labouring man meet with his sickle, these are blowes that moue no terror. But contrariwise, when he finites the greatest into the bottom of a tomb, when he shatters Crownes in peeces, and breaks royal Scepters with a touch of his Biere, this is that which moueth astonish- ment in men, this is that wherein they see themselves, euen as in the clearest Chry- stall, best representing to the life, the de- fects of their fraille and wretched nature.

They that haue contemned God at their life time, may take example by *Enlilad*, lost in the loue of his owne peccall: or by *Belshazzar*, who afterward becoming a knight of *Athens*, tooke a Grasshopper in the fields of *Egretum*, whereby he learned and came to acknowledgment of his lifes thornes. Whereupon, he builded a house of piety, in contempt of himselfe; where- in bequeathing all his hopes to God on- ly, hee founded life and saluation for his soule. For, as a goodly Rose in rainy wea- ther (being prickt with a pinne) will send forth a marvellous pleasing saueur; euen so, the degrees of a great State, being prickt in the death of their King by the in- tolerable piercing thornes of bemoaning, do then send vp to heauen the most sweete Odors of infinite prayers, whereby they procure Diuine blessings to descend downe vpon their heads.

This is also the benefite, which (among our teares and laments) we ought to seeke for in our losse, because euen therein God himself hath giuen vs matter, whereby to comfort our selues. Set before your conceits, that great deluge of waters, which (in the time of *Noah*) drowned the whole world. Neuer did heauen before, or since, deliuer so great a sign of anger against the sins of men. And yet notwithstanding, a- mong all the billows and floating of dead bodies aloft on the waters: the height or top of an oliue tree did shew it self, where- of the Doue broght a presentation to the good old man, as a symbol of grace, carry- ing an assured testimony, that the over- flow should soone cease, & the Ark be deli- uered from all perils whatsoeuer.

Euen so, in the frightfull deluge of tears, which appeared to swallow vs all vp in the waues, wee haue a factt Oliue plant, a branch of that sacred tree, euery way an- swerable to that holy Doue, verily raised to this purpose by the holy ghost, to bring this aged French State a thirteenth *Zeph- ir*, the lively image of the great *Henry*; so lately taken from vs. *Lewes* I say, the most Oliue branch sent from heauen, to pre- sent our great mercy; vnder which we are to expect the increasing of all those choise vertues and felicities that wee felt vnder the flourishing teigne of his Father.

In behalfe of whom, I may wel (O France) address those speeches to thee, deliuered by the wise King *Salomon*. *Beata tu terra, cum Rex: cum filius iust. & obliuiscens. Bless'd be thou (O Land) when thy King is the son of a Noble*. Happy art thou O France, for thy King

who afterward becoming a knight of *Athens*, tooke a Grasshopper in the fields of *Egretum*, whereby he learned and came to acknowledgment of his lifes thornes. Whereupon, he builded a house of piety, in contempt of himselfe; where- in bequeathing all his hopes to God on- ly, hee founded life and saluation for his soule. For, as a goodly Rose in rainy wea- ther (being prickt with a pinne) will send forth a marvellous pleasing saueur; euen so, the degrees of a great State, being prickt in the death of their King by the in- tolerable piercing thornes of bemoaning, do then send vp to heauen the most sweete Odors of infinite prayers, whereby they procure Diuine blessings to descend downe vpon their heads.

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All degrees in a State are wounded by the death of their King.

Verme and Nobilitie are the best pillars to support a kingdom.

In the midst of most violent extremities, God is then readiest with his diuine helps.

Lewes the 11. son and great effort to king Henry.

Eccles. 10. 7.

CHAP. V.

The Battell of Rauenna:

Which was fought in Italy, in Anno, 1512. betweene Gailton du Foix, Duke of Nemours, General for Lewes the xij. King of Fraunce, on the one party: and Raymond de Cardonna, Viceroy of Naples, General for the King of Spaine, and Pope Iulio, on the other.



HE Generall of the French Army in Italy, being named Gailton du Foix, for Lewes K. of France, against the Pope and King of Spaine, being giuen to understand that the opposit powers for the Pope and Spaniard were marching onward (according to a former passed promise) for giuing assistance vnto Marco Antonio of Cardonna, who was besieged by him in the Cittie of Rauenna; mid-doubting some sodaine irruption in his politike enemy, brake vp the sledge, making a retreat for the space of some three miles from Rauenna; as it were to meete with the leagued army. That night they made a bridge ouer the riuer of *Ra- ueno*, and leuelled the highest banks equal with the Riuer, for the easier passage of the Souldiers in all places. Afterward the 11. day of April, being then Easter day, the Germane foote souldiers made their passage ouer this made Bridge of the Riuer: but the souldiers appointed for the vaward and middle battell, they went thorow the Foord. As for the rere-ward, being led by *Don Iuo de Alegrre*, and consisting of four hundred bolde resold men, they remained still on the riuer bank towards Rauenna, for better assisting the maine army when neede requir'd, and curbing the Garrison of Rauenna, if they should presume to fallle forth. But for keeping a Bridge (formerly made vpon *Montano*) hee left a valiant Gentleman, named *Paris Scot*, with a thousand foote vnder his charge.

All things being ordered in this manner, his battailes were ranged in this order. The vant-gard, that had the great Artillery before them, consisting of 700. horse, beside

The Author doth not let down the reason that vnto this battelle

The passage of his people ouer the riuer

In what manner hee ordered and ranged his severall battailes, in expedition of the enemy

Cosimo de Medicis the Great Duke of Florence.

Verme and Nobilitie are the best pillars to support a kingdom.

Lewes in Lib. 11. Chap. 17.

Eccles. 10. 7.

The murmur of a king is no mean notice of griefe to all neighbouring Nations.

No man in this life hath any certainie of his abiding.

Eccles. 19. 11.

A worthy example for all. Attendants to the warre by.

beside Germane foote, led by the Duke of Ferrara, and the Seneſhall of Normandy, this power was placed on the bank of the river, being then on the right hand, whereby the foot troopes flanked the left wing of the horse. Somewhat nere to the vanguard, the foot appointed for the mid battalion, being partly *Gaſcoignes*, and the rest of other Prouinces in France, tooke their charge, and *Don Iuo de Alegres* was their Commander. Further remote from the River banke, the reregarde had their place, being in number five thousand foot and all Italians, vnder the conduct of *Federico de Bozzolo*; and this battell was flanked by all the Archers mounted on horsebacke, and other light horsemen, amounting to three thousand.

These battailles were not ordered to rere one another, but in the shape of a Cressant or halfe Moon, and directly behind them were marshalled six hundred well appointed horse; conducted by *Seigneur de la Palice*, and the Cardinall *Sauuerino*, Legate for the Councell of Pisa, who bent their intentions against the Pope. He was a man of so meane constitution, full of heate and courage, armed Cap a pie in faire bright glittering Armor, and meeter (in dede) for the office of a Commander in field, then to supply the place of a Cardinall. As for *Gaſton du Foix*, aiming onely at honour and victory, he would not betake himselfe to any particular charge in the Campe; but selecting from thirty choise Gentlemen, such as he thought fit to share with him in his best fortune, of the day; wandered at liberty, as to bee prouident in all places, and for the readier helpe, where neede should require.

He was the man of best marke amongst them all, not onely in regard of his splendid Armes, but likewise for his sprightly countenance, dreadfull carriage, & resolution no way to be daunted. Having ranged his battalions into such due form, as nothing wanted but the signal for fight aduancing himselfe on the bay of the River, where best he might haue attention, and animate his army with boldest spirit, more eloquently then Souldier-like (as some suppose, thus he spake.

The Oration of *Gaſton du Foix*, before the fight, to his whole Armie.

M Fellow-Souldiers, the thing which you haue so long coveted & desired, to wit, to encounter the enemy in an open champaign ground: behold how Fortune hath this day bleit ye withall, as not forgetting her former Motherly care of ye, in many a famous and well-known victory. See what a gracious opportunity is heere presented to ye, such as precedent times, nor memory of man hath euer acknowledged, victory bowing ouer your heades, embracing ye within the very winges of her bounty, not onely for Rauenna it self, fully and meerey prostrated to your power: but likewise all the Townes and Citties of Romania, though but slender attributes of recompence to your high deserts; yet as an earnest of her further intended fauour vnto ye. For, finding Italy naked and empty, not a man left to stand or encounter with ye: what shall hinder your marching on to Rome it selfe? Seeme as if (euen now) you saw your entrance into it; and consider withall, the boundlesse wealth of that gripple and greedie Court (for many ages together) baled & violently torne, euen out of the bowelles of poore abused people, and iustly ordained now to be at your mercie as pillage and spoile. Proud Ornaments, Silver, Gold, precious Stones, all in heapes, and numberlesse summes, beside most rich and sumptuous prisoners, you may already plead full possession of the wide world standing amazed at your fortunes. And Rome thus being yours, Naples lies fairly before ye, inviting ye to com together with the same successe, and there to reuenge your manifold iniuries.

When I consider your valour, fortune, & famous victories, woe within the compass of so few dayes, when your manly looks, and more then manly actions, do quicken my memory, that there is hardly one among ye, but hath made good proofe of his courage, by apparant and pregnant testimony of his great spirit: there is not any objection whatsoever, to forestall the assured felicity of victory. What are our enemies, but the verie same Spaniards, that (meerey upon our coming) fled

* An ancient City by the Adriatick
* A very spacious & full country.

* A Towne of Campania in Italy.

* A City in Italy called from time Forum Carvili.

Nauarro was General of the Spaniards
* Footmen, a man of great skill in vndermining.

fled by night out of Bologna. Nay more, they are the same white-liver'd men, that (not many daies since) escaped our swordes by base running away, seeking within the wals of Imola and Faenza, or the neighbouring mountains. They are a nation that neuer durst fight with our armies in the Neapolitan Kingdom, in any place of indifferencie or easie access, but euer more upon advantages, being supplied with munitions, rivers, and ditches, as relying more on close bidambushes & treacheries, then on any sort of manhood or valor.

And yet let mee further tell ye concerning these Spaniards, that they are not those tried and ancient well-skild seruitors to the Neapolitan wars, but meere fresh-water Souldiers, utterly without skill or experience, neuer fighting against other weapons of resistance, but Bowes, Arrows, & the blunted Lances of the Moors. And yet notwithstanding, by that timorous people, weak in body, worse in spirit, wanting knowledge in armes and military actions, they were (with great shame) overthrown the last year, in the Isle of Gerba. And there this very man, Don Pedro de Nauarro, one of so great note & name among them, that by taking himselfe to his heeles, hee deliuered a notorious testimony of the difference betwene the beating downe of wals with shot and powder, & fighting with true fortitude & hardiment. See how they are shut up within a ditch, made this last night, euen in meere trembling feare, & how their foot-armes covered with a rampier, consisting of Carriages & hooked waggons, as meaning to try the battell with those childish instruments, & not with the Marrow, Muscles, and Arteries of men, or with the chearfull vivacity of spirit. Make no doubt (deare hearts) but our great Ordinance shall drive them out of their holes, and beat them to the open field: where they shall plainly perceiue, that the power of the French, the courage of the Germanes, and unconquerable resolution of the Italians, doth go far beyond the cunning subtilities of the Spaniards. The greatest obfuring of our glory, is that we overmatch them in number, being (euer) twice as many as they. Neuertheles, seeing fortune hath bin so bountifull to vs, it were indifferencie not to make use of so happy a benefit, which will rather be imputed to mercy and providence in them, then to any cowardly advantage in vs. Nor doth courage or valour incite them on, but the authority of Fabritio de Colonna, in his rash promise made to Marco Antonio, or rather the in-

Nauarro was General of the Spaniards
* Footmen, a man of great skill in vndermining.

stice of heauen hath thus prouoked them, to the end, that the pride and unpresackable heynous actions of Iulio, that false and counter-fet Pope, as also the deceitfull treacheries of the King of Arragon may haue condigne and worthy punishment.

But why wait I time in so many words? Or why should this victory be so long kept from ye, by this cumbrantiall speech in a skilful Oration, utterly needlesse for Souldiers of valiant spirit? March on then my valiant fellows in armes, with full assurance, that this day I shall giue the whole Empire of Italy to my King, & the wealthy people among you all. Your Captaine and Commander, will be present with you in every place; and, as I can haue done, so this day more especially will I support my life vnto all perils, rather then a man of ye shall carry. Nay, I shall repute myself for the most fortunate Captaine that euer was, seeing that by this dayes victory, I shall not onely make my soldiers most glorious, but the richest of all other Armies, within the compass of three hundred yeares.

This Oration ended, and the aire echoling the noise of Drums & Trumpets, the Spaniards espying the French past the river in this manner they ranged their battalies. The vanguard, consisting of 800. horse, and conducted by Don Fabritio de Colonna, stood placed along the banke of the river, wherto was added 600. foot on either hand. Likewise along the River, stood the middle battell of 800. horse; being flanked with 4000. foot, the Viceroy being the Leader thereof; & with him the Marquess of Paluda, as also *Don de Medici*, legat to the Pope. Moreover, along the same river bank stood the rereward, conducted by Cardinall a Spaniard; & in that battell were 4000. horse, and 4000. foot. All the light horsemen (whose General was *Dauales*, Marques of Pescara, a very yong Gentleman, but of exceeding great hope guarded the right side of the foot behind, for succoring any part that fainted. The great Ordinance was placed in the front of the horse, & Don Pedro de Nauarro General of the Spanish foote, accompanied with 500. horse, had not any place of certainty, but had planted at the ditch in the front of the foot, 30. waggons, like to the crooked Chariots vfed in ancient time. Whereon he had placed field pieces, and very long Bowes speares, for easier sustaining the furious feaze and charge of the French.

How the battalions of the Spaniards were ranged in the field.

The Councell of Pisa leaued forces against the Pope.

Gaſton du Foix, a man of especiall note from all the rest.

Both sides
stand in ex-
pectation of
battel.

In this order they expected the assault & charge of their enemies strong army, with in the munition of the ditch, but this counsel, as it profited nothing in the end, so in the very beginning it appeared to be pernicious. For it was the mind of *Fabrizio de Colonna* to invade the enemies, so soon as they began to come over the River, as thinking it more commodious to encounter with one only part of the enemies, the to abide in the camp, defended but with a single ditch. But when *Don Pedro de Navarra* (whose counsel the Viceroy followed) repugned this advice, it was decreed (though nothing providently) that they should be suffered to pass over the river. The French being come within 200 paces of the ditch, stayed, perceiving that their enemies, kept themselves within their camp, not stirring any further, least they should give their enemies such advantage, as themselves desired to have.

Much harme
done by the
great Ordnance
on this side.

For more then two houres, both the armies were thus at a stand, but no meane store of shot came from the great Ordnance all that while on either side, whereby the French foote endured great detriment. For *Navarra* had planted his artillery in such a place, as he might at his pleasure hurt them; but the Duke of *Ferrara* made great haile, & brought his Artillery in the rear of the army, to another wing of the French, where the archers on horseback were planted, which wing, in regard that the army stood in the form of a crescent, was (we know) on the rear of the enemies, from whence he beganne cruelly to flack their sides, especially of the horse, for the Spanish foote being brought by *Navarra*, into a low place along the rampier of the river, & (by his command) laid flat on the ground, could no way be injured by the shot. *Fabrizio* called out aloud, and urged the Viceroy by messengers, often sent to begin the battell, before they were torn in pieces by the great Ordnance. But *Navarra* being guided by puerile ambition would not agree thereto. For, in regard he had promised himselfe victory, only to show the valor of the Spanish foote, yea, & although at the rest of the army were slain, yet he imagined, that his glory would be the more augmented, the more y harmes were heaped on the rest of the army.

The wilfull
obstinacie of
Don Pedro de Navarra.

By this time, the men of armes and light horse, had endured so great a slaughter, as

it could be no longer borne, and as a most miserable & dreadful spectacle, here horses, there men from off those horses, fell down dead, and heads & arms being torn from the rest of the body, were seen flying aloft in the aire, whereat *Fabrizio* beganne thus to exclaime, *And must we all (quoth he) here shamefully see the wilful perishment of one Marston? Must this army be utterly left, and not one enemy slain by us? Where are our former Troopers over the French? Must the honor of Spaine and Italy perish, for one only Navarra? No sooner had he spoken these words, but without staying for the signal, or any command from the Viceroy, he drove his horsemen over the ditch whom the rest of the horse following, Navarra was forced presently to give the signal to his Regiment, & they rising with violent fury, encountered the Germanes, who were by. this time come verie neere them. So the battels being met pelmed on all sides together, it was wonderful to behold; & surely this battell was the greatest that ever Italy had scene in many yeares: because that at *Terra* was hardly any thing else, but a strong encounter of horse. And the battels in the kingdom of *Naples* were rather disorders of array, or rash attempts, the deservedly to be termed battels. And as *Giavada* da, the smallest part of the *Pemians* power had fought; but here two potent armies fought with harts firmly combined, either to vanquish or dy. Being enflamed, not only by perill, glory, and hope, but also mutuall hatred, which severall nations bare each other. In the encounter of the German foot with the Spaniards two Colonels of great fame the one named *Jacob Emser*, a German, & *Zamudo* a Spaniard, fought as if it had bin by way of challenge, before the fronts of the battails: in which fight, the Spaniard killing his enemy, became the conqueror. The horsemen of the Confederates, were not comparable to them of France; beside that day they had bene so endangered, and merely torne by the great Ordnance, that they were thereby made farre inferior. So that, after they had a while sustayned the force of their enemies, rather by shoumes of stomacke, then strength of body, and *Allegres* sending for *Palice* with the reward, and the thousand foote also left at *Adonia*, they were charged on all sides.*

Fabrizio

A nick-name
given from
to a Spaniard.

This battell
of Rauenna
was termed
the most terrible
and dreadful
battell.

A valiant
fight between
the chief Colonels
on either side
Jacob Emser, &
Zamudo.

The flight of
the Viceroy
and Carrual,
and Antonio
de Leuca.

The Marquis
of Pescara
and *Paluda*
taken.

The Spanish
policy involved
in many of
the Germanes

The valiant
death of *Allegres*
and his
son *Viduares*

Fabrizio de Colonna fighting very valiantly, had bin taken by the Duke of *Ferrara* Soldiers. Wherefore, seeing themselves no longer able to hold out against the enemies fury, & enlisted also by the example of their Captaines, turned their backs likewise. For the Viceroy and *Carrual*, neuer tarrying the vermouthfull trial of valour in their Souldiers, ded; leading away with the reward, almost whole and vnrquite. With them also fled *Antonio de Leuca* man (as then) of infinite condition; but afterward being exerted in all degrees of martiall seruices, became a very famous General.

Now all the light horsemen were querthrowne, and *Pescara* their Captaine, weltering in blood & wounds; was taken alive, and so was the Marquisse of *Paluda*, who brought the second bargail into the fight, through a field of ditches, bushes, & bryars, which much disordered the array. Beside, the field was covered wholly (as it were) with the mangled bodies of men & horses, which proved no small hindrance to them. But yet the Spanish foote being for lacke of the horsemen, fought with incredible fiercenes. And although they had big shot what is pulled, at their first encounter with the Germanes, by reason of the strong ranks of *Pikosi* (yet after they came to the reach of their Swords, many of the Spaniards (being covered with their Targets) got between the legs of the Germanes, wounding them in those disarmed parts with their Daggers, and so committing a very great slaughter among them, attained (almost) to the midst of the battail. Among whom the Gascoigne foot, having won the way between the River and the Rampier, had sharply charged the Italian foote, who although they had sustained great losse, by the Ordnance playing hotly upon them, yet they had utterly expelled them, if *Allegres* had not given a fresh and violent charge on them with his horsemen, & with greater force & good fortune. For when he saw his son *Viduares* slain in his fight, and almost at the very first encounter, he unwilling to furnish after a losse so great, and goddous, ranne in with his horse, even among the thicket of his enemies, and fighting like a most valiant Captaine, after hee had slain many, was slain himselfe.

The Italian foote, when they could no

longer hold out against so great a multitude, began to shrink, but part of the Spaniards coming to their succor, they kept still in the battail; and the German foote, oppressed by the other part of the Spaniards, could scarcely stand up any longer. Beneath all the Spanish troops of horse being put to flight, *Gaston de Foix*, with a great multitude of his horsemen, set themselves to the Spaniards, and they retiring rather than dislodged out of the field, making good array, and in no part broken, took the way lying between the River & the high bank, going in advance all paces with their front very thick of men, and repelling the French with the strength thereof began to retire, and of order departed out of the field. Which *Navarra* beholding, was more desirous of death then life, & therefore not departing out of the battail, was taken prisoner. But slight-minded *du Foix*, not brooking to see the Spanish foote march thus away safely, & (Victors-like) with their whole ranks vnbroken, perceiving also, that the victory was imperfect, unless they were broken as well as the rest, a vehement fury, he charged on their rear with a troop of horse. But he being immediately enclosed in among them, and throwne off from his horse, or (as others say) oppressed with the pondering of his owne horse, was slain with a Pike thrust into his side. And doubtless, if they ought to wish for death (according as common opinion is) that have attained to the highest degree of felicity, then assuredly, the death of this noble *Count de Foix* was most ynfürfortunate, having gotten so glorious & eminent a victory. He dyed a very young man, having now won (among all men) immortal fame, because within the space of 5 Months, (being a General, almost before he was a Soldier) with incredible celerity & good success, he had gotten so many glorious victories. This Lord *Laureach* (his Cousin german) having received twenty greivous wounds lay beside him, well neere dead; but being carried to *Ferrara*, was cured, by the diligent care and cure of good Chyrurgions. Thus through the death of noble *du Foix*, the Spanish foote were suffered to march away without impeachment. The rest of the Army was put to flight, all the bag and baggage taken, together with their Ensigns & Ordnance: as also the

Pedro de Navarra taken prisoner.

The death of the General, *Gaston de Foix*, & the manner of his death.

The Lord Laureach cousin germane to *Gaston de Foix*.

CHAP. VI.

What prisoners were taken in this battell.

The number of men that were slain on both sides.

*A Towne of Picenum in Italy, beyonde Appenninus.

The courteous Treasures of Normandy.

Popes Legate, *John de Medicis, Fabricio de Colonna, Nauarro, the Marquess of Padua, Bitonto and Pescara*, and manie other Princes, the cheefe of the Nobilitie, and men of best name among the Spaniards and Neapolitans. The number of them that were slaine in this battell, is altogether vncertaine, yet among the variety of many reports, most do affirme, that (on both sides) there were slaine ten thousand at the least, whereof the third part were French, and the rest made vp among their enemies. But without all controversie, the losse on the victors side was farre the greater, by reason of the death of *Du Foix, Alagres*, and many of the French Nobility, as also of *Jacob Emser*, and other the valiantest Captaines of the German foot, to whose valour and manbood this victory (bought with such a deere effusion of blood) was chiefly attributed.

Moreover, many Captains of the *Gascoignes* and *Piccards* (which Nations lost that day all their glory among the French) were slaine with *Monsieur Molard*: but the death of *Du Foix* turpassed all other losses, with whom the courage, strength, life, and fiercenes of that army was utterly extinguished. The greatest part of the vanquished, that escaped from the battell, fled to *Cesena*, & from thence to further places: neither did the Viceroy stay any where, untill he came to *Ancona*, whether he brought but very few of his followers. For, the Duke of *Prine*, not onely raysed vp the Countenmen against them, but also sent souldiers to doe the like in *Pesaro*, onely they escaped safe, that passed thorough the *Florentines* Dominions.

And although after this battell, the victor Army tooke and sacked *Ravenna*, yet within very short time after, when the courteous Treasurer of *Normandie* (to fauour charges) had dismissed the *Italian* Souldiers; and part of the men of Armes were returned for *France*, and the Emperor had reuoked the Germanes: they were (by a new Army of Switzers that came in the Popes ayde, and with whom also ioyned the *Venetians*) quite dispossessed of the whole Dukedome of *Millaine*, and all that euer the French King had beside in *Italy*.

What they were whom the world tearmed by the name of the Sibyllae; Of their Prophecies: but more principally of those things which they spake concerning Christian Religion.

The History of the *Sibyll*, is generally held to be very certaine, because euery one (almost) knoweth, that they foretold and prophesied many things. Neuertheless, to know when, whence and what they were, what they did, & at what times they wrote and prophesied, is most familiar to him that hath read ancient and authenticall bookes. It made me therefore the more willing, to make a Collection of their history, and so much the rather, because it is a matter of no meane marvel, to contemplate the gift of Prophecy, which God gaue to those women in diuers manners. But particularly to prophesie of the coming of Christ, of his life, of his passion, and other great mysteries of our holy faith: these we do, purpose to speake of briefly, to the end, y the Ethnick Pagan may not any way excuse himself (although he will read but his owne bookes onely) no more then the Iew in reading his, and will not accept nor beleue our faith. I write this the rather, because (by common consent) those bookes were receyued among all the Gentiles, and the *Sibyllae* credited, especially by the Romanes, who in all their assayres and necessities had still their recourse to the *Sibylline* bookes, and tooke their best and most serious counsels from them.

All Historians, both Greeke & Latine haue written of them our intent then (shal best fit it selfe, without selecting to great a number, to make choise of the cheefest, the better to auoide prolixity, & set them down in some orderly maner. *Diodorus Siculus, Pliny, Solinus, Seruius, Martians Capellus, Lactantius Firmianus, Elianus, Suidas, Strabo, Marcus Varro, Virgil*, with the soundest part of all the Poets. *S. Augustin, Eusebius, Orosius*, and the more part of all our Historians, largely writeth on them.

Diodorus saith, that the word *Sibyll* or *Sibylla* importeth so much, as if a man should say, A woman Prophetesse, & filled or inspired

The certainty of the Sibyll history.

The diuers gifts of Prophecy bestowed on these women.

The Sibyll bookes receyued among the Gentiles.

Authors that haue writen concerning the Sibyll.

Chap. 6.

Of the Sibyllae.

Interpretation of the word Sibyll.

Diffinit about the Sibylla number.

Lat Firm in Diu. Instit. lib. 1.

1. Sibylla Persica called also Samberia.

Lat Firm in Diu. Instit. lib. 4.

The prophesie of Sibylla Persica concerning christ.

red by God. *Seruius* on the fourth of the *Æneides*, and *Lactantius* in his first Booke of *Diuine Institutions*, nameth them, *The Council of God*. *Suidas* termeth it *Prophecie*. These Authors do not agree how many there were of these women, neither consent at what times; because some determine more, and others lesse. *Martianus Capellus* makes mention but of two, others remember foure, as *Elianus* doth in his variable histories. *Marcus Varro* recordeth ten, whereof *Lactantius Firmianus* speaketh in his first booke, & him I meane to follow.

The first was of *Persica*, named *Samber*, 10, of whom *Nicanor* maketh great mention, euen he that wrote the actions of great *Alexander*. Others say, that there was of *Chaldaea*, & others, that she was a Iewesse, borne in a town seated neare to the red sea, called *Noa*. Her father was named *Berosus* and her mother *Erimantha*: she composed 24 bookes in verse, wherein she recounted wonderful things, concerning the coming of Christ, his life, and miracles. But yet they were vnder concealment, and deliuered with an artificiall obscuritie, which was not to be vnderstoode of euery one: whereto al the other *Sibyllae* conformed themselves. So that *Lactantius Firmianus* without particularizing any one of them, describeth their particular Prophecies of Christ. *Saint Augustin* maketh a summary of some things, which this woman and the rest said of Christ, and (among other) these very wordes.

He shall be taken by the wicked handes of rubeleeneers, and they shall giue him blows on the face with their sacrilegious hands: & spit on him with their foule polluted mouthes: And he shall giue them his shoulder, suffering to be whipped, and he holding his peace, without speaking any word, they shall thereby not know whence his words came. He shall likewise be crowned with thorns, giuing him gall to eat, & vinegar to drink. Behold what fasting they shall make for him: so that then blind and ignorant people, thou shalt not know thy God, conuersing among men. But shall crown him with thornes, providing for him vinegar & gall. Again, the peile of the Temple shall be rent, & the plaine bright day at noone, shall be like night, obscured or darkened for the space of three houres. And when he hath bin in hel, he shall returne to life, and rise againe.

These wordes are so pregnant, that they

are the very proper tearmes of the *Euangelistis* writing on Christ, and the verie saye that the Prophets prophesied, especially *Esay*, wherunto our holy Church giueth absolute beleefe. Beside, these Prophecies of the *Sibyllae*, are deuised fro the writings of *Lactantius*, *S. Augustine*, and *Cicero*, from *Marcus Varro*, & other Authors of the Gentiles, who dyed before the birth of Christ, as *Lactantius* approueth. And may moreover (of these felues) that they said, *That he shall raise the dead; The lame & impotent shall walke and runne soundly; the deafe shall heare; the blind shall see; the dumbe shall speake plainly*. A little farther is added, *With fine lawes & two fishes, hee shall feede fine thousand men in the wilderness: and that which remaineth, shal serue for satisfaction to the hope of manie*. Thusfare for the first *Sibylla*.

The second, they say, was a Native of *Libia*, and therefore named *Sibylla Libica*. Of her is large mention by *Euripides* in his Prologue called *Lamia*.

The third named her selfe *Themis*, and was surnamed *Delphica*, in regard that she was borne at *Delphos*. Other speakeeth *Christippus*, in his booke of *Diuination*: & this woman (according to *Pliny*) the Romans made a Statue vnto, and shee liued before the destruction of *Troy*: so that *Homar* hath fet downe in his workes, manie verses concerning her. *Diodorus Siculus* saith, that she was called *Daphne*, and was daughter to *Tiresias*, and that the *Argiues* hauing subdued *Thebes*, they sent her to *Delphos*, where afterward shee became a Prophetesse in the oracle of *Apollo*, so that (according to his relation) in that respect she was called *Delphica*.

The fourth was named *Cuma*, or *Italiana*, & not *Cumana*. *Amalethea*, of whom we shall haue cause to speake anon. She was a native of *Cimeria*, a City of *Campania*, neere to *Cuma*. Her learned and iudicious Prophecies, are written by *Varro* in the *Punicke* Bookes, and by *Pliny* in his *Annales*, and referred by *Lactantius*, and by *Virgil* in his *Eglogue*, which beginneth *Sicelides musa*, &c.

The fifth was that so famously remembred *Sibylla Erythraea*, who so clearly (by Gods assistance) prophesied the greater part of our Religion. V wherefore as *Lactantius* saith; *In times long since, those Gentiles reputed it as folly, & a defect of braine,*

Her words are greiued with the Propheies and Euangelists.

Lat Firm in Diu. Instit. lib. 4. cap. 15.

1. Sibylla Libica Enripides in Pro. Lam.

3. Sibylla Delphica, called also Themis, & Christippus in Lib. diu. Instit. lib. 4. cap. 9.

Diodor. Sicul. in lib. 5. cap. 14.

4. Sibylla Cumana, or Italiana.

Varro in Lib. Punic. & Pliny in Annal.

5. Sibylla Erythraea.

Lat Firm in Diu. Instit. lib. 5.

Appollodorus lib.
duarum.Eusebius in Hist.
Eccles lib. 8 cap. 3Aug. in lib. 1.
de Civitate dei.The proph-
etie of Sibilla
Erythræa.

to sake of the Sibillaes verses: because they runner it out not how it might bee, that a virgin should have a childe; and other supernatural things which they wrote, being declared in Bookes of ancient Historians and Poets. Appollodorus writeth of this Sibilla, that the Greekes going to besiege Troy, shee prophesied to them that Troy should be destroyed. Wherefore, all those that speake of her, make her more ancient then the destruction of Troy: yet Eusebius maketh her more nouell, for hee woulde haue her liue at such time as Romulus lyued in Rome. And Strabo saith, that she liued in the time of Alexander the Great. The Verses of this Sibilla Erythræa, are recited by Eusebius; the first words whereof, being traduced into our language, are thus: *Iesus Christi, Son of God, the Saviour*: which is a most admirable thing to think on. The consideration of those verses, and their further addition, are set downe by S. Augustine, in his 18. Booke of the City of God, deliuering it in these expresse words.

The earth shall sweate, a signe of iudgement: from heauen shall come a King, who shall be King for ever: and further, known in humane flesh, to the end, that by his presence he shall iudge the world. By which means, the incredulous, as well as the faithfull shall see God with their eyes, exalted among his Saints. And in the end of the world, the souls of men shall appeare in their owne flesh, and hee shall iudge them himselfe, when the rounditie of the incited earth, shall be full of clouds of dust and grasse. Men shall cast away Idols and Images, and all their Jewels and riches. Hee shall penetrate the inferiour parts, and breake the gates of the darkest hell. Then shall daye and cleare light be given to the Saints, & the flame of eternal fire shall burne the Wicked. All secrets shall be discovered, every man shall be knowne of his companion: and GOD shall discover the Consciences and hearts of all. There shall be weeping and gasping of teeth, and the Sunne and the Starres shall bee darkened; the beavens shall breake, and the Moone lose her light: the mountains shall be humbled, and the valleys made equal with the hills. There shall not be any thing in the world that shall be higher or lower one than another: mountaines and valleys shall be even and plain, & all things shall similitude. The earth shall be dried, and converted to dust, Wells, springs, and rivers shall burne, and with the same fire shall

the earth, sea, and ayre, be burned also. Then from heauen shall sound a Trumpet, with a dreadfull and horrible sound, and the earth in opening, shall discover the darknesse and confusion of hell, and the paines & torments of the miserable damned.

These things, and many more beside, are spoken of this Sibilla in those Verses, declaring clearly Christ God incarnate, with the last iudgement, and resurrection of the dead. Now these things, before they came to passe, were no way intelligible; & that was the reason, why the Ethnickes and Gentiles might holde them to be follies and mockeries. In like manner, this Sibilla Erythræa, knowing well that which should happen, concerning her owne selfe, spake these words: *They will repute me for a blind & mocking propheteesse. Neuerthelesse, when those things which I speak shall be accomplished and verified, they will remember me, and no more tearme me a lyar, but a Prophetesse of the Great God.*

The Romans had great store of the verses written by this Sibilla Erythræa, whereof Fenestella speaketh more at large, and saith: *That by a decree of the Senate, they sent Ambassadors unto her, in regard of her Prophetesies: and that they brought backe great store of her verses, which they laid up in the Capitoll, with them which they had before.* She was borne in Erythræa in Ionia, a Prouince of the lesser Asia, and abutting vpon Caria: this I relate the rather, because there are found many other Cities to be of that name; as one in Lydia, another in Bætia, another in Loeriu, and another in the Isle of Cyprus. But that shee was of that Erythræa in Ionia, Strabo is my Author, and saith, *That it hath a Port on the sea, neere to a Mountaine.*

Another Sibilla, being the sixte, was borne in a place named Piton, in the Isle of Samos, which is in the Ægeum sea, neere to Thrace: or else in the other Isle of Samos in the same sea, and opposite against Ephesus, for which cause, there was called Sibilla Samia, of whom further mention is made by Eratosthenes.

The seauenth in order, is Sibilla Cumana, named Amalthæa; others call her Demophila; and Suidas tearmeth her Ephyphila. Shee was called Cumana, because shee dwelt and prophesied in the Citie of Cumæ in Italy, a Prouince of Campania, neere vnto Baia. Of this woman

Sibilla Erythræa
her prophesies
of her selfe.Fenestella in lib.
de Vir.A City in Asia
neere vnto
Chios.

Strabo in lib. 14.

Sibilla Samia
Eratosthenes.

Sibilla Cumana.

A pleasant
City in Campania
on the Sea.Nine Bookes
brought to
Targuntius
Superbut to
be sold by
this Sibilla
Cumana.Plinius in lib. 5.
cap. 4.M. Varro in
lib. 1. cap. 4.Fenestella in lib.
de Vir.Virgil in Æn.
lib. 6.

man writeth Dionysius Halicarnassens, Solinus, Aulus Gellius, and Seruius. This Sibilla brought to sell to Targuntius, the proud King of Rome, nine seuerall bookes; neuerthelesse, Suidas saith, that it was to Targuntius Prifcus. For which Bookes, he demanded three hundred peeces of gold, monie then of great value: but because the price seemed excessive to the king, he would not buy them. Whereupon, she burned three of them in his presence, and yet demanded the same summe for the six that remained. Then the King thought her motion to be more impertinent then the former, and seemed to mocke her: whereupon she burned three more of the sixe, and told him, that she had but three left of the nine, and yet he should giue her as much for those three, as if hee had bought them all. The King being amazed at this her confident determination, and conceiuing (by good aduice) that those Bookes must needs containe some extraordinary great mysteries; bought the three at that price, which formerly he demanded for them all, and those Bookes were placed in the Capitoll, where they were held in soueraine reuerence & veneration.

Pliny saith, that she had but 3 Bookes in all, and that she burned two of them, & yet would haue as much for that one, as for all the three. But it sufficeth, that those Bookes were kept in great reputation, with them that the Romanes had of the other Sibillaes. For as Marcus Varro reporteth from Laetantius; the Romanes bestowed great cost and paines, in searching all Cities and Townes of Greece, Asia, and Italy, and brought to Rome all the Verses & Prophetesies, that could bee recovered of the Sibillaes; especially those of Sibilla Erythræa, for the care and safe keeping of which Bookes, fifteen men were particularly appointed, and none other but they might touch them. Fenestella sayeth, that when the Capitoll was burnt, the Senate sent againe, to entreate Sibilla Erythræa, to helpe them in those Bookes. In which respect it is to be presumed, that they had not at Rome the Bookes of Sibilla Cumana onely, but likewise al the rest. And that Sibilla, whereof Virgil maketh mention in the beginning of his 6 Book, who kept herselfe at Cumæ, where (he sayeth) Æneas tooke shipping; must needs

be the other Cumæa, whereof we haue already spoken. For it can be no way likely, that Virgil should suppose a Sibilla, at such time as Æneas entred into Italy, nor that she liued till the fall King of Rome. Beside, Seruius interprets the same passage, saying, *Or else it must needs be, that shee who sold the Bookes, was named Cumana, although it was not her name, and yet notwithstanding, she dyed in that City.*

The eight Sibilla, is said to be a native in the Territory of Troy, in a place named Marmisa, and this woman is reputed to be very ancient. For Heracleides Ponticus saith, that she liued in the time of Solon the Philosopher, and of the great King Cyrus.

The ninth Sibilla, diuers Authors doe report to be of the Country of Phrygia, and that shee prophesied in the City of Ançyra; of which name were two Cities, one in Phrygia, and the other in Galatia.

The tenth Sibilla, named herselfe Albunea, and was borne in the City of Tibur, which standing fixteene miles distant from Rome, shee therefore was tearmed Sibilla Tiburtina.

Now, all these Sibillaes left many Bookes and Verses, wherein they prophesied of things that were to come, and principally of the fortunes of Rome, were they good or bad: so that in all important affaires, the Romanes would diligently search, and turne over the leaues of the Sibilline Bookes, and order their government wholly by them. And in the same manner, as when we would haue our speeches credited, we vse to say, this is Gospell: so would they say, these are the words of Sibilla; such was their credite & account among them. And for this cause Iuuenall said,

Credite me vobis est solium recitare Sibilla.

Heereupon some said, that the Sibillaes gaue their answers, written vpon leaues of Trees, as Virgil witnesseth in his first Booke. Cicero speaketh of those Sibillaes with great reuerence, saying: *As wee haue formerly done, euen so from the capitall Letters of their verses, we may deriue, great, good, and gracious sentences.*

Among many other things, they haue spoken much of Christian Religion, concerning the birth, life, and death of Iesus Christ, as we haue already declared. Si-

Strabon in lib. 3
cap. 9.

8 Sibilla Hellespontica.

* Hee was
scholler to
Pyto and Aristotle.
9 Sibilla Phrygia.10 Sibilla Tiburtina.
* A City of the Sabines
16 miles from
Rome.The Romanes
respect of the
Sibilline
Bookes.Iuuenall.
Virgil in Æn.
lib. 6.Cicero in Diuina
nat. lib. 2.Diuers Pro-
phetesies con-
cerning Christ

Sibilla

billas Delphica said, The Prophet shall be borne of a Virgin, without any fleshly copulation. Another said: Hec that is to come, shall come, and shall reigne in poverty, concealing his Sovereignty, and shall come from the wombe of a Virgin. And Josephus (although he was a Jew by race and profession) speaking of the Tower of Babylon, hath these words. Sibilla well remembered it, when she said thus. At such as men having but one Language, some of them shall build a very high Tower, as if thereby they would mount up to Heavens: God shall (even then) send great windes to destroy it, and divers Languages shall happen among the workmen, and therefore is the Tower named Babylon.

The acknowledgment of the Sibillaes writings.

These things, and others such like, were written by the Sibillaes, and acknowledged both by Christians, Jewes, and Gentiles, which the Gentiles (for their sinnes) fearfully vnderstood. But it fell our well for christians afterward, into whose hands these Bookes came, as *Lactantius*, *Ensebius*, *S. Augustine*: the knowledge of which Bookes, or the least part of their Prophecies greatly confirmed the Christian, and quite confounded the Pagane and Gentile. There is report made of some other, who were also named Sibillaes, because they were reputed to be Divineresses and Prophetesses: as *Cassandra*, the daughter of King *Priamus*, and *Campusia* *Colophania*, the daughter of *Calcas*, and *Mania* *Thessalonica*, daughter to *Tiresias* the *Thebane*; nevertheless, Historians speake onely but of these ten.

CHAP. VII.

Concerning the seven Marvailles and Wonders of the World; what they were; also in what severall parts and places of the World, they are remembered to bee by greatest Writers.

Such as have read ancient Historians, Orators, and Poets, do finde, that they make mention in many of their Books, of 7 Marvailles or Wonders of the World, and that they were in divers places. All they that have written, do consent to six, but concerning the seventh, there are variable opinions, and likewise a great difference,

in placing one before another. Notwithstanding, I purpose to speake first of the wallles of *Babylon*, which are ranked in the number of these Wonders, & vpon good reason, because the greatnesse of the place, as also the scituation thereof, seemeth incredible.

In our former Volume, and in the Chapter of the diversity of Languages, wee have sufficiently declared, that they were founded in the same place, whereas *Nimrod* builded the Tower of *Babel*, and whereof the City tooke name. Concerning those wallles, according to the founded opinions, namely *Iustine*, and also as *Trogus Pompeius* saith, they were founded by the famous Queene *Semiramis*, Mother to *Ninus*. *Diadorus Siculus*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and *Paulus Orosius* doe maintaine the same, with the greater part of our Gentile Authors. Nevertheless, *S. Augustine* and *Josephus* in his Antiquities say, that they were builded by *Nimrod*, assisted by the proud Gyants then living. But bee it, that the foundation or reparation of them was done by *Semiramis*; it is sufficient, that they were greatly ennobled by her.

The scituation of the City was with a Plain on the one side, and on the other ran the River of *Euphrates*. The modell & figure of this City, was in a quadrangle, and the wallles wonderfully high, as also wrought with marvailous cunning. The matter was of stone, ioyned with Lime & Ciment, growing in the Mines of that Country; but especially in the great Lake of *India*, where sometime stood *Sodom* & *Gomorrah*, named *Alphalida*, which yeldeth such a kinde of slime or mud, as bindeth like Pitch or Glue, the very strongest that is to be found. Historians do disagree about the height and largenes of the circuit, which might happen, through the diversity of the measures they then used. *Pliny* saith, that the circuit of those wallles was threescore thousand paces, so that one of the squares was fiftene thousand. He also saith, that they were two hundred foote in height, which foote exceeded by three fingers breadth, the measure of the Romane foote: and the thicknesse was fifty foote of the same measure, which was (indeed) a matter very admirable.

Diadorus Siculus saith, that the wals contained in all round about 360 Stades, and that

The fifth wonder of the world.

A reference to the first volume of this work.

Iustin in his Hist. abrog. lib. 1. c. 1. v. 1. v. 2. v. 3. v. 4. v. 5. v. 6. v. 7. v. 8. v. 9. v. 10. v. 11. v. 12. v. 13. v. 14. v. 15. v. 16. v. 17. v. 18. v. 19. v. 20. v. 21. v. 22. v. 23. v. 24. v. 25. v. 26. v. 27. v. 28. v. 29. v. 30. v. 31. v. 32. v. 33. v. 34. v. 35. v. 36. v. 37. v. 38. v. 39. v. 40. v. 41. v. 42. v. 43. v. 44. v. 45. v. 46. v. 47. v. 48. v. 49. v. 50. v. 51. v. 52. v. 53. v. 54. v. 55. v. 56. v. 57. v. 58. v. 59. v. 60. v. 61. v. 62. v. 63. v. 64. v. 65. v. 66. v. 67. v. 68. v. 69. v. 70. v. 71. v. 72. v. 73. v. 74. v. 75. v. 76. v. 77. v. 78. v. 79. v. 80. v. 81. v. 82. v. 83. v. 84. v. 85. v. 86. v. 87. v. 88. v. 89. v. 90. v. 91. v. 92. v. 93. v. 94. v. 95. v. 96. v. 97. v. 98. v. 99. v. 100.

Diad. Sicul. in lib. 1. c. 1. v. 1. v. 2. v. 3. v. 4. v. 5. v. 6. v. 7. v. 8. v. 9. v. 10. v. 11. v. 12. v. 13. v. 14. v. 15. v. 16. v. 17. v. 18. v. 19. v. 20. v. 21. v. 22. v. 23. v. 24. v. 25. v. 26. v. 27. v. 28. v. 29. v. 30. v. 31. v. 32. v. 33. v. 34. v. 35. v. 36. v. 37. v. 38. v. 39. v. 40. v. 41. v. 42. v. 43. v. 44. v. 45. v. 46. v. 47. v. 48. v. 49. v. 50. v. 51. v. 52. v. 53. v. 54. v. 55. v. 56. v. 57. v. 58. v. 59. v. 60. v. 61. v. 62. v. 63. v. 64. v. 65. v. 66. v. 67. v. 68. v. 69. v. 70. v. 71. v. 72. v. 73. v. 74. v. 75. v. 76. v. 77. v. 78. v. 79. v. 80. v. 81. v. 82. v. 83. v. 84. v. 85. v. 86. v. 87. v. 88. v. 89. v. 90. v. 91. v. 92. v. 93. v. 94. v. 95. v. 96. v. 97. v. 98. v. 99. v. 100.

S. Aug. in lib. 1. c. 1. v. 1. v. 2. v. 3. v. 4. v. 5. v. 6. v. 7. v. 8. v. 9. v. 10. v. 11. v. 12. v. 13. v. 14. v. 15. v. 16. v. 17. v. 18. v. 19. v. 20. v. 21. v. 22. v. 23. v. 24. v. 25. v. 26. v. 27. v. 28. v. 29. v. 30. v. 31. v. 32. v. 33. v. 34. v. 35. v. 36. v. 37. v. 38. v. 39. v. 40. v. 41. v. 42. v. 43. v. 44. v. 45. v. 46. v. 47. v. 48. v. 49. v. 50. v. 51. v. 52. v. 53. v. 54. v. 55. v. 56. v. 57. v. 58. v. 59. v. 60. v. 61. v. 62. v. 63. v. 64. v. 65. v. 66. v. 67. v. 68. v. 69. v. 70. v. 71. v. 72. v. 73. v. 74. v. 75. v. 76. v. 77. v. 78. v. 79. v. 80. v. 81. v. 82. v. 83. v. 84. v. 85. v. 86. v. 87. v. 88. v. 89. v. 90. v. 91. v. 92. v. 93. v. 94. v. 95. v. 96. v. 97. v. 98. v. 99. v. 100.

Joseph. in lib. 1. c. 1. v. 1. v. 2. v. 3. v. 4. v. 5. v. 6. v. 7. v. 8. v. 9. v. 10. v. 11. v. 12. v. 13. v. 14. v. 15. v. 16. v. 17. v. 18. v. 19. v. 20. v. 21. v. 22. v. 23. v. 24. v. 25. v. 26. v. 27. v. 28. v. 29. v. 30. v. 31. v. 32. v. 33. v. 34. v. 35. v. 36. v. 37. v. 38. v. 39. v. 40. v. 41. v. 42. v. 43. v. 44. v. 45. v. 46. v. 47. v. 48. v. 49. v. 50. v. 51. v. 52. v. 53. v. 54. v. 55. v. 56. v. 57. v. 58. v. 59. v. 60. v. 61. v. 62. v. 63. v. 64. v. 65. v. 66. v. 67. v. 68. v. 69. v. 70. v. 71. v. 72. v. 73. v. 74. v. 75. v. 76. v. 77. v. 78. v. 79. v. 80. v. 81. v. 82. v. 83. v. 84. v. 85. v. 86. v. 87. v. 88. v. 89. v. 90. v. 91. v. 92. v. 93. v. 94. v. 95. v. 96. v. 97. v. 98. v. 99. v. 100.

The scituation of the City and Wallles.

The circuit of the City.

The height of them, and the thicknesse.

Concerning the circuit of the Wallles.

Plin in lib. 1. c. 1. v. 1. v. 2. v. 3. v. 4. v. 5. v. 6. v. 7. v. 8. v. 9. v. 10. v. 11. v. 12. v. 13. v. 14. v. 15. v. 16. v. 17. v. 18. v. 19. v. 20. v. 21. v. 22. v. 23. v. 24. v. 25. v. 26. v. 27. v. 28. v. 29. v. 30. v. 31. v. 32. v. 33. v. 34. v. 35. v. 36. v. 37. v. 38. v. 39. v. 40. v. 41. v. 42. v. 43. v. 44. v. 45. v. 46. v. 47. v. 48. v. 49. v. 50. v. 51. v. 52. v. 53. v. 54. v. 55. v. 56. v. 57. v. 58. v. 59. v. 60. v. 61. v. 62. v. 63. v. 64. v. 65. v. 66. v. 67. v. 68. v. 69. v. 70. v. 71. v. 72. v. 73. v. 74. v. 75. v. 76. v. 77. v. 78. v. 79. v. 80. v. 81. v. 82. v. 83. v. 84. v. 85. v. 86. v. 87. v. 88. v. 89. v. 90. v. 91. v. 92. v. 93. v. 94. v. 95. v. 96. v. 97. v. 98. v. 99. v. 100.

The height of them, and the thicknesse.

Plin in lib. 1. c. 1. v. 1. v. 2. v. 3. v. 4. v. 5. v. 6. v. 7. v. 8. v. 9. v. 10. v. 11. v. 12. v. 13. v. 14. v. 15. v. 16. v. 17. v. 18. v. 19. v. 20. v. 21. v. 22. v. 23. v. 24. v. 25. v. 26. v. 27. v. 28. v. 29. v. 30. v. 31. v. 32. v. 33. v. 34. v. 35. v. 36. v. 37. v. 38. v. 39. v. 40. v. 41. v. 42. v. 43. v. 44. v. 45. v. 46. v. 47. v. 48. v. 49. v. 50. v. 51. v. 52. v. 53. v. 54. v. 55. v. 56. v. 57. v. 58. v. 59. v. 60. v. 61. v. 62. v. 63. v. 64. v. 65. v. 66. v. 67. v. 68. v. 69. v. 70. v. 71. v. 72. v. 73. v. 74. v. 75. v. 76. v. 77. v. 78. v. 79. v. 80. v. 81. v. 82. v. 83. v. 84. v. 85. v. 86. v. 87. v. 88. v. 89. v. 90. v. 91. v. 92. v. 93. v. 94. v. 95. v. 96. v. 97. v. 98. v. 99. v. 100.

The height of them, and the thicknesse.

Plin in lib. 1. c. 1. v. 1. v. 2. v. 3. v. 4. v. 5. v. 6. v. 7. v. 8. v. 9. v. 10. v. 11. v. 12. v. 13. v. 14. v. 15. v. 16. v. 17. v. 18. v. 19. v. 20. v. 21. v. 22. v. 23. v. 24. v. 25. v. 26. v. 27. v. 28. v. 29. v. 30. v. 31. v. 32. v. 33. v. 34. v. 35. v. 36. v. 37. v. 38. v. 39. v. 40. v. 41. v. 42. v. 43. v. 44. v. 45. v. 46. v. 47. v. 48. v. 49. v. 50. v. 51. v. 52. v. 53. v. 54. v. 55. v. 56. v. 57. v. 58. v. 59. v. 60. v. 61. v. 62. v. 63. v. 64. v. 65. v. 66. v. 67. v. 68. v. 69. v. 70. v. 71. v. 72. v. 73. v. 74. v. 75. v. 76. v. 77. v. 78. v. 79. v. 80. v. 81. v. 82. v. 83. v. 84. v. 85. v. 86. v. 87. v. 88. v. 89. v. 90. v. 91. v. 92. v. 93. v. 94. v. 95. v. 96. v. 97. v. 98. v. 99. v. 100.

Plin in lib. 1. c. 1. v. 1. v. 2. v. 3. v. 4. v. 5. v. 6. v. 7. v. 8. v. 9. v. 10. v. 11. v. 12. v. 13. v. 14. v. 15. v. 16. v. 17. v. 18. v. 19. v. 20. v. 21. v. 22. v. 23. v. 24. v. 25. v. 26. v. 27. v. 28. v. 29. v. 30. v. 31. v. 32. v. 33. v. 34. v. 35. v. 36. v. 37. v. 38. v. 39. v. 40. v. 41. v. 42. v. 43. v. 44. v. 45. v. 46. v. 47. v. 48. v. 49. v. 50. v. 51. v. 52. v. 53. v. 54. v. 55. v. 56. v. 57. v. 58. v. 59. v. 60. v. 61. v. 62. v. 63. v. 64. v. 65. v. 66. v. 67. v. 68. v. 69. v. 70. v. 71. v. 72. v. 73. v. 74. v. 75. v. 76. v. 77. v. 78. v. 79. v. 80. v. 81. v. 82. v. 83. v. 84. v. 85. v. 86. v. 87. v. 88. v. 89. v. 90. v. 91. v. 92. v. 93. v. 94. v. 95. v. 96. v. 97. v. 98. v. 99. v. 100.

A Stade is reputed 100 paces.

Three hundred thousand men set on worke daily.

Paul Oros. in lib. 1. c. 1. v. 1. v. 2. v. 3. v. 4. v. 5. v. 6. v. 7. v. 8. v. 9. v. 10. v. 11. v. 12. v. 13. v. 14. v. 15. v. 16. v. 17. v. 18. v. 19. v. 20. v. 21. v. 22. v. 23. v. 24. v. 25. v. 26. v. 27. v. 28. v. 29. v. 30. v. 31. v. 32. v. 33. v. 34. v. 35. v. 36. v. 37. v. 38. v. 39. v. 40. v. 41. v. 42. v. 43. v. 44. v. 45. v. 46. v. 47. v. 48. v. 49. v. 50. v. 51. v. 52. v. 53. v. 54. v. 55. v. 56. v. 57. v. 58. v. 59. v. 60. v. 61. v. 62. v. 63. v. 64. v. 65. v. 66. v. 67. v. 68. v. 69. v. 70. v. 71. v. 72. v. 73. v. 74. v. 75. v. 76. v. 77. v. 78. v. 79. v. 80. v. 81. v. 82. v. 83. v. 84. v. 85. v. 86. v. 87. v. 88. v. 89. v. 90. v. 91. v. 92. v. 93. v. 94. v. 95. v. 96. v. 97. v. 98. v. 99. v. 100.

Strabo in lib. 1. c. 1. v. 1. v. 2. v. 3. v. 4. v. 5. v. 6. v. 7. v. 8. v. 9. v. 10. v. 11. v. 12. v. 13. v. 14. v. 15. v. 16. v. 17. v. 18. v. 19. v. 20. v. 21. v. 22. v. 23. v. 24. v. 25. v. 26. v. 27. v. 28. v. 29. v. 30. v. 31. v. 32. v. 33. v. 34. v. 35. v. 36. v. 37. v. 38. v. 39. v. 40. v. 41. v. 42. v. 43. v. 44. v. 45. v. 46. v. 47. v. 48. v. 49. v. 50. v. 51. v. 52. v. 53. v. 54. v. 55. v. 56. v. 57. v. 58. v. 59. v. 60. v. 61. v. 62. v. 63. v. 64. v. 65. v. 66. v. 67. v. 68. v. 69. v. 70. v. 71. v. 72. v. 73. v. 74. v. 75. v. 76. v. 77. v. 78. v. 79. v. 80. v. 81. v. 82. v. 83. v. 84. v. 85. v. 86. v. 87. v. 88. v. 89. v. 90. v. 91. v. 92. v. 93. v. 94. v. 95. v. 96. v. 97. v. 98. v. 99. v. 100.

Jul. Solim Poly. in lib. 1. c. 1. v. 1. v. 2. v. 3. v. 4. v. 5. v. 6. v. 7. v. 8. v. 9. v. 10. v. 11. v. 12. v. 13. v. 14. v. 15. v. 16. v. 17. v. 18. v. 19. v. 20. v. 21. v. 22. v. 23. v. 24. v. 25. v. 26. v. 27. v. 28. v. 29. v. 30. v. 31. v. 32. v. 33. v. 34. v. 35. v. 36. v. 37. v. 38. v. 39. v. 40. v. 41. v. 42. v. 43. v. 44. v. 45. v. 46. v. 47. v. 48. v. 49. v. 50. v. 51. v. 52. v. 53. v. 54. v. 55. v. 56. v. 57. v. 58. v. 59. v. 60. v. 61. v. 62. v. 63. v. 64. v. 65. v. 66. v. 67. v. 68. v. 69. v. 70. v. 71. v. 72. v. 73. v. 74. v. 75. v. 76. v. 77. v. 78. v. 79. v. 80. v. 81. v. 82. v. 83. v. 84. v. 85. v. 86. v. 87. v. 88. v. 89. v. 90. v. 91. v. 92. v. 93. v. 94. v. 95. v. 96. v. 97. v. 98. v. 99. v. 100.

An hundred Gates of metall in the City.

Arifm in Politic. lib. 1. c. 1. v. 1. v. 2. v. 3. v. 4. v. 5. v. 6. v. 7. v. 8. v. 9. v. 10. v. 11. v. 12. v. 13. v. 14. v. 15. v. 16. v. 17. v. 18. v. 19. v. 20. v. 21. v. 22. v. 23. v. 24. v. 25. v. 26. v. 27. v. 28. v. 29. v. 30. v. 31. v. 32. v. 33. v. 34. v. 35. v. 36. v. 37. v. 38. v. 39. v. 40. v. 41. v. 42. v. 43. v. 44. v. 45. v. 46. v. 47. v. 48. v. 49. v. 50. v. 51. v. 52. v. 53. v. 54. v. 55. v. 56. v. 57. v. 58. v. 59. v. 60. v. 61. v. 62. v. 63. v. 64. v. 65. v. 66. v. 67. v. 68. v. 69. v. 70. v. 71. v. 72. v. 73. v. 74. v. 75. v. 76. v. 77. v. 78. v. 79. v. 80. v. 81. v. 82. v. 83. v. 84. v. 85. v. 86. v. 87. v. 88. v. 89. v. 90. v. 91. v. 92. v. 93. v. 94. v. 95. v. 96. v. 97. v. 98. v. 99. v. 100.

The second wonder of the world.

The Colossus of the Sunne at Rhodes.

Plin in lib. 1. c. 1. v. 1. v. 2. v. 3. v. 4. v. 5. v. 6. v. 7. v. 8. v. 9. v. 10. v. 11. v. 12. v. 13. v. 14. v. 15. v. 16. v. 17. v. 18. v. 19. v. 20. v. 21. v. 22. v. 23. v. 24. v. 25. v. 26. v. 27. v. 28. v. 29. v. 30. v. 31. v. 32. v. 33. v. 34. v. 35. v. 36. v. 37. v. 38. v. 39. v. 40. v. 41. v. 42. v. 43. v. 44. v. 45. v. 46. v. 47. v. 48. v. 49. v. 50. v. 51. v. 52. v. 53. v. 54. v. 55. v. 56. v. 57. v. 58. v. 59. v. 60. v. 61. v. 62. v. 63. v. 64. v. 65. v. 66. v. 67. v. 68. v. 69. v. 70. v. 71. v. 72. v. 73. v. 74. v. 75. v. 76. v. 77. v. 78. v. 79. v. 80. v. 81. v. 82. v. 83. v. 84. v. 85. v. 86. v. 87. v. 88. v. 89. v. 90. v. 91. v. 92. v. 93. v. 94. v. 95. v. 96. v. 97. v. 98. v. 99. v. 100.

The second place of the world wonders.

The Colossus of the Sunne at Rhodes.

Plin in lib. 1. c. 1. v. 1. v. 2. v. 3. v. 4. v. 5. v. 6. v. 7. v. 8. v. 9. v. 10. v. 11. v. 12. v. 13. v. 14. v. 15. v. 16. v. 17. v. 18. v. 19. v. 20. v. 21. v. 22. v. 23. v. 24. v. 25. v. 26. v. 27. v. 28. v. 29. v. 30. v. 31. v. 32. v. 33. v. 34. v. 35. v. 36. v. 37. v. 38. v. 39. v. 40. v. 41. v. 42. v. 43. v. 44. v. 45. v. 46. v. 47. v. 48. v. 49. v. 50. v. 51. v. 52. v. 53. v. 54. v. 55. v. 56. v. 57. v. 58. v. 59. v. 60. v. 61. v. 62. v. 63. v. 64. v. 65. v. 66. v. 67. v. 68. v. 69. v. 70. v. 71. v. 72. v. 73. v. 74. v. 75. v. 76. v. 77. v. 78. v. 79. v. 80. v. 81. v. 82. v. 83. v. 84. v. 85. v. 86. v. 87. v. 88. v. 89. v. 90. v. 91. v. 92. v. 93. v. 94. v. 95. v. 96. v. 97. v. 98. v. 99. v. 100.

The Colossus of the Sunne at Rhodes.

Plin in lib. 1. c. 1. v. 1. v. 2. v. 3. v. 4. v. 5. v. 6. v. 7. v. 8. v. 9. v. 10. v. 11. v. 12. v. 13. v. 14. v. 15. v. 16. v. 17. v. 18. v. 19. v. 20. v. 21. v. 22. v. 23. v. 24. v. 25. v. 26. v. 27. v. 28. v. 29. v. 30. v. 31. v. 32. v. 33. v. 34. v. 35. v. 36. v. 37. v. 38. v. 39. v. 40. v. 41. v. 42. v. 43. v. 44. v. 45. v. 46. v. 47. v. 48. v. 49. v. 50. v. 51. v. 52. v. 53. v. 54. v. 55. v. 56. v. 57. v. 58. v. 59. v. 60. v. 61. v. 62. v. 63. v. 64. v. 65. v. 66. v. 67. v. 68. v. 69. v. 70. v. 71. v. 72. v. 73. v. 74. v. 75. v. 76. v. 77. v. 78. v. 79. v. 80. v. 81. v. 82. v. 83. v. 84. v. 85. v. 86. v. 87. v. 88. v. 89. v. 90. v. 91. v. 92. v. 93. v. 94. v. 95. v. 96. v. 97. v. 98. v. 99. v. 100.

Plin in lib. 1. c. 1. v. 1. v. 2. v. 3. v. 4. v. 5. v. 6. v. 7. v. 8. v. 9. v. 10. v. 11. v. 12. v. 13. v. 14. v. 15. v. 16. v. 17. v. 18. v. 19. v. 20. v. 21. v. 22. v. 23. v. 24. v. 25. v. 26. v. 27. v. 28. v. 29. v.

The Pyramids
of Egypt.

imitation. These Pyramids were certaine buildings, which began beneath in quadrangle forme, and so rose vp (in a diminishing manner) a huge height, in the shape of a painted Diamond. And yet notwithstanding, they were of such greatness and taulnesse, consisting of such and so many stones, as also wrought with such perfection, as it is no easie matter to describe them, neyther to winne credible opinion of them. And yet (me-thinks) things so sufficiently authorized, by Authors both Christians and Gentiles; men well-esteem'd and approv'd; their credence is not rashly to be slighted or denied. These Pyramids then are as very high towers, finishing in a spire or sharp point, and the etimology of the word cometh of *Pyr* in Greeke, as much to say, as fire, because it seemeth, that the height cometh to lessen and fayle, like as a flame of fire doth.

Among all other Pyramids, Historians make particular mention of 3 which were in Egypt, betweene the City of *Alempois*, which is now the *Cayro*, and the Ile that maketh or createth *Nilus*, named *Delta*, one of which is ranked among the seven wonders. For it is said, that to the making thereof, there were continually employed three hundred and threescore thousand men, and the work lasted twenty whole yeares. Many do affirme it, and particularly *Pliny* in speaking more amply, alledging twelve authors for his warrant, as *Wisdorus Siculus*, *Strabo*, *Pomponius Mela*, *Herodotus*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and many more, whereof some say, that the foundation and ground-work of this Pyramid, covered and contained eight dayes journey of ground: others say less, and most agree on fixe, and as many (little more or lesse) in the height. *Pliny* saith, that each quadrangle or square contained 883 foote in breadth. The stones were of Marble, brought out of *Arabia*, and *Pomponius Mela* maintaineth, that the most part of them were thirty foote in largenesse. Whereby may be gathered, that so many thousand men must needs be busied, some in cutting and squaring those stones, others in bringing and carrying them, and other in laying them, beside the mighty multitudes, employed for fetching them so far off, and about other necessary occasions.

The Etimology
of the word Pyra-
mid.

*Pliny lib. 36.
cap. 12.
Diodor. Sicul.
in lib. 1.
Strabo in lib. 10.
Pomponius Me-
la in lib. 1.
Herodotus in lib. 2.
Ammian. Mar-
cellinus in lib. 1.*

The breadth
of every
square.

Three hun-
dred & three-
score thou-
sand men em-
ployed dayly,
twenty yeares
space.

Of the other Pyramids the like is spoken, at least of the other two fore-named, one whereof was made by the vanity of the Kings of Egypt, who were the very richest in all the world: as well by the fruitfulness of the earth, as in regard also, that no man possessed anything in proper, but only the King. Besides, after such times as *Joseph* the Sonne of *Jacob*, advised *Pharaoh*, to preferre the Corne in seven yeares abundance, as provision for the time of famine: during which space, by means of that Corne, he had all the Lands of his people. Thus you see how the Kings became rich, and were served by their subjects; even as if they had bene their slaves. And Historians doe faithfully report, that the Kings caused those Pyramids to be builded, only to feed their people that labored about the, and because they should leave no wealth to their successors. For they affected rather, to dispense in this manner with their people, than that any of their heyres should attaine the meanes to exceed the deceased by their goods and money.

I finde it recorded also, that those Pyramids served for Sepulchers to their Kings. And whosoever doth well consider the multitude of hebrew people that served in Egypt, and by whom the Kings made their Cities and Fortresses to be builded, will not be much amazed hereat, in regard that it is very certaine, that fixe hundred thousand men on foote, beside a great multitude of women & small children; departed out of that servitude, and that all of them were employed, and served in those wonderfull works. Whereby it is no marvaile at all, that such buildings should be made, for good Authors do avouch, that in Rootes, Garlike, and Onions, to sustaine the multitude of workers, there were dispensed 18 hundred Talents, which at the rate (now adaves veld) is a million and foure-score thousand Crownes. *Diodorus* saith that round about it, and a large compass also some-what farre off, there was not to be seene the very smallest house, neyther apparence that any man had trodden there, nor any signe of a foundation, but only Sand, as small as the finest Salt. Whereby it is med, as if that Pyramid had bene planted there, by Gods owne hand, or to haue growne so naturally, and the top appeared

The Kings of
Egypt the chief of
the world.

The reason
building those
Pyramids.

Those Py-
ramids were
Sepulchers
for their
Kings.

In what man-
ner the work-
men were fed.

*Diodor Sicul.
in lib. 1. cap. 12.*

red to touch heaven.

If we set aside those ancient Bookes, we shal yet finde testimonies of our owne times. *Peter Martyr of Millaine*, a very learned man, who was Ambassadour for the Kings Catholique, *Don Ferdinand*, & *Dame Isabella*, to the Soldane of Egypt, in the yeare 1501. wrote a Booke of what he had seene and done in his Ambassage. There he declareth, (as he did the like by word of mouth) that he had seene those Pyramids, & agreed with that which those ancient Authours had written of them. Particularly, he speaketh of two scene by him, which were of incredible height, and saith, that he measured the square of one, finding it to be 315. paces; for that it contained about thirteen hundred in circuit, and on each side very huge stones made vp the buildings. Moreover he saith, that certaine men in his company, ascended vp one of them, with very great labour, & long space of time, and they declared to him, that on the toppe of all (as we vld to say) there was one stone wholly of it selfe, so great, as thirty men might easily stand vpon it. And when they were about, and they said, they seemed as if they had lost their sight, and only with looking downward, and tooke themselves to bee in a Cloud, such was the extremity of height, their braines being much troubled, and turned vpside-downe. So that (saith hee) there neede no doubt at all be made, concerning the great number of people employed, and the expences spoken of, in doing those works.

The fourth Meruaile or VVonder, was the *Manfolas*. *Artemisia* was wife to *Manfola*, King of *Caria*, a Province in the greater *Asia*. This woman (according to *Aulus Gellius*, and other historians) so dearly affected her husband, as it was generally recorded for a most notable example. Her husband the King dying first, he lamented his death with teares and complaints, more then were of ordinary custome. Needs would the eare & a Tombe or Sepulcher for him, answerable to the extraordinary loue shee bare him; and such (indeede) it proved to be, that it was recorded among the seven wonders of the world. The stone of the whole construure, was of a most excellent Marble, consisting of foure hun-

dred and eleven foote in circuit about, and five and twenty cubites in height: it had also about it, fixe and twenty Colombs of admirable stature, and likewise of as famous sculpture.

The building was open on all sides, with Arches of seveny three foote in widenesse; and it was framed by the hands of the most exquisite workmen then to be found. The part towards the East, was made & engraven by *Scopas*; that on the North, by *Briaix*; the South side by *Timotheus*; and that on the West, by *Leochares*. The perfection of the work was such, and that on the whole body so sumptuous & beautifull, as partly it was therefore called *Manfolas*, and in regard also of the King, for whom it was made: so that euen to this very daye, when any Tombe of such superficiall Arte are made, they are called *Manfolas*. Of these things mention is made by *Pliny*, *Pomponius Mela*, *Herodotus*: *Strabo* also remembreth them, so doth *Aulus Gellius*, and many other historians. It is found written, that *Artemisia*, after the death of her husband, lived in continual teares and mourning, and that she dyed before the worke could be fully finished: having drunke the bones of her husband, beate into powder, which she burned and buried in her owne body, that it might be the Sepulcher for his.

The fifth Edifice of these VVonders was the Temple of *Diana*, whom the Gentiles adored as a Goddess, and it was builded in the City of *Ephesus* in *Asia*, in the Province of *Ionia*. Of this Temple, great speech was made throughout the world: so that one named *Demetrius*, wrote a particular Booke thereof: *Pliny* writing of this Temple; saith that the *Amazons* caused it to be builded, and that it contained foure hundred and five and twenty foote in length, and two hundred and twenty in largenesse. The worke was so admirably artificiall, that it had 220 yeares to the perfecting. It was built in a Lake, to prevent the perill of earthquakes; and it is said withall, that on the foundation was laide great store of coale dust, & wooll thereupon, the better to make firm and sure the moist and marthy place. It had an hundred and seven Colombs or Pillars of most excellent Marble, & each of them was made by all the Kings of *Asia*.

What famous
workmen made
the Tombe,
such as then
had not their
like.

*Pliny in lib. 35.
cap. 1.
Pomp. Mela
in lib. 1.
Herodotus in lib. 2.
Strabo in lib. 7.
Aul. Gellius
Noct. Attic.*

The fifth Won-
der of the
world.
The Temple
of Diana at
Ephesus.

*Pliny in lib.
16. cap. 34.*

The founda-
tion of the
Temple.

jas: thirty seven of them were of most curious cunning and sculpture, and all the other of the choicest Marble.

The principall Masters of this worke, according to *Pliny*, was *Dreſſophon*: but belesing *Strabo*, it was *Archippon*. Notwithstanding, this diversity of opinion is sufferable, considering, what length of time the businesse lasted: and therefore there must needs be more then one Master, especially for so many performances & varieties, in the diversity of such times and intelligence. *Solinus* and *Pomponius Mela* say, that the *Amazones* builded & dedicated this Temple: and yet *Solinus* affirmeth, that when the mighty King *Xerxes* went to the conquest of Greece, & that he burned all the Temples; yet hee referred this onely still standing. All Historians do consent with one accord, that the Pillars of this Temple supported the planked feeling of wood, the most excellently wrought that could be devised, and that this whole covering was of Cedar, and all the doores and waincotted works were of Cipres.

Yet afterward, a villaine seeing this solemne and fouraigne building, conceiued a lewd desire to burne it, as (indeed) he did. And being taken for the fact, confessed, that he did it to no other end, but to leave a famous renowne of his deed to the world. Wherefore *Valerius Maximus*, in his titles of desire of renowne, and *Aulus Gellius* affirmeth also, that it was prohibited (vnder grieuous penalty) that any man should doe so much as write his name, because he should vterly lose the fame and renowne, which he so earnestly affected. Yet all this serued to slender purpose, for *Solinus* and *Strabo* both say, that he was named *Herostatus*, and that of him came vp the vsuall Prouerbe, that when any man would strive to be famous for some vicious deed; people would commonly say: *This is the renowne of Herostatus*.

To speake yet of some other memorable matters to this purpose, it deserueth some respect to remember, that the very same day as the Temple was burning, *Alexander the Great* was borne, the Conquerour of all Asia; heereof are Authors, *Plutarch* in the life of *Alexander*, and *Cicero*, in his second booke of the Gods nature, where he speakeeth it in two places,

and likewise in his booke of diuination. Further he saith, that while the Temple burned, the Sages prognosticated the destruction of all Asia; euen as afterward it was overcome by *Alexander*. Some do write, that this Temple was built againe afterward, in much more great and excellent manner then before, and that the Master of the worke was named *Democritus*.

THE sixt Wonder, was the Idoll or Image of *Iupiter Olympus*, which was in his Temple in *Achaia*, betwene the Cities of *Elis* and *Pisa*: and the place was named *Olympus*, as also the Temple, in regard of *Iupiter Olympus*, of whom write both *Strabo* and *Pomponius Mela*. They maintaine, that this Statue or Image, which stood in the Temple, was much renowned, as well for artificial perfection and admirable workmanship, as also for the greatnesse thereof. It was made of Porphyry, some say of Iuory, and by the hand of *Phidias*, the most excellent Caruer and Engrauer for Imagery (in Gold or Iuory) that euer was; albeit *Pliny* nameth diuers other. *Strabo* saith, that the excellency thereof consisted in the greatnes, and yet the matter which made it more admirable, was in being wrought of Porphyry, knit and vnitied together of infinite small peeces.

Some say, that *Phidias* was taxed with one onely imperfection, to wit, that hee had not proportioned the Image to the capacity of the Temple, because hee had made it sitting, and so great, as when due consideration was made, what the height thereof would haue bene, if he had made him standing vpright on his feet, the temple had no way bene able to haue contained him.

Neuertheless, the renowne of this Image did most highly illustrate the place, and made the Temple more knowne, then otherwise it would haue bene, although it was formerly held in great esteeme, by reason that in the very same place, were kept the sports and wrastlings called *Olympian*. And thence it came, that the yeares were counted by *Olympiades*, which they made from five yeares to five yeares: which passimes were first instituted by *Heracles*, and afterward being left off, they were againe re-established by *Aemilius*, but (ac-

cording

The 6th Wonder of the world. The Image of Iupiter Olympus.

Strabo in lib. 8. *Pomponius Mela* in lib. 1.

Plin. lib. 35. cap. 34.

The place where the Olympian games were kept being in the same place, viz. *Elis*, *Corinth*, *Salamis*, *Difis*, *Peleus*.

cording to some Authours) by *Spiron*, four or five yeares after the destruction of *Troy*, especially according to *Enchiridion*, and then began the yeare of the first *Olympiade*.

Now concerning the seventh Wonder, some say, that it was a Tower which stood in the Isle of *Pharos*, neere to the City of *Alexandria* in Egypt. *Pharos* was a small Island, long and narrow, seated on the coast of Egypt, ouer against the mouth of *Nilus*, which in former time (according to *Pomponius Mela* and *Pliny*) was wholly (as it were) engirt with firme Land, and afterward in the times of these Authors, the Sea embraced this firme Land, excepting onely a Bridge, whereby men went from the one place to the other. In the firme land is the great City of *Alexandria*, builded by *Alexander the Great*, which City was afterward a Colony of *Julius Caesar*. In this Isle (named *Pharos*, after the name of a great Pilot, which belonged to *Amenelaus*, and was there buried) the Kings of Egypt erected a Tower of Marble, maruailous in height and cunning workmanship, vpon a Mountain enuironed with water: the arteificial performance of which Tower was such, that it cost 800. Talents, which value foure hundred and fourescore thousand Crownes, after the computation of *Biddams*. And it was builded for no other purpose, but to set vp (in the night time) a lighted fire thereon, Beacon-wise, to guide and direct such Ships as came to take landing there: and this Tower, according to the greatest opinions, was erected by King *Ptolemaeus Philadelphus*, and the Master Architect that made it, was named *Sitratius*, which is confirmed to vs by *Pliny*.

Caesar in his Commentaries, highly praiseth the height and workmanship of this Tower; and saith, that it was also called *Pharos*, as taking name of the Island. As much faith *Amianus Marcellinus*, declaring the history of this Tower. Also *Solinus* in his *Polyhistor*, in the end of his 34. Chapter saith, that all the Towers which were afterward made, and for the like occasion, each of them was named *Pharos*, after the name of this, as was the *Pharos* at *Messina*, and in other places. And I am of the minde, that the kindled fires or lights, which are ordinarily carried in Ships, as guides to other in the night, yep-

pon this occasion are called *Pharos*.

Thus this Tower is the last of the wonders, although (by diuers) it is not named in their number, but in stead thereof, the hanging gardens of *Babylon* are reckoned, wherof we haue already spoken. *Lactantius Firmianus* confirmeth it, and saith, that these gardens were vpon *Arches* & *Towers*, yet felling downward, admittable for great Trees in no meane abundance, and great store of Fountains: the forme of this building is amply described by *Diodorus Siculus*, *Caius Rhodiginus*, discoursing on the seven Wonders of the world, doth not insert this Tower of *Pharos*; but the Obelisque of *Semiramis*, which was made after the same structure and forme of a Pyramid, for it began so in a quadrangle, and finished vprward in a point, and there was no difference betwene an Obeliske and a Pyramid; but that the Obeliske was all of one entire peece, and therefore of no such height as the Pyramids. I finde it written, that some of them haue bin great, like Towers, and of a very goodly fone. There is one now at Rome, nam'd a Needle, which was brought out of Egypt; and it is admirable to see the greatnes thereof, as also to iudge how it was brought thither. Concerning the Obeliske of *Semiramis*, wherof *Catulus* reporteth, and nameth it in the number of the 7 Wonders: he findeth it credibly auouched, that it was an x. 50. foot in height, and 24. foote square in a quadrangle, so that the whole circuite was 90. foote, and this Stone was so taken whole, out of the Mountaines of *Armenia*, & by the command of *Semiramis*, brought into *Chaldean Babylon*. But in truth, when due consideration is made, how it should be taken out of the Quarry, brought thence, and erected vp on end: it might appeare a matter incredible, if Antiquity had not yielded things as strange, and certified to vs by Authors, well deseruing beleefe, yea, and of other great Obelisks, made by the kings of Egypt. *Pliny* describeth how they are fetcht forth of their Quarries. Of the Pyramids, Obelisks, Statues, & Colosses, mention is made by *Polyphius*, in the beginning of his Booke, call'd *Hypnerotomachia*. Therefore I need not to make any further relation of them, fearing I haue offended already, by presuming ouer-farre vpon your patience, in what hath bin said, concerning these 7 Wonders of the world.

CHAP.

The hanging Gardens of Babylon. *Lactantius Firmianus* in *Diuina* lib. 1. 4.

Diodorus Siculus in lib. 1. *Cal Rhodiginus* in lib. 3.

The Obeliske of *Semiramis*.

Catulus Needles at Rome, a true Obeliske.

The height of *Semiramis* Obeliske, and the squareness

Plin. lib. 6. cap. 8. & 9.

Polyphius in lib. *Hypnerotomachia*.

Strabo in lib. 14.

Solinus in cap. 14. *Pomponius Mela* in lib. 1.

Plin. in lib. 6. cap. 49.

Valerius Maximus in lib. 4. *Aulus Gellius* in lib. 1.

Solinus in lib. 3. cap. 14. *Strabo* in lib. 14.

The fame of *Herostatus*.

Plin. in lib. 1. *Cicero* in *Nat. Deor.* lib. 2. *Plutarch* in lib. *Diuina*.

The seventh Wonder of the World. The Tower of *Pharos*.

Pomponius Mela in lib. 5. *Plin.* in lib. 5. cap. 7.

How the Isle came to be called *Pharos*.

*He also made a goodly Library, which contained 50000. Booke. *Plin.* in lib. 35. cap. 10. *Id. Conf. in comment.* lib. 4.

Amianus Marcellinus in lib. 1. *Solinus* in cap. 34.

CHAP. VIII. The Oration of Antipater, the Father to Herod, which he made before Cæsar, standing accused, for following Pompeies part.

THE ARGUMENT.

After that Pompey had bin vanquished by Cæsar, he was massacred in Egypt, by them whose lives he had sometime saved. Antigonus the Jew, aspiring to the Royalty, accused (before Cæsar) Antipater the Idumæan, to have served and favoured Pompey in his enterprises. And that he had done no matter of service in Egypt, which could bee interpreted for Cæsar; but rather for the succour of Mithridates, and to cover his faults committed in following Pompey. But Antipater, for the better appearance of his good services, venting off his garments, shewed what wounds he had received in the service of Cæsar, and suddenly accompanied this scarry testimony, with these words ensuing.

The effect of the accusation objected by Antigonus against Antipater.

Wounds are a Soldiers speaking witness, when himselfe is silent.

BEhold heere assured and certaine witnesses, of my hatred against Cæsar, these wounds so apparent, and which are shining marks of my soules conceptions, to speak & defend the poore accused criminal. I offer to thee (Lord Cæsar) these wounds, as pledges of that affection which lies hidden in my heart, and wherof I make you a libell present. These are the gages of my faith, and this is an obligation written in my heart, and which will remaine engraven heere all my life time. If you will not please to credite my fellowes in Armes, nor to listen to the of my Nation; let it be demanded of mine enemies, and know from them, for whose sake I have received all these wounds. And what is the reason that I am thus pursued? but because I have bin noted, loyally affected, in offering you my faithfull service.

I understand and perceiue, that mine enemy reprocheth me with friendship to Pompey, and fixeth before his owne eyes, that I have favoured his cause. I confesse (Lord Cæsar) I confesse, that I have bin a friend, not to men, but to the Roman name; and that neuer my desires were elsewhere addicted, nor my duty & diligence any way applied, but only in doing my most humble service to the Senate and people of Rome. I have then born Armes, not for a Roman, neither for his particular profit, but for the service of all. And let the case be admitted, that Pompey was acceptable to me, that I carried his cause, and maintained his quarrell; wherein am I therefore to be blamed? Hee was long time (before) my friend, that hee had war with you, or any discord grew betwene him and Cæsar. Moreouer (my Lord) he was your Kinsman, and you were his Father in law. He being in Iudea, there was

not any particular affection (whatsoever) that made me follow him: for I assisted him, as being Generall of the Roman Army. And yet notwithstanding, I neuer hazarded my selfe so far for him, neither did he ever finde such kinde knowledge of affection in mee, as (for his sake) to take so many wounds, as I haue received in serving you. It is for you that I gave the pledges of death; and for whom I became an enemy to mine owne body, exposing it to the Darts, Arrows, and Weapons of your enemies.

But is it any matter of amazement, if a slave, nursed vp in servitude, do not know what wounds are, nor the hazards happening in warre? Or should it offend any man, if a disloyall fugitive should be ignorant what the worth of faith is, and what honesty remains among good minded men? Who can reprove me, but this my perpetuall enemy and yours, for saying in loue and affection to the people of Rome? I am astonished, how Antigonus should be so hardy, as daring to blame or accuse any man before the Romans, against who it is his custome to make war, and that he should be so impudent, to make complaint before them, as if his Realme were snatched or ransomed from him. If it were so, yet his power should not bee exercised for his greatest or advancement: but only to, seize on you, to assaile the Roman Legions, & to practise vengeance against you for his father and brother. It much amazeth me, that such a wretch, & so vnthankfull as he is, feareth not the throne of the Roman Emperour, but dare (euen there) oppose and pursue innocents: without remembrance, that a Kinsman of his, and a companion in the crime, hath there beene punished for felony, treason, and revolt.

A Soldier stands obliged to follow his Generall.

The Coward cannot judge of blows, nor the disloyall of faithfulness.

THE

THE EFFECT.

Reason appearing (in Cæsars judgement) to be upon Antipaters side, he iudged also for him, and gave him the government of Iudea. By this meanes hee opened him the way, to give the Jewish kingdome to the children of the said Antipater, and dispossessed them that were of the blood Royall, and of the true seed of Dauid.

CHAP. IX. The Oration of Herod to his Martiall troopes, being vpon the point of fighting with the Arabes.

THE ARGUMENT.

Herod seeing that his Army stood like men amazed, as fearing a disadvantageable success of the warre, through (I know not what) superstitious conceits, grounded vpon prodigies and tremblings of the earth, which at that time had happened, and in regard wherof, his Souldiers shewed themselves very unwilling to fight against the Arabes: Hee laboured by this Oration to perswade them, that all such things are naturall, exhorting them, not to leave the victory to their enemies, for any distrust in them; and these were his words.

Fond prodigies and superstitious opinions conceived in mens braines, make them cowards to waile attempts.



THE forces of the enemy hauing bin enfeebled and abated by many of our aduantageable encounters, full of fortune to vs, and transporting them with furious despaire, yea, making them to massacre our Legates and Ambassadors: I cannot chule but merruall, how you should be thus affrighted without any occasion. At leastwise, it were reasonable and dreadlesse, without some good foundation, to preferre accidentall occasions to any euident successe, when men are assured of their owne vertue and forwardnesse. We haue had some encountering with the enemy, where the Arabes did not turne their backs vpon vs, & yet dealt but fraudulently (as they can well do) not to vanquish, but to delay vs from the victory: which matters, as they ought to encourage ye to the fight, so you should withall consider, that as you haue felt (I know not what) weakning of hart, by some earthquakes hapning, they should be no terrors at all to vs, no more then to the, who stand with vs to endure this war.

And if we would but respect, on whom the damage of this persecution is false, you should perceiue, that it is vpon the Arabes, constraining them to keepe themselves in the field, because they should be still before them, that far go beyond them in courage and valiancy. For I see, that they distrust their owne strength & manhood, and yet taking heart, on the hopefull ruine of our troopes, they will needs aduenture to endure the war. But alas, that is a feeble hope, which proceedeth

not from his owne proper vertue and valour, but rather dependeth vpon others misery: inso much, as there is nothing more fraile nor mutable, then are felicities and aduersities hapning to men. For the estate & condition of humane occasions, whatsoeuer overthrowes they chace to feele, relieth vpon a very little time, & as felicity is neuer durable, then so aduersity can neuer bee perpetuall, and a man continueth no longer miserable, then hee had a precedent time to be fortunate. And of all these I can give you a goodly and most manifest example.

In the first fights, wee had the victory ouer the Arabes, but war taking his course and altering the lot and fortune thereof; we were vanquished by them whom (not long before) wee surmounted and outshew. Which therefore yeeldeth reason to beleue, that we shall againe conquer them which vanquished vs. considering, that presumption is alwayes guided by indiscretion and want of fore-sight, whereas aduised feare armeth men with prouidence, to fit themselves for following success, and thereby to learne duty and diligence. It neuer is otherwise in the state of felicity, but that boldnesse and temerity are equal companions, and want of discretion in Souldiers, neuer carries for the wise aduice & counsell of their Captaines; in briefe, they rush into the warre, without their leaue or commission. But I see that you are iudiciously fearefull, which makes mee to hold the victory so much the more assured. Courage then (deare friends and companions) take hart and hardiment, by aduancing the glorious and ancient magnanimity of the Iewes your Predecessours.

The vanity of mens felicitie and aduersitie.

Presumption maketh a man impudent, but discrete care maketh him wise.

Q 3

And

Ordinary and
natural oc-
casions shold
neuer breed
difmay in
Soldiours.

And let not the moanings of insensible things, breed any terror in you, neither carry any conceite, that earthquakes can be any argument or preface, of any other disaster or mishap, then what hath already happened. For the Elements haue their defects as well as we, and no other harme or danger is to be doubted, then what en- sueth to themselves: considering, that neither tremblings of the earth, nor mortality of creatures are but their owne iniuries, and signifie no other perill or preiudice at all.

And yet we should not feare to suffer matter of greefe, in regard that (already) we haue endured most afflicting and insupportable grieuances: he that hath punished vs, will bee appeased, and become againe as milde vnto vs, as if hee had not chastised vs. For what can we expect from him, after this irksome peltence, but only his holy fauour and mercy, seeing for two offences, he hath bin pleased to afflict and punish vs? For the rest, as concerning that which belongeth to this war, all is, in his entire condition; because the plague hath ended them that were not in the Campe, and our victory hath taken them from the enemy, eue those men that were the cheefest for his battailes. If our Flocks or Herds of Cartell are dead, the enemy hath had a losse of much better things, being bereft both of wit and sence, when (contrary to all right and equity) he slew our Ambassadors. The Arabes haue

broken the law common to all Nations: for no people are so cruell and barbarous, but Ambassadors ought to be inuolubly respected of them.

Let them therefore expect from God, a iust vengeance for such crimes, to chastise their euill doing, for the finnes of our aduersaries are of such importance, as there is not any law, be it humane or diuine, that will leaue them unpunished. Let vs go forth then, yea, let vs go to fight; not to get their spoiles, or conquer their lands, but for the glory of God, and the defence of his honour. Let not the loue of your wiues and children put ye on to the war, but only the diuine fauour, which you know to be present with you. So going on this manner to the fight, our desires shall not be thereby effected, but our obedience to God, for doing vengeance on them, whom the Law forbiddeth any man to touch. Beside, Ambassadors are they, who (among the furies of armed enemies) onely mediate peace, & such men are neuer numbered or ranked with aduersaries; because their blood being shedde, cyeth incessantly for iust vengeance in our soules. Haste wee then in going to the fight, in regard that God is hee, which offereth himselfe to reuenge our friends slaine. The very murdred Ambassadors will fight for vs more furiously, and better then our selues: and ringed round with a squadron of Angels, let vs on to the battaile, and vtter confusion of our enemies.

Ambassadors
ought to be
respected of
the people,
how barbarous
be their
enemies.

Ambassadors
are neuer ac-
counted or
ranked among
other enemies.

THE EFFECT.

By these words of the Generall, the Iewish Soldiours recovered heart, and seeking occasion to affront the enemy, at length assailed them with such fury, as the Arabes were enforced to fight, and had a great losse of men. Beside, such as fled, retired into the Mountaines; except a part of them, which yielded themselves to the Iewes. The rest, affecting rather to die like brave men, then submit themselves basely, fell to handy blowes againe, where they were slaine and beheaded in peeces, yet not without leaving sufficient testimony to the Iewes, of their valor.

CHAP. X. The Oration of Herod before Augustus Caesar, who had conceiued anger against him, because he had taken part, and followed Marke Anthony.

THE ARGUMENT.

Augustus Caesar, having vanquished Marke Anthony in Egypt, it seemeth he was aduised, that except he chastised Herod also, he was not fully possessed of the victory. Herod, having the euill affection of this Prince, went to him to Rhodes, where presenting himselfe, and using the generosity of an inuincible spirit, he declared to Augustus; that if he did not helpe Anthony, it was not through want of any good will, but because he had no meanes to do it. Affecting much rather, to confesse that he had bene an enemy to Caesar, then shew himselfe ingratefull to his friend. And although he presented himselfe before him, without a kingly Crowne on his head, and clothed like a man that had no dignity; yet his words expressed the Maiesty of a great Prince, and these were they:

Dileurs had
measures wet
offered to
Herod, which
made him
rather goe to
Augustus, than
to send his
him.

I Confesse (O mighty Monarch Augustus) that I haue bene a loyall companion to Marke Anthony in his sayres, as to the man, from whom I receiued the kingdom of Iudea. And I will not deny, but that I was very highly beholding to him, as I would more plainly haue expressed by Armes, if the enuy of Cleopatra had not giuen mee hinderance, and if the Arabes had not broken my designs and enterprizes. For which cause, and constrained by such necessities, I came not against you (in his assistance) with weapons in my hand: because I had no desire at all to forgoe my deare friend, and much lesse was I afraid to enter battaile against you in his behalfe; but onely in this respect, that I was busied in defending mine owne Countries. And albeit that I assisted him not personally in the battaile, yet Anthony found mee not vnthankfull to him; for I furnished him with men and victuals, for the succouring and refreshing of his Army, and I am well assured (Great Augustus) that you would not haue thought me ingratefull to Marke Anthony, if you had bene in the battaile at Actium.

You see Sir, that I hide not my selfe, fearing more to be reputed ingratefull on your aduersaries behalfe, then doubting that any one should imagine me your enemy. I make more account of your iudgement, then of all the successe of warre: because before you, the merits of vertue are not in any perill, in regard you know how to purchase honor, and punish mis-behaviours and vices. Consider (gentle Prince) that as I neuer forooke Anthony, so long as Fortune spake fairly to him: euen so, all disasters, and dead as he is, cannot yet make mee to forget and leaue him. You haue vanquished (O Caesar) you haue vanquished Marke Anthony by power, and by a great number of your Legions; you haue surmounted him by the wisdom of your Councels; the strength of the Empire hath cast him downe, from which hee was farre gone, and whereof he made not any reckoning;

your vertues haue ouerthrowne him, or rather he hath bene ruined by his owne vices. For an Egyptian woman charmed and enchanted him; the delights of Egypt made him too soft and delicate, yea, he was wholly effeminately drowned in the Alexandrian luxuries. In briefe, hee hath bene conquered, because he better affected to be cast downe with Cleopatra, then to conquer without her: and so to be delected by a woman, was more grieuous and insupportable to his friends, the euer it could be to his enemies.

I aduised him, to vntwine himselfe from that wretched woman, and to bee the death of a beast so dangerous; I promised him succour in his affaires, and forsooke to preuaile by his sight; yea, I offered to beare him company in this warre. But the miserable man, was so doating on the beauties of that woman, and meerey enchanted by Cleopatra, as hee is brought to be iust nothing, by reason that hee would not beleue me. I confesse (Great Caesar) that I am also conquered with him, but yet my offence is not so great, for although Cleopatra quite quailed, and made a dishonourable prey of poore Anthony; yet he had not the like power ouer mees. And as hee would not abandon that barbarous wanton woman, euen so could not I forgoe my great friend in his aduersities. It was hee that d.d. dicte a Royall Crowne on my head, neuertheless, I would not bee so bold to appeare in your presence, with the ornaments I receiued from so loyall a friend, fearing to offend you by those fauours which he did to me: & yet, although I haue left off my known lueries of dignity, I haue not lost a jot of my gremesse in courage. You may iudge therefore as it shall seeme best to your selfe; for whatsoever sentence you pronounce on me, yet I am sure to carry this reputation with me, and to my no meane contentment; that I was good and perfect in mine affections; that I left not my friend in life nor death, and neyther good or bad fortune had power to ouerthrow me,

Monstrous is
the misery,
when a man
leues a loyall
friend, and
leues to the
base allure-
ments of a
lasciuious
woman.

There is no-
thing com-
parable to
the entire affec-
tion of one ma-
n to another; it
goeth far be-
yond the loue
of women.

If Princes
would banish
flatterers first
being about
their deities,
Maiesty would
dine with the
more glorious
splendour.

CHAP. XI. The magnanimous answer of Augustus to Herod, confirming him in his dignity. Whereby is demonstrated, that a Prince ought rather to assist truth spoken by his friend, then flatter, coming from the mouth of a dissembling counterfeiter. And therefore Augustus perceiving how freely Herod had spoken to him, confiding himselfe rather his enemy, then ingratefull towards Marke Anthony, and taking delight in his liberality of speech, as proceeding from a generous and royall heart, returned him this answer following.

He is a true friend indeed that continueth always one and the same in all conditions.



Herod proteſt thee *Herod*, and enioy at this inſtant (better then euer before) the honour of thy Kingdome. For we enuy not thy virtues, neither doth it diſpleaſe vs, that thou ſhouldest be ſuch a man as thou art: but rather it is to vs moſt high contentment. And truly, thou art well worthy to rule & command, ſeeing thou haſt ſo loyally kept thy faith giuen to a man onely, and being put in diſtreſſe, and aſſailed with aduerſities; yet thou art not aſhamed to confeſſe thy ſelfe the friend to *Marke Anthony*, and ſuch as thou waſt to him in his proſperity, ſuch diſdeſt thou continue ſtill to him when his fortune fell contrary. Now, albeit I haue conquered *Anthony*, yet I neuer thought to overcome thee: for thy friendſhip remaining ſo entire, placeth thee in ranke with them that haue wonne the victory. Which is the reaſon, that I no leſſe wiſh thee for my friend, then I praife and commend thy ſtedfaſt loyalty, becauſe no changes of Fortune, haue power to alter thy minde and deſires.

Thou neuer didſt abandon *Anthony*, but it was he that eſtranged himſelfe from thee: for he better affected to follow the counſels of *Cleopatra*, then them of ſo deare and true a friend as *Herod*. The ignorance of *Anthony* is the reaſon of my winning thee: for hee made choiſe of a pernicious and fooliſh woman, and reieſted a moſt worthy loyall friend. And yet it is no matter of meruaile, that *Anthony* ſhould be vanquiſhed by *Cleopatra*, and keep himſelfe wholly with her: ſee-

ing that being victorious, yet hee would needs become a voluntary ſlaue. Could you account it ſtrange, that *Cleopatra* ſhould turne *Anthony* from your counſels, ſeeing ſhe could ſeparate him from me, and of being my fellow-Companion in the Empire, cauſe him to become my mortall enemy? Seeing therefore, that with mee you haue loſt *Marke Anthony*; with mee I purpoſe you ſhall liue and raigne.

And truſt me, your commendable and inſigne enterprize deſerueth great recompence, and is worthy (by vs) to be highly guerdoned: conſidering that while wee were buſied in the late paſſed warres, you haue overcome and ſubiected the *Barbarians*, although they ſeemed to be vnconquerable. For we reputed them to be our enemies, and ſo we do make account of all thoſe that are aduerſe to the Iewiſh Nation, and ſuch as moleſt them, muſt know that they make warre with vs. You haue therefore fought for vs, and for vs you haue wonne the victory, in which reſpect, we permit you to reigne, and grant you the kingdome which you poſſeſſe: Commanding, that by our donation it ſhall be confirmed to you, and eſtabliſhed durable, your merite being not little, becauſe you haue made no diminution thereof. Alſo in further recompence, I will deale in ſuch fort with you, as you ſhall haue no cauſe to wiſh for the preſence of *Marke Anthony*: eſteeming it altogether vnbeſeeming vs, if hauing (while hee liued) overcome him in warre, being now dead, we ſhould not go beyond him in acknowledgement and friendſhip.

When men become effeminately minded, all muſt conſult with them, to ſet them.

A notable ſigne of a virtuous and well vnderſtanding Prince.

THE EFFECT.

Cæſar and *Herod* hauing thus diſcourſed together, *Auguſtus*, to ſhew what account he made of this great Warriour *Herod*: did ſet a Royall Crowne vpon his head, and confirmed him in his authority, with hope to enlarge the limits of his kingdome. As likewiſe hee did afterward, hauing obſerued, how *Herod* acknowledged the benefits of his Maieſty, when as he ſuſtained and reſrefed him with water and victualles, at ſuch time as a great dearth and ſcarſity was in the *Romane Army*. From whence *Cæſar* being returned, hee gaue Townes and Caſtles on the Sea to *Herod*, and accepted him as one of his beſt friends, which he had in the Eaſt.

CHAP. XII. The Oration of *Herod* to the Iewes, vpon the partage or diuiding of his Seigneuries, to be made to his children.

THE ARGUMENT.

Like as *Herod* was happy in his warlike enterprizes, ſo did bad fortune follow him in the domeſticke affaires of his houſe, for hauing children of diuers beds, the humors alſo of

When Princes encline their eares to flatterers, their Courts ſhall neuer want quarrels and contentions.

of them being as diuers: cauſed the Palace Royall to bee daily filled with quarrels and diſſenſes, according as flatterers were heard, and fauoured by *Herod*. Now, the matters grew ſo farre, that the King and one of his ſonnes, named *Antipater* (who was his eldeſt) muſt goe to Rome to declare their grieuances, where *Antipater* behaued himſelfe ſo well, that hee wonne the Emperor, and qualified the anger of his Father, who receiued him into grace againe. Neuertheleſſe, *Cæſar* ordained, that children ſhould be obedient to their fathers, ſo that it ſhould be lawfull for Fathers, to declare him for King (after his deceaſe) that ſhould beſt in his liking, becauſe *Antipater* had accuſed his younger brethren, being iſſued of blood Royall on all ſides, euen as well as he was borne: *Herod* not being as then in authority, but aſpiring to the Crowne. So ſoone as the King was returned from Rome, he cauſed an aſſembly of the people of *Ieruſalem*, to whom he declared what he had done in this voyage, uſing theſe very Words.



Contention, quarrell, and diſobedience in children, are no meane means of giſt to their parents.

NO T without great occaſion, and that very beneficiall to my ſelfe (you *Hebrew Citizens*) did I make my voyage vnto Rome, to the end that *Cæſar* might iudge, concerning the quarrell betwene me and my children. To him I went, becauſe my ſelfe knew not how, neither would I take vpon me to cenſure a cauſe, wherein I might eaſily ſayle, by being tranſported with choller: & therefore hee that gaue me the Kingdome, I thought fitſt to ordaine, concerning the ſucceſſion, and to beſtow it on ſuch a one of my ſonnes, whom he ſhould conceiue to be the wortheſt. Now, amongſt many benefits as I receiued from him, this he added to them, that in a great diſſiculty, he did ſo facilitate the matter, that he gaue me my ſonne againe, whom I had well-nere loſt, and accorded the brethren together, vpon the difference growing betwene them, touching ſucceſſion in the Kingdome. You ſee mee then returned, farre richer then before I went; for I haue learned to be a better Father, then formerly I haue beene; and my children alſo are tutor'd to beare themſelues in better manner to me, and all this hath happened through the grace and mildnes of Great *Auguſtus*. For, he hath appointed, that the appenage of my ſonnes, and their ſucceſſion in the kingdome, ſhall depend vpon mine owne will; to the end, that the prerogative and aduancement of which of them ſoeuer it be, ſhall not breed any pride or preſuming in anie one of them. Hee hath permitted me, to chooſe ſuch a ſucceſſor as I will haue, to wit, hee that ſhall be the moſt obedient to me, and giue him the greateſt honor to his Father.

Now, concerning my ſelfe (O you my

louing Citizens of *Ieruſalem*) I will follow heerein the iudgment of *Cæſar*, who freeing my younger ſonnes from the accuſation laide vpon them; hath made them equall to the eldeſt in hope, that (one day) they may ſucceede after me. In which reſpect, this very day, I make and declare them Kings all three together, the eldeſt hauing the priuiledge, in regard of his age, and the other becauſe of their Nobility in blood. I would not haue you moued at the number of Princes, conſidering that the greateſtneſſe and magnificence of the kingdome, ſufficeth to maintaine and furniſh effectually a far greater number, although there were no more aduantages. Firſt of all, I make God the Iudge of this my aduice and ordinance; & next, I would haue you to be witneſſes and teſtifiers thereof; to the end, that you may honor them according to right, & equally them that *Cæſar* hath accorded, and whom my ſelfe (being their father) doe eſtabliſh and appoint vnto you as Princes. To whom alſo you may doe ſuch honor, as ſhall not excede the bounds of reaſon in our-much eſteeming them; and yet in no leſſe faſhion then belongeth to them. For too much honour puffes vp the heart with preſumption, and neglect or contempt cauſeth rage and choller. Wherefore, I would haue that dutie done vnto them, as appertaineth to the merits deſiuered from them: for you cannot giue ſo much content to him, who is honoured about his deſerts, as you doe harme to him, to whome dutie is denied vndeſervedly. Oftentimes, it cometh ſo to paſſe, that both the one and other are offended, in regard it is meer flattery, which occaſioneth the indiſcrete ſentence of preference.

Beſide, let me further ſay freely to you, that

Too much honouring a man, maketh him inſolent, and conceits in the meane to make him mad.

Obedience is an excellent leſſon, when it ſhall teach a man howe to haue a Kingdome.

Honor done
to children, in
the greater
glory to their
Father.

that I am the common father to them all three, and you know well enough, that honor done to the Children, redoundeth the more to the Fathers glory. Notwithstanding, if there be any, that shall flatteringly honor my sonnes beyond reason, they make themselves guilty of treason to them: because they shall proue Authorours of the reciduation and rebellion, for the which we fell at first into difference. In making too much esteeme of our youth, is to give it too free a heart and head, and boldnesse in attempting beyond capacity: yet let no man thinke, that I am enuious of the aduancement and glorie of mine owne Children. No, heauen is my witnesse, how I rather with their power meane and stinted, whereby wee may the better liue in peace; then in growing ouer-great, to swell vp their hearts as high, and thereby spend the rest of our dayes in troubles and seditions. For, that which is established by pride and inuasion, hath but small and slender continuance, and slippeth away sodainly; but that which is possessed with loue and gracious liking, it hath as good and successfull enduring.

I will therefore bee carefull in taking order, that my Kindred and Friends may bee the pledges of peace and concord for euer hereafter, betweene mee and my Sonnes; by whose exhortations and admonitions, they will bee moued to loue and cherish one another. For, as an euill purpose makes a deep wound in the heart of him that heares it tolde him: euen so, much more are they corrupted, who are made drunke by them that daily frequent it, and whose foules are continually infected by so foule a plague; so that the contagion spreades it selfe ouer all them, that then are about, or come into their company.

Although a man be (by nature) very courteous and peaceable; yet, let a Lake or Poole be neuer so calme and still, when impetuous windes throwe their churlish blastes vpon it, it will swell, and shewe a discontented countenance. In the very same manner, are the mildest Natures of men madded, and quite peruerred by the meanes of lewd and wicked Counsellers. In breefe, it is on mee that all my Subjects must fixe their expectation, and there assuredly settle their confidence; for

whatsoeuer aduancement happeneth to my Sonnes; yet so it is, that I will not lose a iote of mine authority and power. And when all is saide, there is not a Capitaine or soldier, but w^l expresse more reuerence to the father of Conductors and Generals, then to them that command ouer the whole Army.

It is my selfe alone, without any other, that will bee the discharge of al, and will onely recompence them; who hauing done their dutie vnto mee, shall acknowledge what seruices they haue done to my Sonnes. If I finde dutie perfourmed without peruerting; no doubt but deferred recompence will follow thereon; but deceit and cogging shall finde such reward, and so surely paid him, that he will vterly lose all the fruite of his labor, and that which he fawnd for by knauish flattery.

Now, as concerning you (my good and deere Sonnes) fasten your first regard vpon the common bond of nature, which vnith brute beastes together, and causeth their alliance to keepe such a mutuall agreement: as there is not any beaft so vntractable, but with the perill of his life, hee will strue and labour to defend his young ones from danger. Carry honour and reuerence to *Cesar*, who hath reconciled you together; and next, haue regard of mee, and of the Honour which is due vnto mee; who had much rather pray yee to doe so, then to command it to be done, albeit you know that it still remaineth in my power to Command.

Continue in the bond which you haue knit together; you are bretheren, I would not haue you breake that vnion, neyther to be the occasion of disioyning that for which ye were borne. I shall giue you Habites, Attendants, and Royal honors, but much more precious is that whereto I exhort yee, inuioleable amity, beeing vnited together in one and the same will. If you declare such mutual affection, your authoritie will bee the more acceptable vnto mee: but amity sayling, you dart your malice thorow my heart, and throw the very foule of Kingly Government.

Therefore, vntill I haue made prooffe of this your Vertue, yee shall enioy no Kingdome, but the Royall Title onely:

Deceit doth
most common-
ly deceiue his
owne master,
& flatterers
are the falsest
knaues that
can be.

And hostile
without amity
is vile & hurt-
full.

A wicked in-
tention wound-
eth the heart
deeply of him
to whom it is
reueled.

What Pride
buildeth, Pre-
sumption o-
uer throweth.

if you loue your father, the effect of name will follow, in the meane while, approue among yourselves, how and what affection I beare vnto you. You shall enioy al that is goodly and pleasing in the dignitie Royall, as Princes of the blood: but concerning the charges of the Empire, and troublefome burthen of State-affayres,

they shall lye vpon me, though it were better to cumber many, then one onely. By this meanes, it shall bee very profitable for you, to accommodate your selues to that which I haue desired: because I loue the glorie which should still shine in you, and which I truly account to be mine owne.

THE EFFECT.

Herod hauing deliuered all these speeches, and greatly comforted his sons, howsoeuer some reioyced thereat, as not discerning so far off, that which was hidden under these words: yet the better sort felt themselves offended. For they perceived, that this equality serued but for a sparke, to kindle the concealed fire in the breasts of the bretheren; who could not indure any advantages, how little soeuer, especially hauing all but one and the same prerogative. So that this proved to be the cause of ruine to one another, as also of distrust and extreme cruelty in King Herod.

CHAP. XIII.

The Battaille of Riotta or Nouara, which was fought in the Dukedome of Milaine, betweene Iohn Trivulzi; and the Lord of Trimouille, Generals for Lewes the xij. King of France, on the one side; and Maximilian Sforza, Duke of Milaine, accompanied with the Switzers, on the other, in the yeare 1513.



The kings for-
row losse of
Milaine, was
the occasion
of this warre.

Lewes King of France, the twelfth of that name, ill digesting the losse of Milaine, and som other disgraces formerly received, made his election of two speciall Captaines, wel experienced in martiall affaires, and also of no meane authority; the Lords Trivulzi and Trimouille, to passe the Alps, and enter Italy. A further choise was likewise made, for the more happy successe in this attempt, of Robert de la Marche, whom hee sent for out of the Countrey of Luca, and his blacke Regiment of Germans, by some termed *Allemaignes*, as also the Lord Lewes Beaumont, who came from the Frontiers of *Nouarre*, and brought with him those feuerall bands of *Gascognes*, that had before serued *Seigneur de la Palice* at *Panipelans*, when they fought against the Spaniards. Some few Ensignes of foot (but of very choice men) were intermingled with them; for such Gentlemen as serued

not with horse, held it no disgrace, thus to be employed on foote, and went vnto it with chearefull alacrity. At which power beeing very aptly appointed, and furnished with great Ordenance vnto their owne good liking, they hasted away with speed for Italy.

On the contrary side, the Duke of Milaine, named Maximilian Sforza, understanding this French preparation made for him, he was not negligent in his owne occasions: but moued the Switzers to reuise Lombardy, as in some former expeditions they had done, and to Friend him with their manly assistance, in which motion he purchased no deniall. The *Ammians*, or they that beare the Office of Maiors, in the Cantons of *Vri*, *Sutis*, and *Pfederal*, as lying next vnto Italy, with their warlike powers, were the first that passed ouer the Alpes: beeing seconded or followed by the like bands of *Glaris*, *Zug*, *Lucerna*, *Schaffouse*, *Zurich*, and *Berne*, and these made vp another martiall company. The third and last confort, consisted of five thousand foot, conducted by *Altofaso*, a most expert and forward captain. But Maximilian became somewhat discouraged, by an vnexpected reuolt of *Sacranora Visconti*, that did keepe a swarme of desperate fellows about him in Milaine, all errant vnthrifts, though leaning to Nobility, and others beside; and therefore ioyned with the first company of Switzers, going to *Nouara*, expecting there (yet free from priuy awaits

The Switzers
are follieted
to succor duke
Maximilian
Sforza, and
come to him
with the rar-
rant bands.

The French
Army cometh
before Noua-
ra.

and treachery) when the rest of the Switzers should come.

Before the Towne of *Nouara*, came the French Forces, yet hearing that the second supply of Switzers were somewhat nere, and that *Altofaxo* was at *Galarita*; they retreated to *Riotta*, which was about some twenty Furlonges from *Nouara*, hard by the River of *Mara*. No sooner were the second Conuoy of Switzers entred the Towne, and had theyr Mornings refection; but the Captaines called for a consultation, for concluding vpon matters fittest to be done: whereupon, *Caraffe*, *Amman* of *Zurich*, offering the first motion of speech, began in this manner.

The Oration of Caraffe,

Amman of Zurich.



Aliane, and inuincible spirited Brethren, let not the attempt which you haue resolutely concluded on, coole through want of courage, or corruptly lose it selfe, in needlesse attending for Altofaxo, & such as come with him. For it hath euer bene knowne, that the surest and happiest way to fortunate successe, is to stifle delay with speedy expedition; and so we shall finde it, if wee haue the prouidence to pursue it: Nor neede we, whose courage and constancy stand equally kissing each other, listen to any other recreant word, but onely braue and speedy expedition: lest the day shining now fauere for vs, cloud it selfe in our lingering, and so we lose our glorious expectation. Occasion is yet offered vs, and we may take hold on his happy fore-locke; for, it is not number, but Noblesse of minde that gives honor to the actions vs. A handfull is enow for a heaped multitude, and while hope holds them, that Altofaxo is our Load-starre, and we dare doe nothing till he shine out with vs, they may be decieued in their idle supposition, & we more then matters of so good advantage. Let therefore their erroneous conceit, lead vs the way to true discipline, for a sodaine and vnexpected onset, strikes terror in an enemies soule, and folloves him both with flight and laughter. Let their overweening pride vsber them, and take we hold on this happy and beneficial

By fruitfull supposition in an enemy, he is soonly taken tardy.

concel, which guides ye to vndoubted victory, if with dreadlesse hartes you ply & pursue it.

No sooner had *Caraffe* come vnto his speeches period, but all the Captaines and Ensignes consented to him, and a graue consultation grew immediately, for best proceeding in their purpose. Hereupon, refection and rest was generally commanded; and after the second watch, presented repaire vnto their Colours; where before day-dawning they should bee acquainted with other instructions. Imagine heere (as well you may) that euery minde fate musing with serious conceits, what issue the intended fight would sort vnto; & by this time the Sun was set. But now listen to a wonder, and truly no lesse in mine opinion. The Dogges which the French had brought to field with them, quite leauing their Campe, all in a troope together entred *Nouara*, and the Switzers Centinels, with such as walked the round, or kept the *Corps du Guard*; the dogs fawning on the one after another, euen as if they were already become their Masters, or shortly should, laide downe their eares, wagged their taitles in louing manner, and licked their hands.

But the Switzers, not intending to haue their priuate cogitations discouered, cunningly gaue order, that in euerie part of the City, now at one place, then at another, Drums should still be beaten; that if any scouts or spies tooke notice of them, they should the easier bee periwaded of their fodaine comming forth, as also to continue their enemies in Armour still; they hauing all the day before bin so prepared, and on horseback. Thus they shaped their outward desseignes, while they cloier determinations aimed at other ends, as to strengthen their bodies with food & rest, and to win another daies respite more for their better contestation in trial of honor. And let me tell yee, that the Lawes are so strict and seuerer among the Switzers, that if any shal dare (in publicke view of the Armie) to do any thing cowardly, or with feare, shamefull & vnfitting men of valour; he is immediately slaine by his following fellow, so that the greater feare confounds the lesse, and begets an honorable death, in stead of that which is otherwise attended on with nothing but infamy.

The

Diligenceh the conductor to happy successe.

A very bold and admirable accident

Men can be too cunning for an insidious enemy.

The Switzers were careful for losing the best opportunity.

The Army consisting of about 9000. foote, made choise of a thousand Horlle beside, men of well tryed and vndaunted valour, to take the charge of eight Faulcons, and to keepe with *Maximilian* and his Horlle (which indeede were but few, yet of the cheefe Nobility;) while the rest did throw themselves into two battailes, and silently, without beating any Drum, marched towards the enemy two feuerall wayes.

Now *Trimouille*, being reputed for a wise and well experienced Capitaine, suspected nothing lesse, then that a few tyred foore, and also before *Altofaxo* came; would venture out vpon a stronger power, or hazard any the least fortune of battaile. But vnderstanding that the Enemy was within sight, he calls vppon *Trimouille* and the other Captaines, giuing order for placing the Ordinance, the signals for fight to be giuen, and what hee knew by discipline or experience, to wait vpon the need of danger.

Such was the shortnesse of time, and the courage of the foe so mounted for fight, that the French scarcely had leifure to bridle their horses, & arm their heads: for they had stood most part of the day & night in Armes, expecting stil what hold be commanded, and at last (though very late) newes comming, that all was whist and quiet at *Nouara*, had got into their Cabines to rest. But the Light-horlle being sooner ready then they looked for, yssued forth in time conuenient, making a long Wing to the left handwarde, and met the thousand Switzers as they were marching on. And they, for more safely shunning the great Ordinance, which played vpon them tempestuously, fetcht a small compas about towards the River of *Mara*, with intent to passe a Bridge, & so let on the enemies tents in the reere. So marching in a broad way towards the River, they were hotly rent and torne with the Ordinance, and mightily pressed also with the light horlle.

But then *Mottina*, whose courage could not be quailed, changed his former resolution, and entreated Duke *Maximilian*, (being then in great daunger, by reason that the *Epirotes* insulced round about him) to leaue the fight, and returne to the City instantly, that so the warres mayne head might be kept, which lay open vnto

the tiranny of chances, and there to await the successe of expected victory. *Maximilian* made an honourable refusal; for such was the constancy of his courage, as he would endure all common accidents of Fortune, rather then be blurd with the least disgrace.

Heereupon, two vnder Captains, and two Ancients seized his horse by the bridle, and renting the Crest from off his Helmet, threw an olde cloake about him to hide his Armes, and forcing him (whether he would or no) led him out of the field with a troope of Horlle, and so conducted him to the City, to stand cleare from danger, while they endured the brunt of the day. Afterward *Mottina* rallied his swaying battell, which (by this time) hadde lost three of their Faulcons; then retiring the wounded into the midst of the battell, and bearing back the ouerforward *Epirotes*, slew there *Alexio Bogisna*, a noble Grecian Capitaine, and so defeated them vterly.

Then rushing into the enemies camp, where the drudges and stragglers beeing slaine, and the soldiers of that station disordered, the carriage and baggage were surprized. But some little while before *Mottina* had thus prevailed, another company, that tooke a longer iourney through the Corne-feldes, then growne vp, and receyuing little harme by the Ordinance, had made a fresh charge on the Enemies side.

The French forces were ordered into three battallions, *Trimouille* and *De la March* hauing the leading of the winges, and *Trimouille* the middle Regiment; of maine battaile. As for the Ladies quene's Battallion; they had got themselves within a ditch, and betweene the battailes of the Horlle, because their Trench, being a new and somewhat admirable kinde of Workmanship, deuised by *Robert de la March*, to hemme them in against the chances of warfare: vpon so fodaine a comming of the enemy, could not by any means bee set vp and pitcht. The Switzers bringing their Battalles about towards the right hand, and vpon this Squadron of the *Germanes* or *Allemaignes*, very couragiously turned to them; perceiving that victory would soone bee wonne, hauing once defeated the cheefest force of the Enemies Armie.

Which

Alexio Bogisna a Grecian Capitaine slain

In what manner the French power were ordered for the fight.

A noble & valiant resolution in Duke Maximilian.

The Ammans
of Zug and
Berne slain, &
yet the found-
ers not a ioue
discouraged.

Which the French Captains beholding, gaue present order to discharge their great Ordnance vpon them, breaking through the ranks, with mighty laughter, the Horſe alſo comming hotely on them on the left ſide. The Ammans of *Berne* and *Zug* were ſlaine in this confuſion, which nothing diſmayed their ſouldiers courage, nor their owne vnauoydable perill, and wofull hauocke of theyr Fellowes about them; but chearfully animating themſelues, and wheeling round into a ring, propelled the Horſe very valiantly, and (as before they had concluded) ſuddenly getting ouer the ditch, ſet vpon the *Allemaignes* courageouſly. Now began a fierce and bloody fight, no noiſe or words ſpoken on either ſide; but only a diſmall claiſhing of *VWeapons* and armor, and the ſoft ſighes of ſuch as fell downe dead, giuing their lateſt adiew vnto the world.

Where both
ſides content
for honour,
great muſt
the violence
of the fight
be.

The *Allemaignes*, that they might reuenge the ſlaughter of their country-men the yeare before at *Pavia*; and now (by new renowne) redeeme their glorie loſt ſouteene yeares paſt at *Bruderholz*, on the confines of *Eaſle*, fought very fiercely. And the *Switzers* that they might yet (one day) deſtroy their olde and peculiar enemies, fellowes that had runne out of *Germany*, and (in reproach to the Emperour) ſerued the French King; were not a ior behinde them, either in ſtrength, or feruency of courage.

Now, while the *Switzers* and *Allemaignes* fought thus at the puſh of pike, *Newes* came to *Trivoulzi* and *Trimouille*, that the bagge and baggage were taken; thoſe that were appointed for keeping the campe alſo ſlaine, beſide tumult and ſlaughter in euery place. Which report ſo daunted the French, that a great part of their horſe (euery man being careful for his luggage) ran (without any command) to ouercome it againe.

A ſtraagem
of the Swit-
zers to beguil
the French.

In another quarter alſo, & at the ſame inſtant almoſt the third company or battalion of the *Switzers*, ſhewd themſelues at the front of the French, which Battallion (while the French hadde (in vaine) diſcharged their Ordnance into a *VWood* ſtanding before them, in regard that the *Switzers* (to deſcibe the enemy) had poſitively left a few of the drudges amongſt the trees, as making a ſhew of ambuſhed

armed men) had cloſely crept along by a ſide way, by little and little ſlooping downe, and trayling their Pikes vpon the ground after them.

Now, ſo great was their contempt of the bullets flying about them, and the charge ſo dreadful, that the French and *Namartine* foote (their Captaine *Beaumont* being ſlaine) two bands alſo of *Geneuages* and *Salucians* defeated, and theyr Ordnance taken, and turned vpon their backs that fled; the *Allemaignes* now being almoſt quite deſtroyed, their Tents taken, the enemy ouerthrowing all, and largely Lords of the field; betwene ſhame and feare turned their backs. VVhen all men were thus diſmayed, the Captaines yet continued fearleſſe (conſidering the fearfulneſſe of their preſent eſtate) and went ralliering the diſordered ranks, and turning themſelues vnto the cryes of theyr Companions, made them to abide and fight.

The vnder Officers and Ancients, entreated them for to exempt all feare, the Lancequenets bare the brunt of the battell, and the fight began to be repaired in all places. But the horſemen, nothing moued with their Captaines encouraging words, ſhamefully fled. For the *Switzers* although their Captaine *Mottina* was ſlaine by a piece of Ordnance; yet, hauing gotten the Campe, ſet fiercely and bloodily on the left ſide of the Horſe, & likewise on the right, and then on theyr backs came a greater power with terrible Pikes, to the no little terror of the diſordered horſe.

In repairing the field, there perriſhed *Montſalcon*, Captaine to the Duke of *Albanys* company of horſe, and *Coriolano Trivoulzi*, a young Gentleman of ſingular hope. But, the *Allemaignes* loſing halfe their men, two Enſignes, and their General *Floranges* very greuously hurt, had fought moſt conſtantly a long while together: but perceiving nowe the Horſe to forſake them, the foote in euery quarter to bee defeated, and the great Ordnance taken, accounting flight to be very ſhamefull, yet voide of ſecuritie; ſet the points of their weapons vpright, according to their viſual manner, and yielded, ſeeking mercy of the victor enemy. In this tempeſt of affliction and confuſion, *Roberts de la Marche*, Lord of *Cadan*, foote through

Lewes Lord
Beaumont ſlaine

Mottina Cap-
taine of the
Switzers ſlaine

Montſalcon
and Coriolano
Trivoulzi ſlaine.

The *Allemaignes* yielded to the enemies mercy

The louing
care of a Fa-
ther to his
ſonnes.

Diſcipline ob-
ſerued among
the Switzers.

When con-
fuſion is in an
army, petiſwa-
lons Praxalle
inde.

thorough with deadly ſorrow, beholding his two ſonnes, the Lords *Floranges* and *Gems* enſight by the enemy, and meerly in deſperate daunger of life: with a troope of Horſe, boldly brake into the middeſt of the enemies battell, and they lying among the mangled bodies halfe dead, pitifully embred with their owne blood and woundes, laying them ouerthwart the neckes of two Horſes; to his no little prayſe, both for manly proweſſe and fatherly pittie, woorthily brought them thence, preferring theyr liues for future renowne, and in a farre more fortunate field.

Thus the *Switzers*, fighting in three ſeueral Squadrons or Companies, within the compaſſe of an houre and a halfe, or thereabout, perfected a moſt memorable famous battaile, and vveigltie warre.

And although their enemies lay ſlaine before theyr faces, ſtored with goodlie and rich Furniture, which was able to allure them: yet would they make no ſeſure on the ſpoyle, but kept within care of their Countrey Diſcipline, which permits nor to take any armed man priſoner in the battaile, neither to follow him that flyeth.

This made them to ſtand ſtill a great part of the day; as doubting leaſt the French, prouoked cyther by pollicie in their Captaines, or their owne ſhame, ſhould retreat backe againe; and take them at aduantage in deſpoyling the dead. But this feare was much more diſcreet then needfull, becauſe the Enemy kept on ſtill in flight, and *Trivoulzi* galloping too and fro, confounded with extrenity of duſt and hoarſeneſſe in crying to them, was vtterly vnable, cyther by ſoule or faire perſuaſions, or the commanding Authoritie of a General, to ſtay the Enſignes or the Horſe, that throwing away their Lances, ſtroue with greateſt eagerneſſe, who ſhould bee foremoſt.

It is reported, that the whole troops of French Horſe might haue bene vtterly ouerthrowne and ſpoyled in theyr flight, if Duke *Maximilian* had made an oppoſition but with two hundred light Horſe: for there was not a French-man that carried a Lance beyonde *Seſſithes*, ſuch was their heate and haſt to bee gone.

And yet within a ſhort while after, *Sid uia Sabello*, and *Corradino Critelly*, with certaine light Horſe; purſued them vnto the Towne of *Treſcato*: but the *Conradines* and *Peazzans*, ſticking amaine out of the Fieldes and Hamlets to the ſpoyle, made a moſt cruell ſlaughter where anie bootie was to be had, at hedges, ditches, and all other places, that hindered the tired French in their flight.

The ſame day the *Switzers*, gathering together the ſlaine bodies of their countrey-men, carried them on their ſhoulders into the Cittie, to giue them the laſt honour of buriall. Amongſt them, were ſlaine a thouſand and three hundred, ſeaſen hundred being torne with the great pieces of Ordnance, and almoſt as many were wounded, but of the French were ſlaine eight thouſand of all degrees.

Duke *Maximilian*, not a little ioyfull of ſuch fortunate ſucceſſe, ſummoned the Souldiers together, and ioyſo confounding ſpeech, as he was ſcarſe able to utter a worde; which appeared by the teares trickling downe his cheekes, gaue them all moſt hearty thanks; and, as a gift of inſtant benefite and pleaſure, all the *Vicualles* then taken, beſide the Ordnance and generall ſpoyle, hee frankly beſtowed vpon them. As for the admirable Trench, wherein conſiſted ſuch vndoubted hope of Victorie, inuented by a warlike witte, brought ouer the Alpes with much labour, and great charge: that being taken from the enemy, was ſet vp in a publique place, for a future Monument of that victorie: and this deceyued the *Allemaignes* moſt, that they holde it vtterly needleſſe to erect their Trench that day, which lay ſtill in the *VWaggons*, becauſe ſucceſſe ſeemed then to ſrowne on the enemy.

Vpon Conference had afterwards with *Trimouille* at *Bologna*, concerning all theſe matters; he did not filipolouſly impute the fault vnto *Trivoulzi*, for not encamping on his owne grounds (as *Trimouille* had perſwaded him) in regard of ſpoyling the Graſſe, which then at that time was ready to bee mowne. But *Trivoulzi*, as a man neuer conquered before, yet diſputing on ſeueral euents happening in the battaile, threw the maine croiſe on aduerſe fate, which too much enuyed

The loſſe ſu-
ſtained on
both ſides.

The gratitude
of Duke Ma-
ximilian
ſtoza to
wards his ſol-
diers.

When a loſſe
is ſuſtained,
excules or
complaints
are alledged
thento go
end.

his worth and renouwe. And hee saide very truly, that men, made more then mad, by cowardly and degenerate feare, in the cheefest heate and fury of fight, are no way able to be restrained or ordered, by the best or most skillfull Capitaine that euer liued.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the force of sudden Chances and unexpected Euentz, for the dissipation as well of mans power, as of his policy: And of the hazards and doubtfull euentz of Battails, and other enterprizes of Warre.



Although the successe of mens affayrs is most vncertaine, variable, & subiect to infinit chances and hazards; yet in nothing so much as in matters, wherein mans power is most seene, to wit, in matters of warre, whereof the euentz are so doubtfull and dangerous (as *Isa* saide to *Epimondas*) *He is not wise that dath not feare them.* And therefore it is reported of *Phocion*, a most excellent Capitaine of the *Athenians*, that although hee was chosen fue and forty times Generall of their armies; yet hee himselfe did euer perswade the to peace, as fearing the successe of warre. And *Hanniball* hauing bene for 16 yeares victorious in *Italy*, and forced at the length to defend his owne country, which was *Carthage* (where *Scipio* the *Romane* had already ouerthrowne two great armies of the *Carthaginians*, and was ready also to present him battaile) he doubted so much the euent thereof, that crauing conference with *Scipio*, he sought to perswade him to peace, representing vnto him the hazard of warre, and aduising him to consider in the prosperous course of his victories, not onely what had hapned to other men, but also what might ensue to himselfe, & that to make peace was in his own hands, but if he came once to the battaile, the victory should bee in the hands of God. And lastly, that *Nusquam minus quam in belacuentus respondent. The euentz of things*

do no where lesse answer the expectation of men shen in warre.

Thus spake *Hanniball*, who may also well serue for an example of his owne admonitions. For though he had bin many yeares together, the scourge of the *Romans*, and the most famous and renowned Capitaine then liuing, yea, and was (as it were) growne old with victories in forreigne Countries, euen before the very gates of Rome; yet was hee at length vterly ouerthrowne by a *Romane*, a young man, inferiour to him in reputation, experience, and forces, and in that battaile which most imported him, and wherein (by the iudgement of all men) he employed all the endeuour, military arte and skill he had, or which could bee required in a most prudent and valiant Capitaine.

This change and decay of fortune in war, may be exemplified in many others, as famous Capitaines as euer were; as in the worthy *Indus Machabeus*; *Cyrus*, king of *Persia*; *Pyrrhus*, king of *Epyrus*; *Marcellus Pompeius Magnus*; *Marcius Antonius*, Competitor of *Augustus Caesar*; the Emperour *Constantinus*; and *Heraculus Belisarius*; *Edward* the third, King of *England*; our famous Countreman, *John Talbot*, the first Earle of *Shrewsbury*, whose name is yet terrible to the *French*; the great Earle of *Warwicke*, in the time of *Edward* the fourth; *Charles*, Duke of *Bourgonne*; *Nicholo Primitico*; *Lewes* the 12. king of *France*; and now lastly (in our memory) the Emperour *Charles* the sixt. All which (with many other whom I omit for breuities sake) hauing by many notable victories got the fame and renouwe of most famous Capitaines, were either at last disgraciously killed, or else receyued some great ouerthrowes, or had (at least) some notorious decay of their former and wonted prosperous successe.

The consideration hereof, had moued diuers most valiant Capitaines, to auoide the aduenture of battaile as much as might be, and rather seek to overcome their enemies by stratagems, practises, and delays; as *Q. Fabius Maximus*, who (by such meanes) distressed *Hanniball*, much more then others could do by main battailes. And therefore *Ennius* the Poet saide of him; *Cunctando relictis remz*, *He repaired the State of the Romanes by delays.* And it is also written of the valiant

idem.

The ouerthrow of *Hanniball* by a young *Romane* Ibid.

The chance decay of fortune in war exemplified in many famous Capitaines. *Marcellus* 47. *Isidore* 10. *Plutarch*. *Polydore* 176. *Phil. Com.* *Guicciardin*. *Pedro* 100. *Scrius*.

The doubtfull euent of a battaile is greatly to be feared.

Ennius *epid* *Cicer. Orat.* 11.

Schad. varia lectio. cap. 1. Part 2.

Phil. Commin. *cap. 17. 20. & 155.*

Phil. Commin. *cap. 19. & 64.*

A battell lost hath an ill taill, and why. *Commin.* *idem*

idem *Cap. 64.* The practise of *Lewes* the 8. K of *France* to overcome an enemye wiout battail.

Metindus Bellay. The precautions which *France* the 1. K of *France* vsed against the insurrection of *Charles* the Emperour.

valiant *Franciscus Sforza* Duke of *Milaine*, that he would neuer ioyne battaile with an enemy, but when hee could not otherwise choose.

And *Lewes* the eleuenth, K. of *France* (who was no lesse valourous in war, then prudent in peace) feared nothing more, as *Philip de Commines* testifieth, then the hazard of warre; and especially of a battaile, which by all meanes possible hee fought to auoid. Insomuch, that when any enemy entered *France*; hee procured to make peace or truce with him, whatsoever it cost him. As appeared when *Edward* the fourth King of *England* was therewith a strong Armie, to whom he gaue a great summe of ready money, and granted to pay him a tribute of fiftie thousand Crownes a yeare, besides diuers pensions to his Councillors, and other hard conditions; rather then hee would hazard a battell with him, knowing the casualtie thereof, and that as *Commines* saith, *Une battaille perdu a mannaist queste*. A battaile lost hath an ill taile or consequence: For it redoubleth the hope and courage of the Victors; it astonisheth and discourageth the vanquished; it shaketh the fidelity of subiects, it ministreth matter and opportunity of conspiracie to malecontents, of reuolt to Townes, and of alienation to confederates, who commonly sway with the good successe. And for this cause, not onely King *Lewes* the eleuenth, but also other wise Princes haue vsed, when an enemy hath bin ready to enter their countries: to dismantle all the Townes in his way that were not tenable, and to fortifie and make strong the rest, retyzing thither all the Cattle and prouision of the country, and destroying all the Corne vpon the ground, thereby to consume him with famine, long sidges, and all kindes of delays whatsoever, rather then seek to ouerthrow it by a maine battail. This was very prudently practised by *France* the first, King of *France*, at such time as the Emperour *Charles* determined to enter into *France*, with a great and puissant army: insomuch, that when *K. France* vnderstoode, that the people of the Country resisted the destruction of theyr Corne, and other commodities; he straight way sent his armie to destroy it. Whereby the Emperour finding all Townes fortified, and no prouision a-

broad was left them, were forced (after hee had besiedged *Marsailles* some certaine moneths) to retire himselfe for lack of victuals.

And this I haue thought good to signify by the way, for that *Phillip de Commines*, and *Martin du Bellay* (both of them notable Historiographers, and Councillors, the first to *Lewes* 11. and the other to *France* the first) so greatly approue this manner of proceeding in these Princes, and propoie it for a rule of state to all such Kings & Princes, as, being in possession their Kingdomes and States, are invaded by Forreiners; though for those that invade and seeke to conquer, *Phillip de Commines*, thinketh it meete and conuenient to seeke battaile, to make short worke, by reason of the difficulty to bee succoured, and of the infinite dangers & inconueniences, which happen by delays to an armie of strangers in foraine countreys. Besides, hee that invadeth and seeketh to conquer, commonly aduentureth no more but his present armie, and that in hope to gaine a Crowne, whereas the Prince in possession, aduentureth his whole state against nothing, and a state is lost (many times) with the losse of a battaile at home, if the victory bee well followed.

But nowe let vs returne to speake of sodaine Chances, and to touch some particularities, thereby to shew very manifestly and evidently, the weaknesse of mans wit and power, and the casualty of warlike attempts.

Let vs first and formost consider, by howe many accidents the mightiest armies are many times quite disperfed and dissipated, and the greatest enterprizes ouerthrowne: as sometimes it falleth out by the death of some one man, sometimes by the dissention of Leaders and Capitaines amongst themselves, sometimes by the mutiny of souldiers, sometimes by meanes of a Tempest or vnseasonable weather; sometimes againe by plagues, or other diseases in the Campe, and sometimes againe (as *Guicciardine* noteth in his second Booke) by a commandement eyther not well vnderstood, or ill executed; by a little remerie or disorder, which may chaunce to happen by some vaine worde or speech, euen of the meaneest Souldiour. And last of all

Phil. Commin. *cap. 19.* The invader ought to seek battell, & why.

The diuers casualties of warlike attempts.

Guicciardine Lib. 2.

(saith hee) by infinite chances which happen at vnwares, vnpossible to bee foreseen and preuented, by the wit or counsell of any Capitaine.

Heere to also adde out of *Comminas*, that be the counsell neuer so well taken, and the plot neuer so well layed; yet it is neuer or seldome executed in the field, as it is ordaind in the Chamber. And that sometimes, by the least motions or occasions that may bee, the victorie is wonne or lost: Which (saith hee) is a great *Mystery*, whereby *Kingdomes and States do rise or fall*. And hereupon, the selfe same Authour groundeth two Conclusions, no lesse piously then wisely. The one, that no humane wit is able (of it selfe) sufficiently to gouerne an Army of men: and the other, that God reserueth to himselfe the successe of battels and disposeth of his victory at his wil and pleasure.

This will be made cleare by examples, by the which, I will first of all shewe the force of sodaine chances in battaile, and other enterprizes of Warre. And after that all victorie proceedeth from the providence and hand of God, and not from the power and policie of mortall man. As concerning the first, we see many and sundry times, that great designements are broken, and potent armies dissolved by accidents, without any force or stroke of the Enemy. When *Lewes* the Emperour (called *Lewes of Banaria*) was in Italy, with a great and puissant armie, and readie to besiege *Florence*, vpon the confidence hee had in the valor and assistance of *Castruccio of Pisa*, whom the Florentines feared more then any man liuing, it chanced that the sayde *Castruccio* dyed: whereupon, the Emperour broke his designement, and returned into Germanie with his armie.

Also, in the time of the great Schisme which was holden betwixt *Prbane*, the sixte Pope of that name, and *Clement* the fiftie Pope, who was called *Clement* the seuenth, and liued in *Auignon*; *Lewes* Duke of *Aniun*, Vnckle vnto *Charles* the sixt, King of *France*, went into Italy with an huge armie, wherin hee hadde aboute thirtie thousand Horfles, partly to deliuer *Ioane*, Queene of *Naples*, (who was besieged by *Charles* *Ourazzo*, Nephew vnto *Lewes* King of *Hungaria*)

and partly to depose Pope *Prbane*, in fauour of *Clement*. When hee had already entered into Italy, and began to make warre in the Territorie of *Bologna* (which belonged to the Church) and was likely in al mens opinion (by reason of his great forces) to obtaine his desire in all he pretended; hee sodainly fell sicke and dyed; whereupon, all that mightie and inuincible army, disperfed and dissolved it selfe; and euery man returned from whence he came.

The like hath chanced diuers times, by some great plague and mortalitie in armies, as in that of the Christians, which beganne in *Thunis* in *Affrica*, vnder the conduct and commaund of *Lewes*, the ninth, King of *France*: which armie was so mollested with pestilence, that it was forced for to rise from the siege at such time, euen when the Towne was brought to extremitie, and must needs haue rendered it selfe within few daies.

Furthermore, such is the force of sodaine feares which fall vpon men, sometimes by meere chance, without anie iust cause, that the greatest armies are vtterly ouerthrowne thereby. And no maruel seeing no man is so valiant, but that hee may bee seized and transported with a sodaine feare. And therefore the Lacedemonians, before they went forth to fight, were wont to sacrifice to the Muses, to obtaine their assistance, against the fierce and furious assaults of sodaine passions. VVhich taking reason many times at vnwares, and (as it were) at an advantage, doe so oppress it, that they becom a man of all iudgement and discourse for a time, and no passion more then feare. VVhereof I my selfe saw a notable experience, in a most valiant Spanish Capitaine in *France*, which happened in the time of a League, who going out of his Garrison, with certaine Troopes vpon an occasion, and meeting with the Enemy by chance, where hee least suspected, tooke such a fright thereat, that he ranne home with might and maine, and tolde vs (for I was ther at the same instant time) that all the Souldiers were cut in peeces, and that hee himselfe escaped very hardly. Neuerthelesse, within fure or sixe houres after, they all returned home safe, and not so much as any one man hurt, though they came scattering one after ano-

Lewes Duke of Anionun death in Italy.

Paul, Emil in Lodouico 2000

Of the force of sodain fear in battaile.

Paul, in Trill de trarripiemenda.

No passion bereaeth a man of his senses, more then sodaine feare.

Phil, Com in c. 9 Plots are fel dome or neuer executed in the field, as they are ordaind in the chamber.

Idem libid.

Pedro Mexia, in Lodouico Bannaro.

Paul, Emil in Carlo 6.

another, for they all fledde as well as he, and the rather by his example. When hee had already vtterly disgraced him, if in very many occasions (before) hee had not got the reputation of one of the most valiant men of his Nation, in which respect it was rather wondered at in him, then blamed.

But to shewe the like effect of sodaine feare in whole Armies, vpon diuers accidents. When *Arnulphus* the Emperour besieged *Rome*, it chanced, that a Hare (being started by some of the Camp) ran towards the Citie, and that a great number of the souldiers pursued her with very great rowt and cryes, which the Romans seeing from the Towne, and conceyting that the enemy meant to giue some furious and violent assault thereto, were surprized with such a feare, that they abandoned the wals and Rampiers, and the enemy espying, and taking the opportunity thereof, scaled the walles, and tooke the Towne.

Also, when *Sigismund*, King of *Hungaria*, (who was afterward Emperour) gaue battell to an Army of the Turkes, neere to *Nicopolis*, and was assisted with exceeding great numbers of the French, and of diuers other Nations, the French Horfles being in the vanguard, and seeing themselves (after a while) hardly oppressed, alighted from their Horfles to fight on foote. But their Horfles beeing loose, ranne all backe toward the campe, which the Hungarians and others that were in the reere perceiuing, and imagining that the Horfles-men were slaine; tooke such a fright therewith, that they ranne away, whereby the Turkes got a notable Victorie, with great slaughter of the Christians, especially of the French, who were almost all slaine.

Also at *Ptolomais* in *Egypt*, which the Christians besieged two yeares together, the Soldane, who came with an armie to succour it, gaue them an ouerthrowe by the like chance; of a Horfe, which beeing let loose, ranne backe to the Campe. For whereas diuers souldiers called one vnto another to stay him, many ranne out of their ranks (to take him) with such disorder, that they seemed to those that were behinde, and some-what farre off, to run away; whereupon, a great part of the Christian Army began to flye. And this

happened at such a time, as the Soldane with his Soldiers (being put to the worke) were running out of the field: who seeing the Christians flye, called backe his men, charged them afresh, and got the Victorie.

Charles Duke of *Bourgoigne*, besiedging *Granson*, & vnderstanding that the *Switzers* came to succour it, went to meete them, to giue them battaile. The Souldiers of the vanguard, as they were marching, meaning for to take a better way, retired a little backe. The reeward seeing the same, imagined that they fled, and began themselves to flye, whereupon the rest also did the like; and (in conclusion) the Duke and all ran away, abandoning their artillery and Campe, to the spoile of the *Switzers*, who were exceedingly enriched thereby, and yet slew only but few men, for all the rest saved themselves by flight. Thus much concerning sodaine feares, whereto I will adde a few more examples of other accidents.

Gildo, Gouernor of *Affricke*, vnder the Emperours *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, rebelled against the Empire, and his own brother *Mascezell* was employed against him for General, who had not (in a certaine occasion) aboute 5000. men to fight with 70000. And the armies being foere together, that they were ready to charge one another, *Mascezell* beganne to make motions of peace; & receiuing some hard and crosse language of one that bare an Ensigne, stroke him vpon the same arme that heelde it, where with the Ensigne fell, and diuers others that followed, seeing it, and conceiuing that he which bare it had yielded it, went in great hast, and yielded themselves. VVhereupon, *Gildo* fled away with a great part of the armie, and the rest sutedrended themselves to *Mascezell*.

Also in the battell of *Cirignola*, in the Kingdome of *Naples*, betwixt the Spaniards and the French, a worde spoken by the Count of *Nemount*, (who was then General of the French) beeing misconstrued by his Souldiers, was a very great cause of their ouerthrow. For, the battell being already begonne, and the Count finding withall, that he could not passe a certain Ditch (ouer which he had thought to haue ledde some part of his Armie, to charge the Spaniards on the other side,

Philip Commin, cap. 10. Charles Duke of Bourgoigne ouerthrowne by the Switzers at Granson.

Examples of Battalles lost by diuers other accidents. *Cladius*, lib. 7 cap. 36.

Gildo Gouernor of *Affricke* ouerthrowne by a strange accident.

Guic lib. 4. The French ouerthrowne by the Spaniards, through a word mulled.

cried vnto the Souldiers that followed him, *Backe, backe*; meaning to lead them another way. But they not knowing the cause, vnderstood that he had them flye, which they all began to doe: and others (seeing the same) followed their example. It chanced also at the same time, that the Count was slaine; whereupon the whole Army of the French ranne away, and lefte the field and victorie to the Spaniards.

Battell lost by a little disorder.

Againe, whosoeuer hath reade any thing of the ancient warres, or hath any experience in these our times; cannot be ignorant, what confusion may bee bred in a battaile, by a little disorder growing vpon some sodaine accident; whereby Armies (many times) are causes of their owne ouerthrow. As it chanced to *Hanniball* in his last battaile with *Scipio*, wherein his owne Elephants turning backe vpon his Horse-men, so brake & disordered them, that the Romans taking advantage thereof, did easily put them all vnto flight.

The battell of Yury in France in Anno 1590

The like to this, hath happened sometimes in this our age, and namely, a few yeares past in France, in the yeare of our Lord, 1590. in the battaile of *Yury*, betwene the King of France, *Henrie* the fourth, and the Duke of *Mayne*, then Generall for the League. In which Battaille, the Horsemen of the League, flying backe vpon their owne foote, brake them in such sort, that their Enemy entring withall easily defeated them.

The victory in battell dependeth sometime vpon winde & weather as well by land as sea.

Lastly, to shew evidently the force of chance in warre, is there any thing more vn certaine or vnconstant then winde and weather? And yet neuerthelesse, thereupon (many times) dependeth the successe of battailes, and other warlike attempts; especially by sea, where the winde & weather do predominate, and check al the power of men. For, who is ignorant, that be the Naue neuer so potent, it can neuer goe out of the harbour, nor arrive where it should to encounter the enemy, if winde and weather be not fauourable? Which is also as necessary and importat for obtaining victory in a conflict by sea, wherein, the first advantage that an expert Sea-man seeketh to get of his Enemy, is to winne the winde of him: which winde also changing (sometimes) during the Conflict, doth giue both the aduan-

tage and victory to the enemy. As it fell out in the Battaille of *Lepanto*, which happened betwene the Christians and the Turkes, wherein the Winde beeing first fauourable vnto the Turkes, sodainly changed, and draue all the smoke of the Artillerie and small shot vpon them, whereby they were so blinded, that they were very easily and speedily ouerthrowne.

The battell of Lepanto, betwene the Christians & the Turkes. *Sarmis in commentar. 1571.*

And thus it chanceth in like manner in battailes vpon Land; and therefore wise Capitaines seeke not onely to haue the Sunne, but also the winde on theyr backs: for, it often falleth out, that a storme of Haile or Raine in the face of an enemy, or a violent winde, driuing either the dust, or the smoke of shot and Artillerie vpon it, giueth the victory to the enemy. As in the famous battaile at *Cannae*, when *Hanniball* ouerthrew the *Romaines*, and slew foure thousand foote, and seuen and twenty hundred horse, and tooke three thousand and three hundred prisoners. He had the winde in his fauor, which being in his backe, and withall so violent, that it draue the dust into the *Romaines* eyes, and did greatly facilitate his victory.

The great victory of Hanniball at Cannae. *Tac. Lib. 2. 3. 4. 5.*

The like, or rather a farre greater victory, got *Scipio Asiaticus* against *Antiochus*, King of *Syria*, whom hee put vnto flight, and slew sixe thousand foote, and foure thousand horse, with the losse only of three hundred forty nine men, by the helpe of a foggy mist, and a shewre of raine. For the mist was so thicke, that the huge Army of *Antiochus* could not one part of it see another: whereas it wrought no such effect in the small Army of the *Romaines*. And againe, the raine so weakened the Bowes and Slings of *Antiochus* his Souldiers, that they serued to little or no purpose: whereas the *Romaines* vsing onely Swordes and Darts, receyued no damage thereby. And to come neerer to our time, wee read that *Adolphus* the Emperour was slaine, and his whole armie cleane ouerthrowne and vanquished by *Albertus*, by reason that the Sun was in their faces.

The victory of Scipio Asiaticus against Antiochus. *Tac. Lib. 2. 4. 1. 7.*

Also, amongst some other causes of the losse of the great Battaille of *Ghiaradadda*, betwene the Venetians, and the French, *Guicchiardine* obserueth, that a certain shewre of raine; which fell euen

Pedro Mexia in vit. Imp. Adolpho, Guic. lib. 3.

as

as they were fighting, made the ground so slippery vpon a sudden, that the foote of the Venetians could not hold their footing, to defend themselves against the French Horse. By which means they were easily broken, and the greater part of them slaine.

How little confidence is to be had in the policy or power of man for the good successe of a battaile.

Thus then wee see, how great a sway chance beareth in battailes and enterprizes of warre, and consequently, how little confidence is to be reposed in the witte, pollicy, power, and endeuour of men, for the good successe thereof. VVhich dependeth vpon infinit accidents, chancing so diuersly (according to the difference of persons, times, places, and circumstances) that neyther the wisdom of any Generall can foresee them, nor any diligence, dexterity, or industry of Souldiers preuent them, though all should concur in the highest degree. For be the Soldiers neuer so obedient, dexterious, & diligent, and the Capitaine neuer so wise and valiant; yet what assurance is there of good successe, when a sudden danger shall fo dismay both Capitaine and Soldiers, that neyther the one shall know what to command, nor the other how to obey; when an erroneous conceite of some few, or bad example of some one, or a word mistaken, or a blast of winde, or a shewer of raine, and innumerable other accidents, not possible to be fore-seene or remedied, shall giue the victory to the weaker, yea, to those that are (in a manner) vanquished before? Therefore I will thus conclude this Chapter, that the successe of Battailles, and all warlike attempts, dependeth wholly on the will and secret iudgements of God.

CHAP. XV.

How our Ancients and reuerend Predecessors, punished such in former times, as durst do any dishonour to their Mistresse.

The Authors reason for this Chapter here set downe.

VVas as the more willing to insert this Chapter, to the ende that the youth of our times may know and vnderstand, in what veneration and regard, our Ancients held the honour of Ladies, Gentle-

women, and Mistresses, and not without very great reason. For it is a notorious treason, & high point of dishonour, that he who abideth as a seruant in a house, should intermeddle in seeking to purchase the loue of his Mistresse: nay, and that which is worse, to obtaine the cheefest point of al. In the compassing or contriuing whereof, he maketh the husband infamous, doth iniurie to the wife, scandalizeth neighbourhood, and ouerthroweth himselfe.

Plutarch in lib. *Matr. cap. 9.*

Plutarch, in his Booke of Mariage writeth, that the *Licamians* had a law, that if any strangers were found to conferre in secret with the Mistresse of their lodging, they had their tongues cut out of their mouthes; and if they presumed any further, then it was the losse of their liues. *Iulius Caesar* caused one of his Capitaines to be beheaded, because he had dishonored the Mistresse of the house where hee was lodged: without attending any excuse he could or should make, and without any complaint vrged by the husband.

The severity of Iulius Caesar to a Capitaine.

The Emperour *Aurelius*, standing on a day at his window in his Pallace, & beholding a young man, who drew his Mistresse softly by the sleeve of her gowne; had them both brought before him immediately, and although the young man and his Mistresse both deposed, that it was onely done in iest; yet *Aurelius* commanded (neuerthelesse) the same hand to be smitten off.

Marcus Aurelius, a iust and severe Emperour.

Macrobius writeth in his *Saturnales*, that such persons were reputed infamous among the Romans, as should giue any commendations of the Mistresse of a Family, eyther in regard of her beauty, modest behaviour, or any other seemely quality. For such praises they reputed, to giue euident notice of more priuate knowledge, and such knowledge vrged speech, and speech being the discloser of the hart, would afterward grow to the shamefull acte. In the like manner *Aulus Gellius* recordeth, that the same punishment was inflicted on him that dishonored his Mistresse, as to him that corrupted a vestall virgin: which penalty was, to haue his body cut in foure parts, or else to bee stoned to death aliue.

Macrobius in Saturn.

Aul. Gellius Noct. Attic.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

Concerning diuers kinds of Salutation, vſed among our Ancients, when they met together.



HE manner that our Elders obſerued in their Salutations one to another, was very diuers, and each one according to their Countries vſe.

The *Idumæans* at their meetings, vſed to ſpeake theſe words: *The Lord bee with you.*

The true *Hebrues*, ſaluting each other, ſaid; *God ſaue you my Brother.*

The *Philophers* were wont to ſay; *God in a good houre.*

The *Thebanes* ſaid; *God giue you health.*

The *Romans* ſalutations were as if they they would ſay; *God ſend or giue you good fortune.*

The *Sicilians* ſaid; *God keepe you.*

The *Carthaginians* did not vſe any ſalutations by ſpeeches at their meetings, but as a ſigne of loue and friendlines, they would kiſſe their right hands each together, and then kiſſe one another.

The *Moores* likewiſe at their meetings, would kiſſe the right ſhoulder of one another: and when they tooke leaue for their departing, then they would kiſſe each others knee.

In *Italy*, they haue three ſeueral kinds of ſalutations for a whole day. In the morning they ſay, *Dio vi dia il buono giorno*; *God giue you a good morrow*: At midnoon, *Dio vi dia ſalute*; *God giue you health*. And at euening they ſay, *Buona ſera*, *Good euen*. They ſay alſo many times, *Mi raccomando*, *I commend me to yee*. And after two or three houres of night is paſt, then they ſay, *Dio vi dia la buona notte*; *God giue you the goodneſſe of the night*. Sometime alſo they are accuſtomed to ſay, *Idio vi contenti*, *God content yee*.

In the kingdome of *Valentia* in *Spaine*, when men meet together, they ſalute each other in this manner; *Gentle ſir, you are wellcome*. And at the departing, the one ſaith, *God remaine with you*: and the o-

ther replyeth, *God in a good houre*.

In *Catholonia*, ſuch perſons as chance to meeete together, ſalute one another thus; *You are very well arrived heere ſir.*

In *Caſtile* ſome vſe to ſay, *God keepe you*: others, *God be with you*. And when they leaue each other, the one ſaith, *God conſerue you*; and the other answereth, *The beſſed Angels beare you company*. Some alſo vſe to ſay; *With your good grace and fauour*. And others, *Aden ſir*. In the

Court ſome vſe to ſay, *I kiſſe the hands of your mercy*. And ſome other, *I kiſſe the feet of your Honour or Worſhip*. Which Courting ſalutations are alſo together vaine, and (for the moſt part) deliuered with feigning and diſſimulation. For many offer to kiſſe the hands and feete of one another, that would much rather cut them off, the any way kiſſe them, deſiring indeed to ſee each others viter ruine. And certainly (me-thinks) that men of worth, authority, and reſpect, ought not to vſe any ſuch ſalutations; becauſe to kiſſe the feet, hath bin accounted a matter of great dignity, and appertaining to the Pope only. And to kiſſe the hand, is a gracious fauour affoorded by Kings and Princes, to ſuch Subiects as they thinke worthy of ſuch grace.

But without gadding after ſo many kinds of vanities, and diuerſity of idle words, it is a matter meeete and reaſonable, that wee who are Chriſtians, ſhould imitate Ieſus Chriſt our Lord and Sauour, ſaluting one another, with ſuch words as he ſaluted his Diſciples, ſaying; *Peace be with you*. Our Redeemer enſtricted vs alſo, to ſalute houſes at our entring into them, ſaying; *Peace be in this houſe*.

Epaminondas ſaid, that vntill the age of thirty yeares, we ſhould ſalute men thus: *You are very wellcome hiher*, for all this while it appeareth, that they are but come into the world. From thirty vp to fifty, then to ſalute thus; *Well be yee*; becauſe that then they know what manner of thing the world is. And from fifty defending downe againe, to ſay, *God in a good and beſſed houre*. For then it appeareth, that they are beginning, to take leaue of the world, and that as they had an entring into it, ſo there muſt needs be a departing from it.

The Catholigians.

The Caſtilians.

Court Salutations.

The vanity of Court ſalutations.

How Chriſtians ſhould ſalute one another.

An excellent obſeruation of the famous *Epaminondas*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

What a commendable thing it is to pardon iniuries, eſpecially in Princes and great Lords.

I haue euermore bene a praiſe-worthy thing, to pardon iniuries and offences: which Princes and great Lords ſhould neuer be vnmindfull of, but continually to remember the words, which *Julius Caſar* ſpake to *Manilius*. Vvho (on a time) demanding of him, what that was which being performed by him, he therby thought to receiue the greateſt glory, and in remembrance whereof hee ought moſt to reioyce? Vvhereto he thus answered. *By the immortal Gods I ſwear to thee Manilius, that I neuer thought my ſelfe to haue merited glory, for any other thing whatſoeuer in this life, nor any other elſe ſo much to reioyce me; then in pardoning ſuch as had iniured me, and rewarding them that did me ſervice*. Vvords vndoubtedly worthy of praiſe, pleaſing to heare, notable to reade, and neceſſary to be followed. For althogh *Julius Caſar* beleeued as a Pagane, yet his works fauoured of a good Chriſtian: and we miſerable men, beleeuing all as Chriſtians, yet our works come farre ſhort of ſuch beleeſe, through the tentations of our corrupt fleſh. Becauſe humane wretchedneſſe is grown to ſuch an encreaſing in theſe caſes, that many would pardon the iniuries of their enemies; and yet notwithstanding, dare not do it for feare of men: who vnderſtanding, that ſuch a man is willing to forgiue his enemy, preſently vſe to ſay; that hee rather doth it through weakneſſe and cowardice, then in any reſpect of charity.

CHAP. XVIII.

From whence (as the firſt) came the title or name of King and alſo of Emperour.

OVR reuerend Fore-fathers, according to the diuerſity of Nations, called their Princes by diuers names. The

Egyptians called their cheefeſt Lords and Rulers, *Pharaohs*: The *Byzbians*, *Ptolomeis*: The *Parthians*, *Arſacides*: The *Albanes*, *Syluius*: The *Sicillians*, *Tyrants*: And the *Argines*, *Kings*. Heere we are to vnderſtand, that long ſince in ſomer times, to be a King, was not any dignity, but an office only: as euen now (among vs) is a Gouernour of the Common-wealth.

Plutarch, in his Bookes of Common-wealth, ſaith, that at the beginning, alſo ſuch as gouerned, were called *Tyrants*: but afterward, all thoſe that gouerned badly, were termed *Tyrants*, and ſuch as ruled well were ſtyled *Kings*, as a different note from them. For as the King maintained common vility, and preferred the ſafety of the Commonwealth, before his owne reſpects and commodities; ſo the Tyrant referred his dominion to his cupidity and profite, alledging his will only, as the ſole reaſon of all his vniuſt commands. The King fed the ſtock, and the Tyrant deuoured it: the one obeyed lawes, & the other commanded about them, and alſo would breake them when himſelfe pleaſed: this man was equal, the other vniuſt; the one obtayned the kingdome by vertue, and therein conferred it; the other vſurped it by power, and ſo by power held it.

From the beginning of the foundation of *Rome*, the *Romanes* created Kings, to bee gouerned and defended by them: neuertheleſſe, they afterward found ſuch kinde of gouernment to be ſo bad, as they would endure no more but ſeuene Kings. And after they had baniſhed perpetually the *Tarquins* for their tyranny, cleaneſt or purged the City, and ſlaine their offerings: they made a ſolemne oath, for them, their children, and ſucceſſors, neuer more to create any Kings, eyther to gouerne *Rome* or them. But forasmuch as the *Romane* Common-wealth, had formerly receiued great benefits by their Kings, as by *Numa Pompilius*, and that their Kings only had the charge of ſacred things: they reſolued to keepe the name of King perpetually in their City, to the end, it ſhould not appeare, that with the expulſion of the Kings, they derogated from diuine Religion and Seruice.

And becauſe the Auguries or Diuiners had ſaide, that that name was conſecrated to the Gods: the *Romanes* ordained, that one man among them ſhould

Diuerſity of Nations cauſe diuerſity of titles giue to their Princes.

The difference of the words Tyrant and King, and the ſeueral manner of their gouerning in the Common-wealth.

The firſt creation of Kings in Rome.

Dionisius Hæcæus Lib. 5.

CHAP. XIX.

What was the reason, and upon what occasion, Kings in ancient times were created & established: And of the Dignity Royall.



OR two principall causes, Kings were at first anciently established: One, to the end they should preserve common iustice and equity, by which bond humane society is maintained, and without which the lesser would be oppressed by the greater, all things being done by power, and no right observed. The other, because they should defend the goods and safety of their Citizens from enemies. The necessities of life assembled men among themselves, and conioyned them by a naturall society: which hath beene caused by mutual succours, support, and offices fitting mankind. The beginning of this society, was reason and speech, whereby wee are differing from all brutish creatures. Reason caused many and infinite artes to be invented, and speech (which is the interpreter of the spirit) learned, instructed, & communicated them, not onely by this mutual coniunction: but also hath stored the life of man with many commodities.

The first and cheefest, was the coniunction and coupling of man with woman, whereof was made one house, wherein all things were to the in common, & thence ensued plurality of houses. For Brothers, Sisters, and Cosins contracting marriage together at the beginning, and could not afterward (by multiplicity of their children) be contained all in one house, they went to dwell in other houses. So of one house at the first, came Boroughs and Villages, even as Colonies of kindred. Finally, from Boroughs & Villages were deriued Citties, and becoming to be peopled, were enclosed with walles, confirmed with lawes, and instructed with sciences: for without all these, they could not be preferred from the conspiracies of men, and therefore were to be ruled by some one, and couetousnesse of reigning is so great, that all would command, and none obey, or yeeld reuerence.

VVherefore, like as Sayers, when they are surprized with an impetuous tempest, run for refuge to the Patron of the Ship,

Two reasons for the establishing of Kings.

The beginning of humane society.

The first conjunction of man and woman, & what ensued thereon.

Of one house at the first followed the peopling of Townes and Villages.

An apt and worthy comparison.

The King or Master of the Sacrifices.

The first choice of Priest in Rome.

The original of the name of Emperour, and whereto it was derived.

The Roman Dictator.

The name of Emperour given to Caesar by the people.

The true dignity of the Senate.

Many other Offices of State among the Romans.

Eccles. 9.

The world would perish if the power of God did not governe it.

Herodotus l. 4.

The first beginning of Royall and Kingly Iustification.

Royall Maistie ought to be armed with good Lawes.

yea, & before they will set forth to Sea, foreseeing future perils, make their recourse to a good Pilot, in whom they repose their trust and safety: Euen so as requisite is it, to giue the government of a City, to such a one as may well conduct the common-wealth, and render iustice and right to every man. For where there is no Governor (saith Ecclesiastes) the people are scattered. All things which consist on a certaine order, should be referred to one head or cheefe. Which we may observe in some brutish creatures; as in Bees, who observe a forme or image of a common-wealth among them. This world it selfe (the parts whereof are conioyned among themselves, by admirable order and arteficial workmanship) would fayle and come to nothing, if it were not governed by the power of God. Therefore such as cannot endure the dominion of many, will submit themselves to the regiment of one; in whom, for opinion of wisdom and goodnesse, they may safely repose their trust. Not onely then to the Medes (saith Herodotus) but also to all other people, Kings (vervously inclined) were established for the administration of Iustice.

In elder times, kingdomes came not to the Sonnes of Kings, but was giuen to such a one, whom they thought would wisely and religiously maintaine the foundation of the Common-wealth, by concord and iustice. In those olde dayes, a King gouerned in every City, and after other Townes became annexed to the principality and dominion of one: Kings had beginning to governe ouer diuers people, and thence ensued, that according to the names of Kings, the Regions were so called, which the Romans termed Provinces. Moreover, every King should excell one another in iustice and power; to the end, that he may the better vnite his people by equitie, and defend the Common-wealth from enemies. And by good right it may be sayd, that Royall Maistie ought not only to be decorated with Armes; but ought also to be armed with lawes, that at all times, both of warre and peace, he may both manfully and vprightly governe.

Now, speaking of this Royall dignitie, doubtlesse it is so great and holy, that Kings being protectors and defenders of

societies among men, do therein imitate the prouidence of God: the office and action of whom, is to rule and governe all things, & therefore by good right, they may be termed Vicars and Ministers of the almighty and soveraign Redor of the whole world, and he himselfe hath called them Gods. Plato reputed a kindome among mortall men, to be a diuine and soveraigne goodnesse; because it came neere to the diuine nature, and power celestiall. How farre then some do surpass each other in many things, so a King doth excell all other men in dignity and honor, nor humane but diuine.

Porus, a King among the Indians, being taken prisoner in battaile, when Alexander demanded of him, after what manner he would be vsed; Like a King, quoth he. Againe he vrged the same demand, & still he returned the same answer. For (quoth hee) all is comprised under the word King. The name of King was of so great veneration among Nations, that the Indians and Persians adored their Kings as a diuine image, and helde it for their highest and cheefest happinesse, to haue at any time but a sight of them. Porsus renowned Iupiter by the name of king, more than any other title. And in ancient times, Kings did not onely governe the common-wealth; but also had the charge and super-intendency of Ceremonies & Sacrifices. Kings then are sacred, considering that the Hebrewes with one and the same oyle, anointed both their Kings & high Priests.

Let vs see and obserue, how one kinde of reason, and the like of vnderstanding, do governe in man like a Queene. Let vs consider the other works of nature, which by a wonderfull kinde of concord, restrained and combined together, depend only vpon one. So that if things which imitate nature, are the most perfect and excellent, then questionlesse, Monarchy is most absolute and entire, farre above Aristocratie, Democratie, Oligarchie, or Laocratie, yea, all other kindes of government, where eyther many persons, or few, or the people themselves do rule and command. And like as it is a very hard matter, to finde many men good and honest, rather then one onely: so is it more hard, that the mannery of one man should be so soone corrupted, as of many. So that

Kings imitate the prouidence and goodnes of God.

Plato in lib. 4. de Legib.

An excellent example of Porsus King of India.

The charge and office of Kings in ancient times.

Things imitating nature, are the most perfect and excellent.

The world is
to be governd
by one man
only.

that if the whole world were governed by one man, there would not bee so many differences, manners, customes, nor diversities of religion, nor so many warres, offences, and slaughters. But when Cities are under the sway and power of many, they are then over-toyled with troubles, seditions, and dissensions, by reason of inordinate willes and affections in the greatest: who licence themselves to all euill, being partiall and discordant one towards another. Whereof God said by the mouth of his Prophet; *Many Passions haue ruined my Vine.*

To serve and
attend upon
the command
of many, is no
meane slavery

Let me demanda one question, is it not much more seruile and slauish, to attend on the willes of many, then of one only. Nay, are not the couetous desires of one man sooner to be satisfied, then of many? you cannot chuse but grant it, and I craue no better iudgement. For as it is neyther good nor necessary, that in one house there should be many fathers of the

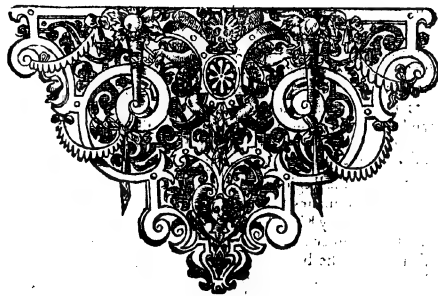
Family: euen so is it neyther secure nor profitable, that the Common-wealth should bee governed by the authority of many. Whereof *Licurgus* gaue good assurance, when some one required, that Democratie should bee established in *Sparta*, hee returned this answer; *Beginis then in thine owne house first.*

Yet very true it is, that one man only, how great or small soeuer in power & prerogatiue, cannot (of himselfe) provide for all occasions, and in all places: but he may by his Lieutenants (as God by the ministry of his Angels) exercise his authority throughout all his Lands vnder his obedience, as hauing the eye of his minde euery where, for containning his Subiects in quietnesse, and causing iustice to be administred vnto them. I say then, as a conclusion to this Chapter, that wee ought to liue, in and vnder the vnity of these foure things; *Of one God; Of one King; Of one faith; And of one Law.*

The power &
prerogatiue
of a King by
his Lieutenants.

THE

The End of the Second Booke.



THE THIRD BOOKE.

The Originall of the Switzers, and their seuerall CANTONS.

Containing, the Government of the Countrey; the publike estate of the thirteene Cantons, and of their Confederates, both in generall and particular: Their Baylywickes, and Iurisdictions; The Originall and condition of all their Alliances; Their battels, victories, conquests, and other memorable actions; from the Emperor Raoul of Habsbourg, vntill the time of Charles the fift.

CHAP. I.

The Preface
or induction
of the Author



Ecause amongst those Common-wealths of Freedom, governed by a certain number of Lords, many haue held opinion, that (at this

present time) the Commonwealth of the Switzers is the cheefest, next vnto that of *Venice*: I haue many times questioned with diuers people, that were no Switzers, how, and after what manner this Common-wealth was first established & governed. For they did highly maruaile, that so many people, hauing but little, should ally and encrease themselves in so short while, euen as enclosed within a defensive wall or circuite, and continue firmly knit together in peace, for such a large and long expence of yeeres.

The common
wealth of the
Athenians.

The common
wealth of the
Achaians.

The Commonwealth of the Athenians, excelling all the rest in Greece, was assembled and selected of many people, and from many places, not only into one countrey, but also within one & the same city. As for the Commonwealth of the Achaians, composed of twelue towns or cities, it did not last long, nor prosper: but after it continued in some dignitie, vnder

Aratus and *Philopoemen*, soone afterward it was subdued by the Romaines, because she abused her owne liberty. After the death of *Ioshua*, the Common-wealth of *Israel*, exposed (thorow her owne fault) to pillage and violence of enemies, was many times protected and defended by Iudges and valiant persons, which God had raised vp for that purpose: but at the last, the twelue Tribes, as being glutted or sattetted with their own liberty, made choise of a King out of their own motion

In the time of our Ancestors, by the intermedling and solicitation of the Emperour *Frederick*, the Townes of *Suaba* v. nited themselves together, and (by that meanes) were esteemed inuincible: but hauing rashly attempted (and by badde conduct) war against the Switzers, the former confederation lost much of the latter. Which afterward, it seemed the recouered againe, when the confederates expelled the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, and ruined all the Castles of *Suaba*, detained by diuers theues and robbers. So that soon after the time of their league was expired they became so strange one to another, that they who before were their friends and allies, were reputed by them as their greatest enemies, and ioyned themselves with those that had most molested them; by which meanes, in verie few yeares this league was vtterly lost and vanished.

The common
wealth of
Israel.

*By some termed
Pomerania.

S

Now

All Switzerland is no other but one Commonwealth, & the reason thereof.

Now albeit there are many people, & a great number of Townes and Cities in *Swetia*, yet is it nevertheless, but euen as one City or Commonwealth. I know that learned men will hardly credite this, because they suppose vs to haue no society, nor any conjunction of government, and so (by consequent) it cannot be said, that *Swetia* can yeild the body of a Commonwealth; considering also, that the Townes are not tyed to the ordinances of other Cities or Townes, except with their owne good will and liking, as in the Conuentions priuate of associates. So it is, that in the same degree of Commonwealth, whatsoever hath passed by plurality of voyces, it bindeth all the Subjects of that Commonwealth. As for my self, I am not willing to contest with the learned: for I freely confesse the truth of their saying; if wee consider matters exactly. But in regard that the whole Nation of the Switzers consisteth of common estates, gouerning many Provinces in common, deliberating altogether on the affaires of peace and warre, hauing (almost) alike Lawes and Customes, and are so strictly conioyned by perpetuall Conuentions: admit that this were not one onely Commonwealth, and in such nature as hath bene formerly spoken of; yet notwithstanding, wee that write and speake of these matters some-what more popularly, do imagine, that we shall not much faile, in calling this association and league, the City and Commonwealth of the Switzers.

Thus then this Commonwealth established by perpetuall alliances, hath conferred her liberty for the space of more then two hundred yeares, with great concord, and incredible vnion of hearts of all the Switzers. For albeit that once or twice (according as it hapneth almost ordinarily in all great Commonwealths) they haue bene prouoked and stirred to ciuill warres: yet notwithstanding, those troubles were immediately pacified, and al reuinited together againe in sincere & cordiall affection; embracing the laudable desire of their predecessors, to study still for the freedom of their Countreyes maintenance. Neuerthelesse, there are some kind of men (enemies to the Switzers) so impudent, as to reproch vs, that in *Heluetia*, euery man is a master or com-

mander, and that our Ancestors, hauing put to death, or troden vnder foote the awe of other Noblemen, by these meanes entered into this liberty, contrary vnto all right and reason. Others do (more truly) confesse, that our Noble-men did offer such outrage to our predecessors, both in words and deeds, that they had iust occasion to vnder take Armes, which all that while they managed very sharply, as it happeneth among people much abused and prouoked. But to satisfie the irresolution of some friends, who vnderstand not the estate of our affaires, and to rembarre the calumnies of the enuious, I thought good to employ my labour, in describing the forme of the Switzers Commonwealth, by reprobuing all vntruthes to the full, and ascending to the height of their originall.

All *Heluetia* or *Switzerland*, is at this day considered in three parts: for first of all, the thirteene Cantons haue alwayes allied and combined themselves, as into one body of a City. And these are they, *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Lucerne*, *Vri*, *Suits*, *Vnderwald*, *Zug*, *Glaris*, *Basile*, *Fribourg*, *Soleurre*, *Schaffouse*, and *Appenzel*. In the second place are the associates and confederates of the thirteene Cantons, to wit, first of all, the Abbot and Towne of *S. Gall*; next, the confedered *Grifons*, the Byshop of *Sion*, and the whole countries of *Valais*, *Rotuile*, *Mulhouse*, and *Bienne*. Consequently, the territories or Bayliwicks, which are gouerned by the 13. Cantons in common, to witte; *Turgow*, *Bade*, the *Rheguises*, now adayes called *Rhinthal*, *Sargans*, the free Provinces, the inhabitants of *Lugano*, *Locarne*, *Mendrisse*, and the Vale *Madie*, whereto may well be ioyned them of *bellizone*, who are vnder the dominion of the three lesser Cantons. The cities and townes of the Cantons & confederates, are *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Lucerne*, *Zug*, *Basile*, *Fribourg*, *Soleurre*, *Schaffouse*, *S. Gall*, Coire of the *Grifons*, *Syon* in *Valais*, *Rotuile*, *Mulhouse*, and *Bienne* for all the rest do dwell in villages.

Moreover, all of them abide not in *Switzerland*, neither within those limites proposed by *Cesar* in his Commentaries: for of the thirteene Cantons, *Basile* is as a quarter apart, which was anciently called the countrie of the *Raurasians*. *Schaffouse* is in *Allemagne* or *Germany*, on the further side

The reason for the Authors writing of this discourse.

The parts and portions of Heluetia.

The thirteene Cantons.

Associates and Confederates

Jurisdiccions or Bayliwicks

Cities and Townes of the Cantons and Confederates

Villages appertaining to him.

See, Cef. in comment. Lib. 4.

Passage by plurality of voyces, bindeth all subjects.

The nation of the Switzer consisteth of estates in common.

How Commonwealths are maintained.

Troubles soon ended, & mutuali loue embraced.

The Abbot & the town of Saint Gall.

An ancient people of Germany.

The order of the Bayliwicks.

Diversity of authority in the iurisdiccions of the Cantons.

Authority of censure in criminall occasions.

Associations in matter of government and authority

side of the *Rhine*: and one part of them of *Glaris* and of *Vri*, do touch (as some conceiue) with the *Grifons* and the *Alpes*. As for the associates, except the Abbot and Town of *S. Gall* and *Bienne*: al the rest are out of the limits of the ancient country of *Heluetia*. First we consider, that the *Grifons* retainie still their name and olde country of the *Rhauians*. Next is the *Palasians*, who in elder times were called *Viberins*, *Sedusians*, and *Veragrians*. *Rotuile* is in *Germany*, and *Mulhouse* towards the *Franche Comté*. Now as concerning the Iurisdiccions or Bayliwicks, they of *Rhinthal* and of the *Sargans*, are *Grifons*. But they of *Lugano*, *Locarne*, *Mendrisse*, of the Vale *Madie*, and of *bellizone*, are Italians by originall and Language: the other Iurisdiccions remaine in *Switzerland*.

And heere you are to vnderstand, that these Cantons doe not hold equal authority ouer the distinct countries; but according as the associations haue bene made in diuersity of times, euerso are the authority of the Cantons diuers. They of *Turgow*, hold as their Lords and heads the feauen most ancient Cantons; namely, *Zurich*, *Lucerne*, *Vri*, *Suits*, *Vnderwald*, *Zug* & *Glaris*. *Berne*, *Fribourg* & *Soleurre*, do vndergoe some right in criminall causes. For the Prouostship or Precedency of the Empire (as they vsed to teame it) and iudgement of criminall proceses, was heretofore referred to them of *Comstance*, as their due: but among other conditions of peace, after the warre of *Suaba*, this authority was granted vnto the *Switzers*, which appertained equally to the fore-named Cantons, because they all ioyned together in the selfe-same warre. Moreover, those feuen Cantons commanding at *Bada*, did the like to them of *Sargans*, *Rhinthal*, and ouer the Free Provinces also. True it is, that in their gouernement of *Bada*, they associated the men of *Berne* with them, and they of *Appenzel* in the gouernment of *Rhinthal*; and all the Cantons to the foure Bayliwicks, which are on the confines of *Italy*. *bellizone* is subiect to them of *Vri*, *Suits*, and *Vnderwald*: and such (at this day) is the condition and estate of the *Switzers* Commonwealth. Now, I purpose to shew the times, the cause, and the principall Articles of the Switzers league. Also,

what hath bene the estate of each *Canton*, before they became allied together, and what their dues and rights haue bene, and are. Lastly, what warres they haue maintained since their League was made.

CHAP. II.

Of the three first Cantons of the Switzers.



IN the yeare after the natiuity of our Lord Iesus Christ, 1307. they of *Vri*, *Suits*, and *Vnderwald*, were the very first that Cantoned themselves. They were tearmed *Swaines* or *Boores* of the countrey, dwelling in vallies, and in their owne Language, stiled, *Die Drey Lander*, also *Die Drey waldstett*: And, in time, *Lucerne* came into the fourth place. They dwelt in the Vallies of the *Alpes*, betwene the *Grifons* countrey, the Vale of *Liuner*, and high *Valais*, and were separated betwene the *Canton* of *Zurich*, and the countrie of *Ergow*. Some doe affirme, that they of *Suits*, are descended of the *Cimbrians*; they of *Vri*, of the *Tauriscians*; they of *Vnderwald*, of certain banished Romanes; and indeed, their magnanimity in war, declares them to be issued of generous Ancestors.

Their Annals do testifie, that the Emperor *Lewes*, sonne to *Charlemaign*, at the request of the Byshop of *Rome*, granted these people liberty to bee gouerned by Lawes made among themselves, & gaue them many other Priuiledges, for their faithfull seruice in warre against the *Sarrazins*, in behalfe of the citie of *Rome*. For the *Sarrazins*, who in those times much troubled *Africa*, hauing invaded *Sicilie*, came likewise into *Italy*: where they tooke some places: and afterward marching vnto *Rome*, easily made themselves Masters of the *Varican*, which

The three first Cantons, and how they Cantoned themselves.

Of whom and whence these people are feuerally descended.

The Emperours fauour to these people.

then stood voyd of any defence. There they robbed the Temple of Saint Peter, breaking downe the gates thereof, that were of stur and very great value, and afterward burnt and destroyed it. Having continued there diuers dayes in determination to surprize the whole Citie; they heard tydings (as Historians say) that a great band of soldiers, belonging to * Cisalpine Gaule, came to the succor of Rome, which

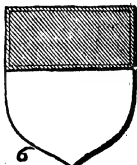


* Called also Gallia Togata, and Citerior Gallia, betweene them and the Alpes.

* A citie built by Ancus Martius in the month of Tyber.

made them forthwith recoile, and to waite all the plaine Country about Rome. Among other badde seruices, they robbed the Temple of S. Paul upon the way to * Ostia, and stuffed it with such fires, as the more part thereof was vtterly ruined.

From thence continuing on they coule in spoile and rauage, euen so far as mount Cassinum, they stole away all the Jewels and Ornaments of the Abbey, and defaced a great part thereof. Thence getting vnto the sea shore, and lading their Shippes with their holne booties: finding them ready to set saile, they lanchd forth into the maine.



Now, the Annales of Switzerland or Heluetia, do say, that these three first Cantons, and they of the Valley of Hufell, were present at this fore-mentioned succor and supply, and passed two severall times into Italy, vnder the conduct of a certaine Italian Marquesse, named Guy. They pursued the Sarazins, and cut their rere-gard in peeces, bringing back a great spoile from this ouerthrowe of theirs, which they altogether gaue to the Temple of S. Peter, euen all that they hadde gotten from the enemy. In regard whereof, the Pope (as a recompence for so great a benefite) obtained (on theyr behalfe) great priuiledges from the King of France; and moreover, presented them with those Ensignes or Standards, which yet, in our daies, they vse to beare in war.

Notwithstanding, the Emperor Lewis sonne to Lewis the Debonnaire, and youn-

gest sonne to Charlemaigne, gaue them of Vri, to the Abbey which he had built at Turegum, now called Zurich, wher his daughter Hildegarde was Lady Abbess: and the wordes of the Donation (truly translated out of the Latine Coppie) are these which follow.

The Donation of the Emperour Lewis to the Abbey of Turegum.



E give to our Abbey, founded at Turegum, where Saint Felix and Saint Regula rest in the Lord with their bodies; our Bourrough or Towne of Turegum, situated in the Duchy of Saaba, in the Territory of Durgan, with all the appurtenances and dependances in diuers charges: to wit, the village of Vri, with the churches, houses, and other buildings aboue named: The slaves, male and female young and old, lands earable and desert, Woods, Meddowes, pasture grounds, Fish ponds, Rivers, Ports, Passages, things found and yet to find, with all olde rents and reuenewes. Moreover, our Forreist named Albis, and generally all those things fore-mentioned, that either now or hereafter do and may appertaine vnto us, without reseruing or retaining any thing whatsoever.

But it is not to bee thought, that this Donation did vtolly abolish the ancient priuiledges and libertie of them of Vri: For, if we may credit them, the Emperour gaue not the Seignery of all the country to this recited Abbey, but of one Village or two onely. Moreover, if it were so that the whole valley of Vri had bin vnder subiection to this Abbey, yet notwithstanding, it could not much preiudice their freedome: because such as were any way subiect to Monasteries or Conuents, were obliged vnder certaine conditions, and enioyed their liberties in the meane while, onely their seruice to the Church excepted.

Beside, they receiued their Gouernors or Prouosts of the empire, to take knowledge and censure in causes criminall, without any appeale. They of Vri also did formerly do the like; and as concerning other causes, their Iudge, whom they tearme Amman (as much to say, as Maior or Bourgmaster) with his Counsellors or Alsistants, was chosen from a-

The lands & people of Vri giuen to the Abbey of Turegum.

According to the awntient Latine Coppy

The ancient priuiledges & liberties of Vri, not frustrated by this gift.

mong the people, by good knowledge had of him and them, & they are to provide in common for the affaires of the Commonwealt. They of Suits & Vnderwald gouerne themselves in the same manner: and among them, men belonging to the Church, haue some power and priuiledges. In these severall quarters were good store of Noblemen. As among them of Vri, the Barons of Atingbule, Schwynnberg and Przing: The Lords of Silini, Wimerberg, Moje, Sedorf, Spiring, Meier, of Bourgs and of Gesefeld. Among them of Suits, the Lords of Stouffacker, Roggenberg, Schuuanow. In the quarters of Vnderwald, the Lords of Wolfenschiess, Blumenc, Rudenz, Altsach, Walkersberg, Lembourg, Liebourg, and Huneville. At the beginning, these Gentlemen carried themselves very kindly with the other Inhabitants, and part of them serued as vassalles to some neighbouring Earles. But when they grew rich thorow succession of times, they began to misprize the people, and to subiect them to theyr vnusl commands. The Gouernors, who ought to conferre the peoples libertie, making semblance of not seeing such harsh behaviours: fauoured the Gentlemen, as being next in condition to themselves, and by those meanes both augmented & supported their power.

In those times especially, not onely the freedome of the Switzers Cantons, but likewise of many Townes in Germany, were in manifest danger. The Emperors were excommunicated, and in open warres assailed by the Popes, so that all Germany was diuided into two factions, one part wherof followed the Popes power, and the other the Emperors. The people of Switzerland, and some few of their Nobility, rooke part with Frederick the lawfull emperor, who (for that cause) renewed and reconfirmed the auncient priuiledges of their liberty. They of Suits can yet shew the Letters Patents of Frederick the second, written in the moneth of September, in the yeare 1240. whereby he receiued them of Suits into the safeguard of the empire, as members thereof; and that they should not be any way aliened or estranged thence, hee confirmed their priuiledges, and called them people of free condition.

On the contrary side, the most part of

the Nobility, especially such as were as vassalls to Conuents and Abbaies, which were then in very great credit, they followed the Popes faction. Hence spring the hatreds, enmities, and first foundation of ciuill dissensions, all taking a wonderfull increasing in the Interregnum of manie yeares, after the death of Fredericke. Next thereafter, in those very times, the fore-named people did (euen then) enioy their intire liberty, although many ambuscadoes were prepared to deprive them of it: as appeareth sufficiently by a deed patent of confederacie for three yeares, by them of Vri and Suits, with them of the Towne of Zurich, the tenor of which confederacie followeth thus.

A true Copy of the Patent of Confederacie, betweene Zurich, Vri, and Suits.

To all them to whome these Letters shall come, to be either seen or heard: We Arnold Maieur de Silini, Amman, and the people of Vri: and we Conrad de Iberg, Amman and the people of Suits, and of the Diocesse of Constance. We make it knowne, that we are obliged together by oath, mutually to ayd and counsell each other from the Feast of the nativity of Iesus Christ, vntill & for the space of thre yeares ensuing, on these conditions following. Whatsoeuer hath bin done or past before y day, doth not any way ty vs together. If a Lord, whatsoeuer he be, haue a seruant or vassall among vs: that vassall or seruant shall be subiect vnto him, according to the custome which hath heretofore bin vsed in the kings time. But if the Lord shall constraime him beyond that limitation; then will we endenor to succour the seruant. If any of the Allies or confederates shall possesse himselfe of any Castles or other places, without the counsell and liking of the other Allies, they shall not stand bound to furnishe the with the charge of Garrison or munition. If any one haue done endamage by fire or spoile on any place, Wee will join all our meines together, to make war on them that shall haue committed such an offence. If any shall attempt to invade or set upon the lands of Vri and Suits: they of Zurich shall impeach them to their uttermost power. If they cannot attaine therunto: they shall then endamage them by burning,acking, and all other helpes of hostility. If any shall besiege the Towne of Zurich, and shall

The vacancie of a Princes rule, make way to manie harmes.

Meant to resist against tyranny.

Translated truly out of the ancient record.

The couenant of conditions agreed vpon betwene them.

For vassals and seruants.

For allies and confederates.

Against fire or other spoile.

Against inuasion to be offered on eyther side.

For the Vines and trees about it: they of Vri and Suites shall oppose all their forces against them, and shall rob and burne the enemies Country. If any one of these inter-obliged parties, doe make confederation with any other, the other Allies shall not stand bounde thereto.

Against no-ucity in alliance.

Six men chosen for Vri & Suites out of Zurich, and as many out of Vri and Suites, to command all the rest.

Prouision for death of any of the twelve in the time of confederation

The Switzers continually jealous of their liberty.

The Nobilitie insulted too much ouer their people.

Moreouer, we of Vri and of Suites, haue made choise of sixe persons among the Citizens of Zurich; namely, Raoul Muller, Roger Mannes, Raoul Beggenh, Knights, Gaultier de Saint Pierre, Garnier Biberlin, and Conrad Krieg. And We of Zurich haue chosen three among them of Vri's name, Garnier de Atinghule, Burckhard, the old Amman, Conrad Maieur of Orschneid. And as many of Suites, namely, Conrad, Amman of Iberg, Raoul Stiffacher, and Conrad Hun. These twelue men, according to their discretion, shall giue command to all the Allies, for mutual aid and succouring one another, both how and whensoever neede shall require, in those affaires whereof the conditions haue formerly bin expressed. If any one of these twelue men shall chauce to die within compass of the three yeares alliance, the other shall stand bound by Oath, to substitute another in his place, within fourteene dayes after following. And to the end that all before declared, may continue firme for the time prefixed: Wee the Senate and Citizens of Zurich, and we the people of Vri and Suites, haue put our Seales to three instruments of the same tenore, concerning this our faithfull alliance. Given at Zurich the day of Saint Gal in the year of our Lord God, M. CC. LI.

These Letters of alliance, made an too. yeares before that they of Zurich hadde contracted perpetuall alliance with the three first Cantons, do euidently declare how those people were euermore ielous of their liberty, without offering wrong neuerthelesse vnto any person in conseruing it. Now, about ten yeares after this alliance made, the Empire being troubled with factions, in regard it was destitute of an Emperour, and Heluetia much molested by the ouermuch license, which the Nobility tooke to themselves day by day: the three Cantons hauing heard Raoul of Habsbourg (who was afterward Emperour) to be highly commended for many Vertues clearly shining in him, gaue him yearly pledges, and electing him for their head, made alliance with him, that they

liberty might be maintained at the sword's point, if neede required. They of Zurich, Basle, and Strasbourg did as much at the very same time. The like did manie free Townes of Germany, being called vnto their succour, and gaue many euery yeare to the neighbouring Princes, to the end, they might be secured by their meanes.

The authority of Raoul, being buified in other warres about Zurich, Basle, and Strasbourg, comming short of abilitie to repress the insolence of the Nobilitie: at length the people (being too much trod downe by great meane outrages) vnder-tooke Armes, and expelled them forth of the Country that had raised this disorder. This warre continued twelue yeares, about the yeare of our Lord, 1260. and some few yeares following. And in this warre, all the Cantons beganne to fortify the passages of their Countreies. They of Suites builded a Tower at Mount Sattell, fortifying and cutting off the great highway. They of Vnderwald, did dam vp the Lake with a strong prouision of stakes & shrubs, toward the village of Stantz, and fortified the Port, by meanes of a Tower which they builded there. The year 1273. it came to passe, that Raoul of Habsbourg was elected King of the Romaines. Then the Gentlemen of Switzerland went vnto him, and gaue him to vnderstand, that the people had rebelled: on the contrary, the people maintained, how much the Nobility had outraged them. The King hauing heard both parties, and sene the priuileges of the people, gaue sentence to their benefit, and made peace between them and the Noblemen expelled out of Heluetia, whither they returned again for the more part. As for the rest of the country, the king did generally confirme Gouernours in the name of the Empire, & not of the house of Austria: which Gouernours (from their beginning) did not dwell in towns or villages, but kept themselves in their Castles, whence they came, twice or thrice yearly, to iudge in cases of process, but more especially in criminal causes.

In our dayes, there are Towns in Germany, that receiued such Gouernours of the Empire, who managed no other matter, but onely causes criminal, & had no other occasions in Townes to attend vpon, but only the. And so far off was king

Raoul

Alliance made with the Emp. Raoul to preferre their liberty.

The first war of the Nobilitie against the Cantons.

Erection of Towers and Castles of defence.

The trust reposed in the people confirmed of that

Gouernours placed in the Emperours name, & not in the house of Austria.

King Raoul a-bridged none of the Switzers liberties.

They of Suites were returned free people.

The Switzers liberties left entirely to the

Austria and Austria ioynd to the Emperours other rights.

The Emperour Albert a great enemy to the Switzers liberty.

Tyranny is cautelous in his proceedings, to compass his intention.

Raoul, from diminishing the liberties of the Switzers: as rather many of the Cantons stood beholding to him, for not onely the confirmation, but likewise the amplification of their priuileges. For, without depending on them of Zurich, he confirmed and augmented the priuileges of the Canton of Suites, in the 18. yeare of his Empire, as appeareth by his Letters giuen at Bada, in the yeare 1291. where, in expresse termes, they of Suites are called people of free condition.

True it is, that the King himselfe tooke very great paines, to make the house of Habsbourg great: but he left to the Switzers their liberties entire. Either because he would not be accounted vnthankfull, in ruining that that had succoured him, and shewne themselves faithfull in his right, before he was Emperour, perswading himselfe also, that his affaires would prosper the better, by hauing the Switzers his loyall friends and associates; then to make rebels of subiects, who would carry but bad affection to the oppressors of their liberty: Or else in regard, that hauing (but a very little before) ioynd the Dukedome of Austria, as also of Allemagne or Suabia, to his other possessions, he might thereby imagine, that it would beget him a generall hatred, to fasten on things of such slender consequence, and that all the profit hee could procure, by vlturping ouer the Switzers, could not value the ill-will he should gaine thereby.

Adolph de Nassau, who was successeur to Raoul in the Empire, confirmed to the Switzers their priuileges. By meanes whereof the Switzers were highly hated of Albert, Sonne to Raoul, and enemy to Adolph. This Albert was the very greatest aduersary and persecutor of the liberties of the Switzers. Hee had a great number of children, and to aduance and enrich them, hee began to stretch soorth his wings so farre as possibly he could, & especially hee refused, to prouide a new kinde of principality in Switzerland. Hye being become Emperour, attributed many things to the house of Austria, that appertained to the Empire: which made him offensive and insupportable to his neighbours, in being shamelesse, yet to himselfe whatsoeuer he desired, cyther by vniuelt demands, or else by manifest violence. And because Ecclesiasticall per-

sons were very powerfull, he practised by all meanes, cyther to make sale to them of their iurisdiction, or else to make them acknowledge him and his childre, as their hereditary and perpetuall Tutors & Protectors. In this manner he dealt with the Colledges and Conuents of Strasbourg, Basle, Constantine, Coire, S. Gall, the Hermitage, of Basle, Disentz, Pfawertz, Ringow, Wettingen, Auren, Interlach, Trubis, Gertra, Secoug, Schenstis, Zurich, and many other places beside. By the selfe-same cunning, he solicited & oppressed the Earles and Barons of Switzerland or Heluetia, to put themselves into the safeguard, and become vassals to the house of Austria. Among others were the Lords of Pfisau, Rotenbourg, Kempfbourg, Eschenbach, Albourg, Wolburg, and Grencence.

In former times, the Colledges and Conuents depended vpon the Empire, & Lords & Gentlemen did neuer acknowledge any other Soueraigne vpon earth, but the Emperour only: but this Albert laboured to fasten all to the house of Austria. Wee may easily iudge of his violence towards strangers, by his bad carriage to his owne proper Nephew, to who he would neuer (although hee was very many times thereto required) render the Hermitage paternall, which hee gouerned in quality of a Tutor. But the Abbot of Saint Gall, two Colledges of the Towne of Zurich, and the Count of Hombourg, could neuer be brought to that point, to acknowledge them of Austria, for their Protectors, neyther to sell them any portion of their iurisdiction. They continually alledged their ancient priuileges, and would not permit, that they should be dismembred from the Empire: which much incensed and offended the Emperour, who had practised vpon the rights of many other, especially the Conuents Secoug, Murbach, the Hermitage, Interlach, Disentz, and Lucerne, who had giuen him all that appertained to them, at Glaris, Lucerne, Suits, and Vnderwald. Howbeit, they had formerly promised (by verie authentical letters) to the inhabitants of those places, neuer to alienate them to any other. But all this while, Albert cunningly wonne the hearts of simple people, and by goodly promises, made them to ratifie these alienations.

Hauiug (by these meanes) gotten footing

Church priuileges insulted vpon by the Emperour Albert.

Lords made vassals to the house of Austria, by the Emperours cunning.

The Emperours cruelty to his owne Nephew.

Tyrants doe alwaies meddle with some people that will resist against their designs.

An euil example is no rule of imitation in others.

The practices of the Emperor Albert, to subvert them of Suiss and Vnderwald.

Faire wards are of no cost to the enemies of free peoples liberty.

Threatnings of a Prince's dispaour ominous.

Wisdome & good counsell is neuer wanting in them that maintain their liberty by lawfull means.

ting in the round neighbouring Countries, & bought some Castles of the Con-
vents, in the Territories of the fore-
named Cantons: hee began to looke into
some meanes, whereby he might become
Master of *Suiss* and *Vnderwald*, which be-
ing enclosed by the of *Austria* (that do-
mined over the Hermitage, *Glaris Zug*,
Lucerne, & other places thereabout) cau-
sed many to imagine, that except hee
could prevale against the too, they would
quit their liberty as the other did. Ne-
vertheles, *Albert* being desirous to reach
the height of his desire, by such meanes
as he had propounded to himselfe: sent
in Embassage to them of *Suiss* and *Vnder-
wald*, the Baron of *Lichtenberg*, Gouvernor
of *Alsace*, and the Baron of *Ochsenlin*,
two of his intimate Counsellors. They
addressed themselves first to the of *Suiss*,
and perswaded them to yeeld themselves
into the protection of the house of *Au-
stria*, who were very benigne Princes, &
vnder whose dominion they might live
much more peaceably, the formerly they
had done vnder the Empire, dismembred
and rent in peeces (as it were) while the
Princes were in debate about the electi-
on of Emperours. They further added, that
they of *Austria* had the reuenues of many
Convents in those very quarters, and
that if they refused, by displeasing *Albert*,
they might well conceive, that their af-
faires would but badly carry themselves;
but in doing the contrary, his highnesse
made them promise, of all honest & a-
miable entertainmet, that a Prince could
afford them.

The men of *Suiss*, having bene aduer-
tised before, concerning the intention &
demand of *Albert*, by *Garnier*, Count of
Hombourg, Lord of a neere neighbouring
Country, called *La Marche*: a man not
well affected by *Albert*, because he had re-
fused to yeeld himselfe vassale to y^e house
of *Austria*: And having conferred with
them of *Vri* and *Vnderwald*, returned
thus their answer to the Ambassadors.
That the Kings and Romane Emperours
had given them faire and ample privi-
leges, carrying expresse charge, that they
should neuer bee dismembred from the
Empire: wherefore they were fully resol-
ued, in imitation of their Ancestours ex-
ample, to continue firmly ioyned to the
Romane Empire. As for the Monasteries

of *Murbach* and *Beron*, whose rights and
reuenues (especially about *Suiss*) were
then in the hands of the *Austrian* Princes,
having formerly promised by authentical
instruments, neuer to alienate themselves
to any other authority whatsoever. If they
had kept their promise, they would have
done the like in duty to them. But seeing
that they had broken their faith, and all
former contracts were vnusually can-
celled: their example was no warrant to
them for the like. Moreover, they would
render to *Albert* and his children, Princes
of *Austria*, such fidelity and obedience as
they ought to do: entreating *Albert*, see-
ing he was Emperour; that he would not
permit them to be diuided from the Em-
pire. Beside, in regard his Predecessours
had confirmed their privileges to them
of *Suiss* (which himselfe as yet had not
done) they therefore againe did humbly
entreate him, that he would vouchsafe to
confirm them. They also desired the Am-
bassadors, to returne this their answer to
his Imperiall Maiesty, and to entreate on
their behalfe, that he would benignly re-
ceiue them.

The Ambassadors hauing this answer,
went to deale with them of *Vri* & *Vnder-
wald*: who (according to that which had
bene accorded on among them before)
made the selfe-same answer as they of
Suiss had done. In all the forenamed Vil-
lages, they did nothing else but shew to
the Ambassadors, the Letters Patents and
privileges, granted them by *Fredericke*,
King of Habspourg, and other Emperours,
together with the letters and consents of
the Monasteries: all of them making hum-
ble entreaty, that they might not be com-
pelled to feele all those things frustrated. But
the Emperour having heard the Ambassa-
dors, was highly offended at the answer,
because the *Switzers* not only refused to
acknowledge them of *Austria* for their
Lords, & would not willingly be separa-
ted from the Empires body: but also de-
clared, that they would yeelde to no dis-
tinction from the Monasteries, by which
meanes, all the precedent attempts of *Al-
bert*, built vpon great cost and trouble,
were utterly disappointed.

In some short while after, they of *Suiss*,
Vri and *Vnderwald*, hauing againe sent
their Ambassadors vnto the Empe-
rour, to obtaine confirmation of their pri-
ui-

Bad presidents do not mere to be followed when their expenditure is to generall prejudice.

Vnity is requisite among such people as desire to preserve their liberties.

The Emperour greatly offend- ed that his expectation was disap- pointed.

Ambassadors sent to the Emperour by the *Switzers*.

Extraordina- ry Governours Castles erected, and Gar- rison placed in the Coun- try are the beginning of manifest ty- ranny.

Maltitude of Governours are very dan- gerous in any Common- wealth.

Gouernours enter like Angells, but continue and goe out like duels.

priviledges: hee answered them in chol-
ler, that hee would satisfie their requests,
according as they had done his demands.
And that hee had deputed certaine Go-
uernours, which he purposed to send vnto
them; and by whom they should more
amply vnderstand his minde.

Following this intention, hee sent as
Governours, the Knight *Grissler*, and *Peri-
grin Landberg*. *Grissler* was appointed for
Suiss and *Vri*, and made his abiding in an
olde Castell about *Suiss*, called *Cusnach*,
and beside, hee builded another Fortresse
on the Land of *Vri*, *Landberg*, the Gouer-
nour of *Vnderwald*, had two Castles, to
wit, *Sarne* about the Forrest, and *Rosbach*,
beneath, which Forrest diuided the coun-
try of *Vnderwald* into the midst. These
two Castles did formerly belong to the
Conuent or Colledge of *Lucerne*, & the
Majors or Bourgoisasters made their
dwellings there: but the Emperour *Albert*
had sold them to the house of *Austria*,
and there he appointed Garrisons. These
deportments were something nouell and
strange to them of *Vri*, *Suiss*, and *Vnder-
wald*: for till that time, these three federal
places together had but one Gouernour,
who (ouer and beside) was many times
Gouernor of *Zurich* and other Townes.
Hee remained in his Seigneries out of
the Cantons, and euery yeare once or
twice (being called) hee came thither to
Iudge in law-cafes. The rest of the time,
he had a Lieutenant chosen among the
Country people, that executed his charge.
But now there was appointed two per-
petuall Gouernours, keeping Garrison in
the very strongest parts of the Country:
which the people were constrained to
endure, only in feare of the Emperour,
and in regard beside, that those places
were in the power of the *Austrian* Prin-
ces.

At the beginning, these Gouernours
shewed themselves very courteous and
affable to all men labouring by blandish-
ments and faire looks, to winne the peo-
ples hearts, & to subiect them to the house
of *Austria*. But perceiving that these car-
riages did little auale them, they began
to checke and oppress the people, by the
command of *Albert*; who was againe
greuously enraged, by reason of a new
league or alliance (made for the space of
ten yeares) betwene them of *Suiss*, and

the Count of *Hombourg*. Tyranny thus
encreasing day by day, Ambassadors (in
name of the three Villages) were sent to
the Emperour, who would neither see
nor heare them: so that they were com-
strained to declare their Commission to
his Counsellors. The summe whereof
was, that being people of the Roman Em-
pire, they had obtained very ample fran-
chizes and priviledges of the Emperours:
whereof they were now in danger to bee
deposited, and oppressed by an idleforme
and insupportable tyranny. For the inha-
bitants of the recited places, were with-
out cause, or vpon very slender occasion,
immediately imprisoned, & pressed with
nouell exactions. Beside all this, euery
man in particular, was compelled at a cer-
taine time, especially the first day of the
year, to bring presents to the Gouernours,
which neuer had bene put in practise be-
fore. In which respect, they most humbly
desired the Counsellors, to intercede on
their behalfe to the Emperour: that such
charges might bee taken from them, and
that their ancient priviledges might bee
confirmed and put in full force againe.
But the Emperours Counsellors hauing
conferred and agreed together, made an-
swer; that the Villages themselves were
the cause of this oppression, and that the
Emperour was thus severe to them, be-
cause they would not follow the example
of *Lucerne*, *Zug*, and *Glaris*, in yeelding
themselves to the house of *Austria*. Which
doing, and making more account (then
formerly they had done) of *Albert* and
his children; they should find him a Prince
that would vse them very kindly.

The Deputies hauing received this an-
swer, returned without doing any thing
else: in the meane while, the tyranny of
the Gouernours (being fauoured & wink-
ed at by the Emperour) grew more and
more to greater strength. In a certaine
Valley of *Vnderwald*, called *Melchtall*, ther
dwelled an aged rich man, ialous of his
Countries liberty, and one that had bene
the cheefeft in counselling his compari-
ons, neuer to subiect themselves vnto the
house of *Austria*, but carefully to pre-
serue their ancient liberty, which ma was
named *Henry of Melchtall*. *Landberg* sent
a Seruant vnto him, with charge to bring
away with him a couple of Oxen. When
to *Henry* answered, that he knew not him-
selfe

A cunning tricke in the Emperour, whereby to frustrate and auoid the peo- ples complaints.

New exactions & gifts to the Gouernours enforced on the people

Such as the Master is, such commonly are his Ser- uants.

Landberg was a most tyran- nicall Gouer- nour.

The extor- sions of *Land- berg*, winced in the His- tory of *Henry* de *Melch- tall*.

selfe to be culpable of any crime, whereby the Gouvernour should exact such an amends of him: and albeit hee had committed some offence, yet hee ought not thus to extend his authority vpon his goods, before he had beene heard & condemned. The seruant being of humour answerable to his Master, arrogantly replied, that instantly he wold drine thence the Oxen: and if he stood in need of them to plough his Land, his Country lubbers should serue to draw in the yoke. Thus speaking, heeooke the Oxen out of their yokes, and made himselfe ready to drine them away.

Oppression is an evil matter to procure impudence in a Sonne, seeing his Father injured.

Tyranny may iustly be termed the Mother of wrong and iniustice.

Tyranny blindfolded by his villanous companion concupiscence, and chastised by the iust iudgement of God.

Arnold, a lusty young man, and Son to *Henry*, moued at this outrage offered to his father, gaue the seruant a sound blow with a cudgell, as hee was drining on the Oxen, and chanced to breake one of his fingers: but fearing the tyranny of his Master, he got immediately to the top of the Mountaines, and withdrew himselfe among them of *Vri*, where hee kept close with one of his kindred. *Landberg* vnderstanding at that had past, sent out for *Henry Melchall*, demanding of him what was become of his Son. *Henry* made answer, that he knew not where he was, as indeed hee was merely ignorant of his flight: whereat the Gouvernour was so furiously enraged, that he caused the old mans cies to be pluckt forth, & rowe away his Oxen, & depoyled him beside, of the most part of his goods. This cruelty brought him into the hatred of all the people: but in regard of *Alberts* power and oppressions, commanding ouer them very stearely, there was no man (as then) that durst stir against him. And because wicked courses grow to a great head, when ouermuch licence is permitted to them: euen so insolent iniquity in the Gouvernours, did drine them out of one mischiefe into another.

Neere to the Abbey of *Engelberg*, and to the Village of *Wolfenchiez*, in a place named *Alzellen*, there dwelt a country mā called *Conrad de Bongarten*, married to a very faire and beautiful woman. It chanced that a Gentleman, named *Wolfenchiez*, being Lieutenant to the Gouvernour, returning from *Engelberg*, & passing by *Alzellen*, to goe home to his house at *Rotzberg*, found this womā in a meadow, busied about some commendable exer-

cise. He vnderstanding that her husband was absent, commanded the woman to make him ready a Bath, wherein he might wash himselfe, because he was ouer-travelled with heate and labour. The woman not daring to make refusall, did as the tyrant had commanded her. Proceeding on further in his intended villany, he pressed the woman to put off her garments, and come into the Bath to him; wherein shee promised to obey, provided, that two varlets, which attended on him, might withdraw themselves, as accordingly they presently did vpon their masters command.

The woman vsing some delay, yet feigning preparation of her selfe to come into the Bath; got recovery of a doore behind in the chamber, and fled away in great feare and anguish. Her husband returning from the Forrest, chanced to meete her, and vnderstanding what had happened, entred his house, and with an Axe or Hatchet, which he then had in his hand, slew the Lieutenant sitting in the Bath, and so hee receiued the chastisement due to his wicked attempt, vpon the honour of a vertuous modest woman. The Gouvernour fought all means to reuenge his death: but hee was so hated of all men, as he could not execute any thing. Beside, the villany and indignity of his Lieutenant, with-held him from daring to require any helpe of the Country: in regard also, that he who had done the deed, was fled into the Lands of *Vnderwald*, & kept himselfe hid among them of *Vri*. Some say, and among others, *Eternilerus*, and *Stumpfin* in his *Annales of Heluetia*, that this man was the Gouvernour himselfe; who seeking thus to violence an honest woman, became so laine. But they of *Vnderwald* maintaine, that hee who was kild in the Bath, was called *Wolfenchiez*, a seruant to the house of *Auflria*, and dwelling at *Rotzberg*.

While these Tragedies were thus acting at *Vnderwald*, *Grifler*, the Gouvernour of *Vri* and *Suits* also, to keepe the people in the more awe and subiection, began to build (by command from his Master) a Fort or Cittadell neere to *Alorff*, vpon a small Hill called *Solturme*. This *Grifler* being a verie vaine-glorious man, made vaine of abasing the people in such fort, that hee would bow & bend them at his

One Jew in-tention euen more drawen on another.

Modestly feeleth means to preferre but chaste reputation, and al-ways findeth helpe when the least be, keeth for it.

Eternilerus & Stumpfin in the Annales of Switzerland.

The tyranny of the Gouvernour Grifler.

A Cittadell called the yoke of extreme slavery to the people.

A Bonnet or Hat to be reuerenced by the people.

Note the subtilty of a Tyrant.

Garnier Stouffacher Sonne to Raoul Stouffacher first Magistrate of Suits.

Tyrants are enemies to them that maintaine the peoples liberty.

his pleasure, whereupon he called his Fort, *A yoke of extreme slavery to the Priens*. He perceiving, that all men were enraged & badly bent toward him, and doubting, lest some matter might secretly be contriued against him, to compasse discouery thereof, he vnderooke this course ensuing. He caused a Hat or Bonnet to be fixed vpon a long Pole, erected in the market place of *Alorff*, where the greater part of the Country people vsed to meete, and gaue command, that all men (taking off their owne Bonnets) should bow their knes, and yeelde as much honour to that Hat, as they vsed to doe to him the Gouvernour, or when they came into his presence. His purpose and opinion was hereby, that such as were maliciously addicted towards him, would neuer humble themselves, in doing so many reuerences to the Hat, especially if they had any comforts, vpon whose help they made any dependance: and that this occasion would serue him as an honest pretence for their discouery to his spies, and so tortures might be inflicted on them, to gain knowledge of the whole enterprize. In the meane while, he departed thence, to visite the Country of *Suits*, where he was likewise Commander and Gouvernour.

In *Suits* there was a Gentleman of marke, named *Garnier Stouffacher*, whose Father was called *Raoul*, and had bene the first Magistrate of *Suits*, about thirty years before. This *Garnier* had built a house in more ample and magnificent manner, then was the vsual custome of the Country. It fortuned, that the Gouvernour *Grifler* passed on horsebacke by this house, and demanded to whom it appertained. *Stouffacher* knowing himselfe to bee in the ill opinion of the Gouvernour, because he had alwayes before counselled the people, not to subiect themselves to them of *Auflria*: This house (quoth he) is for the King and you, by whose liberality, I am possessor of it. Then the Gouvernour answered; I am Lord of this Country, and henceforward I will not suffer any more, that yee shall sway your selues after your owne appetites, in building houses, as if you were Masters, and that you shall well feele before it be long.

This answer deliuered with outrageous menaces, greatly displeased *Stouffacher*, who (from that time forward) could

not dissemble his griefe. Which was the cause that his wife, being a wife, modest, and discrete Lady, perceiving her husband sad and pensifue, and vnderstanding the reason thereof: exhorted him to hope well, in regard that God, to whom all violence and tyranny was displeasing, wold neuer forsake such as inuoked his help & furtherance. Moreover, it would well become him to make search after men of courage, such as were oppressed with the same tyranny: to conferre with them, and ioine their meanes together, to recover the liberty of their Country; for shee durst assure him, that God would blesse so holy an enterprize. *Stouffacher*, hauing a long time consulted with himselfe, at length went from *Suits*, to *Vri*, where he easily knew and perceiued, that *Grifler* was hated of all men in those quarters, by reason of his insupportable pride, euen as much as he was in *Suits*: especially by the Baron of *Attinghuse*, then cheefe in iustice at *Vri*, & a familiar friend to *Stouffacher*. This Baron first began to complaine, as extremely wearied with the insolencies of *Grifler*, in erecting his Hat, as to ranke it with Princes; protesting openly, that he could not permit his Country, any longer to endure so great a tyranny.

But *Stouffacher* fearing (perhaps) that the Baron vsed this kinde of language, onely but to sound him, and (as we vse to say) to vndermine his secret cogitations; kept his owne intention couert, contenting himselfe, to breake his minde vnto an ancient faithfull friend of his, called *Gautier Furst*, that is to say, the Prince. These two hauing many and sundry times considered on all matters, and taken into their counsell (as a third party) *Arnould Melchall* of *Vnderwald*, bound themselves together by mutual oath, to ioine all their meanes, and employ their paynes by a common consent, for the extirpation of tyranny, and reducing their country to her ancient liberty. Moreover they concluded, that each of them in his owne quarter, should procure so many men as possibly he could, provided, that they were people of good and discrete carriage: who should all sweare, to employ both their goods & bodies, and to maintaine one another in his right, for recovery of the Countries former freedom: and that in the meane while, each man should acquit himselfe

Councils of small & slender apparences, grow to great effects: especially against Tyrants and tyranny.

Afflicted mindes doe comfort one another by conference.

The three first men that were the first foundation & beginners of the league of Switzers, and their manner of proceeding

Promise an
place of pri-
macy appoi-
ned for mee-
ting, to con-
ferre on these
serious affairs.

Stouffacher,
Furth, and
Melchall, the
three men of
the league.

Oppression
is a key to
open the ven-
derstanding
of most and
least.

Advice taken
for beginning
the business
publicly.

Inferious con-
ferences, each
side ought to
be judicially
heard.

of his duty towards the Empire, the Monasteries, as also to all Gentlemen & Yeomen. Promising likewise, to keepe this league & combination secret, untill such time as (by common aduice) all the confederates should bee resolved to publish it. They made choise also of a private place, neere to the Lake of *Vri*, called *Grully*, where these three chiefe heads of the League vsed to meete, accompanied each one with three or foure, to aduise together what was to be done.

Thus you may perceiue, how the ground-wooke of the League of *Switzers* was then begonne, by *Stouffacher*, *Furth*, and *Melchall*: and being so agreed vpon, each man returned by himselfe home, to make conjunction with his companions. Soone after this, not onely the vulgar people, but likewise the most part of the Nobility in the Villages, rancked themselves with the confederates: For the Governours did molest the Noblemen, no lesse then they did the common sort, not making any difference betwene the one and other, but called the Gentlemen, peazants, and companions of rascality. In like manner, they of *Austria* had appropriated (by little & little) to themselves, the rights belonging to Noblemen: whereat many being offended, had forsaken (as it were) the part of *Austria*, as we haue formerly obserued by the Baron of *Attinghusse*.

The number of the confederates being encreased, it seemed good to many, that it was time to set hand to the worke, namely, to chafe thence the Governours, & replant the ancient liberty of the country: for feare (lest by ouer-long delay, their enterprize would be discouered (by some means) to the Governours. And therefore, in the yeare 1207, the 17. day of October, twelue of the principall men among all the confederates, assembled themselves at a certaine place appointed. All inlisted to lay hand to the business so soone as possible might be against which, they of *Vnderwald* onely opposed themselves: because that the Castles or Fortresses, which the Governour held in their territory, to wit, *Sarne* and *Rotzberg*, were places well munited, and almost impregnable, and if sieges should bee planted before them, the King of the Romaines would come forthwith, bringing an Ar-

my sufficient to succour them. The other confederates yielded to this motion, and agreed together, that the first day of Ianuary then next following, through all the Cantons, seizure should be made, on all the strongest Castles belonging vnto the Governour. To whom notwithstanding, not any outrage should be offered, neither to any of their family or Garrison: except only to such as would make head, and withstand them in Armies; but to send the Governours safely and well away, with their goods. Moreover, that the Castles and strongest holds or Cittadels, should be rased from the top to the bottom: to declare by manifest effect, that they had not vnderaken Armes for blowes or pillage, but onely to conferre their Countries liberty. This resolution agreed on, each man retired home to his house, awaiting for the day appointed: in the meane space, according to faithfull promise, they kept their determination very secret.

While these affaires were thus in forwarding, there happened a notable accident at *Vri*. One *Guillaume Tell*, a man in the confederacy, diuers times passed by before the Hat exalted on the Pole, as formerly hath beene related, without performing any reuerence thereto. And being therefore accused to the Governour *Grissler*: he entreated, that his incivility might bee excused, because hee reputed such reuerence to bee a matter of no importance. But the Governour, who held him a man much to be suspected, among *Guillaumes* children, made choise of a young little boy, whom the Father loved very dearly. And hee commanded *Guillaume* (being known an excellent archer) to set his sonne some good distance off, & with an Arrowe, to cleave an Apple vpon his head, which if he did not, his owne head should be smitten off. *Guillaume Tell* answered, that his commaund was too strange and seuerer, and he had rather die, then thorough default of shooting right, to kill his dearest sonne. If thou doest not performe it, saide the Governour, it shall cost both thy life, and thy sonnes.

Prayers and entreaties not preuailing, *Tell* tooke his Bowe; and, by the providence of God (who questionlesse guided and directed the Arrow) cleft the Apple in twaine vpon his sonnes head. Euerie

A resolution
to expell the
Governours
from the neck
of their tyr-
anny.

A notable hi-
story of *Guil-
laume Tell*, no
much admired
by the Swiss
Governour.

An hard in-
junction to a
Father by the
Tyrant, and
not easily to
be aduantage-
red.

SWITZ.



VRI.



LVCERNE.



BERNE.



ZVRICH.



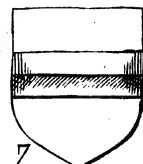
ABBEY OFS GAL.



VNDERVALD.



ZVG.



GLARIS.



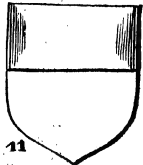
BASEL.



FRIBVRG.



SOLLEVRE.



SCAFFOVSE.



APPENZELL.



BIENNE.



S.GAL.

GRISONS.

VALAIS.

ROTVILL.

MVLHOVE.

BIENNE.

one of the beholders did not a little reioyce. at such a faire and admirable shoot: but the Gouvernor, not contented with to perillous a satisfaction, perceiving another Arrow remaining vnder *Guillaume* girdle, demanded of him, what vñ hee meant to make of that other Arrow? *Guillaume* replied, that it was a custome among Archers, to draw more arrowes then one out of their Quivers, for any occasi that might happen. But the Gouvernor suspending something else, pressed him more & more, & finally, promised him to saue his life, if he would confesse the truth: which accordingly *Tell* did, and that he had that other Arrow ready, therewith to kill the Gouvernor, if his first shaft had slaine his Son. Then the Gouvernor declared, that he would not take away his life, because he had promised the contrary: but he should be kept in perpetual prison, and liue miserably in darknesse, without conuersing with any man liuing. Thus speaking, he caused him to be fast bound with cordes, & led into a Barque, that hauing past the Lake of *Vri*, he might be conuayed to the Cattle of *Cusnach*. The Gouvernor, with his people & prisoner, being in the midst of the Lake, a greenous tempest suddenly exalted it selfe, which did put the Barque in euident perill. They perceiving themselves in extreme danger of their liues: one of *Grislers* seruants laid to his master, that there was but one only means whereby to saue them, and that was, to vnbinde *Guillaume Tell*, and refer the Barques conduct to him, because he was a most expert Mariner, strong and able to direct them in such a necessity. So extreme vrgent was the case, that every man allowed the counsell, & vnbound *Tell*, who fastening hold on the Rudder, and guiding it manfully, preferred the Barque among the roughest billowes, turning her prow towards the country of *Suits*.

Hauing attained neere enough vnto the shore, there appeared a mighty stone (like vnto a Rock) about the water, which to this day is called *Telles* Stone. Being hard by it, *Tell* caught hold thereon with his Bow, which lay at his feete in the Poupe, and leaping forth quickly vpon that stone, he gaue so strong a thrust with his spote against the Barques side, that it returned back among the steem billowes. This done, he tooke his flight thence, and

hid himselfe among the neighbouring Mountains. The Barque hauing long floated in this manner, was guided at length by the Gouvernours seruants, to a Port named *Brune des Fontaines*. From thence the Gouvernor set on his way towards *Cusnach*, and must needs passe thorough a hollow craggy strait, where *Tell* (well acquainted with all those parts) by great good hap had ambushed himselfe among thick bushes: there he discharged an Arrow at the Gouvernor, which passed quite through his body, & slew him. Ther remaineth yet (to our time) a Chappell, built on the place where the Gouvernor was slaine: and another vpon the Stone or Rocke, where *Tell* threw himselfe out of the Barque. After this successfull shoote, *Tell* went to *Suits*, where he made all these matters knowne to *Stonfacher*. From thence hee tooke his way ouer the highest Mountains, and turning by *Morsach*, came back to *Vri*, wher hauing sofid *Gawter* *Ernst*, he acquainted him with all that had hapned. By this time, they had gotten hearts and hands enow, to expell all the Gouvernors family and followers: but hauing respect to them of *Vnderwald*, and remembering their former resolution for the first day of Ianuary following, they kept themselves quiet, & *Tell* (in the meane time) liued closely among his friends.

The first day of Ianuary being come, they of *Vnderwald* made themselves Masters of two Fortresses, according to a compromise passed betwene them. In the Fort of *Rotzburg* there dwelt a Chambermaid, who was in loue with a goodly young man of *Vnderwald*, and committed folly with him. An especiall night of meeting being appointed by them both, the young man brought twenty other armed Souldiers with him, and caused them to lye closely hidden neere the Castle. He hauing giuen the signall to his wench, who knew nothing at all of the intended deccit, was mounted vp aloft to hee by the helpe of a corde. Hauing staide some time of dalliance with her, making her to beleue one thing for another, he left the chamber a while, going to the window whereat he had bin drawne vp, & letting downe the cord, drew vp one of his companions, and then returned to his last againe. He that had thus gotten vp, neuer left till he had drawne vp all his other fellows,

The correspondence of Gods iudgement with the iniquity of the Tyrant.

Two chappell erected in speciall places as lasting memorials of the tyrants overthrow, and the good fortune of Tell.

The retrait of the tyrant is amongst and wonnily them of Vnderwald.

lowes, (who were vnmatchable for strength and courage) and so got possession of the place: where they kept all the gates strongly defended, and close shut vp, in expectation of good newes from their other consorts, who were to seize the other Fortresse, called *Sarne*.

That other company consisted of fifty valiant men, thirty of them hauing ambushed themselves in a neere neighboring wood: the rest went directly towards the Castle, leaning vpon staues and croutches, and carrying presents to the Gouvernor, (according to custome of the day) as Lambs, Pigs, Calnes, Cheefes, and such like things. The Gouvernor was going to church, answerable to his ordinary wont at such a time, and met them on the way, wher perceiving them to haue no other Armes then staues and croutches, which serued (as it seemed) to support their feeble bodies: hee made no doubt of any thing, but passed on, not a little pleased with those presents, and brought him in more liberall and plentifull manner, then they were formerly wont to do. Their staues and croutches were made round, and pierced so hollow within: that they could easily scrow in long sharpe pikes of iron, which each of them carried close hid in his bosome. They came to the Castle, where beeing permitted entrance with their New-yeares gifts: they possessed themselves of the Gates, giuing an appointed signall to their fellow-souldiers lying in the wood, who came immediately to succour them, and tooke them all prisoners that were in the Castle. Afterward, hearing that *Rotzburg* was surprized by their other associates, they released all their prisoners, and the Gouvernor also, whom they had laid sure hold on, as hee was about to escape. When the Gouvernor and his followers had solemnly promised vpon oath, neuer more to returne againe into those quarters, they gaue the leave to depart, & sent them by safe conduct out of the Country, and then ruined those two strong Forts or Castles flat to the ground. The very same day also, they of *Vri* demolished the new Citadell, which *Grisler* had named, *The yoke of the Vrians*, being not as yet fully finished: and in *Suits*, *Stonfacher* (with his followers) won and ruined the Citadell of *Lourets*, builded nere vnto the Lake. On the mor-

row, the three villages (by their Deputies) made a publike league of amity and alliance, to continue for ten years, vpon the conditions before mentioned, confirming them al by solemne oath. Behold the end of their tyrannicall government, whom *Albert* had established ouer the Cantons.

When *Albert* had receiued tydings of this sudden change: he was wonderfully enraged, and resolved to make war vpon the cantons, as thinking by strong hand to bring them in subiection. He sent first of all to his subiects of *Zug*, *Lucerne*, & other neighbours of *Suits*, *Vri*, and *Vnderwald*, to suffer no vñ to be conuayed to them. But in a short while after, he was slaine by his owne Nephew, the Son of his Brother, and by his complices, in passing ouer the Riuer of *Ruff*: so that this war by him intended, remained now to be freshly attempted. His sonnes, being sufficiently hindred from reuenging his death, left the *Switzers* in peace: fearing lest they should ioyne with the Gendleinen, who had slaine their Father. About this time, they of *Austria* ruined many strong places in *Heluetia*, as in the Territory of *Zurich*, *Warte*, *Mulperg*, *Schnabelberg*, *Maschande* the Towne and Castle, and *Farwange* in the neighbouring quarter. Some most noble families also were by them subuerted and exterminated, to wit, that of *Eschinbach*, *Wartz*, *Palme*, & many other. For at the taking of the Castle of *Forwange*, in one day, 64. Gentlemen, with their seruants, had their heads smitten off: And in other parts of *Switzerland*, they of *Austria* caused to be slaine, or banished out of the country, about a 1000. persons, the most part wherof were Noble. There are some ill-willers, that do falsely accuse the *Switzers*, to haue defolated many places, & expelled many Noble families: when all this while, those horrid actions (for the most part) were committed by them of the house of *Austria*.

Henry of Lunzelbourg, 17. Emperor of that name, succeeded after *Albert*. He confirmed the priuiledges & ancient liberty of the 3. cantons, & established a Prouost or Aduocate of the Empire, to be Iudge in law cases in the Towne of *Zurich*, the round neighbouring places, and in the three Cantons, in name of the Emperor. This Prouost was named *Raoul of Habspourg*, Lord of *Lauffenberg*, Sonne to

The only means to further them. flues against tyranny.

Albert a fatal enemy to the Switzers, slaine by his own nephew.

Spoile and waste made by the Austrians in Switzerland, on Noble & Gentlemen.

Falsc imputations laied on the Switzers.

Henry the 9. continued the priuiledges of the 3. cantons wherein may be seen the goodness of god to thinne clearly, by sending misde comfort after to long oppression.

Tyrans are neuer in fauor of themselves, but all waies suspitious.

The admirable providence of God, to bring such a wicked wretch to his end.

Guillaume Tell's Stone or rock, which was (near to God) the means of his deliverance.

By this and contemptible means, the power of the opposition was vñ brought he to nothing.

When the judgement of heauen intended to strike, the left wñ done in men cannot prevent it.

Successive plotted alike in both the places by honest endeavour.

The nest and yoke of Tyranny vñ decayed and mincd.

Godfrey, who was Nephew to *Raoul*, vnkle to the Emperor *Raoul* of *Habsbourg*. But the Emperor *Henry* being gon into *Italy*, (in which journey an hundred Souldiers of *Zurich*, and as many of the other Cantons, were at his pay) the Prouest was falsly accused (as some say) before the Emperor, by the means of Duke *Leopold*, who hated him, and said that he had abused his authority. So that he was depofed, and *Edvard* de *Burgie*, dwelling at *Turge*, substituted in his place. Afterward, *Raoul* being brought to answer his cause at the Court of France, dyed at *Montpellier*. His seruants brought backe his body, and caused it to bee buried in the Abbey of *Wettinghen*.

The reuenge of the Emperor four Alberts Sonnes on the murderers of their Father.

The Sonnes of *Albert*, hauing flaine all them that were present at the murder of their Father, and expelled all their other complices; became rich and powerful, for they had seized on the goods of all thē that had hand in the death of *Albert*. The three cantons were highly in their malice and disgrace, yet they durst not begin war vpon them, fearing (perhaps) the Emperor, who had taken the *Switzers* into his protection: but neuerthelesse, they molested the Cantons by diuers in-roads, for they could easily offend them of *Vnderwald*, by Boates descending on the lake of *Lucerne*; yet the Cantons kept themselves carefully within compasse of their guards, & mutually assisted one another.

A difference betweene them of Lucerne & the men of Vnderwald.

In the year one thousand three hundred and ten, a Ship well munit & furnished with men, set forth from *Lucerne*, to make assault on thē of *Vnderwald*, who in the defence of them of *Vri*, that were come (by great chance) with a Shippe of warre to assist them; did both bondge & sinke the Vessell of *Lucerne*, very neere to the Port, killing a great number of the Soldiers, and taking the rest prisoners. This losse thus receiued, they of *Lucerne* (and their neighbours) tooke truce with the Cantons. In the same year, they of *Suits*, being desirous to pacifie all matters among them: bought of *Eward*, Count of *Habsbourg*, *Arte* and *Cusnach*, Villages of their Cantons, and subiects to the house of *Habsbourg*, encreasing & enlarging the limitation of their bounds very much that way. But on the other side they had warre against the Monkes of the Hermitage, & for the space of about four

War by them of Suits against the Monkes of the Hermitage.

hundred years; each being at push of the Pike against the other, and for those reasons which I will breely relate.

The Emperor *Otho*, surnamed the great, about the year 950. hadde established certaine bounds to them of *Suits*, and to the Monkes of the Hermitage. In these limitations, some Mountaines (fertile for pasturage) were left to the Monkes, which till that time had bene possessed by them of *Suits*. It came to passe, that they wold not keepe themselves to the Emperours appointment; but held their ancient limits. The Abbots of the Hermitage, who were not able enough to debout the out of their possession; gaue not ouer to obtaine of the Emperours successors, confirmation of the ordinance set downe by *Otho*. About the yeare one thousand, forty foure, the Abbot *Geron* accused them of *Suits* to *Henry* the third, Emperor. *Raoul* and *Arnoul*, Earles of *Lentzbourg* & *Gouernors* of *Zug*, being ioyned with them of *Suits*, made their complaint likewise, that their limits were much abridged. But the Emperour *Henry* re-confirmed the grant of *Otho*, & condemned the Counts of *Lentzbourg* to a certaine fine of mony; all which notwithstanding, they of *Suits* kept themselves in their ancient possessiō still, in despite of all y^e the Abbot could do. Once more then, about the yeare of our Lord, 1144, the Abbot *Paul* accused them before *Conrad* the second, Emperour, who confirmed also the sentence of *Otho*. Neuerthelesse, they of *Suits* maintained themselves (perforce) in possession still, and the Abbot (on the contrary side) defending the limits giuen him by the Emperour, and making vie of them accordingly; raised warre vpon them, invading continually one another, and taking prisoners on eyther side. These enmities endured a long time, and at last, *Raoul*, Count of *Rapswil*, brought them to an agreement, in the year 1217. This accord was imbraced & kept for about the space of fifty yeares, at the end of which time, there came an Abbot, named *Aselme*, vnder whom nouell differences began: because that both sides expounded the tract of pacification, in a contrary sence and meaning.

The war being againe renewed, continued foure and forty yeares: but soone after, they of *Zurich* laboured to ratifie

The ground and originall of so many yeares warre betweene the men of Suits & the Monks of the Hermitage.

The great Otho the Great, reconfirmed by the Emperour Henry, the latest that name.

The Count of Rapswil became a good peace-maker betweene long discontented enemies.

a firme peace, in the time of *Henry* the seauenth. While they were treating on this peace, some men of *Suits*, being gon in pilgrimage to this Abbey of the Hermitage: were villianously and publicly outraged by certaine Monks, which wholly brake off the negotiation. Moreover, the Princes of *Austria*, who had appropriated to themselves the protection of the Abbey: incensed the Abbot and Monks against them of *Suits*, promising them continuall succour. The warre hauing lasted long, wherein they of *Suits* were greatly endangered: at length, in the yeare, 1313, the 23. day of February, they went forth secretly into the fields in the night time, & hauing deuiued the guardes; entred by strong hand into the Abbey, taking and leading thence the Monkes that had done the outrage, together with the Curate of the place, named *John*, and the Master of the Schoole, named *Raoul*. There were then Monkes of noble birth in the Abbey, namely, *Raoul*, and *Henry* of *Wuenberg*, *John* *Regensperg*, and *Burckhard* *Fleminger*. This was the cause, that the Counts of *Habsbourg* and of *Togge*, and the Baron of *Regensperg*, who were their neere allies and kinmen, as also *John* of *Schwanden*, Abbot of the Hermitage, greatly imploied their pains with them of *Suits*, for these Monkes. When the Monks had solemnly promised vpon oath, neuer more to deale with them of *Suits* in any such enterprize, nor to attempt any matter of reuenge vpon them: they were releafed, hauing first payed nine hundred pounds *Tournois*. But this enlargement came so farre short of appealing them: that it wrought a quite contrary effect in them, continually fixing their thraldome before their eyes; so that thence forward, they fought all meanes whereby to iniure them of *Suits*.

Peace broken off againe by villianous behaviour in the Monks of the Hermitage to holy Pilgrims

The Abby entered in the night time by them of Suits, to reuenge their wrong vpon the Monks.

A reconciled enemy is very hardly to be credited.

Election of Lewes of Bawaria, fourth of that name, Emperour, and a difference falling among the Princes Electors.

Hereupon happened a new occasion of troubles. After the death of the Emperour *Henry*, in the year 1314, the States of the Empire besing assembled to create a new Emperour; the Electors found themselves to be diuided in opinion. Foure of them elected *Lewes* of *Bawaria*, fourth of that name; but the other three gaue their voices to *Frederick* of *Austria*, the Sonne to *Albert*. He to make his part equall in voices to *Lewes* his number, named *Henry*, Duke of *Carinthia*, as King of *Bohemia*,

maintaining that this kingdome belonged to him, by right of the Country. *Frederick* counted this Duke among them that should giue their voyces: albeit that *John*, sonne to *Henry* the 7. was king of *Bohemia*, hauing married the daughter to the late deceased king. This dismembing of the Empire, caused those greuous troubles in *Germany* and *Sclauia*. The three Cantons, enemies to the house of *Austria*, ioyning themselves with *Lewes* of *Bawaria*: all their neighbors being before in their protection of *Austria*, or else at the time of these elections, approved that of *Frederick*. Now in regard that the three Cantons onely, made head against *Frederick*; he prevailed so far, that (by his accellation) the Bishpope of *Constance* excommunicated them, & they were banished by the Court Imperiall, which was at *Rottville*. They were charged, that they had violated the abbey of the Hermitage, & (in that tumult) had cast downe and spoiled the holy sacrifice: which they of *Suits* firmly and stoutly denied, promising contrariwise, feuerly to punish the offenders in such a delict, provided, y^e they might be discouered to them. And although they could not produce any one; yet notwithstanding, they remained banished & excommunicated. In regard whereof, they humbly entreated the Emperour *Lewes* to vndertake the knowledge of this cause: which he did, and procured afterward, that they were reintegrated into the communion of the Church.

The cause of the dismall troubles in Germany and Switzerland.

The three Cantons excommunicated and banished, because they would not yield themselves to jurisdiction.

In this time, the Gentlemen that were forth of the lands of the 3. Cantons, with the Gouernors; solicited *Leopold* of *Austria*, Son to *Albert*, to make war vpon the Cantons. The Abbot of the Hermitage, and the Count of *Montfort* rouled on this wheele with their best helpe. The occasion was very honest, as it seemed to wit; that the Prince purposed to reuenge the outrage done to the Chappell of the *Virgin Mary*. The young Prince, being young, powerful, and a true heire to his Fathers hatreds; suffered himself to be thus counselled, and intended prosecution of this war. His forces were about him, by whose meanes he had spoiled the places and castles of his fathers murderers; & Soldiers were people aptly disposed for war, and made rich by the booties they had taken in those castles. Moreover, he leued a

Warre prepared by Prince Leopold of Austria against the 3. Cantons, and the cause thereof.

T 3 mighty Army,

The division of the Forces belonging to Prince Leopold, and who conducted them.

Army, collected from *Suisse, Suaba*, and *Alsatia*, dividing all these powers into two parts. One of them, which (as is credibly affirmed) consisted of about twenty thousand men; was conducted by himselfe against them of *Suits*. He gave the rest to the Count of *Strasberg*, Governor of the vale of *Hesell*, that they might ascend the Mountaine of *Brunig*, and assaile that side belonging to them of *Vnderwald*.

The Cantons hearing newes of this preparation, mustered vp their forces, & because nothing might remaine as forgotten: they sent to craue peace of the Prince; by the Count of *Togge*, promising to accept the Prince as their Iudge, & to make answer in his presence, to the Abbot of the Hermitage, and to the expelled Nobility. But the Prince would allow no audience to the Count, and refused all negotiation of peace. The whole hope and expectation of quietnes being thus cut off; a Fast was published & commanded throughout the Cantons, and prayers devoutly made to God. All such as could carry Armes, were sent to the Garrisons in all those parts, where any entrance might be made into the countries.

The assembly of the forces of the three Cantons, and their number.

But because the Prince was at *Zug*, with the greater part of his power: the allies assembled themselves at *Suits*, which is the very neerest Canton to *Zug*, and there were mustred foure hundred Souldiers of *Vri*, three hundred of *Vnderwald*, and sixe hundred of *Suits*. These made vp 1300. men in all, and thus they resolved to attend the enemy, valiantly exposing their liues, for conseruation of their countries, liberties, wiues, and children: declaring themselves (in this case) no lesse worthy of commendation, then the Lacedemonians, who fighting for the freedome of *Greece*, dyed all with their weapons in their hands, at the passage of the *Thermopylae*. It is said, that the Lord of *Hunenberg*, a worthy Gentleman, dwelling in the territory of *Zug*, and being then in the Army of Prince *Leopold*, taking compassion on the death of so many innocents, at whose throtes slycing knives lay overready (for it was concluded by the Nobility, to put the three Cantons to fire & sword) did secretly aduertise the confederates, by a Letter which he shot vnto the fastened at an Arrow, that the day of *S.*

The great mercy and providence of God, preparing safety for oppressed people.

Omer (which was the 15. of Nouember) they should be assailed at a place called *Morgarten*, and therefore it stood them on to looke to their businesse. The allies hearing this, fortified strongly that place, appointing men to all the wayes whereby the enemy should passe, and encamped themselves aloft on the Mountaine.

Fifty men had then ranked themselves together, which had bene banished from *Suits*, and they humbly desired, that their banishment might be reuoked, offering to employ their paines courageously, for the safety of their Country. But a sad answer was returned them, to wit, that many among them were guilty of very greuous crimes: therefore they would not accept such people for companions, as fearing lesse those faulty persons, might be the occasion of harme to the whole Army. These poore banished men (for all this) would not giue ouer their good affection, which they had intircly addicted to their Countries succour: but got possession of a little high Hill on the Frontiers, which hung ouer the way, whereby (of necessity) the enemy must passe.

The sixteenth day of Nouember being come, in the yeare, 1315. *Leopold* caused his troopes to issue forth of *Zug*, about the breake of day; the infantry marching foremost, with all the Nobility and horsemen: for the Gentlemen had resolved to chastise the poore Country people with their owne hands, whom they teamed the Seditious. As they were entered on the confines of *Suits*, hauing the Lake of *Egeria* on the one side, the high Mountaines on the other, and their Army betwene both. The banished men began to roule downe from the Mountaines top, great huge stones, and mighty Logs of Timber, vpon the Princes Army. Afterward, without the least intermission, hauing laid together great heaps of incredible big (sharpe-pointed) Flints: then showed them downe (as it were) vpon the horsemen, euen like to a violent tempest of haile.

This accident neuer expected, did put the Army into very great troubles; for men were not able to gouerne their horribles, frighted with the continuall falling of sharpe stones from aloft, and very greuous wounds they receiued by the. This being noted by them of *Suits*, who were ranged

Worought not to stir or abide in this case of importun necessity.

The battell of Morgarten, where a thousand, three hundred and fifty men once were routed by a thousand.

Despised and refused assistance makes the best way to an honorable successe.

ranged vpon a very high place: they marched on to meete the enemy in the face; and (from a farre off) threw huge stones, and shot sharpe pointed arrows at them. Afterward, they came to handy grappling, and charges with Halberds to furrioullie, that both horse and foote were put to flight; among whom, the Abbot of the Hermitage, and the Count of *Mounfort* were the foremost, as is credibly reported.ouer and beside the footmen, 1500. horsemen were slaine in this battell, beside many drowned in the Lake, & a great number (by reason of the narrowe passage, which hindred the sauing of themselves) were murdered by their own fillowes, and trodden to death with horses. Two and fifty Citizens of *Zurich*, being all habited alike in garments of one colour, and well knowne by the Cantons, to be the most valiant men in all the enemies army, being sent by the Senate to succour the Duke of *Austria*, were slaine in the field.

The overthrow of the Count of Strasberg at Vnderwald, & in what manner it was performed.

The selfsame day as the battaile was fought at *Morgarten*, the Count of *Strasberg* (hauing chased the Garrison of *Brunig* from the Mountain;) entered into the Country with three thousand men, and began to forrage euery where. He incamped at *Alpenach*, which is a Village in the Canton of *Vnderwald*, threatening the next morning to invade the other part of the country beyond the Forrest, if they on the hither side did not willingly yeeld themselves. But in the meane while, they of *Vnderwald* beyond the Forrest, assembled them of the Mountaines round about, & called to their assistance them on the hither side the Forrest, whom the enemy had not found as yet. and by the same meanes gaue knowledge to their partakers which were at *Suits*. The Messenger arrived at *Brunen* the morrow after the battaile, but others say, that it was the very same day. These newes being thus come, they of *Vnderwald* put themselves vpon the Lake, and made such diligence in getting to their houses, as in two hours space (by painfull labour and speed of the Ferry men) they crossed ouer the Lake, which indeede was very broad. An hundred men of *Suits* did accompanie them, with whom they arrived at the Port of *Buchs*, which is a village appertaining to them; then going on from thence to *Eurgensflud*, ioyning their people with the others troops.

Diligence and hast in most expedient & available when vrgent necessity is a spur thereto.

Soone after, they came to assaile the enemy, who was come thither by the Lake of *Lucerne*, and ranged on through the country: but they compelled them to flight, and made them glad speedily to recover their Boats. Hauing thus chased them thence, they went towards *Alpenach*, to seeke the Count of *Strasberg*; & although it was late, they concluded (neuertheless) to assaile the enemy, because his powers were disperced amongst the Villages, where they piled and rauaged. Moreover, might could be no hinderance to them, that were well acquainted with all the straites and passages of the Country: which was an excellent resolution, and wonderfull contrary to the enemy. For very hardly could the Count of *Strasberg* endure their first shooke or encounter, because the dispercion of his soldiars amazed him: and when hee saw two Engins belonging to them of *Vnderwald*, like a good and discreet warrior, hee perswaded himself, that they of *Austria* were ouerthrowne at *Morgarten*.

Hereupon, he speedily retired (throw the Mountaines) home to his owne house, and the rest fled amaine and confusedly: but yet not all; for three hundred of them were left slaine in the field, and the whole booty taken from the enemies hand. They of *Suits* and *Vri*, hauing provided for their affaires, came to succour their confederates of *Vnderwald*, and in the night arrived at *Buchs*, where they did heare tidings of the victory. Wherefore hauing first giuen thanks to God, & gratified their friends with so fortunate a successe, they returned home vnto their owne houses.

This victorie, settled and assured the foundation of the Switzers confederacie or alliance, and from thence forward, they of *Suits*, *Vri*, and *Vnderwald*, changed their league of ten yeares, into a perpetual alliance, and so passed it by authenticall Letters. The Switzers tooke their name of *Sydgnoffen* (which signifieth partakers in swearing, or conioyned together by one and the same oath) by this alliance. At this time, among strangers, they are called Lords of Leagues, and Switzers, by reason of the Village or Canton of *Suits*. It may be, because they fought in that quarter, for the maintenance of their libertie: or in regard of their long warre

Their marching towards Alpenach to deale with the Count of Strasberg and his forces.

The flight and fight of the Count of Strasberg, and all his follow. etc.

A League of perpetual Alliance betwene the 3. Cantons.

Sydgnoffen.

warre with the Monks of the Hermitage, and they were the first (among the three Cantons) assailed by them of *Austria*, and being the most potent of the three, the other Cantons were comprized vnder their name, which (consequently) extendeth it selfe to the other Cantons and confederates. I haue hereto annexed the tenure of the alliance, to the end, that euerie one may see, therein is nothing, either insolent or vnjust, as some (to their great shame, haue falliey accused vs.

The Tenure of League and Alliance, confirmed betwene the three Cantons.



IN the Name of God. Amen. Forasmuch as humane sense is infirme and fraile, which is the cause that things intended to be durable and perpetuall (as they

ought to be) are too soone and very easily lost or forgotten: it is therefore profitable and necessary, that such things as are established for peace, tranquillity, profite, and honour of men, should be couched and published by writings, and authenticall instruments. So then We of Vri, Suites, & Vnderwald, giue all men to knowe, who shall either see or heare these present Letters, that foreseeing & providing for difficult and queasie times, and for our more commodious enioying peace and rest, which are the best meanes, whereby to conferue our bodies and goodes: Wee haue promised and sworn each to other, in good Faith, and by Christian Oath, that Wee will mutually consult, counsell, and ayd one another, to warrant our liues, and defend our goods at our owne expences, at all times, against all and euerie one, that would or shall offer outrage either to our bodies or goods: to vs or Ours in any manner whatsoeuer.

Notwithstanding, if wrong be done to any one of vs, either in his body or goodes, We are all bound to succour him to our power: to the end, that (by friendshipp or iustice) the wrong may be amended or repaired. Moreover, We binde our selues by the same Oath, that none of the three Cantons, shall receyue any man as Lord and Commander, without

the aduice and liking of the other. Each one of vs, as well males as females, shall stand bound to obey their naturall Lords and Masters, and liue vnder their lawfull power, in all seruises iust and legitimate: except the said Lords offer violence (in any manner whatsoeuer) to any of the Cantons, for vnto such Masters they shall do no service, vntill such time as they be concorded with the Cantons. We haue covenanted also, that not any of the Cantons or Confederates, shall minister an Oath, or binde himselfe to any stranger, without the aduice of the other Cantons and Confederates. Not any person of the Confederates, shall communicate with a stranger (without aduice and permission of other Confederates) so long as the Cantons shalbe with out a Lord. And if any one of our Cantons, violate and infringe any thing or point of that which is contained in these Presents: he shall be esteemed as a disloyall and perjured person, and his body and goodes confiscate to the Cantons.

MOREOVER, WE haue agreed and condiscended, not to accept or entertaine any Iudge or Magistrate, that shall buy his office with money, or any bribe else, although he be of our owne Countrey. If difference or warre happen to be moued among the Confederates: then such as are knowne to be of most honesty and wisdom, shall meet together, to pacifie & confound the war or difference, either by louing composition, or censure of right. If the one side do reiect this proposition, the Confederates shall assist the other side, to the end, That the debate may be ended, either by amity or iudiciall sentence, and at the charges of them that would not stand to the award.

If any Suite or warre shall arise betwene two of the Cantons, and any one of them will not yeeld to a friendly composition, or according to right: the third Cantons shall maintaine the cause of that side, that submitted most to reason, and powerfully assist it: either to end the contention by a louing composition or by iudiciall sentence. If any one of the Confederates shall kill one of his owne fellowes, he must dye also: except hee can make it appeare, and the Iudges likewise auouch it by their sentence, that he did it vpon vrgent necessity, and in defence of his owne bodie. If he flye for the fact, whosoever of our Countreies shall receyue him into his house, there to lodge or maintaine him: he is to be banished perpetually, except by common consent of the Confederates

Concerning an Oath or bond to any stranger, or communication with him.

A worthy example for all Commonwealths to imitate.

Of strife betwene two Cantons, what the third is to doo to appease the contention: And also if one man kill another.

For such as shall fire eyther houses or goods in the Cantons.

federates he can win grace.

If any of the Confederates, either priuily, manifestly or impudently, shall fire any house or goods of some other of the Confederates: he shall bee expulsed (for euer) out of our Countreies; and whosoever lodgeth or maintaineth him, shall stand bound to satisfie the others losses. No person shall exact a pawning or gage, except it be of his debitor, or one unable to answer him otherwise: and it is not to be done neither, without consent of the Iudge. That euerie man shall be obedient vnto his Iudge, and make publike declaration, which Iudge (of our Countreies) hee will accept, to vndergoe iudgement before him. Whosoever refuseth to obey the sentence giuen, shall pay the interests to him of the Confederates, for whose profit & benefit the sentence was deliuered.

And to the end, that these conditions aboue written, may remaine firme, inuiolable and perpetuall: WE subnamed Citizens & Allies of Vri, Suites, and Vnderwald, haue put our Seales to these presents, at Brunen, in the yeare of our Saviour Iesus Christ, 1315, being the morrow after the day of S. Nicholas.

The liberties and alliances of the Switzers, confirmed by the Emp. Lewis.

These Cantons hauing conquered their enemies, and confirmed their Alliance, sent men to the Emperor Lewis, to aduertise him of all. He at the beginning of the yeare, held a day imperiall at *Nuremberg*, where the Princes of *Austria* were condemned of high treason, the goods which they had in *Suisse* confiscated to the Emperor and Empire, and the liberty of the Cantons fully confirmed. The Letters containing this ordination, were giuen in the campe at *Merride*, the 23. day of March, in the yeare 1316. & the second yeere of the Emperor *Lewis*. The same Emperour, about the yeare 1323. established as Governour in these three Cantons, *John*, Count of *Arberg*, vnto whom (as Lieutenant of the Emperour *Lewis*) the Cantons gaue their Oath.

The power & authority of the Governour limited, as his entrance into his rule ouer the Cantons.

The Governour promised them also by Letters Patents, that hee would not diminish or preiudice (in any manner whatsoeuer) their liberties and alliances, nor suffer them to be alienated from the Empire, neither to be reduced vnder the power of them of *Austria*, or of the Noblemen excluded from the Countiees of the

Cantons. Beside, that no man amongst them should be drawne in iustice out of these countreies, and that their Iuges should not be taken from any place else, but meely from among themselves. And because the Governours should not infringe the liberties of the Cantons, their power was limited by the Emperour, and prohibited (vnder greuous penalties) from diminishing in any manner whatsoeuer, the liberties graunted to the Cantons. The Letters Patents which contained these articles, were giuen at *Paria*, in the yeare 1329. and on the day of S. *John Baptist*. The Emperours that succeeded *Lewis*, confirmed these things, and permitted (moreouer) to the Cantons, to elect Governours (for their countreies) among themselves: but in the Emperours name, and to haue highest iustice in causes both ciuill and criminall.

They of *Austria* hauing bin so shrewdly gauld, as hitherto hath bene declared, grew to truce, not because their forces were wholly weakned: but in regard that they were impeached in war against the Emperor *Lewis*, so that they could not deale with so many matters all at a time. In the meane while (after the selfe) some incursions and losses were made in *Suisse* on either side. It came to passe, that they of *Weser* and their neighbours, which liued below the government of *Glaris*, and in diuers kinds molested them of *Suites*: who came and met them with a main army, and compelled them to craue peace. On the other side, the Abbot of the Hermitage, had caused the three Cantons to be excommunicated, especially them of *Suits*: first by the byshop of *Constance*, & afterward by the Pope. *Fredericke of Austria*, who termed himselfe to be Emperour, likewise banished them, but the Emperour *Lewis* tooke away the curse, and by his commandment, *Peter*, Archbyshop of *Mayence*, remitted them into the communion of Christians. Also, the Abbot of the Hermitage, wrote to them of *Suits* that hee had renounced the Popes Bull, and would not suffer it to be serued against them.

During this time, that the truce continued on either part, they of *Austria* drew into league with them, *Hermis* & *Envad*, Counts of *Kybourg*, and Lordes of *Dun*: this happened in the yeare, 1317. By the meanes

Gouernours choe among themselves.

It is the Nature of tyrants themselves being disquieted, to persecute the people not to live in peace.

The Emperour counterdeth the curse of the Bishop & Pope.

Taken forth of the true Originall copy.

A careful and Christian consideration in any Common wealth.

A louing League, what a particular injury extendeth it selfe in generally.

The cunning
proceeding
of them of
Austria a-
gainst the
Cantons.

The Emperor
excommunic-
ated and de-
prived by the
Pope.

The Cantons
joyn with the
Cities that
held for Le-
wes the true
Emperor.

Lucerna joyn-
ed to the 3.
Cantons.

meanes of these Earles, they procured such a hindrance, that the men of *Immerlach* could send no victuals to *Vnderwald*. In the yeere one thousand three hundred twenty three, they drew to them *Iohn of Habspourg*, Lord of *Rusperwill*, and heyre to the Count of *Hombourg*. Afterward, they combined themselves with him, against the Cantons, because his Landes neighboured to the Canton of *Suies*, and lay aptly to cut off all reliefe, and rayse warre. The yeare following, *Raoul* and *Herman*, Counts of *Werdenberg*, and Lords of *Sargans*, made alliance also with *Leopold of Austria*: but their brother *Henry* tooke part with the Emperor *Lewes*, who (at that time) was excommunicated and deprived of the Empire by the Pope. By these meanes, great divisions fell in the empire, some depending on the Popes decree, others mocking it, and cleaving to *Lewes*, as their lawfull Emperor.

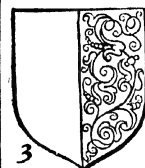
In these troubles, the Cantons maintained themselves carefully, and in amitie with the partakers of *Lewes*; whereto also, many Townes of *Suisse* conformed themselves. For, although (at the beginning) they of *Zurich*, and some others followed the part of *Frederick of Austria*: yet notwithstanding, he being prisoner, and having renounced the empire, albeit his brethren continued warre against *Lewes*, they of *Zurich* joyned with *Lewes*: as with him that then was their only true Emperor. In the yeare 1327. the Cantons made alliance with the Imperiall cities and townes, that stood fast for *Lewes*, to wit, *Mayence*, *Wormes*, *Spire*, *Strasbourg*, *Rafle*, *Fribourg*, *Constance*, *Lindaw*, and *Pberlingen*: with this League they of *Zurich* and *Berne* combined themselves. But five hundred yeares after, *Lucerna* made perpetuall alliance with the three Cantons. In few words, I will tell you the occasion, after I have first declared somewhat, concerning the beginning and estate of the said City, before it became allied with the Cantons.

CHAP. III.

Of the Originall estate of Lucerna, before it leagued it selfe with the Cantons.



The city of *Lucerna* is seated on the river *Russe*, which issueth forth of a great Lake, whereby wee may passe to the three Cantons. Also, at the foote of an high Mountaine, commonly called *Pilates Mount*. The situation is commodious, because this is the way, to travell by the mountain of *Saint Godard* in *Italy*. From *Fribourg*, the Merchants are transported over the Mountaines, and from thence into *Italy*, with beafts of carriage: and (reciprocally) the Merchants of *Italy* descend by the Lake and River of *Russe*, to the *Rhein*, & thence into the Ocean sea.



It is not certainly knowne, neyther at what time, nor by whom the Citie was builded: but one faith well, that on each side of the River there is a castle (which are houses nowe inhabited by Citizens) and builded by the *Allemaings* or *Germanes*. Concerning the opinion of *Etterlinus*, who wrote some small history of *Suisse* or *Svetia*, referring these matters to the house of *Austria*, and thinketh that those castles served as a retreat for robbers and theeves: he abuseth his own judgement greatly therein. For, in the time of *Raoul of Habspourg* (and no sooner) they of *Austria* began to command in these quarters here, when the Dutchie of *Austria* fell to the house of *Habspourg*. And it is no way credible, that a Prince would ever endure, that theeves should make use of a passage so commodious, for traueilling from *Suisse* into *Italy*.

It seemeth, that *Lucerna* was so named, in regard of a Lanterne, which duly every night is there advanced, and bright lights clearly shining therein, for benefite

A description
concerning
the situation
of the City of
Lucerna.

The time and
by whom
Lucerna was
builded, is uncer-
taine.

At what time
they of Au-
stria began
their rule over
the Cantons.

How Lucerna
became a gift
to be so named.

of

The Charter
of Guichard
the priest, out
of the Annals
of Lucerna.

The college
of Lucerna
founded by
Guichard the
Priest, & what
Donations
were thereto
annexed.

The priviledges
of Lucerna
while Ab-
bots ruled.

Faire promi-
ses cost
nothing to op-
pressors of the
people.

of passengers vpon the Lake. And it is very likely, that the high ancient Tower, which (at this day) standeth alofte on the bridge (as in like manner there is another at *Zurich*, called *Wellenberg*) served for that purpose. Our graue ancients & forefathers, termed every such kind of Tower *Pharos*. A Charter granted to *Guichard* the Priest, auoucheth, that *Lucerna* deriued her name from Antiquity. For, the *Annales of Lucerna* do declare, that the *Lucernians* (having served *Charlemaigne* in a warre against the *Sarazins*) obtained of him diuers priuiledges, and especially, the vse of Cornets, wherewith they did both summon the battailes and retreats, euen as they doe nowe at this present time.

Be it howsoever, anciently, the Cannons of the college of *Lucerna*, helde great authoritie, as also in many Townes of Germany. This college was founded by *Guichard* the Priest, brother vnto *Kupertre*, Leader of the horsemen to king *Lewes*, who was sonne to King *Theodorick*, who died in the yeare seven hundreded, & founded also the college of *Canons* at *Zurich*. The college of *Lucerna* fell to the Abbot of *Murbach*, by the donation of King *Pepin*. The same Abbot was Lord of *Lucerna*, vntill the time of the Emperor *Albert of Austria*: who hauing resolved to establish a new kinde of principality in *Svetia*, as already wee haue told you, bought *Lucerna* of the Abbot of *Murbach*, by giuing him foure villages in *Alsatia*, and a certaine summe of money, amounting to the valew of two thousand Markes of money, as it is affirmed.

This City enioyed (formerly) the enfranchisement of many things, & sundry goodly priuiledges beside, so long as the Abbots were Lords thereof; and yet they held no soueraigne iurisdiction: for, the citizens were the greatnes of the city, builded the wals and rampiers, and fortified it (by their owne discretion) in those times. The Prince of *Austria* also promised for his part, to conferre their priuiledges intirely, and made shew of being a verie gentle Lord; as he was neuer sparing of goodly promises. But soon after, the dominion of the *Austrians* procured to gripe and oppress the *Lucernians*; who were constrained to their great

(disadvantage) to make warre vpon their neighbours. For they were the first that exposed themselves to make incursions on the Cantons, and maintained a garrison in their cities at their great charge. The Tower of *Sbourg*, which standeth yet to this day cometh with hath bin said: for there it was, where the *Lucernians* planted a *Corps de guard*, against the incursions which their enemies made vpon the Lake. When they had no open war, nor any assurance of peace, the *Austrians* did not much care to maintain them. In the meane while, Traffike ceased, the fields were foraged, and many times the *Lucernians* fell into the hands of their enemies. Moreover, being gone to warre with them of *Glaris*, vnder the conduct of *Orbo*, Captaine of *Colmar*, to encounter with the Emperour *Lewes*, the wages promised them, was made void and frustrate. They themselves had paid many in other warres, and lent good summes of money on sedules, to Captaines of the *Austrian* Princes; but now, in place of payment, they were handled in such sort, as they thought both their good seruice and money utterly lost.

Being thus tyred and harried for many several waies, they supplicated and desired (oftentimes) them of *Austria*, to be at peace with the Cantons. But perceiving they traueiled all this while in vaine, themselves (in the end) accorded vvith the Cantons, leauing (neuertheless) the rights of the house of *Austria* to them intirely. This peace exasperated not onely them of *Austria*, but also many citizens, seruaunts, and pensioners to Gentlemen, by whom they benefited & enriched themselves. Both the one & other feared, that the City would ally it selfe with the three Cantons, and that in so doing, they would estrange themselves from the *Austrians*. And therefore they conspired, together, to oppress them that had comecld the people to make this peace, and that they should exhort them to be allied vvith some other. For this effect, in secret they contracted a league; the substance wherof was this, That at a certaine, house of the night, they of the city should open the gates, and at the same instant, they of *Austria*, (with so many horsemen well appointed) should make seizure of the Citie. Afterwardes, hauing joyned their

The Tower
of Sbourg.

Orbo, capitaine
of Colmar,
leader to the
of Lucerna.

The men of
Lucerna, at
the refusal of
their Lord,
made peace
with their e-
nemies.

The first con-
spiration a-
gainst the m^d
of Lucerna.

The proife
and intention
of the Con-
spiracie.

their forces together, and reduced the City into their owne power: they would punish the friends of the Cantons, break the peace, and plant a Garrison in the city, to the end, that afterward no such matter might be againe attempted.

The care and
providence
of the Citi-
zen in a time
of vrgent ne-
cessity.

But the Citizens being aduertised, of the traines and ambushes prepared for them, vpon the appointed night did put themselves into armes, placed good guards at the gates, & provided so surely for their safety, that such asooke part with the house of *Austria*, durst not bee seene any way to stirre. Then the Gouvernour of *Rotembourg* (with many Gentlemen) beeing come to the gates, they of the City (to whom he termed himselfe a friend) gaue him entrance, and some small number with him, suffered the rest to stand without. Perceiuing that this cunning tricke tooke no such successe as he expected, and not daring to doe any thing by open force, because he was the weaker, he returned the next morning to *Rotembourg* with his traine, and some Citizens of *Lucerna*, partakers with the *Austrians*, fearing to be punished by the City, went away with him.

The league &
Alliance
made be-
tweene them
of Lucerna, &
the 3. Cantons

This combination was the cause of hastening the league between the *Lucernians* and the three Cantons; for, perceiuing the iniuries and ambushes of the Nobility, and the dangers where-with they threatened them: they thought it fit not to reiect the succour of their neighbours, which they accepted, as sent from heauen. So they became vnited together, on the Saturday before *Saint Martins* day, in the year one thousand, three hundred, thirty two.

Extremity vr-
ged against
the Lucernians
by them
of Austria.

When the *Austrians* had intelligence hereof, they appointed Garrisons in diuers places about *Lucerna*, as namely, at *Sempach*, *Rotembourg*, and *Meyenberg*: by means whereof, they did cut off all victuals from the *Lucernians*: and if any aduentured farre from the City, they were either slaine, or taken prisoners, so that they were constrained to goe secke for food with a maine army. The yeare ensuing, and the seauenteenth day of March, the *Lucernians* going with their troopes towards *Buchnaß* (which is a Castle, now called *Hertenstein*, vpon the Lake of *Zug*) the Lord of *Ramswang*, Gouvernour of *Rotembourg*, for the house of *Austria*, layde

an ambuscado for them on the way, and slew about some fourescore of them. The rest that were scattered in the fields, and looking after pillage, assembled themselves together, neere to *Buchnaß*; and charged the enemy fo courageously, that they enforced them to flight, hauing first lost an hundred foote, and eightene horse.

The Gouvernour of *Austria* well perceiuing, that ouert power stood not for his aduantage, neither did any way benefite him in his businesse: vnderooke the first traine of ambuscadoes, and priuate practises. There were then at *Lucerna*, many persons that had bene pensioners to the house of *Austria*. This war was verie troublesome to them, for they had lost their pensions, and besides, enioyed not the reuennues of their owne inheritances; which (for the most part) lay on the lands of the *Austrians*. The Gouvernour conferred with them, and because they were of the very worthiest houses in the City, and the cheefest of them: he aduised them to perswade the Citizens to renounce their alliance with the three Cantons, and render themselves again to the house of *Austria*. He shewed them, that they might bee much more endamaged by one Prince, being a potent enemy, & so neere a neighbour, than by the three Cantons, who (in the passed Warres) could doe them little, or no harme at all.

And so far as much as it had happened at this very time, that the lower Towne, and the fields about it, were greatly iniured by impetuous and extraordinarie raines: the Gouvernour made vse of this accident, to his own aduantage; telling them that God punished them by such a means, because they rebelled against their lawfull Prince. But because these coniurations could not preuaile, nor hee moue the people with all his goodly perswasions; he would compasse his intention by another stratageme, and comploted with close confederates, to massacre the Authors and conservators of this Alliance with the Cantons, taking their faith vnder oath, and Letters signed and sealed. And, because they might be knowne one to another, each of the Conspirators did weare red sleeves, which onely was their noted mark. Whereupon grew the Pro-
uerb

The bridd
g. uen at Buch-
naß, and what
successe en-
ued thereon.

The second
coniuration
against the
men of Lu-
cerna.

When the fox
is preaching,
let the Crow
be wate.

A massacre
plotted a-
gainst the Lu-
cernians.

uerbe (afterward) among them of *Lucerna*; Beware the band of Red sleeves, and it was held for a matter extremely ignominious, to tell any man, that he was one of the red sleeves band.

The number of the conspirators encreased, and then they assigned the day for the massacre, which was the last day of Iune, being the Feast day of *S. Peter & S. Paul*, Apostles. They were to meete vnder the great Arch or Gate, neere to the publike house of the Taylors fraternity: for then the watch for night should cease to walke the round in that quarter: Also, the Lieutenant to the Duke of *Austria*, must haue an army ready to bee let into the City by the conspirators, who (purposely) should open the gates. But God (by his gracious providence) discovered these bloody consultations, the very same night as the massacre was to bee executed. For, as the conspirers met in Armes at the place appointed, a yong man, passing accidentally by, without dreaming or thinking on any such matter, discovered the businesse, and vnderstood their deliberation. The night was very darke, by means whereof, he softly slipped away, hying speedily to the butcher or Shambles, where perceiuing by the lighted candles and noife he heard, that diuers were there vp out of bedde, drinking and playing: hee went in amongst them, and tolde them the things hee had heard.

The bloodie
intention hap-
pily discour-
red, euen when
it was to bee
performed.

The conspi-
rators taken
and imprison-
ed suddenly.

Punishment
to be inflicted
on the offend-
ers.

Forthwith they ran to the Gouvernour, and acquainted him with the compack, & the Citizens quickly had warning to arm themselves, and good Guards also sent to the gates: moreover, they rushed in suddenly vpon the conspirators, and tooke them prisoners, before they could giue entrance to such supply as they expected from without. And to impeach the Lieutenant to the Duke of *Austria*, from attempting any thing by manifest force, or violence against the City, it being in this dangerous agitation: the same night they sent (in posse) for succour vnto the three Cantons, who also sent them three hundred men early in the morning. After this happy supply was thus come to the, they consulted then together, concerning punishment to bee inflicted on the conspirators. Their Letters were laid before them, and such other guilty persons, who

had escaped out of the tumult, by fauour of the nights extreame darknesse, were likewise apprehended and imprisoned, as was most conuenient.

Now, in regard that the number of the conspirators was great; and, many among the of the principall houses, who had store of kindred and friends in the city. At request of the three Cantons, their liues were saued, and they punished by the purse, after they had solemnly sworne neuer to attempt any thing more against the state of the city, nor contrary to their alliance with the three Cantons. Heereupon, they of *Lucerna* made a law, whereby it was prohibited to the Citizens, not to make any assemblies or clandestine meetings in any place, nor to bind themselves one to another by Oath: except vpon any bargain they made for monies, they should leaue twice as much in the hands of the Seigneury.

At this time, they of *Austria* were reconciled to the Emperor *Jewes*, to whom also, a great accusation was made of the three Cantons & the *Lucernians*. Who (contrarywise) well excused themselves, and shewed, that they were allied vpon plenty of good reasons, and without doing wrong vnto any man. Whereupon, the Emperour gaue charge to them of *Zurich*, *Berne*, and *Basile*, who were then allied to the house of *Austria*, and friends also to the Cantons (for three yeares before, the men of *Zurich* had assited them in a Warre against the *Grisons*) to pacifie the difference, and make an agreement of the Cantons with the *Austrians*.

VVhereof, in the yeare, one thousand three hundred thirty four, by entermise of their Ambassadors, truce was taken for two yeares and an half, on these conditions following. That during this time, they of *Lucerna* should not be constrained to pay the monyes borrowed of them, nor the wages due to the *Lucernians* by the Captaines. That they might make vse and seruice of the Money of the Dukes of *Zofing*, forged in their Citie: rendering obedience and honor due to the Dukes.

The alliance with the three Cantons, to remaine in absolute integrity. and the Cantons not to hinder the D. of *Austria* from inioying the goods and reuennues which they helde in the countries of the

Grace and fa-
uour done vn-
derstandably
to the offenders

A law against
conuenticles
and cloe mee-
tings.

Complaint
made to the
Emp. against
the three Can-
tons and Lu-
cernians.

Conditions
of truce be-
tweene the
Austrians and
the Cantons
agreed vpon.

Cantons. The Emperour was to depu-
te the Commissaries, for hearing the
differences of the Dukes with the Can-
tons, at any time whatsoever.

Afterward, the truce was further pro-
longed, and although the peace was
scarcely well assured, but was sometimes
broken: yet they of *Austria* made no
more open warre vpon the confederates.
Vnill after such time as they of Zurich
wrung themselves into the alliance, in the
year, 1311. Then *Glarus* and *Zug* came in
the year following, and *Berne* the year
after that: Concerning the estate and al-
liance of these Cantons, we come to dis-
coursse more at large.

CHAP. III.

*Of the Originall, condition, and estate of Zu-
rich, before it leagued in with the amity of
the Cantons.*

IT is not to bee doubted,
but that Zurich is one of
the most ancient Cities
of *Swetia*. The Annals of
the country doe declare,
that it was builded sixe-
tene yeares after the cittie of *Trenes* or
Treuris. *Marianus Scotus* saith in his
Chronicles, that *Trebetus*, son to *Ninus*,
builded the city of *Trenes*, in the time of
the Patriarch *Abraham*. The Romane hi-
stories make honourable mention of the



1

Tigurines, who are they of Zurich, be-
cause they were present in the war of the
Cimbrians against the Romans, and over-
threw the Consul *Cassius*. Afterwards,
when *Julius Caesar* came to the conquest
of the Gaules, they were vanquished and
ruined by him. After that time, to the in-
vasion which the *Allemaines* or *Germaines*

made: Zurich was subiect to the Romane
Empire, then fell into the hands of the
Kings of *France*, and lastly, came to the
Germane Empire, which beareth y name
and shadow of the Romane empire.

There are in Zurich two Colledgiall
churches; one of men, the other of Wo-
men founded by the Kings of *France*. In
ancient times, these colledges were (well-
neere) Lords & commanders of the citie.
There was also (heretofore) a castle, buil-
ded vpon a little hill, nere to the River of
Limagus, where the *Gouernours* (establi-
shed by the Kings of *France*) kepte their
abiding, who were Prouosts of the city, &
of those colledges. Afterward, vnder the
Germane Emperors, those Prouosts still
continued, but they dwelt not in the cas-
tle: because the gouernment was will-
ingly giuen to the Princes. Neuertheles,
since those times, there grew in the city a
councell of fixe and thirty men, twelue
whereof gouerned for the space of foure
monthes. The commonwealth was so or-
dered in the year, 1100. and continued in
that estate till the year, 1336. and then
it fell to changing, in manner as hereaf-
ter we shall declare.

From such time as the city beganne to
throwe off the yoke of the Colledgiall
churches, it began also to consider on hit
owne freedome, and how it might best
receiue increasing. For, amongst the dis-
sentions of the Emperors and Popes, the
men of Zurich adhered to the Emperors,
and followed *Fredericke Barbarossa*, *Fre-
dericke* the second, and *Lewes* of *Bawaria*,
who augmented their liberties and fran-
chises, especially *Fredericke* the second.
For, after the death of *Berthoull*, the last
Duke of *Zerungen*, Prouost of the Col-
ledges, and also of the Citie of Zurich:
he receiued the citizens into protection
of the Empire, about the yeare, 1218.
Then afterward, he tooke many priuiled-
ges from the Colledgiall churches. A-
mongst other, the right of electing the
councell, and graunted it to the citizens,
ordaining, that it should neuer bee law-
full to alienate Zurich from the Empryre.
Also, in the time of *Fredericke*, the Citi-
zens made the ditches and walles about
the City.

It came to passe, that they requested
the Priests were citizens of the Citie,
to furnish their part of charge towards
these

Two Colled-
giall Churches
in Zurich, and
a castle on the
river of Lim-
agus.

A Councell of
36 men, to
gouern by le-
tural turns.

The begin-
ning of the ci-
ty of Zurich,
and in what
manner it pro-
ceeded.

Zurich went
to be alien-
ated from the
Empire.

The truce fur-
ther prolong-
ed betweene
them.

Concerning
the antiquite
of Zurich, and
when it was
builded.

The *Tigurins*
are the people
of Zurich, and
were conquer-
ed by *Iulius*
Caesar.

these fortifications, and commaded them
moreouer, to rid their houses of some
women ill reported of: which offended
them in such sort, as they with-drewe
themselves from the Citizens. But this
difference was appeased by the byshop
of *Constance*. Some few yeares after, the
Pope excommunicated them of Zurich,
because they tooke part with the Empe-
ror *Frederick*. At the same time, they ruina-
ted (by permission of the Emperour) the
old Castle, fearing least some enemies to
their liberties (should get possession ther-
of. At this day it is a very pleasant place,
beautified with Linden and other fayre
trees planted there. And because the Ci-
ty stood excommunicated, and (by con-
sequence) exposed to the violence of any
man: many Gentlemen round about,
much mollified the Citizens, so that the
trafficke of silkes, being very great before
in that place, was from thence transpor-
ted to *Come*.

In the year, 1351. they of Zurich did
take their first alliance with the Cantons
of *Fris* and *Suits*, the tenour whereof you
haue already seene. Some few yeares af-
ter the death of *Frederick*, his Nephew
Conradine laboured to subiect them of
Zurich, to the Dukes of *Swabia*: vnder
the pretence and colour, that they had
long time bin Prouostes and Gouernors
thereof. The Citizens maintained their
liberty very firme and strongly, which
caused *Conradine* to worke so with the
Emperour *Conrad*, that Zurich stood pro-
scribed from the Empire. But *Richard* of
England, king of the Romanes, tooke a-
way the proscription, and by Imperiall
Letters, confirmed the priuiledges of
the Citizens. In those Letters, amongst
other matters, these words following are
contained.

A true Coppy of the fauor
done by *Richard* of England, K.
of the Romanes, to them of
Zurich.

*B*Y faithfull report, which is
come to our serenity, we haue
vnderstood, that *Conradine*,
sonne to the late King *Con-
rad*, who named himselfe D.
of *Swabia*, not contented with this fauor, in

vainely vsurping the honor appertaining to
another, without hauing any right or power
so to do: hath published a sentence of banish-
ment, against our Citizens of Zurich (as if
they were subiects to that Dutchy) planted in
the especiall boosome of vs and our Empire, &
not appertaining any way to that Dutchy, but
immediately to the Empire, according as fro
antiquite hath bene established, and is now
approved in our time. Given at *Hague*,
now, the xx. day of *November*, in the yeare
one thousand two hundred sixty two. And
of our reigne the first.

These Letters do render an ample re-
stimony, of the liberty belonging vnto
them of Zurich: notwithstanding, they
tooke no great effect then, because such
as succeeded in the Empire after *Frede-
ricke* the second, to *Raoul* of *Habsbourg*,
held no great credit, so that (by manie)
they are not numbered among the Empe-
rors, but all this intennall or respice of
time, is referred vnto an *Inter-regnum*,
wherein the most part of all the variances
were decided by the sword, rather then
by iustice and law, and the stronger tram-
pled the weaker vnder their feet. Aboue
all, the Gentlemen that had anie means,
did nothing else but machinate against
the liberties of those Cities that were
their neighbors. All the wayes were co-
uered with theues, & (in brieft) this Li-
cense wrought a meere confusion among
the most wicked and desperate, mouing
them to attempt and execute euen what-
soever themselves pleased.

Hereupon, they of Zurich, desi-
ring to conferre their liberty, and main-
taine themselves in peace: sent an hono-
rable Ambassage to the Lord of *Regen-
sbourg*, entreating him to be their Gouer-
nour and Captaine, vntill the election
of a new Emperour, and (for that effect)
offered him honest and sufficient gages.
The Gentleman was a neighbour to Zu-
rich, a rich and powerfull Lord in those
times. Hee proudly reiected the honour
which the men of Zurich did him, and
made them answer in this manner. If
the Citizens would obey all his comman-
dements, and subiect the Citie to him:
hee was ready to take them into his pro-
tection, and would be their benign Lord.
But if they refused his offer, they should

How and at
what time the
people of Zu-
rich lost their
liberty.

The strong places of the Lord of Regenspourg, neere to Zurich, and his poore Coats-dierates.

shortly bee compelled to accept it, euen in meere despight of them : because their Citie was ingirt and inuelped with his castles, as Fifth within a Weele, or water Leape.

This vauentry of the Lord of *Regenspourg* was not wholly vain, for he had many strong places neere vnto the citie : as *Wrispia* on the Lake of *Zurich*, a mile and a halfe from the citie ; *Glanzenbourg*, a Towne and castle of like distance, and on the riuier of *Limagus*. He had (moreouer) much neerer to the citie, vpon a high Mountaine towards the Sonne-fetting, two castles, to wit, *Pliberg* and *Balderie*, impregnable (as was imagined) by reason of their situation. Beside, the Towne and castle of *Regenspourg*, not a boue five miles at the most from *Zurich*. And, beyond all these, manie Countes or Earles were Leagued with him ; among other, the Count of *Kybourg*, dwelling at *Burgdorf*, the Count of *Rapperswill*, of *Togge*, of *Nidow*, of *Arberg*, and the Barons of *Eichenbach*, of *Rigenberg*, of *Kilchberg*, of *Balme*, of *Hombourg*, of *Warris*, and many other. They of *Zurich*, hauing beene so ignominiously refused : addrested themselves to *Raoul* of *Habsbourg*, mortall enemy to this *Regenspourg* ; made alliance with him, & within two yeares following, tooke the castles of *Vitznaberg*, *Wrispia*, *Pliberg*, *Balderie*, and the Towne of *Glanzenbourg*, molesting *Regenspourg* in such sort, as at length hee desired peace, and came to make his abiding at *Zurich*. These things hapned in the yeare, one thousand, two hundred, sixtie sixe, and the yeares following.

Pride & scorn full contempt very nill y scorned and rewarded.

Raoul of Habsbourg King of the Romanes, and a friend to them of Zurich.

In the yeare one thousand, two hundred, twenty three, *Raoul* of *Habsbourg*, was created king of the Romans, by common consent of the seauen Electours of the Empire. Afterward, being chosen Emperour, the Citizens of *Zurich*, serued him in many Warres, hee finding them still faithfull, and valiant fouldiers. In the warre of *Bohemia*, he had two hundred, which he placed beetweene the Ensignes in the first ranke : exhorting the others fouldiers to imitate the magnanimity of them of *Zurich*, whom (he said) he had well knowne and made prooue of before. Also, the most part of them dyed in the field, of battaile then giuen, and

the Ensignes of the other were borne (for their honour) into the Temple of the Cordeliers or gray Friars. *Raoul* hauing receyued so many seruices by the men of *Zurich*, gaue them diuers priuiledges : and to honour them the more, beautified their Ensignes of Armes, with a Diadem and Bend of Purple.

Many haue imagined among the vulgar fort, because in the battaile at *Winterberg*, that the Bend was afterward annexed therto, as a note or mark of their ignominy. But there are many things yeelding contrary reasons to this opinion. For, in the first place, the notes of ignominy are not red, but meere black. And afterward, when *René*, Duke of *Lorraine*, tooke away all the marks of the ensignes belonging to the Switzers, in the warre against the Duke of *Bourgonne*, they of *Zurich* would neuer permit, that the Bend should bee taken out of their Standard. And in the yeare, one thousand, five hundred and twelue, when Pope *Innius* gaue new Standards vnto the Switzers, the Councell of *Zurich* would not alter any thing whatsoever in their Ensigne, no, nor so much as the bend or Diadem, which they neuer would haue done, if they had beene any notes of infamy.

Moreover, *John* of *Winterduer*, who liued at that time when they of *Zurich* were conquered by ambuscadoes at *Winterduer*, spake to King *Raoul* these Words : He crowned the Standard of *Zurich* with great action of graces. The same Authour also declareth, that in the warre at *Reigenbourg*, *Iagues Mulner*, a citizen of *Zurich*, couered (with his owne body) *Raoul* of *Habsbourg*, who was cast from his horse : and hauing remounted him vpon his owne, brought him forth of the prease safe and sound. For which great fauour, *Raoul* did much honour to the man, and loued him singularly ; yea, hee was also a deare friend to them of *Zurich*. This they auouch, because *Carion*, and such as were of his minde, did highly wrong the citie of *Zurich*, accusing it of fedition & rebellion against King *Raoul*, who therefore foiled them, and brought them vnder his obedience by armes.

After the death of *Raoul* of *Habsbourg*, they of *Zurich* maintayned the part of *Adolph*, and so did the Abbot of *S. Gall*, and

The Standard of Zurich carried away by the enemy, at the battaile of Winterberg.

The confan- cy of the Switzers, for their enligens of Armes.

Iagues Mulner, a worthy Citizen of Zurich, and his honorable act.

The estate of Zurich, after the death of Raoul of Habsbourg.

The Lorde of Werdenberg, his cunning stratagem, against them of Zurich.

Apollinie stragem performed by them of Zurich, against Albert Duke of Austria.

Peace concluded betwene Du Albert, and the men of Zurich.

and the byshop of *Constance*. Now to the end that they of *Zurich* might ioyne them selves with the other : they assailed the Towne of *Winterduer*, and tooke it in the assault, vnder conduct of the Count of *Togge*, and there (in Garrison) was the Lord of *Werdenberg*, with great troopes, in name of *Albert* of *Austria*. The first day they were Victors, but on the morrow, by treachery in the Lorde of *Werdenberg*, who caused the Ensignie belonging to the Byshop of *Constance*, to be carried before him : by this cunning stratageme, the men of *Zurich* were overthrowne and cut in peeces. They attempted againe another warre in the name of *Adolph*, against them of *Groningen*, the which is in the territory of *Zurich*. But *Albert* Duke of *Austria*, sonne to *Raoul*, was offended at their enterprize, being informed by his people, that the greater part of them of *Zurich*, were slaine at *Winterduer*, which caused him to come and besedge *Zurich*, which hee imagined to bee quite emptye of any defensiu men.

The Citizens made a muster of their men (apt for armes) in the Citie, and on a place very high, where sometimes the Castle stood ; and that the Duke of *Austriaes* Army might easily discerne them. And, because their number might appeare to bee much more greater then it was, they caused all their strongest and stoutest women to be armed, and they children of biggest stature : which made the enemy to imagine, that there were great store of warlike people within the Citie. Afterward, they sent Ambassadors vnto *Albert*, to remember him, that his Father alwayes loued and maintained that citie ; that the citizens had serued him in all his warres, and wherein they (euermore) carried themselves faithfully and valiantly. Wherefore, they intreated him to follow his Fathers steps, and to accept them of *Zurich* rather as loyall and seruicable frindes, then to beleue false rumors spread abroad by their wil- lers, considering withall, that they were ready to giue him satisfaction.

Albert answered the Ambassadors very kindly, & willed them to come to him at *Winterduer*, where the peace was confirmed : betwene him and them of *Zurich* : vpon condition, that they should

acknowledge and honour *Albert* as lawfull Emperour. This peace was continued after the death of *Albert*, and in the warre which his sons made against them that had slaine him : the citizens of *Zurich* kept themselves still faithfully on the behalfe of *Austria*, and fought for them against the three Cantons. After that, in the battell of *Morgarten*, fiftie men of *Zurich* were slaine in the field, as hath already beene declared. Moreover, when the Emperour was in some troubles, because some had elected *Lewis*, Prince of *Bauaria* ; and others *Fredericke*, the Sonne to *Albert*, the men of *Zurich* helde a long time for the part of *Fredericke*.

In the yeare, 1330. peace was made betwene *Lewis* of *Bauaria*, and *Fredericke* of *Austria*, wherewith, *Fredericke* renounced his Imperiall Election, and *Lewis* (to recompence him) promised to pay him a great summe of money. And because hee could not presently furnish him therewith, in regard of the Warres hee lately had, to his mightie expences ; gaue vnto him foure Townes as a pawn, and security of payment, Namely, *Zurich*, *Schaffhouse*, *Rhinfeld*, and *Neubourg* on the *Rhene*. But they of *Zurich*, immediately sent Ambassadors to the Emperour, to shew him, that they were so incorporated with the Empire, as they could (by no means) be separated from it. Their Letters were shewn to the same effect, read and perused by the Emperour, and then, although hee loued them but a little, because they had taken part with *Fredericke* ; yet notwithstanding hee left them to their owne liberties, and in sted of *Zurich*, *Brissacke* was giuen in gage to them of *Austria*.

The Ambassadors had also brought with them, the Deputies of the three Cantons, whom *Lewis* greatly affected, because they had alwayes beene faithfull vnto him. These Deputies declared, that the City of *Zurich* was a louing & friendly neighbor to the Cantons, & had highly serued them many times : Beside, they of *Zurich* promised, that (hereafter) they would be no lesse faithfull & obedient to *Lewis* of *Bauaria*, who was then their only lawfull Emperour, then they had formerly beene to *Fredericke* of *Austria*. This did much offend the *Austrians* ; for,

Worthy seruices done by the of Zurich.

The men of Zurich would not be separated from the Empire, making it known by their Ambassadors.

Zurich, a louing friend & neighbour to the Cantons.

The Citie of Zurich excommunicated by the Pope, for the space of 18. yeares.

A Castle taken and spoiled on the Rhine, by them of Zurich, &c.

The Government of the Common-wealth of Zurich altered, procuring much trouble and molestation.

Accusations against the second order of 14. men.

albeit *Fredericke* had renounced the empire: yet notwithstanding, *Leopold, Albert, and Otto* his brethren, would not ratifie the agreement, but continued warre against *Lewes of Bavaria*. By which means Zurich fell off againe from friendship with them of *Austria*, and was excommunicated by the Pope, in such manner, as for the space of eightene years, there was no exercise of ceremonies (according to the Romane Church) vied in Zurich. The Priests departed from the citizens, some by their owne meere motion, others were expelled by the Bourgeses, because they refused to administer the Sacraments. There were none but the Coroclers or gray Friars, who went forth at one gate, and entered immediately at another.

The Citie standing thus excommunicated, and hated by the house of *Austria*: many Gentlemen, servants vnto that house, much molested the Citizens. Wherefore, in the yeare 1333. they of Zurich, with the men of *Strasbourg, Basle, and Borne*, besieged and took a castle on the *Rhine*, named *Schunaw*, belonging to the Lords of *Geroltszegg*, and ruined it, because it was one of the retreats for theecues. The yeare following, the men of Zurich ruined many castles, to wit, *Fryenstein*, on the riuer of *Tofe*, and another nere vnto it, called *Touff the high*. Also *Schenvert*, on the *Limagus*, about three miles from Zurich and *Schlatt*, nere to *Espow*, because the Gentlemen to whom these castles appertained, did greatly trouble the city of Zurich.

The next yeare ensuing, the Government of the Common-wealth of Zurich was changed, which procoued to bee the cause of great garboiles, and the principall occasion, of allying the citizens with the Cantons of *Swetia*. We haue already told you, that the commonwealth was gouerned by 36. men, and in such sort, as twelue commanded during the space of foure months. Some difference hapned between them and the people, in regard whereof, the people began to demand an account of their administration, especially, of the twelue that were in the second order. Some were accused among them, of robbing and dissipating (in a small time) the publike treasure, and besides, that they had bound the Citie in

no meane store of great debtes. Eight of those men, finding themselves to bee hardly clear in this case, retired from the city: the other foure, voluntarily resigned vp their charge. Thus the authoritie of twelue ceasing, they grew to a forme of electing Magistrates, being chosen out of euery band of the tradesmen, and by seuerall nomination.

The Emperour *Lewes* confirmed this kinde of Commonwealt by his Letters Patents, and the succeeding Emperours also approued the same. They that had withdrawn themselves from the Citie, yielding after to the peoples iudgement, were condemned in seuerall fines: and they that sped the best were banished for three yeares, hauing first faithfully promised neuer to make any conspiracie against the citizens. Heere to also was annexed a note of infamy, to wit, that neyther they, nor any of their children, should euer be admitted into Councell. The ancient men and councillors, being affraide of a iudgement so seuer, beganne to distrust their owne causes; so that nine among them forsooke the Citie. This departure of theys was conuerted vnto banishment, and their goodes confiscated. As for the rest, nine of them were condemned in great fines, and then banished for two yeares: with this brand also set vpon them, that they nor their children should euer be admitted vnto councell. Others, that stood to their tryall, iustified themselves before the people, and were elected to be of the new councell.

The banished men made their retreat to a Towne, situated on the Lake, two miles (or thereabout) from Zurich, named *Rasperwill*, which at that time belonged to Count *John*, of the House of *Habsbourg*. Three yeares before, he had made request to them of Zurich, to accept him as a Citizen: willingly they would, and did (at last) receiue him, although he was Leagued with them of *Austria*, and diuers of them also were of his parentage. Heereupon, hee listened the sooner vnto the banished men, and made a confederacie with them, vnder certaine conditions; for securitie vvhreeof, hee gaue them the Castle of the Towne in keeping. These banished men being thus commodiously lodged & fortified, began to

Election of Magistrates among the people confirmed by the Emperour Lewes, &c.

Old Councillors doubtful of their owne honesties.

How, and in what place the banished men hid themselves.

The banished men conspire against them of Zurich, & are banished for euer.

Warre raised by them of Zurich against the banished men.

The banished procured too long for them of Zurich, in warre raised against them.

The successe of the men of Zurich, gainst the Count of Habsbourg at Buchberg.

accuse them of Zurich, pretending to haue suffered great outrages by them; they defamed the Confull and new councell, and to make attempts against the Citie, vnto this effect: the helpe of some of their friends, that remained still in Zurich. Some of them being discovered by the councell, were punished: others fled away secretly, and ioyned with the banished men. And because these banished men had falsified their solemne promises: they were banished perpetually by the Senate, especially they that stood relegated but for a certaine time enioyned them.

Now, because the citizens of Zurich stood in slender security, either for themselves or their goods, since those banished men were excluded the city: diuers times they admonished the Count of his duty, that he being a Bourges, ought not to continue his fauour to the banished men, but rather to withdraw al helpe and comfort from them. Perceiuing the Count made no reckning of their complaints, they leuiet another Army, and went and besieged *Rasperwill*, the retire and refuge of the banished men. In vaine was this attempt of theirs, because the banished men had great plenty of victuals, and defended themselves valiantly, which made the other to raise their sieg. Gladly therefore they quitted the place, & so much the rather, because the Count of *Habsbourg*, protector of the banished, and whom most especially they fought for; was not at *Rasperwill*, but in a Castle called *Grinow*, which is at the head of Zurich Lake. They discamped thence, & marched with their Army vnto that very place, being conducted by *Diethelme*, Count of *Togge*, who was at controuersie with the other, concerning the cattle of *Grinow*.

The Count of *Habsbourg* (with his Army well appointed) was encamped at *Buchberg*, whence he came mainly running vpon them of Zurich, who landed suddenly from their Boates; and they granting them no leysure to bee ranged in order of battaile, put all in rout and disorder that were on Land, compelling them to enter their Boates againe, in which confusion they lost not many me, except the Count of *Togge*, who was taken prisoner. But after that al their troops

were ioyned together againe in the middle of the Lake, being moued with anger, and desirous to wipe off the shame formerly receiued: by aduice of their Leaders, they went on shore againe, brauely bidding them the battaile, which they wonne. And such was their successe, that the Count of *Habsbourg*, and many Gentlemen with him, were slaine in the field: moreouer, they carried away in their Boates a mighty booty, & fixe ensignes of the enemies. The citizens of *Rasperwill*, hearing of this ouerthrow, to reuenge the death of their Lord, they cut in peeces the Count of *Togge*, who was conuained on Land, so soone as he had beene taken prisoner in the first encounter.

This things hapned in the yeare 1337. And the same yeare, the Emperour *Lewes*, and *Albert of Austria*, second of that name, furnished the Cripple, made peace betwene *John of Habsbourg*, Sonne to the deceased Count, the banished men of Zurich, and the Confull and Citizens of the City, vpon these conditions following. That the banished men should pay to the citizens (as a fine or amercement) the summe of fixe hundred markes of money: remaining still out of Zurich five yeares, during which time, they should not come neare the city, by the space of two miles; which beeing expired, they should againe be receiued, & their goods remaine entirely to them. The Emperour conceiued, that this new government in the state, would highly strengthen it in these five yeares: for there was appearance of great danger, that if the ancient Councillors were re-established, alterations would ensue in many matters, & nothing else please them, but the old form of rule, as many of their friends and partakers earnestly desired.

This peace lasted not long, for the banished men (faouored by a great number of the Nobility) made no regard at all of their promises: but molested the citizens, and conspired daily something or other against the city. In regard whereof, by permission of the Emperour, the houses, and al the goods which the banished had in the city, were confiscated. Notwithstanding, the yeare following, by the intermedie of *Agnes* Queene of *Hungary*, (who was daughter to *Albert*, first of that name, and after the death of her Father, remain-

The Count of Togge hewed in peeces.

Peace newly confirmed betwene the men of Zurich, & them that were banished, vpon diuers conditions.

The peace broken againe betweene the banished men and they of Zurich, yet afterwards renewed.

Peace once more renewed, & broken againe the second time.

remained in *Swissia* the most part of her time) of *Fredericke of Austria*, and some other of the Cities: peace was renewed betweene the banished, and the citizens of *Zurich*: yet this was no firmer, or dur'd any longer then the former. For although the banished promised faithfully, that they would stand to the counsell of *Zurichs* sentence, and pay the fines wherein they were condemned; yet would they not make any satisfaction at all.

Means devised and undertaken, to resist enemies and maintain their liberties.

Many of the house of *Habsbourg*, (among others, the Sonne and kindred to Count *John*, whom they of *Zurich* slew in the battaile at *Grimow*) assembled a great number of Gentlemen, offended with the liberty of *Zurich*, hating that Democraticall government, as being too popular in their opinion: favoured the banished, and provoked them still on against them of *Zurich*. And they on the other side, for their better maintenance, first of all burned two Castles: one neere to the *Tofe*, appertaining to the Lords of *Landberg*, Gentlemen of marke: and the other to the Lords of *Schonenburg*, on an high hill above *Elgow*, because these places did much inure them. And to fortifie themselves yet stronger, they combined amity with the cities of *Constance* and *S. Gall*. Also, because some differences remained to be appeased with them of *Schaffhouse*, and war might be moved from thie: they yeelded willingly (by intermission of Ambassadors to some other cities) & in short time after, comprehended them of *Schaffhouse* in alliance with the cities of *Constance* and *S. Gall*. At the same time, they allied themselves also with the Bishop and city of *Basile*. Afterward they received into the number of their Bourgeses, many houses of the Rhodes, or of *S. Iohn* of *Ierusalem*: to be supplied and maintained with Gentlemen, and men of warre, as continually (and from time to time) were in that worthy Order of Knights of *S. Iohn*.

Schaffhouse, Constance, & S. Gall allied with Zurich.

A new conspiration of the banished men against them of Zurich & the City.

These puissant cities and people round about, being leagued with them of *Zurich* by new alliances, or reconfirmation of their ancient amity: the estate of the city remained more peaceable, and it seemed, that the banished had lost all hope of ever enjoying the city by power. But in this sleeping time, they conspired very secretly, to make themselves Masters

thereof by treason. Count *John* of *Habsbourg*, Son to him that was slaine on the day at *Grimow*, as already we have shewn, was ioyined with them; vpon condition, that he should re-establish the banished men, in possession of their goods in the country, and that they should disingage the lands of the Count, morgaged for debts to his creditors. With them ioyned the Count of *Toggenbourg*, *Peregrin Landberg* (who some yeares before, had bene at great debate with them of *Zurich*, though all seemed to be laide asleepe by an agreement made betweene them) the Baron of *Marcing*, and many Gentlemen, partly pensioners and vassalls to the Count of *Habsbourg*, who they gladly endeavored to gratifie, & partly as friends to the banished, who had many ancient friends and partakers in the city, some whereof were well acquainted with all the conspiracy, and others also that would ioyne with them, if the first attempt succeeded well. A further hope also was conceived, that no meane number more would come to their part, if they did but see the ancient councillors, namely, such as were greatly indebted, and could subsist by no other meanes. Such likewise, as in this alteration of the state, were not honoured nor recompenced according to their expectation, and who were vnworthy to be seene of others, advanced and preferred before them. Then againe, some others, who were weary of the estate in her present condition, desiring nothing more then novelty: as in all commonwealths are daily to be found, too many such kinde of people. The resolution of the conspirators was, to make vse of the night time, and to plant armed men in all the streetes of *Zurich*, and to force the houses of *Raoulle Brun*, Consull also of all the new Councillors, and the rest of their enemies, to massacre them, seize the city, make themselves Lords thereof, and take away the liberties of the citizens.

In this manner, the 24. of February, in the year 1350. *Peregrin Landberg*, Count of *Habsbourg*, many Gentlemen, and some of the banished with them, came vnto *Zurich*: The same ranne through the City, that they came to present a request to the Councill, in behalfe of the banished. At the same time, diuers armed

Long of goods and greedy desire of revenge, are the onely Counsellors of this conspiracy.

Other reasons inducing hope of more partakers in the treason.

Preparations to execute & performe the conspiracy by cunning pretences.

Treacherie by waters, as well as by land.

The admirable providence of God in the confederation of Zurich.

In what manner the treason was discovered by a servant of the house where the conspirators met together.

The care and diligence of the Consull *Raoulle Brun* in such an urgent time of necessity.

armed men had secretly slipt into the city, and hid themselves in the houses of their complices. The Counts and Gentlemen had a very great troope of armed Groomes and Pages waiting on them, ready to execute whatsoever their Masters should command them. Moreover, there were sundry companies readily prepared (both of horse and foote) who in the night should come neere the city, and there to be suddenly let in, after the watch-word was giuen. Others should come by Boates, and on that side where the Lake makes a separation of the city: to rush on by impetuous troopes, & hinder the country-men round about (who were very honest and faithfull to the city) that they should not come that way to help or releue it.

All things being thus ordered and appointed, vpon the very same night determined for the massacre, the conspiracy was discovered: more by the providence of God, then any counsell or industry of men. For God (vndoubtedly) preferred this city to be (very loone after) the first, for conferring the *Switzers* liberties, as also, for the retrace of his church.

The chiefe men of this coniuration, were in the house of a citizen, where they conferred on their affaires, and closely expected the houre of night, when the watch-word was to be giuen abroad. A servant of the house, who neuer had knowledge of this enterprize, being layd vpon a Bench to sleepe, happened to wake by their close whispering, and lending some attention to their talke, obserued their words very carefully, yet shored as if hee had bene in a found sleepe. So soone as he could conveniently do it, softly he got away, and went directly to the lodging of *Raoulle Brun*, who was Consull then, reuealing to him at full, what danger hung ouer the head of him, the whole counsell, and all the honest minded people of the city. He also acquainted him with the watch-word, whereby the enemies should be knowne one to another, in the darke obscurity of the night.

The Consull having heard the servants words, armed himselfe immediately, and went towards the Towne-house: the enemies were going and coming already through the streetes, yet he escaped well among them, because hee deliuered the

watch-word readily to them, and so got on to the Towne-house. A servant of his, attired in the garments of his Master, having not vnderstood the watch-word, by reason of the great feare and haste the Consull made, was slaine by the enemies before the Towne-house: not so much because he could not giue the word, as for that they tooke him to bee the Consull.

In the meane while, the Consull commanded one of the Officers of the Seignury, to run to the church, and to ring out the watch-bell, after the wonted manner, to signifie the coming of enemies. The Officer seeing the gate before the clock-house to be round enight with enemies: by a secret doore belonging to the church, got into the clock-house, & rung out the terror to all the city. On the other side, the Consull (himselfe) cryed out aloud on the top of the Towne-house, *Arme, Arme, the City is full of enemies*. Now the Ruer named *Lamagne*, or *Limmath*, diuided the city in twaine, & those two parts met and ioyined together, by the means of two Bridges made of wood. Immediately, euery one ran to these bridges: but because the planks and boords of the one were not made fast nor nailed, they threw them all downe into the water. By this meanes, all the fury and tempest of trouble, kindled it selfe at the other Bridge, which ioyined neere to the Towne-house.

There is a place of indifferent greatness, at the entrance to the said Bridge and house: the enemies got possession of that place, and of another neighboring to it. Heere the conflict grew very sharp, for, from forth the highest roomes of the houses, they of the city hurled downe Tyles and great Stones vpon their enemies, who were also to fight with other citizens, gotten together in great number, and came to ioyne with their bell helpe. The Butchers were the foremost men in the fight: for they were then vp in the Butchery (it being banded neere to the Ruer) killing Oxen and other cattell. Having heard the noise and out-cries of the Consull, they ran out vpon the enemies, with their Axes in their hands. In memory whereof, and as a testimony of their hardihood, the common-wealth gaue them a Lyon of Copper or Brasie, which

The watch-bell reports the enemies being in the City, & summoneth the citizens together.

Honest care makes vie of any the least means of helpe.

Citizens fight for liberty against an vnjust invasion of deadly enemies.

which (as yet) they beare yeerely in pomp and triumph through all the city. They were moued to vnder take Arms, by these meanes following.

The Count of *Toggenbourg*, being with-drawne into a house of one of the conspirators, and perceiving the danger, fearing also his owne skin-coate; after he had a while consulted with his Host: determined to free himselfe from blowes, refusing thus; that if matters fell out well for his companions, he could easily come in againe among the troopes, and speake to them, as if he had bin alwayes in the crowd. But if it happened otherwise, he would be sure to save himselfe, & learne to meddle with better businesse. According to this conclusion, himselfe, his Host, and his seruant, well laden with money, got into a small Boate, belonging to a fisherman, named *Bax*, who should conduct them along the Riuer out of the city. But fearing lest this *Bax* should discover their flight, the Count commanded his seruant, that so soone as they were out of the city, he should presently kill the fisherman. He being neerer to them then they imagined (by reason of the nights darknesse) vnderstood their purpose and resolution concerning himselfe: wherein he wisely preuented them, by suffering the boate to tilt suddenly on the one side, and so they all three together fell into the Riuer.

Making haste afterward home to his owne house, and waking all the neighbours dwelling about him; he desired them to take Arms secretly, because the city was in eminent perill, and enemies were hidden in many parts thereof, but he knew neyther how, nor what was their intent. Hereupon, they armed themselves presently, and hearing the Confull still crying, Arme, Arme: waked other friends and neighbours, by whose helpe they got the Bridge, and there raunged themselves orderly in fight against the enemy. It is further said, that the Priests of the great church, being then singing Masses, and hearing this tumult in the night: armed themselves from the houses round about, and entred in among the thickest throngs, fighting valiantly for the freedom & safety of their country. It might so come to passe, that this year the Popes excommunication was first raised, and

that after eightene yeares were expired, the Priests entred into the city againe.

Thus the citizens (by little and little) gathered their strength together, for from euery part they came in full troopes, and declaring their valour in so great a need, the enemies that were in the city (constrainedly) gaue way. Fifteene among them were slaine, and more then thirty seuen taken prisoners, among whom was the Count of *Habsbourg*; others saved themselves by fauour of the night. The Baron of *Matzingen*, and *Peregrin Landberg* were among the dead. The Count that fell into the water, was there drowned. The bodies of the slaine lay three whole daies on the pavement, expofed to the mockery of all men, and to be trampled on with the feete of euery passer-by.

On the morrow, seuteene, the principall men in the coniuration, were broken, and their bodies laide on wheeles: eightene were beheaded. The Count of *Habsbourg*, *Huldreich*, Baron of *Bonstert*, and some other, remained prisoners. The Army of the Count of *Habsbourg*, as well that which came on the lake, as the other by land, hearing this tumult in the city, and seeing no man came that should open the gates to them: retired backe in great feare, so that in the morning, the people gathered vp their armes and weapons for warre, which the run-awaies had gladly left behinde them, for their easier escaping.

Matters being thus appeased at *Zurich*, to preuent any more new troubles in the city: the Confull brought an Army into the field, on the second day of March, & being seconded with supplies sent them by the men of *Schaffhouse*; they went and besiedged *Rapperswill*, the Fortresse & retreat of the conspirators. The inhabitants of the Towne knowing that their Count was taken, the banished mangled in peeces, or made fugitiues and vagabonds, and hauing no likelihood at all of succour: on the third day of the siege yeelded, and bound themselves sollemnly to the common-wealth of *Zurich*, promising (for euery after) to acknowledge them as their chiefe, and render them all such duty, as formerly they had done to their Count. The Towne taken, they of *Zurich* thought they had gotten two ad-

Diuers of the conspirators ouercome and slaine.

An ignominious wayes detested handling of such enemies.

A shamefull kinde of death inflicted on some of them.

The Count army glad to run away.

He that thinketh to despise a man of his liberty, many times (as the story saith) loath his own

Two advantages for this of Zurich in their owne opinion for their best benefit.

Enemies to the liberty of the people, gaine nothing by the refusal of peace.

Another Army made out by them of Zurich, upon denying the peace offered against the two Rapperswills.

Another war against the rest of Zurich, by the Waldners of Sultz, &c.

uantages. One was, that from thence forward, no pilling or rauge was more to be made of their country, as oftentimes before had bene, and that the city wold now safely be preferred from ambushes and treasons. The other, that the kindred and friends to the imprisoned Count, began to treat on peace: fearing to lose all the country about *Rapperswill*, because the Towne and the Count were taken.

Hereupon, the Queene of *Hungary* procured, that truce should be accorded for certaine moneths: but *Raoul St Godfrey of Habsbourg*, being summoned by them of *Zurich* to make peace, declared no affection thereto. Considering withall, that diuers Gentlemen, neighbours, but enemies to the men of *Zurich*, incited them rather to make warre. So all hope of peace being quite cut off, the first day of September (the same yeare) they of *Zurich* conducted their Army towards the country of the *Marche*, situated at the beginning of the Lake of *Zurich*, towards the Sun-setting, then being in obedience to the Count of *Habsbourg*. The cities of *Constance* and *Saint Gall*, sent succour to the men of *Zurich*, and hauing spoyle & burnt all the country, they besiedged a Castle, called *Rapperswill* the olde, and followed it so closely, that the besiedged, hauing no more meanes of resistance, yeelded, & went away with their liues saved. The Castle was ruined downe to the ground, and they of the *March* promised fidelity and subiection to the common-wealth of *Zurich*. This done, the Army went to a Towne, called *Rapperswill* the new. They brake downe the Bridge that ioyned to the Lake, beate downe the Castle, and most part of the walles of the Towne, and hauing heard (for certaine) that *Albert of Austria* meant to come aid them of *Habsbourg* with great forces: they set the Towne on fire, and burnt it wholly, not leaving any iote thereof remaining.

At the same time, certaine Gentlemen, named the *Waldners* of *Sultz*, dwelling in *Austria*, declared warre against them of *Zurich*, taking their Merchants, pilling & outraging them by all manner of wayes. They of *Nafle* and *Strasbourg* withdrew, & gaue supportance to these warres there. Vpon these indignities, they of *Zurich* were moued, to seize on about eight score and ten persons of *Nafle* and *Strasbourg*,

that were come on pilgrimage to the Chappell of the Hermitage. As essaying by this meanes, whether they of *Strasbourg* and *Nafle*, compaffionating the imprisonment of their citizens: would expell from their countries those Gentlemen that were the cause of this disturbance. This fell out to proue but a very vaine hope, for these cities and their Bishops, offended with this vniuelt detention of their pilgrims; ioyned themselves with *Fredericke of Austria*, *Fribourg* in *Brisgow*, *Selsbad*, *Brissac* and *Colmar*. Hauing vniited their forces together, they resolved to make warre on *Zurich*, and redemand their prisoners by Armes. The men of *Zurich*, finding themselves not strong enough, in regard of their precedent warres, seditions and losse of men, which had greatly impaired them in power: deliuered backe the prisoners, and so turned aside this dangerous tempest.

Now because they had suffered great outrages, and saw no likelihood of any better successe to ensue: they sent Ambassadors to *Charles IV.* to whom they made their businesse knowne. They told him, that hauing taken (in a iust warre, & within their city) the Count of *Habsbourg* their enemy, for maintaining their cause against him, they were molested and assaulted by Gentlemen neighbours. But that which most of all greeued them, was, to see those Gentlemen assisted by *Fredericke of Austria*, and other potent cities of the Empire. And because *Zurich* was an Imperiall City also; they made their recourse to him, as being the sole head of the Empire. They humbly desired him, to lend them both aide and counsell, and to take order by his power and authority, that (in succeeding times) the Princes of *Austria*, the cities and Towns of the Empire, nor any other Gentlemen might make warre against them, contrary to all right and reason. But rather to permit, that their city might enioy her wonted liberty, in peace and quietnesse: considering, that they were ready (as they ought to be) to answer before the Emperor, to all whatsoever any man could object against them.

The Emperor hauing heard the complaint of them of *Zurich*, answered the Ambassadors most humanely: that he coucted nothing more, then to haue their

To auoid and put by a great danger, it is good to posside one of lesse power.

The men of Zurich demanded succour of the Emperor, by sending their Ambassadors to him.

The milde & honourable answer of the Emperor to the Ambassadors.

Traitors doe commonly proue voluntarie and forward cowards

Mischieuous and wicked counsell, returne many times to the ruine of the author & deuiser.

The safety & liberty of our Country, ought to be desired & procured to euery man.

liberty continue in full perfection, and would do his endeavor, to accord them with *Fredericke of Austria*, and his associates. But he could give them no succor, nor attempt any thing by force, against the house of *Austria*, the Nobility of *Germany*, or the Cities of the Empire: because (at that instant time) they were far stronger then he. Wherefore, they of *Zurich* should devise to pacifie their differences with such enemies: by some reasonable agreement, wherein he would assist them to his power.

The Ambassadors departed away very sadly with this answer, and came home againe to *Zurich*. And because (at that time) *Albert of Austria*, Sonne to *Albert*, was in *Swetia*: they of *Zurich* sent presents to him by Ambassadors, to whom he gave kinde entertainment, and tolde them, that he would come meete them with an ample power, for he desired to be a friend to them of *Zurich*, and had some matters to acquaint them withall. Afterward, when the Ambassadors came unto him againe at *Bruges* in *Swetia*, he was become an enemy to *Zurich*, by accusations and reports of the Noblemen, and spake sharply to the Ambassadors, saying: That they of *Zurich* had done him great wrong in ruining both the old and new *Raspermills*, and spoiling the *Marche* likewise, because they were in his Seignoury. He therefore demanded, that they should restore what they held from him, rebuild those places which they had ruined, and repay their pillages with ready money, & in so doing, hee would pardon them all those wrongs.

How the lands of John of Habsbourg belonged to Albert of Austria, in manner of a right by title.

As concerning his maintaining the lands of *John of Habsbourg*; they belonged to him, in manner following. *Garner* Count of *Hombourg*, Lord of *Raspermill* the elder, and of three castles, seated vpon one Mountaine, named *Wartenberg*, nere to *Basle*, dying without children; the succession fell vnto that *John of Habsbourg*, who was slaine at *Grinow*. But *Oslo* and *Albert*, Princes of *Austria*, laid claime to them, being the stronger (I know not whether they had any other title) and all the other goods of *Garner*, including both *Raspermill* the elder, & all the *Marche*. Neuertheless, they rendred all vnto *John of Habsbourg*, and he to hold it of them as in Knights fee, and so became their val-

faile and pensioner. Thus you see, why *Albert of Austria* said, they had done him wrong, and wherefore he demanded satisfaction.

The Ambassadors of *Zurich* made answer, that (from those places) ambuscadoes had bene made against their city, their citizens spoiled and slaine, and in those castles their banished men were harboured. Therefore, seeing they had ruined *Raspermill*, which no longer was an abiding for Noblemen, but a retreat for theues & banished men: they thought it no way meete, that any should be compelled to builde it againe, or in the selfsame place. They entreated the Prince to consider seriously on euery thing: they being alwaies ready, to debate their cause before the Princes and cities of the Empire, and in any such place as hee would appoint. The Prince answered them in choller, that this was not a difference which stood in need of any Iudges, to beate downe his castles, and waste the places of his Seignoury. But if all were not redressed againe to the first condition, and full satisfaction made: he would employ all his forces, and constraine them of *Zurich* to do it. In briefe, he would haue no other debating of this cause, but by the point of the Sword.

The Ambassadors hauing made their answer to the councill of *Zurich*, & they perceiuing also evidently, that the citie would very shortly be besieged, because all the Noblemen were already in armes: the men of *Zurich* well knowing, that in expecting aide from the Emperor or the Empire, was merely to abuse themselves; resolved to combine alliance with the Cantons, for the better preservation of their common liberties. Till then, they maintained themselves in amity one with another, and although in the day of *Morgarten*, they of *Zurich* gave succour to the Duke of *Austria*; yet notwithstanding, the Cantons were not offended therewith, but rather tooke pleasure, to approue the hardinesse and valour of the men of *Zurich* in fight.

Hauiug then so maïne an enemy (in common) against them all, to wit, the Duke of *Austria*, both the one and the other then might easily iudge, that their forces beeing thus combined together, they had thereby the better means for

Innocence hath euer more an armor of proude where with to defend in selfe

The alliance of Zurich with the Cantons, to maintain all their liberties together.

Vainly than and hands, make that a people to be come inuincible.

10-

resistance. Moreover, the Cantons were not ignorant, that this their alliance with them of *Zurich*, did highly accomodate them for prouision of victuals; because there was a very excellent market at *Zurich*, and the Lake was apt to transport both food and Merchandizes. Wherefore, after that the men of *Zurich* had sent their Ambassadors to the Cantons, to require their alliance in loue, and freely had acquainted them with their present dangers: the Cantons imbraced their motion very thankfully, and (soone after) sent their Ambassadors to *Zurich*, with plaine power to confirme this alliance, which was fully resolved on in the Moneth of April, in the yeare one thousand, three hundred, fifty one, and engrossed in writing at the beginning of May following. Now albeit *Zurich* is the first, coming thus into alliance with the *Switzers*; yet notwithstanding, because it is a city much renowned and mighty; the first place was giuen to it, and *Zurich* named to be the first Canton. The men of *Zurich* (yet to this day) do hold that name and ranke, among all the thirteene Cantons, as well in dayes occasions of the *Switzers* accounts, as in all Ambassages, and other publique actions whatsoever.

The alliance and vniou of people, as in a thorne in the haire of all such as would oppress them

This vniou of them of *Zurich*, caused warre (so much the sooner) to come vpon them: for the Prince of *Austria* was already very angry with them of *Suits*, *Fris*, and *Underwald*, which first of all were leagued together: neuertheless, hee assured himselfe (one day) to bring them vnder his yoke. For, because the country was barren, and not conveniently groundd for warre; there grew some apparance, that (at length) it might bee subdued, albeit they were good Souldiers, and well resolved for fight. But when *Lucerne*, which was vnder the dominion of *Austria*, ioynd with them, and then (soone after) *Zurich*, a free city, and cheefest of all other in the country: the Prince became much more mooued and troubled: for he was not ignorant, how greatly this alliance had strengthened and authorized them of *Zurich*. And therefore he concluded, to lay hold on this occasion, to make warre on the men of *Zurich*, and besiege their city; to essay if thereby he could vnknit this knot of combination, before any other (following example of

the former) should make any more new leagues. See heere the true cause of the warre, and I dare maintaine, that no cause (concerning the ruine of *Raspermill*) incited it; because (at all times) when peace was treated on after the warre began: they of *Austria* neuer vrge that article, concerning the building againe of *Raspermill*; but rather that they of *Zurich*, should renounce their alliance with the cantons.

Thus then, in the Moneth of September, the yeare 1351. *Albert of Austria* besieged *Zurich*. He had encamped with him, *Lewes*, Count of *Brandenberg*; *Fredericke*, Duke of *Teck*, the Duke of *Pyflinge*, and the Burgeaue of *Nuremberg*. The Bishops of *Wincheburg*, *Bamberg*, *Frisingen*, *Coire*, and *Basle* sent him succour. He had fise and twenty Counts or Earles in his Army, namely; *Enrrad*, Count of *Wirttenberg*, conductor of the Army; *Lewes*, count of *Outigen*; *Fredericke*, count of *Ortenberg*; the two counts of *Schmalenloch*; the two counts of *Ternanges*; the two counts of *Furstenberg*; the three of *Tierstein*; they of *Halsbourg* and *Kybourg*; *Raoul* and *Herman* of *Wendenberg*; *Albert* and *Henry* of *Nellenbourg*; *Guillaume* of *Kilchberg*; *Immer* of *Strasbourg*, of *New-chastle*, of *Nidow*, of *Arberg*, of *Fribourg*, of *Zolern*, and of *Metbourg*. Likewise the cities of *Strasbourg*, *Basle*, *Fribourg* in *Frigraye*, *Soleurre*, and some others sent aide to the Duke. It is said, that he had in his Army two thousand horse, and fise thousand foote. On the other side, the four Cantons sent a good Garrison to them of *Zurich*. The Souldiers and the citizens fortified the city, and made diligent prouision of all things requisite to withstand the siege, and to defend it: so that (on both sides) there were some sallies and skirmishes.

But few daies after the siege, peace was made, by the intermille of *Fredericke*, count of *Togge*, and of *Hertze*, *Ketcheberg*, commander of *Rhodes*, abiding at *Vatelud*, with them of *Basle* and of *Berne* on condition, that the *Switzers* should refer themselves vnto the definitive iudgement of *Agnes*, Queene of *Hungary*, to whom, eyther side should send their Ambassadors, and that which was concluded by them, with plurality of voyces, eyther party should ratifie. For this effect, they of *Zurich* were to giue in 16. Hollages, of the cheefest

The principal interior of the Duke of Austria.

The first besieging of the City of Zurich.

There neuer wants force of helpe to be found, when any people are to be oppressed.

Peace made, and on what condition.

X of

A traine is made, to entrap them by a sheete of paper, that could not be cured, come by force.

A sentence no lesse pernicious then the warre.

Religion and protection of willingness to peacem in the mouth of a woman, exalted to authority, are aptest instruments (among all others) whereby to deceive and abuse the people.

of the Citty, and *Albert* promised by his Letters, that no wrong should be done unto them. The foure Cantons would not accept of this peace, alledging, that no trust ought to be given to the Queen of *Hungary*, who would not faile to give sentence in fauour of *Albert*, he beeing her brother. Neuerthelesse, the men of *Zurich*, who had a good opinion of the woman, did so plesse the other Cantons, that they subscribed together the conditions: adding this exception (in common) that their alliance should continue in full force.

The Duke of *Austria* chose for Iudges, *Immer*, Count of *Strasberg*, and *Peter* of *Stoßfelen*, commander of *Tannenfels*. They gave sentence in behalfe of their Master, whereby it was appointed, that they of *Zurich* were bound, to renew (according to their former condition) the olde and new *Rasferwiles*, and give satisfaction to *Albert*: rendering backe *Lucerna* vnder his gouernment, and surrender also great store of possessions and rights, in the territory of *Vnderwald*. They tooke away likewise from them of *Suits*, their right of fishing in the Lake, and their ancient possession and vse of many Forests. Finally, they condemned all the five Cantons, in great fines of money: neuer having any regard, what wrongs the city of *Zurich* had endured, by them of *Rasferwils*, nor other reasons and defences proposed by the Cantons, and by *Philp Kyen*, Knight, and *Peter de la Hanne*, Consull of *Bern*, their Iudges dealequed.

Queene *Agnes* approved the sentence of *Alberts* Iudges. She was a witty woman, that had an outward appearance of great sanctity, as we vse to say, from the teeth forward. At all times when she saw her brethren forward to make warre, but greatly unfurnished; then would she beleeve to procure truce or peace betweene the *Switzers* and them. Onely to this end, that they might assemble their troopes together in the meane time, and bee the better provided for a sudden assailing the at vnawares. Yet all that while, she would still protest, that she did all this for the enjoying of peace, and in meere compassion which she had of the *Switzers*.

Now albeit this sentence was most vniually yet notwithstanding, the *Switzers* promised to ratifie it. But the Duke being

not contented with all this, commanded them of *Zurich*, to set at liberty (without eyther fine or ranfome) Count *Iohn* of *Habsbourg*, their prisoner taken in faire warre, and of whom the Iudges made not any mention. Heereupon, they of *Zurich* would not yeeld to any thing, by which occasion, the Duke imprisoned their hostages, contrary to his faithfull promise, planted a Garrison on the Frontiers, and prepared himselfe for a new warre.

More insurrection of the Duke of Austria.

CHAP. V.

How Glaris being conquered by the Cantons, came afterward to be accepted into their louing alliance.



THE *Switzers* seeing that all hope of peace was utterly frustrated, & that they must needs re-enter into war: determined among themselves, to invade the country of *Glaris*, for feare lesse (in that quarter) the enemy would make courses on the lands of the confederates, and especially on them of *Suits*. Wherefore, the very same yeare, and in the Moneth of November, the men of *Zurich*, *Vri*, *Suits*, and *Vnderwald*, ioyned together, and led their troopes towards *Glaris*. Without any blow smitten, they made themselves Masters of the whole country, taking oath of them of *Glaris*; and in regard of their faithfulness, as also their approved valour in war, which they had well tried oftentimes before; they received them into their alliance.

The determination of the *Switzers*, who peace was made void, and war must needs be undertaken.



Glaris is a strait Valley and long, cotaining a league and an halfe of the Germane measure, neere to the River of *Limagus* or *Limmatris*. It tookname from the principall

Towne of all the Country, being engirt on three sides with very high Alpes: hauing the *Grifons* on the South side, & towards the East, *Vri*, & *Suits* to the West, and on the North, the field called the *Girons*.

A breefe description of Glaris.

The Abbey of Secon giuen to S. Fridolin, by two brothers.

What meant the operations of any people do vit, liberating their liberty, & at length to dispose all at their owne pleasure.

Glaris yeelded willingly to the *Switzers*.

the country, by which, the River of *Limagus* runneth along the Valley, and enters into the Lake of *Zurich*. *Glaris* had bin subiect a long time, and for the space of many yeares, to the Abbey of *Secon*, & was giuen to S. *Fridolin*, by two brothers, named *Ours* and *Landsolphe*. They of *Glaris* paid tythes to this Abbey, and certaine constituted rents, beside taxations of some inheritances. They were not charged with any imposts, or subsidies whatsoeuer: they held their owne lawes, & a councill among their citizens. True it is, that the election belonged vnto the Abbess; but the Prouostship or gouernment (both of the Abbey and country) was the Emperours onely, & in his power.

Afterward, *Frederick Barbarossa* gaue it to *Otho*, Palatine of *Bourgonne*, from whose successors, it came to them of the house of *Habsbourg*. Vnder pretence of this authority, *Albert* of *Austria*, Sonne to the Emperour *Raoul*, made himselfe Lord of *Glaris*, in despite of the whole country: who had promised to the forenamed Abbey, neuer to be leparated or alienated from it. This vspurpation was the cause, that many Noble families forsooke the country, and withdrew themselves thence, some to *Vri*, and others to *Zurich*. They of *Austria* being well fortified, expelled out of his house the Baron of *Suanda*, a rich Gentleman, and well beloued in those parts, appropriating all his goods to himselfe. They vsurped also the rights of the Maiordome of *Glaris*, & brought in a nouelty neuer before practised: sending Gouernours into that country, to haue a seuerer eye ouer the people, and to iudge them by proceesse in law.

Those Gouernours were very rude and insolent, so that the people (in despite of the *Austrians*) yeelded themselves voluntarily to the *Switzers*, when they came to warre vpon them, and made perpetuall alliance with them. *Gautier de Stad*, Gouernour for them of *Austria*, departed from *Glaris*, after the inhabitants had sworn fidelity to the *Switzers*, withdrawing himselfe not far off, namely to *Wesen*. But they of *Glaris* chose among themselves (according to their ancient custome) a *Maior* or *Ammun*, and their vsuall number of counsellors. And because they expected nothing more, but that the *Austrians* would soone come againe to molest

them: they strengthened their walles, and trenched their Valley, neere to a Village named *Naiffell*, where was the easiest entrance into the country; that needed no fortification, but only there, all the rest being engirt with Mountaines round about.

During these alterations at *Glaris*, in the Moneth of December, they of *Zurich* marched with their Army towards *Bada*, where was a great Garrison of the *Austrians*, that by their often out-roads made much waste on the Lands of *Zurich*. To require them with money of the saide stamp, they of *Zurich* forraged the country about *Bada*, and burnt the Subburbs of the Towne, getting vp on the Mountaine, to come neerer to them. But towards *Tetiulle*, on the Mountaine, a Capitaine of the *Austrian* horsemen, named *Ellerbach*, made firme the passage with foure thousand men. They of *Zurich* were no more then 1300. (some say they were much lesse) notwithstanding, they set vpon the enemy, and wonne a very remarkable victory, leauing there 700. enemies slaine, among whom (as is credibly auouched) there were 65. Gentlemen.

The yeare following, *Gautier de Stad*, not long before Gouernour of *Glaris*, hauing leuiued an Army, prepared himselfe, to subiect the country againe to the house of *Austria*. Hee tooke occasion to do this, because he had receiued intelligence that two hundred men of *Glaris* were in Garrison at *Zurich*. But the other inhabitants ouercame him in a ranged battel, where he was slaine, and a great number of the Nobility, the 2 day of February.

The selfe same day, the *Austrians* that were at *Zug*, being gone by Boates to *Arre*, & did set vpon the lands of *Suits*, but met with the like welcome as *Stad* had at *Glaris*. In like manner, all the confederates sent an Army to forrage *Berne*, and other neighbouring places, from whence the *Austrians* issued forth oftentimes, to set vpon the *Lucernians*: As (on the other side) the *Austrians* put to fire and blood *Cusnach*, and some other places, yet not without their owne great losse. About the holidayes of *Pentecoste*, the *Lucernians*, assisted by the three Cantons, tooke (by assault) a Castle, called *Habsbourg*, seated on the Lake of *Lucerna*; cut in peeces all them that were therein Garrison, & ruined it quite fro the top to the bottom.

X 2 CHAP.

Of the day at Tetiulle, where the men of Zurich had a worthy victory against their enemies the Austrians.

The ouerthrow of Gautier de Stad, late Gouernour of Glaris.

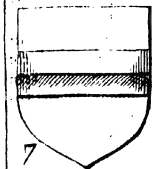
Another ouerthrow happening the same day.

Couttes and new roads made only for spoyle.

CHAP. VI.

Of Zug, and at what time it came to be comprehended, in league and confederacy with the other Cantons of the Swissers.

IN those times, Zug hapned to be thus comprized in alliance with the *Swissers*. It is a Towne betwene *Zurich* and *Suits*, seated at the foote of a Mountain, rich in pasturages, and vines planted on the sides ioyning to the Lake, which a-boundeth with plenty of Fish, common to them both of Zug and *Suits*. It is reputed to be the capitall Towne of certaine people, which accompanied the of *Zurich*, in the warre of the *Cimbrians* against the *Romans*. Sometimes these acknowledged diuers *Gé-*



tle men as her Lords: but afterward, fell into the hands of them of *Austria*, who, during the warre against the *Swissers*, maintained there an ordinary Garrison, which did many harmes to them of *Suits* and *Zurich*. And this was the cause, that in the year 1352. and the Moneth of Iune, the men of *Zurich*, with the foure other Cantons, prepared an Army to go against Zug. The Soldiers finding their strength far too weake, would not attend the *Swissers* coming: but withdrew to *Bremgarten*, and other places thereabout. But the Townsmen, who would be faithful to the Duke of *Austria*, maintained the siege for fifteene daies space: neuertheless, hauing received a very violent assault: they yielded themselves, & took an oath to the *Swissers*, on this condition. That if within a certaine time appointed, the Duke of *Austria* brought an Army, to cause the siege to be removed: they would returne againe vnder his obedience, and stand acquitted of their oath giuen to the *Swissers*. To effect this businessse, they sent their Ambassadors, to require succour from the Duke of *Austria*: he being then in the Abbey of *Champ Royall*, about fifteene leagues from Zug,

& there the Ambassadors let him vnderstand their charge and message.

It chanced at that instant time, that the Duke was walking in a Gallery, demanding of his Faulconer, whether hee had (that day) fed his Hawkes or no? The cheefeest of the Ambassadors, named *Herman*, taking him at that word, said. Alasse my Lord, haue you not more care of your Subjects, the of Hawkes? Especially now, when the enemy hath so strictly engirt vs; as if you send not present supply, constrainedly we must surrender our felues? The Prince returned this answer. It is wel, yeeld your felues; before it be long time, we will recover againe whatsoever we haue lost. And because they of Zug well saw, that it was in vaine to looke for any comfort thence: they ioynd themselves in vinity and alliance with the *Swissers*.

Hardly were the Letters of this alliance written, for combing thus the Cantons by oath: but *Albert*, Duke of *Austria*, now the second time besieged the city of *Zurich*, about the midst of Iune. But at the end of the Moneth, by intermisse of the Marquesse of *Brandebourg*, peace was made, on those conditions following. They of *Zurich* should set at liberty *John* of *Habsbourg*, their three yeares prisoner, without eyther fine or ranfome. Also, that the Duke of *Austria* should acquit (frank and freely) the hostages of *Zurich*, whom he had likewise imprisoned. They of Zug and *Olaria*, absolued of their oath taken to the *Swissers*, should (as before) yeeld obedience to the house of *Austria*. In the meane while; nothing should hinder, but that the alliance of the *Swissers* must stand firme.

In the time of this treaty, *John* of *Habsbourg* came forth of prison, without paying any ranfome; but the Hostages of *Zurich* were not released, according to sworn promise: for before they could get forth, they were compelled to pay sixteen hundred crownes for a ranfome, & yet could not enioy eyther peace or safety. For so soone as the Count of *Habsbourg* was released, hee gaue *Rasperwill*, and the places neighbouring about it, to *Albert* of *Austria*; who immediately fortified *Rasperwill*, and planted a Garrison there, whereby a new warre was engendered. For the Soldiers of that Garrison ranne in on the Lands of *Zurich*, and slew fifty men at

By tyrannie & oppression, people are (offending) idle valued and esteemed then Hawkes and Hounds.

A second besieging the City of *Zurich*.

Conditioned the peace concluded.

The crafty fleish of such men, hold great pity not be shown in due respect and estimation.

Concerning the situation & first estate of Zug.

The Cantons made an Army to be against Zug.

Zug being assaulted by the Cantons, yeelds in selfe vpon condition.

Meile, which was a Village belonging to one of the Chanons of *Zurich*.

Heereby we may plainly perceiue, that the Duke of *Austria* did but seeke occasion, whereby to begin the warre againe. The year following, as the Ambassadors of *Suits* were gone (in name of the fine Cantons) to require of them of Zug, the obligatory oath of their alliance, according to the Articles of pacification: they of *Austria* expelled them away with outrages. In regard whereof, they mustred their forces together againe, and made themselves Masters of Zug the second time, and then commanded the citizens, to giue their oath to the *Swissers*. In the same year, 1352. the sixteenth day of March, *Berne* ioynd it selfe in alliance with the *Swissers*. But we are to speake somewhat in this place, concerning this city, which is the most powerfull among all them in *Swetia*.

CHAP. VII.

Of the building of Berne, the situation and condition thereof, and how it was yeelded to the Empire.



Bernhau, fift of that name; & the last Duke of *zeringen*, built the city of *Berne*, and being offended with the noblemen, who had caused his male children to be poysoned in their youth: he submitted it to the Empire; & enfranchised it. The Emperor *Fredericke* the eleuenth, ratified the Dukes will, and after the death of him, in the year, 1218. a Gouverneur was sent to *Berne*, named *Otho* of *Ramenbourg*, in name of the Empire. But some yeares after, for good seruices done by them of *Berne* to the Emperor: hee gaue them much greater priuiledges and franchises, exempting them also from hauing any more Gouverneur.

In the troubles and confusions which happened in the Empire, the Count of *Suabour*, Lord of *Burgdorf*, stroue to abolish the cities liberty, leaguimg himselfe (for that purpose) with Gentlemen his neighbours, and the Towne of *Fri-*

bourg, which *Bernhau* the fourth had built: And his Son had giuen in charge to both these Townes, to continue friends for euet: As concerning the occasion of this war, it grew thus. The men of *Berne* had bought certaine Lands beyond the Riuer of *Aar*, & began to prepare a bridge, which the Count would not suffer, hee being Lord beyond the Riuer. Whereupon



they of *Berne*; (desirous to make themselves as strong as their enemies) did put themselves into the protection of the Count of *Sauoye*, who represented the attempts of the Count of *Kybourg*, and hauing obtained peace, enlarged the compass and roundite of the city. Then after warre was moued, betwene the Count of *Sauoye*, and the Duke of *Bourgongne*, the Count promised the men of *Berne*, that if they carried themselves valiantly, and he prospered in his attempt, he would grant them whatsoever they would demand of him. They performed their duty so well, that the enemy was discomfited: and then (as in recompence) they desired nothing else of the Count of *Sauoye*, but their ancient liberty, and he granted their request, and kept his promise most faithfully with them. After that time, they of *Berne* were alwayes friends, and allied to the house of *Sauoye*.

The City being reintegrated into her wonted liberty, before they entred into league with the *Swissers*, had many and very difficult warres, as well for conseruation of their liberty, as enlarging their limits. They gaue a battaile to *Godfrey* of *Habsbourg*, in the year, 1241. but that was to their owne disadvantage, because the enemy was far greater in number. Moreover, *Raoul* of *Habsbourg*, accompanied with them of *la Tour* and *de Gruyere*, besieged (two severall times) the City of *Berne*; vnder colour of accusing them of *Berne*, that they had violated the publicke faith of the Empire, in taking prisoners, and euill entreating certaine lewes. *Albert* of *Austria*, sonne to the Emperor *Raoul*, did twice bid them battaile before the city, and many citizens were there

X 3 flaine.

At what time Berne allied it selfe with the *Swissers*.

By whom Berne was builded.

Berne made an Imperiall City.

Zug being assaulted by the Cantons to her liberty.

The men of Berne had diuers wars before they came to be in number of the Cantons.

A great league and combination made against the City of Berne.

flaine. In the year 1291. the Counts of *Sauoye*, *Newberg*, and *Gruyere*, the Bishop of *Laufanna*, the Lord of *Tour*, beside some Townes and Gentlemen, made a league against *Berne*: but by the aide of the Counts of *Kybourg* and *Arberg*, as also the city of *Solleurre*, the men of *Berne* wonne a mighty battaile, at a place called, *The hill of Thunder*. *Auldrieh Erlach* was chiefe of the *Bernish* Army in that warre. During the yeares following, many of the Castles, neighbouring to the city, were taken in war, and demolished by them of *Berne*. They also had victories in the warres, moued in the vale of *Simma*, and in many other places, against the Noblemen that much molested them, whereby they greatly enlarged their limits. Also the inhabitants of the vale of *Hafell*, who were at free liberty, ioyned with them of *Berne*. This happinesse of theirs, so enflamed the malice and enuy of the Noblemen against *Berne*, as thereon ensued the memorabill battaile giuen at *Loupen*.

The famous and memorabill battaile giuen by Count and Gentlemen, against the men of *Berne* at *Loupen*.

Many Counts and Gentlemen, hauing leuiued a well prepared Army, of sixteen thousand foote, and three thousand, five hundred horse, at the least, went and besiedged *Loupen*, which is a small Towne appertaining to them of *Berne*, who were about five thousand, assisted with three hundred men of *Vri*, as many of *Suits*, as many of *Vnderwald*, and as many of the Vale of *Hafell*, *Waulf Erlach* being chiefe of these troopes. This small number overcame the enemy in a ranged battaile, nere to *Loupen*, where dyed in the fildes, the Count of *Sauoye*, who was sent to the Campe by his Father, onely to treat on peace: but the other constrained him to make one in the battaile. There were flaine also, the Counts of *Nidow*, of *Arberg* and *Valendis*, fifteen hundred horsemen, among whom were fourescore Gentlemen of marke, and about three thousand foote. This battaile was fought the 21. day of Iune, in the year 1339.

A fortunate and successfull pursuit of victory against them of *Fribourg* and many towne more.

After this successfull day, they of *Berne* made warre (to their advantage) against them of *Fribourg*, who were vassalls to the house of *Austria*, and also to the Gentlemen about *Fribourg*. For at *Schonnenberg*, they of *Fribourg* were ouerthrowne, and lost many of their men, their country forraged, and the Subburbs of their

Towne burnt. *Signow*, *Langnow*, *Burgdorff*, *Longuenall*, *Pyrnetic*, *Arberg*, *Erlach*, *Nidow*, *Thun*, and other Townes and great Villages, were eyther spoyled, or taken by them of *Berne*. Finally, *Agnes* Queene of Hungary, made an end of this warre, by means of a peace which shee compounded. In all these warres, they of *Berne* euer felt, that Gentlemen, no better then vassalls to the house of *Austria*, most laboured to oppress them: whereas (contrariwise) the amity of the *Switzers* did highly aduantage them. But in the meane while, and contrary to their hope and expectation, they were drawne into a new warre, wherein they of *Vnderwald* ioyned themselves with their enemies. The Lord of *Singenberg*, and the Prouost of the Abbey situated betwene the two Mountaines, were Bourgeois of *Berne*. They were Gouvernors or Bayliffs also of that country, which lies nere to the Mountaine of *Brunic*, and the Lake of *Brientz*.

It came to passe, that they of the country, accounting the government of these two Lords to be rude and harsh: began to mutiny against them, and after they had called to their aide the men of *Vnderwald*, who were nere neighbors; they tooke the Castle of *Singenberg*, in absence of the Lord, set it on fire, and denied the Prouost such duties and tythes, as they were accustomed to pay. They of *Berne* sent Ambassadors to exhorthem of *Vnderwald*, not to succour such seditious persons against all right and reason. But they of *Vnderwald* made no reckoning of this aduertisement, but went and encamped with the seditious at *Brientz*. On the other side, the men of *Berne*, hauing required their allies of *Solleurre*, *Thun*, *Bienné*, and *Morat* to send them succour, and it being sent them; marched with all their troopes to *Brientz*, gaue battaile to the seditious and them of *Vnderwald*, compelling them to flight, and retire into the neighbouring Mountaines. They of *Vnderwald* (flourning at this disgrace) called their confederates of *Zurich*, *Lucerna*, *Vri*, *Suits*, *Zug*, and *Glaris* to helpe them: but they of *Berne* sent their Ambassadors to those Cantons, offering the iustice & equity of their cause, and to haue it tried before them.

Heereupon, a day was held at *Lucerna*, where

An unexpected warre of the *Berne*, against the men of *Vnderwald*.

The reason of the warre beginning and proceeding.

Amity or alliance being established, in the ruine and overthrow of their confederat.

Alliance and league perpetuall made by them of *Berne* with the Cantons.

where the Deputies of the *Switzers*, hauing heard the reasons alledged on either side, commanded them of *Vnderwald*, to renounce their alliance with them of *Brientz*. On the same day, the men of *Berne* made a perpetuall alliance with the three Cantons, *Vri*, *Suits*, and *Vnderwald*. Now, although this alliance is made but with three, yet *Zurich* and *Lucerna* are comprized therein. For the three first Cantons bound themselves to succour them of *Zurich*, & *Lucerna* whensoever they called them; and to bring with them the men of *Berne*, who by the same alliance are tyed thereto, if *Zurich* and *Lucerna* do desire it. In reciprocall manner they of *Zurich* and *Lucerna*, promised solemnly, to go assift (with all their power) the men of *Berne*, if the three Cantons call them thereto.

The third time of sledge laide to the City of *Zurich*.

Immediately after this alliance made, the city of *Zurich* was besiedged agayne the third time. For, *Albert of Austria*, accused the Cantons before the Emperour *Charles* the fourth, who hauing heard the answer of the Cantons, made a truce, vntill his returne from a voyage, which hee was constrained to vndertake, about some affaires of the Empire. Being returned, he came to *Zurich*, where he heard either parties, and directing himselfe vnto the *Switzers*, especially to them of *Zurich*, he aduised them to renounce this alliance: adding withall, that the city was Imperiall, and could make no alliance without consent of the Emperour. But the confederates rendred a sufficient reason for what they had done, exhibiting their priuiledges, and making it manifest, that the alliance contracted between them, could not any way preiudice the rightes of the Empire. Seeing he could not driue the *Switzers* out of this league, then he made his re-course to *Albert*, desiring him to sell *Lucerna*, *Glaris*, and *Zug* vnto the Empire, because the difference did concerne those three places especially. But *Albert* audaciously answered him, That he would rather buy some Townes, if the Emperour would sell him any, then let him haue any of his for money.

A proud answer of *Albert of Austria* to the Emperour.

Once againe the Emperour pressed the *Switzers*, to suffer him to end the difference, and promise to tie themselves to such orders as he should set downe, assuring them that *Albert* would do the like.

But the *Switzers* would not consent thereto, without plaine exception of their priuiledges, and the Emperour vrged his authority, without any refection: by which which meanes, all this long unparlance ferued to no purpose, but only that a truce was taken for some time. Which being expired, the Emperour being incessantly importuned, ioyned with *Albert of Austria*, and besiedged *Zurich*. The besiedged (by diuers ambassages) intreated the Emperour, not to presse thus into the house of *Austria* (sauiour) their city, which was Imperiall: for they desired nothing but conservation of their priuiledges, and would not recēt any composition whatsoever, if it were reasonable.

Then the Emperour began to summon *Albert* to listen to a pacification; which hee would not doe: in which respect, the Emperour raised the sledge, and returned home. That which also moued him hereto, was, because his Camp stood composed of soldiers, who were (almost all) prest forth of Imperiall Townes and Cities, & (in his opinion) bare more affection to the *Switzers*, then to the house of *Austria*, albeit those soldiers during the sledge, would obey none other then the Emperour. After the Emperours departure the duke of *Austria* also speedily got him gone: hauing heard, that the other Cantons had sent forth supply vnto them of *Zurich*. Neuertheless, hee lodged his troopes in Townes, Villages, and Castles round about, enioyning them, not to suffer the Cantons to haue any rest, but continually to make incursions on their Lands.

At length, in the fifth year of this war, by authority and intermice of the emperour *Charles* the fourth, peace was concluded betwene the Prince of *Austria*, and them of *Zurich*. Now because it would seeme a troublesome matter, to insert heere the whole Tenure at large; we will be satisfied with a breefe Summary of the Articles, which are these following.

The Emperour ioyned with *Albert of Austria*.

The siege raised from *Zurich* by Gods most singular providence.

Peace made between them of *Zurich*, and the Duke of *Austria*.

Articles of Peace concluded on, betwene the Duke of *Austria* and *Zurich*.

1. *W* Hattseuer hath bene taken on either side in this Warre shall be restored againe.
2. They of *Zurich* shall not receive into the

the number of their Bourgeses such as remaine under the domination of the Duke of Austria: but if any will retire themselves to Zurich, they may be receyued. Provided, that they bee of the number of them, which the Citie might receive, before this peace was made.

3 Such as hold any other way then in fee-service, shall be under the iustice of the lords of those Fees. And they which make use of another mans possessions, shall surrender them, or shall stand bound to answer the same in Law: except it be for the goods of the banished.

4 From hence forward, they of Zurich shall not ally themselves with the servants of the Duke of Austria: or contrariwise, they shall helpe to recover his rights.

5 If any difference happen to becomaued, betwene the Duke and the Cantons: It is ordained before hand, that some Iudges shall consider on the cause.

6 Those alliances which the Switzers have made together, shall remaine in their full power and integrity.

There are diuers other Articles in this pacification: but I am onely contented with these, as beeing the principall and cheefe.

It fell out, that diuers interpretations were made vpon this agreement, which likewise begat new contentions: yet they were still qualified, before they came to hand-blows, for either sides purse being emptied of money, and their forces fading, made them unwilling to heare of any more warre. *Albert Bucheimer*, Lieutenant to the duke of Austria, pressed them of Zug, to give their oath of fidelity vnto his Prince, which they would not do, but with exception of their alliance made with the Cantons, or else to stand acquitted by the sayde Cantons, to whom they had giuen their faith. This difference was referred to the Emperor *Charles* the fourth, who finally gaue iudgement, that they of Zug should stand exempted from alliance with the Cantons: because (quoth he) the Articles of pacification doe declare, that the Switzers shall not possesse any of the Dukes Townes, neyther hinder any way his government in them.

Now, although this sentence was greatly greuous to the Switzers, considering, that in one of the Articles, the

alliances made, were (by name) excepted, and onely ordained, that no new Alliances should be made with the vassalls to the house of Austria: yet notwithstanding, they were so ouer glutted with war, as they werypon the point to leaue Zug to the Duke of Austria, if they of Switz (who had not (as yet) signed the peace) had not opposed themselves against it. They then sodainly gathered their troops together, and went to Zug, demanding againe the faith of the Citizens, who (for their part) had sent their Deputy to Switz to require confirmation of the faith: first giuen. This done, after some long debating and consulting, it was at length concluded, by means of the Lord of *Torberg*, that truce should be confirmed for the space of eleuen yeares, which was till after the deace of *Albert*. During this truce, they of Zug and Glaris continued allied with the Switzers, and al that while were thereunto subiect, acquitting themselves of all duties due to the house of Austria. The Duke receiued from Switz a man, from foure yeares to foure yeates, whom hee confirmed *Amman* or *Mior* at Zug: And he gaue as *Gouernour* vnto them of Glaris, *Godfrey Mulner* of Zurich. Afterward, the truce being expired, it was againe confirmed for a longer time.

The sonne of *Albert*, named *Leopold*, greedily hated the Switzers; but he durst not meddle with them, least hee should gaine as little thereby, as his Father had done. And therefore he would worke his will by others, setting the Switzers at variance with the Englishmen, who hauing spoiled the country about the *Reine*, entered into *Swetia*, where they did as much harme to the Austrians, as to the Cantons. But hauing bin beaten in some encounters, after they had foraged in *Swetia*, and all the country about *Mombelard*, *Basile*, *Strasbourg*, and run into diuers other places, they retired home to their own houses, & hapned Anno 1376.

Six yeares after, war was moued against the Count of *Kybourg*. Hee was enforced to take (by treason) the Towne of *Salluerre*, allyed with the men of Berne, and at the very same time, they of Austria would haue surprized *Dun* and *Arberg*, Townes appertaining to the Canton of Bern. Consequently the Count of *Kybourg* made

The Switzers being wearie of war, would yeeld to their owne iniuries, rather then to heare of any more trouble.

A truce concluded on the 11. yeares, lasting till after the deathe of *Albert*.

War made by the Englishmen against the Switzers.

War made against the Count of *Kybourg*.

made open war vpon them of *Salluerre*, to whome they of Berne and the other Cantons sent supply. The Duke of Austria, who (so lately before) had made alliance with the Switzers, fortified (vnder hand) the Count of *Kybourg*, and (contrary to his faith) furnished him with victuals, and other necessaries for warre. Neuerthelesse, the Count was not able to endure the burthen of amity agreed on betwene them of *Salluerre* and Bern, but sold them *Burgdorff*, for the summe of forty thousand Crownes.

The Duke of Austria had a difference, in what manner I know not, with the Imperiall Cities and Townes. They made a league, wherein Zurich, Berne, *Salluerre*, and Zug were comprehended: but the Duke brake all in sunder by his cunning deuices, pacifying himselfe amiably with the Townes of *Snaba* and *Franconia*. And as for the Townes on this side the *Rhene* in *Halsatia*, hee conquered them in one battell. This victory did so aduance his hopes, as he began to consult with himselfe, how to bring the Townes of *Speria* vnder his obedience, and the occasion of the warre grew thus. *Peter* of *Torberg*, *Gouernour* of *Walhouse*, and in the Vale of *Entlibuch* and *Herman Grunenberg*, *Gouernour* of *Rottenbourg* for the Duke of Austria, who had engaged these places vnto them, tyrantized on the people, and did many outrages to the neighbours of the Lucernians. The people being tyrannically dealt withall, sent men to Lucerne, to desire acceptation into their Bourgeship. But the two *Gouernours* hauing discouered it, caused the Deputies to be hanged, and all them that had any hand in the matter, recompencing them with death, that had faithfully employed their paines, to giue life againe to their languishing country. Moreover, they imposed new passage Tolles at *Rottenbourg* on the Switzers, or else they might haue no passage there.

The Lucernians, so much prouoked by so many iniuries, being ayded by the men of *Suis*, *Fris*, and *Kanderwald*: made themselves masters of *Rottenbourg*, the 29 day of December, in the yeare, 1381. spoiling the Castle, which *Grunenberg* had forsaken. They did likewise beate downe the walles of the Towne, and filled vpper the Ditches: for feare least the

Austrians should lodge any Garrison there, wherewith to molest the Lucernians. Some short while after, they of *Sempach* were receiued into Fellowship with the Lucernians, & two hundred men were put in garrison by the Lucernians, into the Town of *Nichessee*: but the Lieutenants to the Duke of Austria, hauing sodainly lequied an Artillerie, took the Towne by assault, cut off throats of the whole Garrison, put most part of the inhabitants to the sword, burned all the rest alive, in the same fire wherewith the Towne was embraced, shewing no pity to aged, sicke women, or children. On the other side, al the Cantons, except Bern, took a place in those parts, named *Meyenberg*, & there planted a garrison but the Austrians (faigning a flight) drew the Switzers soldiers forth into the open field, where they slew fourescore and one of them, and compelled the rest to retire speedily into the Towne. The Cantons aduertised hereof, called their people together, set fire on the Towne and Castle, leauing not a iote of them vntained.

These beginnings and entrances into warre, seemed to threaten the Switzers with a farre greater confusion: & therefore, they of Austria made their preparations carefully, yet with great pomp, and every day (by Letters and Heralds) denounced warre against the Switzers, at the beginning of the ensuing yeare. The Switzers considered likewise on their owne affaires, and provided to set vpon all those enemies, which had enclosed the round about. The men of Berne, who had not bounde as yet, being solicited by many messages from their confederates: ruined two Castles, to wit, *Torberg*, and *Kopping*, belonging to *Peter* of *Torberg*. They of Lucerne, *Fris*, *Suis*, and *Funderwald*, spoiled the Castle and Towne of *Woolbenzen* also *Lele*, *Rinach* and *Badegg*. The men of Zurich ioyned their forces with the Cantons; and after they had made some courses & waste in the countries neere to their limits: in retiring backe, they took (by assault) the Castle of *Ramclange*, and set it on fire. And because the Duke of Austria made the murdering of his people, especially at *Arme* & *Bada*, neere to Zurich: it was imagined, that he would go and besledge that Citie also. And this was the reason, why the

Richenlee taken by assault, burned, and in it flame cut burned, by them of Austria.

The Confederates ioyned their powers together.

A new variance concerning the Canton of Zug, & referred to the opinion of the Emperour.

Tyrants neuer want execrable and monstrous cruelties.

The Lucernians and men of *Rottenbourg*.

four Cantons sent sixteen hundred men to succour them of Zurich.

Duke *Leopold* understanding that such a Garrison was at Zurich, marched boldly with his army towards the Cantons, which seemed then naked of the most part of their troops. But this enterprize was discovered by their spies, & therefore left the city of Zurich, in the citizens guard, and returned back those sixteen hundred men which marched under their Ensigns day and night; and so diligently, that they arrived at *Sempach*, even at the same instant as the duke came to lodge his troops there. That day was the ninth of July, and battell was given the very same day, wherein *Leopold* sonne to *Albert* the wife, and Nephew or youngest child to the Emperor *Albert*, was slaine in open field, with six hundred seventy six Gentlemen, whereof there were three hundred and fifty more remarkable then the rest by reason of their Helmes and Burganets, beautified with Coronets and goodly plumes. After so faire a victory, the Cantons began to extend their strength throughout all *Swetia*, and chastised such as hadde forraged their country, pillied the Citizens, & moved Warre vpon no occasion: many castles were ruinated, and many Towns taken.

Truce fully agreed vpon for the space of a year, but being expired new quarrels arose againe.

In the year, one thousand, three hundred, foure score, and seauen, the second day of the moneth of February, truce was agreed on for a year, by the entermise of some Townes. The times of truce being expired, the citizens of *Wesem*, on the Lake of *Rine*, deliuered vp their Citie to them of *Austria*, who slew the Switzers that were there in Garrison. Afterward, the enemy (with great forces) to the number of eight thousand at the least, set vp on the Landes of *Glaris* the ninth day of April. Some say, that they were about sixteen thousand men, conducted by *Donatus* Count of *Togge*, *Peter* of *Tarberg*, *John* of *Klingenberg*, *John* Counte of *Werdenberg*, Lord of *Sargans*. This last man made choyse of two thousand men, which he brought by *Beglinge*, to enclose the Switzers, and make them turne their backs with shame.

A bargain made, but without any certainty.

The other marched boldly on towards the *Walles*, which they of *Glaris* had fortified and made strong their coun-

tries entrance the year before, gaying thereby such assurance of the wall, as the victory was almost intirely in their hand; yet they beganne to pillage, and burne all that was about them. Meane while they of *Glaris* met together in a neere neighbouring Mountaine, to the number of three hundred and fifty, and thirty beside, which they of *Suits* had sent from the neere valley. This ouer-little Troope, by greatnesse of corage and resolution, met with the enemy in a verie narrow passage; where they saluted them with such impetuous stormes of great stones, & whereof the place afforded no scarcities, drawing them into a place more open, they pressed and pursued on them with such extreame boldnesse; that the great armie was forced to flight, after they had renewed the charge cleauen severall times, as the *Annales* of *Glaris* do testify, for, so often did the enemy labour still to set vpon them.

The Count of *Werdenberg*, looking from the height of a Mountaine (which hee had betaken himselfe vnto) and perceiving the overthrow of his associates, saved his owne flake, as swiftly as he possibly could. There were two thousand enemies slaine in this battaile, and about five hundred were drowned in the Lake; because the multitude of Runne-aways, brake downe the Bridge in their halte, whereby they should passe from *Glaris* to *Wesen*.

After this battell, the Cantons shewed themselves still in many other skirmishes against the Austrians, taking townes and Castles, either by force or composition; but they fought no more battels. For by entermise of the Cities of *Constance*, *Vberlingen*, *Rauenpourg*, & *Roselle*, truce was taken for seauen years: and afterwards it was prolonged, even so farre as for the space of twentie yeares; and finally, peace was made for the terme of fiftie yeares.

Peace being established for such length of time, brought some more ease & quietnesse to the Cantons. But in the year one thousand, foure hundred and one, the war of *Appenzel* began, & continued seuen whole yeares. *Appenzel* is a Region of *Swetia*, seated neere vnto the Alpes, towards the East, and on the Head of the Lake of *Constance*. At this day, it is

A notable victory obtained by 380. Switzers, against 8000. enemies to their liking.

Townes and Castles taken by skirmit but no more battels given or fought.

The beginning of the warre of *Appenzel*, and how long it continued.

is one of the thirteene Cantons; but as then it was no way allyed with the Switzers: it only acknowledged (as a Lord) the Abbot of *S. Gall*, who was then called, *Cuno de Stroufen*. Some difference happened between the Abbot and them of *Appenzel*, and after it had long time bene debated in Lawe before Iudges; they fell at length to pleade theyr cause at the sword's point. The Townes neereest to the Lake of *Constance*, did take part with the Abbot, who had sundered them from the men of *Appenzel*, with whom they were allyed and combined. The Abbot having leuied an army of the inhabitants of those townes, gaue battell to the men of *Appenzel*, who ouer-came them, droue them in disorder, with great losse of their men.

Townes divided from *Appenzel* to take part with the Abbot, yet fell in fight.

A new warre happening betweene the Cantons, and *Fredericke* of *Austria*.

After this foile, they of *S. Gall*, of *Appenzel*, and of *Suits*, associated themselves together. The Duke of *Austria* ioynd with the Abbot; but they of *Appenzel* proued still victorious in all other encounters. And after they had conquered a great part of the country about them, ruined many Castles, and taken diuers Townes: at length they compelled the Abbot to craue peace, & leaue them in their wonted liberty.

Seuen yeares after these troubles were ended, a new warre kindled it selfe, betweene *Frederick* of *Austria* and the Cantons. The occasion was, because *Fredericke* had carried away (from fourth the Council of *Constance*) *Pope John* the 22. He was put to banishment from the Empire, and excommunicated by the council. By this decree of the Emperor, and of the Council, the peace for 50. yeares was broken, the Cantons absolved of their Oath, and commandement given them to take armes against the Emperor: which they did, and tooke in that warre *hiberlein*, *nada*, and other places belonging to them of *Austria*.

A war of the Switzers, for the reconceit of *Bellizona*, from the duke of *Milaine*.

In the year, 1422. the Switzers ledde their army by the Alpes, and by the *Grisons*, to besiege *Bellizona*; it being a Towne which the Count of *Montax* had sold to them of *Suits*, *Vri*, & *Vnderwald*. The Duke of *Milaine* seemed to say, that this place appertained to him; and thereupon tooke it by intelligence. To recover it againe, the Switzers conducted their army thither this year, then in *An*.

no 1425, and the year following also. But they could not take the Towne notwithstanding, they made hauocke, and forraged the Valleys round about neighbouring, and belonging vnto the Duke of *Milaine*.

But in the year, 1436. they of *Austria*, by cunning trickes and subtle deuices raised a great ciuill warre among the Switzers. First, because the Canton of Zurich and the men of *Suits*, to whom (soon after) the other confederats ioynd themselves. The Duke of *Austria* (first of all) ranked himselfe with them of *Suits*; and then (soon after) made alliance with the men of Zurich, and gaue them assistance. There were some encounters, and the Switzers besiedged Zurich: but ther was no battaile more memorable, then that which (not long after) was given at *Basile*, the year, 1444. and the 26. day of August.

The Dolphin of France, who was afterward King, named *Lewes* the 11. had brought a puissant army betweene *Montebellard* and *Basile*; provided partly by the praides of *Pope Eugenius*, to breake the Council of *Basile*; and partly by the emperor *Frederick*, as wishing well vnto the Switzers. Sixteene hundred Switzers entered into battell against that great armie, and made a terrible slaughter of them. True it is, that all the sixteene hundred men were slaine likewise, as being overborne with the meere multitude of their enemies: but they brake the whole armie in such fort, as they forooke all Germanie immediately, to get themselves into France againe. This memorable day, might well be compared with the battell of the *Lacedemonians*, at their passage of the "Thermopylae", considering the magnanimity of so small a number: who, for the safety of their country (euen all Germany) opposed themselves valiantly, against an infinite of enemies. In these ciuill Warres were made many Truces, which was the cause, why such as haue written thereof, do not agree together in the computation of the yeares. The common opinion is, that this war lasted seuen yeares: but it began in the year, 1436. & firme peace was made and ratified in *Anno*, 1450.

A year after this peace, the Abbot of *S. Gall* made alliance with four Cantons of

Cunning deuices prepared onely to ouerthrowne people.

The battell of the Switzers against the Armignacs before *Basile*.

A verie long mountaine, which passeth from *Leucadia*, thorough the middle of *Swetia*, to the *Egean* sea.

Diuers alliances of the Switzers with their friends & confederats.

of the Switzers. And the year following, they of *Appenzel* allied themselves with seauen Cantons. And again, a year after, the City of *Saint Gall*, with sixe Cantons. Consequently, and in the year one thousand, foure hundred, fifty foure, the men of *Schaffouse* allied themselves with the sixe Cantons. But I shall make better mention of these alliances hereafter, and in aprer manner.

Warre by the Switzers, against Sigismund, Duke of Austria.

These alliances were no sooner made but a new warre beganne to shew it selfe, against *Sigismund* Duke of *Austria*. Pope *Pius* had excommunicated him, I know not vpon what occasion, and so incited the Switzers to warre. On the other side, the Lords of *Grandler*, brethren of *Graz*, a Towne in *Syria*, hauing bene dispoiled of their goods by *Sigismund*, desired ayde of them of *Zurich*, who had receyued them into the number of their Burgeses. Then the Switzers went and assaulted *Winterthur*, tooke *Rapperswil*, *Diesfennow*, *Frauenfeld*, and *Turgaw*. In the end, peace was made, Anno 1460. by the meanes of *Lewes* Duke of *Banaria*. Afterward, in the year, 1466, certaine Articles of peace & mutuall amity, were set downe in Writing. Two years after, war was renewed against the Duke of *Austria*, so that the Switzers led their troopes towards the Towne of *Mulhouse*, on the Frontiers of *La Franche Comté*. This Town had made alliance with the Cantons some moneths before: and in the same year, a Towne vpon the *Rheine*, neere to *Basile*, named *Waltzshut*, was besiedged by the Switzers.

Warre of the Switzers against the D. of Burgundie.

In the year one thousand, foure hundred, seuentie foure, began the Switzers warre against *Charles* Duke of *Burgundie*. It grew hot, and wonderfull sharp, in the year seuentie sixe, for two battailes were fought, in both which the duke was vanquished; but it tooke ending at the beginning of seuentie seauen, by reason of the Dukes death, who was slaine in *Lorraine*. The Princes of *Austria* were the sparkes to kindle this war. For *Sigismund* Duke of *Austria*, hauing ill performed his businesse in warre, which he maintained so long a time against the Switzers, was constrained to agree with them, although much against his minde. In the meane while, to torment them by some other meanes, he engaged those Landes

which hee helde in *La Franche Comté* (as *Montebeliard* and *Basile*, neighbors to the Switzers) to *Charles* Duke of *Burgundie*, the most potent Prince of his time, adventurous, and of an high hand. *Sigismund* perswaded himselfe, that (as manie times it falls out among neighbours) some difference would shortly grow betweene Duke *Charles* and the Switzers: for they had sent Ambassadors to the Duke, to pray him renew the ancient amity of the hoise of *Bourgongne* with the Switzers, and confirme the Articles of peace, not long before concluded with *Sigismund*, in so much as concerned the engaged countries. But the ambassadors could neuer gaine access to the Prince, in regard of their hinderance by *Hagenbach*, chiefe Minion to the Duke of *Bourgongne*, and established Governor by him ouer those countries. This *Hagenbach* was the principal fire-brand wherby to kindle this war; for he gaue many outrageous words vnto the Switzers, & daily kept company with theyr enemies, as *Hendorff*, *Eptinger*, and some other Gentlemen, who had threatened the Switzers with war.

Hee tyrannized also cruelly in those pawned countries, so that the poore subiects who were able to performe no more, intreated most earnestly Duke *Sigismund*, their ancient Lord, to disingage them, & receiue them againe vnder his gouernement. This request was quickly granted them by *Sigismund*, a Prince verie benigne, and (for his facility) fir-named the Simple.

But the Duke of *Bourgongne* desired not to pursue the money againe. And on the other side, the tyranny of *Hagenbach* still increased, so that hee grev in supportable to the people, & neighboring lords. There were some other troubles between the Switzers and the D. of *Bourgongne*: because *Count Ramon* being seruant vnto him, had sent away diuers chariots from them, laden with Hides. In the mean while, King *Lewes* the eleventh, who desired not greatly the Dukes life, and had proued (neere to *Basile*) the valour of the Switzers horsemen, made alliance with them. And although himselfe would not meddle with the warre, yet he could whet on the Switzers, and (by vaderhand trickes) furnish them with money, to the end that necessity should not inforce any pacifi-

Sigismund engaged *Montebeliard* & *Basile* to the D. of *Burgundie*.

Minions and ding on Princes, are oftentimes fire-brands to kindle wars.

D *Sigismund*, fir-named the Simple.

The Switzers were not woth of oppression.

Hagenbach had the wages due vnto his villany and oppression: & so may all other freeds, that abuse their Princes.

Hundred & enny of great persons do last long time.

That Duke fir-named the Terrible, sette the length of this licence; *Shane* & destruction doo alwayes follow after pride, close at the heeles.

pacification. He accorded *Sigismund* likewise with the Switzers, and made an Alliance betweene them. Soone after, *Rene* Duke of *Lorraine*, *Strasbourg*, and *Basile*, with theyr Bythoppes, *Colmar*, *Seldetud*, *Montebeliard*, and some other cities, ioynd themselves likewise into this confederacy.

During this time, *Hagenbach* was taken in a place, named *Brissac*, and the D. of *Austria* hauing configned the money at *Basile*, for which hee had engaged his countries, re-entred vpon possession of them, and (by sentence) caused *Hagenbach* to be condemned, and his head publicly smitten off. Contrarywise, Duke *Charles* made warre vpon the bythop of *Cologne*, pretending, that the Prouosts Office, or protection of the Bythoprick appertained to him, and therefore planted his sledge before *Nass*, about *Cologne*. The Emperor *Fredericke*, accompanied with the Empires forces, encamped nere vnto him, to fight with him. And, according to right and maiesty of the Empire, sent vnto the Switzers and their confederates, to assault (on their side) the Duke of *Bourgongne*, that his forces might be broken and scattered. But immediately after, hee shewed himselfe to bee of the house of *Austria*, and (consequently) an enemy to the Cantons. For so soone as the Switzers were entered into *Bourgongne*, and had won a battell, and taken some Townes, hee made peace with the Duke of *Bourgongne*, wherein the Princes of the Empire were comprized, and the Townes which had succored the Emperor in this warre. But the confederates were excluded, to wit, Duke *Sigismund*; Duke *Rene*, the Cantons, and the forenamed Townes.

Duke *Charles*, being deliuered from the warre which hee had against the Emperor and the Germanes: turned all his forces vpon the Switzers, and theyr Allies. There were some encounters on either side: but the very greatest efforts, and valour, shewed themselves in three battailes; whereat the Duke himselfe was present in person. The first was fought at *Granson*, neere to the Lake of *Yuerdan*, which (at this day) is called the Lake of *Newcastle*. This Towne had bene taken by the Switzers, and retaken againe by them vpon composition: neuertheless,

the Duke of *Bourgongne* (contrarie to his promise) hanged and drowned the Souldiers of his Garrison; but (soone after) hee receiued wages answearable vnto his owne perfidie and cruelty, the Switzers ouercomming him in a field of battaile. True it is, that then hee lost not many of his men, for the *Caualerie* sustayned, and meerey covered the Infantry being broken and disordered, and the Switzers had not their Horsemen there, because they came not at a conuenient time: yet notwithstanding, the Duke of *Bourgongne* lost his baggage, wherein hee had great store of Riches and Treasure.

Then afterwatdes, there was another battaile fought at *Morat*, neere to *Berne*: the Switzers (after a great overthrow of their enemies) wonne the day, and it is sayde, that eightene thousand *Bourgongnes* lay slaine in the field; and to this day, there is still to be seene huge heapes of dead mens bones, as a credible Testimony of that victory.

The third battaile, was fought before *Nancy* in *Lorraine*, besiedged by the duke of *Bourgongne*: but the Switzers sent in succour vnto the Duke & *Rene* of *Lorraine*, (who had sixe hundred men at Armes, well neere all Frenchmen well provided) eight thousand foot, and the other confederates three thousand more. With all these forces Duke *Rene* gaue battell to *Charles*, who had many more to attend him: neuertheless, he was overcome, & (in flight) slaine by the Switzers, and so (with him) dyed all this warre. A year after, the Switzers passed the * *Leopontine* Alps, which mountains is now called *S. Godard*, & went to giue battell to the D. of *Milaine*, in a place named *Torino*. The occasion of the war, was, because the inhabitants of the valley towards *Torino*, subiects to the Canton of *Vni*, complained of diuers outrages doone them by theyr neighbours, who molested and troubled them in the vse and possession of certaine Forrests. The Switzers Ambassadors, being vnable to reconcile this difference, the men of *Vni*, craued succour of theyr confederates, and ledde their Armie to *Bellinona*. But because they could not besiedge it in regard of the winter: they leste sixe hundred men in Garrison at *Torino*, which is not farre from thence.

The battell that was fought at *Granson*.

The battell fought at *Morat*.

The battell fought at *Nancy*, where duke *Charles* of *Burgundie* was slaine.

* *Leopontine*, people of the Alps, next to the *Saluati*.

War undertaken by the Switzers, against the D. of *Milaine*.

These two places are vpon the *Tefinur*, a Riuer passing thwart the Lake *Maso*, and so goes to *Pavia*.

They of Milaine goe against the Switzers, and a battaile is fought.

Pope Sixtus allyeth with the Switzers, & gives them large pardons

The seedes of warre among the Switzers, quite smothered by means of a Hermit.

A particular combination of some Cantons by themselves from the rest.

The *Milaine's* came in great troops, to set vpon the Garrison of the *Switzers*, which being shut vp in the straites of the Mountains; the more speedily and easily slew foureene hundred of them, and chased the rest quite out of the Valley. This battaile was fought about the third day of Nouember, 1478. And in the Moneth of December following, by the intermed of the King of France, peace was made betwene the Duke of *Milaine*, & the *Switzers*. In the same yeare, Pope *Sixtus* made alliance with the *Switzers*, and besides other priuiledges, he gaue the also strong pardons. Two yeares after, the *Switzers* sent seuen thousand men, to aide King *Lewes* the eleuenth, according to the renour of the alliance before contracted. But they hauing passed so farre as *Chalou*, the King (who had obtained the height of his enterprife) hauing then no occasion elsewhere to employ them; sent them backe againe with very good recompences: where-with many of them were so earnestly allured, that they strove among themselves; who should first take pensions or wages of the French.

The yeare after, they of *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Lucerna*, *Pribourg*, and *Solleurre*, made a particular alliance, because they conceived, that their associates had carried themselves inhumanely on their behalfe, in the war against the Duke of *Bourgonne*. For the fornamed cities and townes had bin at great charges, as well for conduct of their victuals, as also the carriage of the Artillery: moreover, they furnished more people, then the other cantons did. Neuertheless, when they hold diuide the spoile and booty, which was very great and rich, the cantons that had defraided nothing; neither brought any such number of men, tooke their part of the booty by equal portion. In regard of which iniury (as they pretended) and some other light offences; these cities and townes, desiring to provide particularly for their owne affaires; allied themselves onely together. But the other cantons were hereat greatly offended, especially, they of *Vri*, *Suits*, and *Vnderwald*: maintaining, that it was not law-

full for the *Lucernians*, to make any new alliance without their knowledge and consent.

This matter was debated diuers daies together, in a Councell holden at *Stantz* in *Vnderwald*; and finally by the meanes of an Hermit, named *Nicholas* of *Vnderwald* (who was then in verie great authority among the *Switzers*, by their resolute opinion of him, that hee was a holie man) the parties were accorded to conditions, to witte; That the fore-named Townes should depart from that nouell alliance, and altogether (by a common consent) should agree on causes then debated; as that *Pribourg* and *Solleurre*, should bee receiued into the number of the Cantons of *Swetia*, so that there should be tenne Cantons: And because the former eight (which were and are called the olde Cantons, because they allyed themselves together before the other) had made a bodie of a Commonwealth together of the *Switzers*; for the space of fixe score and fise yeares; or thereabout; I will heere set downe a Summarie of the articles of the alliances which those olde Cantons made; and of that which was subscribed vnto at *Stantz* by a common consent among the Cantons.

Conditions concluded on by the Hermit and Cantons, for a generall contentencie.

Concerning the alliance of Glaris.

Every Canton is not allied with all the rest.

Vri, Suits, and Vnderwald.

The Lucernians in their necessity.

All the Cantons haue not their rights alike.

A briefe Summarie of the Alliances and Confederations, made betwene the 8. ancient Cantons of Swetia.



The principal & first Chapter or Article of the leagues and alliances, doth concern the aide and succour which one ought to giue another, against such as wrongfully shall assaile them: wherein all things are verie well ordered, gouerned by equity, and according to reason. For, to the end that no warre may be lightly moued, and vpon small or slender occasions; It is first of all obtained, that the Cantons which are offended, shall make knowne the merite of the cause to the Councell in general for that Canton established. And then, if it do appeare, that offence and outrage is dohe, it may demand succour and af-

The first Article of the leagues concerneth mutual succours, and publike affaies

sistance.

In some other alliances, namely, that of *Glaris*, this knowledge is deferred to other allied Cantons. After that the equity of the cause hath appeared, & the outrage receiued: the Canton interested, may require the Confederates to come and helpe it. In the interim, the Cañon may not make recourse to whom it liketh best; but onely to that which is allyed to it in some especial manner. For (as I haue hitherto shewne) euery one of the Cantons is not allied with all the other. In the first place, concerning them of *Zurich*, allyed by antiquity with fix of the cheefest Cantons; they may demand ayde of all those fixe. Since then, they made alliance with them of *Berne*; and so (by consequent) they are bound likewise to giue them assistance, being thereto required. The *Bernishmen* may call vnto their assistance, them of *Vri*, *Suits*, and *Vnderwald*, by reason of ancient alliance: and they (reciprocally) may cal to their ayde, and for their other confederates the Canton of *Berne*. But by reason of the new league, they of *Zurich* and *Berne*, must require ayde one of another. The *Lucernians* (in times of necessity) may haue recourse to the men of *Zurich*, *Vri*, *Suits*, *Vnderwald*, and *Zug*. They of *Vri*, *Suits*, and *Vnderwald*, may call all the other Cantons. And they of *Zug* haue the same right as the *Lucernians*, that is, to require aide from the Cantones of *Zurich*, *Vri*, *Suits*, *Vnderwald*, and *Lucerna*. They of *Glaris*, haue recourse vnto the Cantons of *Zurich*, *Vri*, *Suits*, & *Vnderwald*.

Now, although that all haue not their rights alike heerein; yet notwithstanding if one Canton require one or two of his allies to come and succour him: all the Cantons must assemble together, because they which are first called, shall giue advertisement to the other. But, aboue all things, they shall send their Ambassadors to the Chappell of the Hermitage, or to a place named *Kienholz*, and if question bee made of an acte, which concerneth the men of *Berne*: they must aduise altogether (by all meanes) to appeale the difference in friendly manner, or according vnto right, or (if it may not so bee done) how they may assuredly giue suc-

cour. Their alliance speaketh expressly, that such as are called vnto assistance, shall not vse any fraude or deceite, neither any frivolous or vaine excuse, but to assist with all their power.

And because it may so happen, that a Canton shall bee so sodainly assailed at vnawares, as the enemy may stoppe all the passages, and so (by consequent) the Canton can compass no meanes of crasing succour, neyther by Letters or Ambassadors. For this it is provided and expressly ordained, that in such a case, and when most neede is of speediest helpe: the confederate Cantons, shall assist with all their forces, euen as if they had bene (by name) called thereto. In the alliance with them of *Berne*, it is ordained; That if the enemy assault the higher countrie, the confederates shall make spoile on the other, vpon the Landes of the enemy: thereby to scatter his forces. And the same to bee done in the higher countrey, if the enemy intrude vpon the lower.

They that are called to succour, shall come at their owne expences, and without any wages. Onely in the alliance of *Berne*, with *Vri*, *Suits*, and *Vnderwald*, mention is made of Wages, Namely, of a *Sal Tournais* (each day) for euery man on foote. Neuertheless, if the Warre be in the countrey of *Ergow*, then they of *Berne* shall pay nothing. But there is a Village or Hamlet, neere vnto the first Lake of the Riuer *Aar*, which is called *Panderfer*; beyonde which, such foote Souldiours as come to assist the one or other partie, shall receiue that aforesaid Wages.

If the warre last of any continuance; and that they must besidge and batter some Towne, Village, or Castle, and the same is fully concluded and agreed vpon, by common consent and aduice of the Cantones: then that Canton, in whose fauour, and on whose limites, the Towne or Castle of the Enemy is besidged, shall pay onely the charge and expences, as well for munition, powder, convey of Artillerie, Pionniers, as all other things necessarie and requisite in a batterie. Neuertheless, if the Warre bee vndertaken, not onlie in the name of one cañon, but ynder name of the Switzers whole Commonwealth:

Y 2 then

No fraud or excuse to be used in giuing succour.

When any Canton shall be sodainly vnawares assaulted by the enemies, and when no help can be required.

Aide on their own expence, and without wages, or else what wages is to be receiued

For a warre of long lasting, and besidging or battering Townes, or Castles.

then they shal every one pay their shares alike.

Likewise it comes to passe many times, that some such as dwell far off from *Svetia*, doth offer wrong to the whole Nation, or to one part in particular; in the meane time, no knowledge is had how to pursue this warre, eyther because the enemy is too farre distant, or keepeth no certaine abiding, where he may bee dealt withall. For such, it is ordained, that if (by any occasion) they, their goods, or any of their complices can bee apprehended on the lands of one of the Cantons: hand shall be laid on them, & they constrained to satisfie them whom they haue offended. Finally, to preuent & hinder, that none shall abuse, or be abused by the *Switzers* Soldiers, leading them whether they list: in many alliances, the limits wherein some stand bound to succour other, are prescribed and determined. The limits are partly to the Cantons confines, according to their extendure forth, or a little more further out: but they may not passe the ancient bounds of *Svetia*.

The second Chapter or Article, is touching publike differences or controuersies, between two Cantons or more. Forasmuch as it cannot be otherwise, but the very best friends and confederates, may sometimes haue cause to disioyne & sunder: our predecessours did denie, to stay the consequence of such differences, to wit, that no warre should follow, as fearing lesse alliance and kinnesse might thereby perish, & vterly be broken. First then it is ordained, that the other Cantons shall fend their Ambassadors, to take order, that the variance may amiably be ended, or according to right, and it is established to be administered in manner following. Each party shall chuse two Iudges of his owne Canton, to whom they shall promise by oath, that without any affection or loue to their country, they will iudge on the difference. To these foure Iudges, a fift must be added, named *Vnspire* or *Superarbitrator*: who is elected sometimes by the Iudges, and sometimes by the parties. If the one canton will not vndergo iudgement, nor suffer his right to bee examined: the other cantons stand bound by alliance, to succour him that consents, that the contro-

uersie should bee ended by the Arbitrators.

The third Chapter or Article, concerneth alliances. The foure first Cantons do determine, that it is not lawfull for any one among them (without the will & consent of the other, to bind themselves by Oath, or make alliance with any, whofoeuer it is. Likewise, in the alliance of *Glaris*, it is saide, that they may not make any alliance or confederacie, without consent of the other Leaguers. For otherwise, the other Cantons may referue to themselves, the liberty and authoritie of making new alliances, yet leauing (in meane while) the ancient still in full force. They kept also the freedom, for increasing and diminishing their alliances, by a publike and common consent. And ordained in like manner, that these alliances might bee renewed by writing, or by word of mouth, and to bee confirmed by Oath, if neede required, from five or ten to an hundred yeares. If this might not bee done commodiously, yet notwithstanding, they were to bee obserued firmly.

In the fourth place, are added exceptions; because certaine Cantones, which anciently did concerne the Empire; as *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Vri*, *Suiter*, and *Vnderwald*, excepted the Empire, and the rights thereof, from which they pretended no derogation by this alliance, in any manner whatsoever.

Lucerna and *Zug*, excepted the rites of the Duke of *Austria*. By the alliance of *Glaris*, are excepted all rights and deuoirs due vnto lawfull Lords and Magistrates. Likewise, in all these confederations, are excepted the ancient alliances, rights, priuiledges, and customes of the Cantons, together with their Castles, Villages, and Hamlets: so that those rights remaine sound and intire to euerie one.

Now, although the other Chapters and Articles are not of any such importance, yet notwithstanding, they tend to maintenance & conservation of peace and quietnesse. There is one for the punishing of homicides or Men-killers. Hee that killeth any one of the Confederates, shall loose his head; except hee can make good proofe, that hee did it in defence of his owne bodie, and for safetie

The third article touching alliances, and beginning with the fourth first Canon.

Liberty to augment and lessen leaguers and alliances.

The fourth Article speaketh of exceptions to be observed in the alliances.

For punishment of homicides and banished persons, in their feuerall quarrels of offence.

Concerning debts, pawns, matrimony, & known vltury.

Of iudgements and not flanging to the award and censure.

Matters too largely dilated, do manifestly breed offence.

The first Article is for publication of wars that may happen among the Cantons, and of differences between particular persons.

safety of his life. Whofoeuer shalbe condemned and banished from his Canton, shall stand banished and excluded also from the countries of the other Cantons: and whofoeuer lodgeth or afsisteth any such person, shall be guilty and punished in some other nature.

There is another Article, which prohibiteth the exacting or vrging of names to wit, if any Lay-man attempt to pay himselfe in his debtes, by the name or meanes of Iudges of the Church: onely causes Matrimoniall, and manifest *Vltury*, are to be referred, and sent to the Court for the Church. No man shall exact a pawne of any one, except of his debter, or him that standeth pledge for him. Neither shall he receiue pawns of his owne priuate authority, but by consent of the Iudge. No one shall engage himselfe for another man.

Concerning iudgements, it is ordained, that each man may haue, & assigne his Iudge. He that shall not appeare according to the assignation, but falleth into default, and interesteth the contrarie party by his absence, shall pay his charges. Causes shall be pleaded in the Audience Hall of the Canton, where the acte makes mention of the deed doing. Iustice is to be done without fraude or deceit. And euerie man shall content himselfe with the iudgements, Lawes, and customes of the Canton, where his cause is pleaded.

Although that these Articles, and other such like, may seeme to bee of small consequence: yet notwithstanding, because thereby (oftentimes) great debates do arise, yea, warres with our alliances, in discourting them distinctly & at large, it contents me (for mine owne part) that I haue thus breely & summarily toucht them.

The Tenor of the Arrest or Agreement made at *Stantz*.



Ist, we ordaine, that no one of the eight Cantons, either by it selfe, or aided by others shall enterprize to make war on any one of the said Cantons, or any other ioyned therewith in this alliance. Neither shal offer any wrong

to their bodies, goods; Townes, Countreys, or people, nor robbe or despoile them of any thing to them appertaining. If any one of the eight Cantons shall do otherwise (which God forbid) and outrage any of the other. To the end it may bee remedied, and order giuen, that our alliance may remaine firme, so that wee may liue together in peace like Brethren: all the other Cantons shall ranke themselves with that which is offended, and conferre the rights thereof, in good faith, and without any fraud. And if some particular person, or many together, shal doe wrong or iniurie vnto some other particular body: that then speedily, and without any contradiction, they shall be chastised by their Magistrate (in what place foeuer it is) according to the quality of the offence, and as they haue deserved. Neuerthelesse, if any one shall commit such insolesces vpon the iurisdiction of another, and moue it to be troubled, answere may bee made him in the very same place, and he iustly punished, according to the right and custome of the country.

Secondly we say, that hence-forward, none shall attempt to make any assembly, and therein to purpose any thing whatsoever (either secretly or publicly) in the Cities, Townes, or Countries of *Svetia*, whereby any damage or danger may ensue, without making it first known, and with the consent of the Lordes of that Canton. Whofoeuer sweareth, and endeoureth to make any such assembly, or shall fauour it, either by worde or deede, shall bee chastised by the Magistrate, according to the exigence of the act, and that without the least hindrance or delay.

In like manner, and by common consent, we expressly ordaine, that (honour and oath reserved) it shall not be lawfull for any one, to entice the subiects of any Canton, to do any thing derogatorie, to the obedience due to the Magistrate, or moue the people to any disobedience or revolt. And if the subiects of any one of the Cantons, shall bee rebellious against the commandements thereof, that then the other Cantons shall succour it faithfully, and reforme these subiects to their duties, according to the agreement of our alliances.

Of insolescies committed on the iurisdiccions of other men.

The second Article concerneth assemblies or Conuenticles without knowledge & consent of the Magistrate.

For disobedience to Magistrates, or in-fringing their orders and decrees.

The third Article concerning the Military discipline of the Cantons, answerable to that of Sempach.

Thirdly, because that after the battell of *Sempach*, our Ancestors resolved vpon some ordinances, concerning matter of warre: it seemed good to vs, to explicate in this agreement, that which is perpetuall, euen the principall Article of those ordinances, and in regard of our selues and our successors, to set it downe as followeth. If one Canton or more, do bring an Army into the field, marching with colours displayed against the enemy: all they that march vnder those colours, must continue together for the fight, as honest men ought to do. And according to the example of our Ancestours, what necessity sooner is enforced, be it to fight in ranged battaile, in skirmish, or otherwise, how short or long fouer the time be: it is to be carried according to the orders Military, made after the day of *Sempach*.

The fourth Article, concerneth matters of contracts passed long ago by our Ancestors

In the fourth place, we haue ordained, that those contracts passed long time since, by our Ancestours, as concerning Ecclesiasticall persons, and other things, in the year, one thousand, three hundred and feuty; shall be obserued inuolubly firmly, and from point to point. And to the end, that the memory thereof may be perpetuall, at all such times as our alliances may be renewed by oath: those two transactions and ordinances, concerning affaires of warre and Ecclesiasticks, together with this amiable agreement, shall be publicly read, among and with the Articles of alliances. But to the end, that young men, and they of meaner yeares also, may the better remember our alliances, and obserue them the more faithfully; we haue agreed, that hereafter (from five yeares to five yeares) the alliances shall be renewed throughout all the Cantons, by oath, which shall bee given for this effect.

For young men and they of vnder age.

The fifth Article concerneth booties conquered in warre, & the ranfomes of prisoners,

Finally, we haue accorded, that when any warre happeneth, all the booty conquered from the enemy, and those sums payed by prisoners for their ranfomes: shall be distributed (by equall portions) among the number of Soldiers, which the Cantons or Townes haue in the Army. But the Cities, Townes, Castles, Countries, passages, anuall reuenues, iurisdiccions, and other things of the same nature, though conquered in warre, shall be equally parted or diuided among the

Cantons, according to their ancient custome. If we permit any of these things to be bought or sold to any; the money paid, or arising thereby, shall be distributed among the Cantons by equall portions.

We haue determined and published this louing agreement, and in this manner, that all such as haue or shall carry Armes with vs, all Subiects, citizens, inhabitants, confederates, and parties ioynd with vs, may haue their iust portion in the booties. But as for Cities, Townes, Castles, Countries, men, reuenues yearly, iurisdiccions, ports, and conquered passages: such things doe belong to the Cantons onely. We make exception in this accord, of our perpetuall alliances, intending that nothing thereof shall bee infringed; but that this present transaction shall be inuolubly maintained, yea, faithfully and without any fraud, for the confirmation and manutention of our alliances.

This Arrest was ratified with the consent of all, in the year, 1481. in the house for particular alliances of four Townes: And by common accord, they of *Fribourg* and of *Sollemure*, were received into the number of the Cantons. And then the common-wealth of the *Switzers* (for the space of twenty yeares) stood composed of ten Cantons; whereto consequently, *Basile* and *Schaffhouse*, and then *Appenzell* were added. But before we speake of their alliances, wee must say somewhat as concerning *Fribourg* and *Sollemure*: then will we summarily declare, what they did, after their receiving into alliance.

CHAP.

The reason of making and publishing this amiable agreement to generally abroad.

Fribourg and Sollemure received into the number of the Cantons, making them ten.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Towne of Fribourg; who was the first Founder thereof: And how it came into league and alliance with the Cantons.



The original of the Towne of Fribourg.

Fribourg is a Towne, seated vpon the Riuer of *Sans*, builded by *Berthoull*, fourth of that name, Duke of *Zerigen*, some few yeares before *Berne*. These two Townes maintained themselves long time in amity: but after the Dukes death, *Berne* became subiect to the Empire, and *Fribourg* fell into the hands of the Counts of *Fribourg*, that dwelt at *Bourgdorff*, which was the cause, that (by succession of time) they forsook their affection to them of *Berne*. First of all, they were present in the warre with *Godfrey*, Count of *Rybourg*, against the *Bernians*. Soone after, their friendship was renewed againe, but yet with this exception, that if the Lords of *Fribourg* were at discord with *Berne*, the *Fribourgers* might follow their Lords part, without any prejudice to that louing accord. Some short while after, the Count sold



Fribourg sold to the King of the Romane.

Fribourg to *Kaoul*, King of the *Romanes*, and from thence forward, about the space of two hundred years it remained vnder the dominion of *Austria*. During which time, the *Fribourgers* being conducted and commanded by them of *Austria*, were present in many fought battailes, giuen to the *Bernians* at *Loupen*, at *Schonenberg*, and elsewhere. Again, afterward they renewed (diuers times) their ancient alliance and amity, with the men of *Berne*. In the year 1403. after they had bin tormented (in many kindes) by Noblemen, they contracted a perpetuall alliance with the *Bernians*: and yet notwithstanding, continued subiects to them of *Austria*. This amity endured forty five

The perpetuall alliance made betweene the Fribourgers and the men of Berne.

yeares, at the end whereof, warre being moued betweene the Prince of *Sauiye*, and the *Fribourgers*: they of *Berne* followed the faction of the Prince of *Sauiye*, to whom they had bene allied, and stood friends a long time. There were some courtes on eyther side, and a battaile fought neere to *Griertz*, wherein the *Fribourgers* had the worst. The year after, the Ambassadors to the King of France, of the Duke of *Bourgongne*, and of the Cantons, made a peace. And the year following, *Albert* of *Austria* being come to *Fribourg*, some certaine men of the Towne plotted with him, to make warre vpon the *Bernians*. Matters grew on so forward, that there was some apparance of sedition, and one was ready to run vpon another: the men of *Berne* (by a singular providence and address) had not appealed the commotion, by the sending of their Ambassadors.

Albert perceiving that *Fribourg* fauoured the Cantons, and leaned to that side, and that the citizens, who enjoyed the priuileiges of their Ancestors, obeyed not entirely to what he commanded them, and that oftentimes (according to their alliance) they followed them of *Berne*, and went in warre with the Cantons: he began to lose all hope of remaining any longer Master of the Towne. For this cause, the chiefe Master of his household came to *Fribourg* (sent by the Prince as some say) where he caused instantly to be noyed through the Towne; that the Prince wold very suddenly come thither, how soone he knew not. Heerevpon, he borrowed and got together, all the siluer Vessels, Tapistries, and such like costly moueables, to adorne that house in the Towne, where it was saide that the Prince should alight and lodge. But (by vnder-hand meanes) the Master of the household, caused those goods to be secretly transported out of the towne.

The day being come, of the Princes appointment to be there, he rode forth with his horsemen, as it were to meet his Master, accompanied with the worthiest men of the Towne. Being farre enough off, no Prince came; but only such horsemen as he had sent before, to attend the Master of the household, and the charge he had. When they were come into a place of security, he saide to them of *Fribourg*,

The enemies of peace put themselves foremost into the greatest danger.

Albert seeing he should lose Fribourg before he could quite it, taking the latter hand or course.

A cunning trick of the Master of the household.

bourg, who rode in his company to honour the Prince, that for the confidence they reposed, in their league made with the men of Berne, and combined amity with the Cantons: they were rebels to the Prince, and therefore it stood with reason and justice, that the Prince should get what he could from them: as namely, the silver vessels, and the other goods brought from the Towne.

Speaking these words, hee galloped away with his traine to meete the Prince with the spoiles of *Fribourg*. But the citizens, being thus unworthily handled, made a far stricter alliance with the Bernians, and ioyned themselves also with the confederates, vpon certaine conditions. So that during the warre against the Duke of Bourgogne, the Cantons sent a thousand men for Garrison into *Fribourg*. And the *Fribourgers* likewise, were present in the battailes with their confederates, against the Duke of Bourgogne, carrying themselves very valiantly in that warre. Afterward, they were received (with them of *Solleurre*) into the number of the Cantons, as hereafter we shall tell you.

CHAP. IX.

Of the City of *Solleurre*, being one of greatest name in *Swetia*.

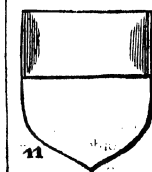
Solleurre is one of the most ancient cities or townes in all *Swetia*. It is called by many, the Sister of *Treuer*, which was builded (as the ancient Annals doe make mention) in the time of *Ninus*. The olde Romanic inscriptions, which are yet to be seene at *Solleurre*, do testifie the antiquity of the city. But by the warres and courses of the *Allemaignes*, *Hunnes*, and *Francians* in *Gaul*, vpon the declination of the Romanic Empire; *Solleurre* was ruined, as many other cities and townes were in like manner. But after that the *Francians* became Lords & Masters, it was rebuilt, and yeelded in subiection to the Bishop of *Geneua*. For it is said, that in the Church or Temple of *S. Vi-*

tor, neere to *Geneua*, these words are found written.

Alta sunt hac regnante Domitiano, Episcopo Genensensi, quo tempore etiam Castrum Salodorense Episcopatus Genensensis subditum erat, &c.

These things were made and done, in the time of *Domitian*, Bishop of *Geneua*: during which time, the Castle of *Solleurre* was subiect to the Bishop of *Geneua*, &c.

In the times of the *Allemaigne* or *Germane* Emperors, *Solleurre* was daily numbered with the Imperial cities & townes: yet (notwithstanding) in such sort, as the college of the chanons enjoyed the principal priuiledges and franchises. And it is said, that they haue the same rights as the chanons of *Zurich*.



The Dukes of *Savoy* were Provoests or Governours of this city, as likewise of other Imperial townes in *Swetia*. They of *Solleurre* (in ancient times) made an alliance with the Bernians, I cannot well tell in what yeare; but since that time, the two cities haue borne good and loyall amity together. And (almost) in all the warres the Bernians had: the men of *Solleurre* euermore succoured them with happy successe.

Vpon the contention moued betwene *Lewes* of *Bauaria*, and *Fredericke* of *Austria*, which should be Emperor of them both: they of *Solleurre* tooke part with *Lewes*, by which occasion, the Pope excommunicated them, and then they were afterward besiedged by the Duke of *Austria*: But they of Berne sent them foure hundred men for their Garrison. Moreover, they had warre against the Count of *Kybourg*, who wonne a battaile of the, by treason of one of their citizens. Finally in the yeare, one thousand, three hundred, fifty and one, they made a perpetuall alliance with them of Berne, & continued alwayes good friends with the other Cantons. So that after the warre of *Austria*, wherein *Leopold* was slaine; they made peace and alliance with the house

Solleurre numbered among the Imperial cities.

The Duke of *Savoy*, Governours of *Solleurre*.

The men of *Solleurre* excommunicated by the Pope, for taking part with the true Emperor.

Their receiving into the number of the Cantons.

CHAP. X.

Of the Switzers wars against them of *Millaine*, against the *Venetians*; and at the conquest of *Naples*.



War made by the Switzers, against the *Millaine*.

Succour sent against the *Venetians*.

They forced the King of France for pay in many places.

of *Austria*. But it was vpon those famous conditions, that the other Cantons, with whom they were ioyned in letters and contracts of alliance; by generall and common aduice, should establish and sweare them together in the Military ordinances. Then after that the war against the Duke of Bourgogne was ended, wherein they deliuered true testimony of prowesse and valour, in the iudgement of all men; they were accepted and received (with them of *Fribourg*) into the number of the Cantons.

dred, & ninety, another ciuill warre kindled it selfe in *Swetia*. The Abbot of *S. Gall* had begun to build a new Abbey at *Rosack*. The citizens of *S. Gall*, they of *Appenzell*, and the subiects to the Abbot (partly moued by a kinde of deuotion, as vnwilling that the bones and reliques of *S. Gall*, should be carried any where else; and partly also for their owne profit, fearing lesse the packs of linnen cloth (which grew to great gaine among them) should be transported to *Rosack*, conspired together, and at vnawares, went out in Armes, and ioyning together in troopes, went to beate downe the new building, which was not (as then) fully finished. The Abbot not a little moued with this injury, called the foure Cantons, wherto he was allied, to aide him. The sixe other Cantons, mediators for peace, exhorted the of *S. Gall*, to decide this difference with the Abbot, by course of right in law. But because the confederates alledged, that great wrong was done them, in building a new Abbey, and (by that means) abolishing their ancient priuiledges; therefore consequently, they had iust occasion to vndertake Armes, and would not haue it debated in iustice. The foure Cantons with some other people of their allies, brought their troopes to *Turgau*: but this warre was appealed without blows. For first of all, they of *Appenzell* made peace with the *Switzers*, who took from them the Valley of *Rheussce*. Then afterward, the city of *S. Gall* being besiedged, peace was made betwene the citizens & the *Switzers*; by the means of *George*, Count of *Sargans*, *Gudentius*, Count of *Meisch*, and the Lords of *Gentiane*. In like manner, the subiects to the Abbot were reconciled, after each one had paid his fine.

Some short while after, followed the last warre against the house of *Austria*, which the *Switzers* called, the warre of *Savoy*; the Emperor *Frederick* did spread the seeds abroad, but after his death, his Sonne and Successor *Maximilian*, gathered them together. *Frederick* had provided, that certaine Princes, Lords, and Townes should make an alliance, which they termed, The great league of *Savoy*; and (among other matters) to oppose especially (as was conceiued) the liberties of the *Switzers*. The Emperour

was

Strife about the bones and reliques of *S. Gall*; & the building of a new Abbey.

The Abbot caught side of foure Cantons.

The war vnderaken of *S. Gall*.

A war ended, and neuer a blow finished.

The last war against the house of *Austria*, termed the war of *Savoy*.

There is nothing gained by goods ill gotten, and losing the hearts & obediences of subjects.

The original and antiquity of *Solleurre*.

Solleurre rebuilt and subiect to the Bishop of *Geneua*.

a great league
to oppress
the liberties
of the Swit-
zers.

was chiefe of this league, which was beneficiall to *Germany* in one kinde: for by that meanes, the wayes were more safe & assured, the cues were taken and punished, and their castles and places of retreat beaten to the ground. There had bene (long time before) some enmities betweene the *Switzers*, and some of their neighbours, vassalls to the house of *Austria*.

Day by day the fire lay kindling, and the *Switzers* suffered insupportable injuries and outrages. On the other side, they of *Austria*, grieved the *Grisons* with nouell charges, and had cast them out of their ancient possessions in some places.

Vpon this occasion, and to provide for their owne security, against the violence of their enemies; the *Switzers* and the *Grisons* made a perpetuall league together.

Moreover, King *Lewis* the twelfth, desirous to recover the Duchy of *Milaine*, which he auouched to belong vnto him: purchased the amity and alliance of the *Switzers*, who in such a perillous time, thought good not to refuse it, neither to let for sit and apt occasion slippe them.

Many goings and commings were betweene them, to pacifie this businesse, and the parties on cyther side took arms, in the year, one thousand, foure hundred, ninety nine. Many encounters they had in this warre, and the *Switzers* still remained victors: except once, when they were put into route, neere to *Comstance*.

But they recovered their honour againe the same day, hauing freshly recollected their forces, and then giuing battaile to the enemy, enforced him to forsake the place. Moreover, they and the *Grisons*, in eight other as great encounters as skirmishes, had still the aduantage: as at *Mont de Luc*, at *Treffe*, *Harden*, *Erastenz*, on the plaine of *Malsa*, neere to *Basile*, in the Forrest *des Freres*, in the vale of *Leime*; and lastly, at the Castle of *Dornach*, appertaining to them of *Soleure*.

They of *Austria*, being tired and spent with so many losses, came finally to a composition; by the intermise of *Lo-*

dowicke Sforzza, Duke of *Milaine*, who sent thither the Vicount *Galezso*. And so peace was made, vpon this condition, that the liberties of the *Switzers* should remaine in their integrity, and they were confirmed in the possession of all those places which they had taken before from them of *Austria*. In like manner, the iurisdiction in criminall causes, at the command of *Turgaw*, which they of *Comstance* had enjoyed vntill that time, was giuen to the *Switzers*.

Thus you see the last warre (except that of the *Grisons* against *Iohn Iagues de Medicis*, Lord of *Mus*) that the *Switzers* had to this present time, to maintain the liberties of their countries, against the violence and force of forraigne Princes. They were afterward present in many other warres, and wonne renouue of being hardy and valiant men: but those warres were made partly in Italy, partly in France, vnder authority and command, eyther of the King of France, or of Popes, or of the Dukes of *Milaine*. For immediately after the peace made with them of *Austria*; the Vicount *Galezso* began to make secretly a leuie of *Switzers*.

Contrariwise, the King of France demanded succour all openly, according to the tenour of the league, which was granted to him. Notwithstanding, contrary to the will and Edicts of the leagued Lords; *Galezso* enrolled five hundred *Switzers*, by the aide of whom, together with an army of Lance-Knights, which he had got together, Duke *Lodowicke* recovered *Milaine*.

Soone after that, the Frenchmen being come with a puissant Army to besiege *Nouara*, the *Switzers* that were then in Garrison, perceiving it to bee a place, not of defence, nor well munit, nor wherein they could any way resist the enemy; agreed to depart; and repaired home to their owne country. The Duke tooke the habite of a *Switzer* Soldier; and mingled himselfe among the rest, only to escape: but happening to be knowne and discouered, by a certaine man named *Thurman* (who afterward was hewed in peeces) he was taken and led prisoner into France, and kept in the Castle of *Loches*. For the rest, they do great

Behold what
gaines they
greatest
about to ap-
plish the peo-
ples liberty.

Rest and qui-
etude doeth
well help
after long toyle
and labour
spent in war.

The French-
men besieging
of *Nouara*.

One man of
force may not
suffice a
whole nation.

Alliances of
Princes made
with the Swit-
zers.

A people of
Beligion
neere
to the
Rheine.

Optations
concerning
the name of
Basile.

great wrong to the *Switzers*, that impure to the whole Nation, the faulte of one man onely. If they will charge all them that were with the Duke, because (maugre his will) they composed with the French: yet (for all that) they must not couple the whole Nation of *Switzers*, with them in that action. Considering, they that did the deede, were not sent by their Cantons, to succour Duke *Sforzza*; but followed his faction, against the Edicts of their Lords. Hereto may be added, that they appeared not to be partiall, or hare-brained in the busines, when they departed by composition.

In the same year, when these things were done beyond the Mountaines; *Hedrich*, Duke of *Wirtemberg*, made an alliance for twelue yeares, with the common-wealth of the *Switzers*. In like manner, the Emperor *Maximilian* renewed the hereditary alliance made formerly by Duke *Sigismund*, with the cantons of *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Vri*, and *Vnderwald*. In the year, one thousand, five hundred and one, two potent cities on the *Rhine*, namely, *Basile* and *Schaffhouse*, were ioyned to the number of the *Switzer* cantons.

CHAP. XI.

Of the City of Basile, and diuersity of opinions, how it receiued that name: As also the originall and antiquity of the City.



HE City of *Basile*, capitall & cheefest in the country of the *Rauracians*, is the very greatest of all the cities and townes in *Switzerland*. It is not knowne at what time it was first of all built. *Amianus Marcellinus* maketh mention in his history of it, calling it *Basilia*, and testifieth, that the Emperor *Gratian* erected a Fort hard by it, to bridle the courtes of the *Allemans*. There are some other, who do thinke that it tooke name of *Basilica*, Mother to the Emperor *Iulianus Phlegonius*, the enfranchised seruant of the Emperor *Adrian*, maketh

mention of *Basile*, in a little Tract which he wrote of admirable things, and of people that liued long: but it is not well knowne, whether hee meant this city or no, whereof we now speake. But the opinion of them is most probable, that hold the city of *Basile* to take name, from one of the Romane Colonies, sent by *Augustus* into the country of the *Rauracians*, before named.



But *Basile* is in the number of the free cities of the Empire, and hath obtained (for very long time) very franke and liberall priuileges, from the Romane Emperors. The Bishopricke and Vniuersity encreased the renouue thereof. And as it is a neighbour to the *Switzers*, so hath it bene likewise very careful for maintaining it selfe in amity, long time before it came to bee allied with them. For after the Pope had excommunicated the Emperor *Lewis* of *Bawaria* (in which case all *Germany* was combuled with great troubles) they of *Basile* made alliance, and promise of mutual succours, with them of the three first Cantons; and afterward, in the year, 1327. with *Zurich*, *Berne*, and many other cities and townes of *Germany*. In the year one thousand, three hundred, forty five, they made a particular alliance (for 2 yeares) with them of *Zurich*, and then renewed it for three yeares after. Againe, in the year 1365, by the procurement of *Leopold*, Duke of *Austria*, an Army of Englishmen came and foraged the country of *Halatia*, besieged *Strasbourg*, and threatened *Basile* with the same behaviour, because the citizens of the lesser *Basile*, engaged by the Bishop to the Duke of *Austria*, would not submit themselves wholly to his will.

On the other side, *Basile* being not strong for resistance of an enemy, by reason of an earth-quake, which had cast downe the walles and many houses, and fire had consumed and done as great harme: *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Lucerna*, and *Soleure* sent a strong Garrison to *Basile*: so that the Englishmen durst not besiege the city, but retired thence, because the

Basile num-
bered among
the free Cit-
ies of the
Empire.

The men of
Basile were
sued with the
Switzers
a long time.

Englishmen
invaded the
Country of
Halatia, by
Duke Leo-
pold's means.

A strong gar-
rison sent to
Basile.

Empe-

A league of
the Switzers
and Grisons,
against that
of their ene-
mies.

Diuers victo-
ries of the
Switzers.

Katherine the
Widow to
Duke Leo-
pold.

The Dolphin
of France
brought an
Army into
Germany.

The Basiliens
ioyne with
the Switzers
against the
Duke of Au-
stria.

War between
the Emperor
Maximilian,
the Switzers
and Grisons.

Emperor Charles the fourth, also brought an Army against them. In like manner, in the warre of them of *Basile*, against *Katherine* of Bourgongne, the widow of *Leopold*, in the yeare one thousand, four hundred, and nine, the Bernians & they of *Selleurre* sent succour: the other Cantons imploying themselves carefully, to accord them with the house of *Austria*. Moreover, at the time of the councill of *Basile*, when as *Lewes* the Dolphin of France, brought a great Army into Germany, to breake the councill, and made warre on the *Switzers*, by the instance & working of the Duke of *Austria*, who had procured him to come: the *Switzers* maintained and defended the city and councill, against the encountering of a strange enemy; as an example very remarkable, it being not above sixteen years, since they had cooped with great troops of the French: True it is, that they all (well neere) lost their lives there: but yet they did so weaken their enemies troops, that he tooke part with the which fled fastest.

They being thus auoyded, the men of *Basile* ioyned their forces with the *Switzers*, and so made warre together on the Duke of *Austria*. In like manner, when *Charles*, Duke of Bourgongne, made himselfe so terrible, and affrighted all the world, they of *Basile* ioyned in alliance (for ten yeares) with *Strasbourg*, and other cities on the *Rhene*. Afterward, with *Sigismund*, Duke of *Austria*; *René*, Duke of *Lorraine*; and with the Cantons. In this warre they shewed themselves both faithfull & valiant; for their confederates. Finally, a great warre being moued betweene the Emperour *Maximilian*, the *Switzers* and *Grisons*: they of *Basile* remained neutrals, without giuing succour to cyther side, nor received their Garrisons; but they furnished them both with victuals and munition. In this war there was a battaile giuen (almost) against the walles of *Basile*, afterward at *Dorneck*, where the *Switzers* wonne a faire victory over the enemies, whom they did beat backe to the gates of *Basile*. But during all this war, the citizens of *Basile* fauoured equally both the one and other side. To conclude, by the diligence of *Lodouico Maria*, Duke of *Milaine*, the Ambassadors on both sides met at *Basile*, & peace

was made betweene the Emperour and the *Switzers*.

The *Switzers* allowed well of this expedient, in the men of *Basile* during this warre, and the Emperour *Maximilian* (for his part) seemed not to improoue it. But the Noble-men, who were deadly enemies to the Cantons, held *Basile* (almost) in the ranke of a foe, because the city did not then shew it selfe openly, as an enemy to the *Switzers*; and not onely the subsidies to the house of *Austria*, but many more, who till then had beene citizens; with-drew themselves to the Count of *Ferrara*, and about *Mombelhard*, into *Halsatia*, and to *Brisgow*, countries appertaining to them of *Austria*. Being in those places, they ceased not to outrage (both with words and deeds) the inhabitants of *Basile*, who being moued with such indignities, the yeare after the war ended, to wit, one thousand, five hundred and one, made a perpetuall alliance with the Cantons, and so were left in peace with their neighbours, who stood in awe of the *Switzers* succour.

CHAP. XII.

At what time *Schaffoufe* was received into the number of the Cantons; and the antiquity thereof.



Schaffoufe, accepted the very same yeare, to be numbered among the cantons, is not of so great age and antiquity. It is seated on the Riuer of *Rhene*, within Germany, and yet notwithstanding, the Bridge is in *Swetia*. In the time of the Emperour *Henry* the third, the Counts of *Nellenburg* builded there an Abbey, which standeth yet to this day, and it is thought, that it gaue a beginning to the citie: as likewise the cities of *S. Gall*, *Lucerna*, and many more in Germany, haue deriued their original from Abbeyes. The *Rhene* is also another cause of the cities encreasing, continuing so for some thousand of yeares since, beneath the city, where

The Emperour
and the Switzers
no way dislike
the dealing of
the men of
Basile in the
warre.

The original
and situation
of Schaffoufe

Many cities
in Germany
tooke their
names of Ab-
beyes.

No Boates
able to passe
the water at
Schaffoufe.

Concerning
the name of
Schaffoufe.

A great Tolle
or Customs
for salt.

Schaffoufe
at liberty at the
fall, but after-
ward alienated
by the emperour.



Schaffoufe
sued to the
Dukes of
Austria for
yeares.

wherewith it is (in a manner) enclosed. It falleth downe from a very great height, with such a dreadfull noyle; and remounting vp againe into the ayre to vehemently, that it maketh there a continuall fogge or myst. And for this cause, and the incapableness of any Boates to passe there, all such as descend downe the Lake of *Constance*, and from *Cella* on the *Rhene*, are constrained to discharge at *Schaffoufe*, which hath beene conceived by many, to giue that name to the City, to wit, of a *Squiffe*, or of a Boate, which the Germans call *Skiff*, or *Schiff*, thence to be termed *Schaffoufe*. Neuertheless, the vulgar sort, taking vp a false etymologie of the word *Schaff*, which signifieth a Sheepe; haue grounded their opinion strongly thereon, and forged Armes also of the same nature. There is a great tole or custome gathered in this City, especially for the passage of Salt: which appertained in ancient times, and before the foundation of the City, to two Noble Families, to wit, of *Turn*, and of *Stad*, which remaine yet to this day at *Schaffoufe*.

At the beginning, the principall dominion or sway of the City, belonged to the Abbot, who elected and chose one halfe of the Magistrates; but (by little) and little, they exempted themselves from his gouernement, and obtained many good priuiledges and franchises of the Emperors. But *Lewes* of *Bamaria* (weakened by long warres) could not pay the Duke of *Austria*, such monies as he ought him, according to an agreement made betweene them, which caused him to alienate and sell *Schaffoufe*, together with some other Townes, and so (by that means) it became dismembred from the Empire. After that time, *Schaffoufe* remained subiect to the Dukes of *Austria*, for the space of fourecore and five yeares, euen vntill the councill of *Constance*: for then *Fredericke* of *Austria*, because hee brought Pope *John* the two and twentieth out of the councill, was banished by the Emperour *Sigismund*, who caused him

to bee so narrowly pursued, that all his goods were partly pilled, and partly confiscated to the Empire, without any other meanes of helpe.

In this warre, *Schaffoufe* became reuinited to the Empire, and the citizens (hauing giuen a good summe of money, to the Emperour) obtained great priuiledges vnder Letters patens: and therein was plainly expressed, that (thence forward) their City should not any more be alienated from the Empire. But *Fredericke* the third, of the house of *Austria*, being Emperour: laboured to subiect it againe, and that the city of *Schaffoufe* might remaine to his successors. And therefore hee permitted Duke *Sigismund*, to compell the citizens to swear fidelity to him; which they refused to doe, but with exception of their priuiledges, and they would not receive the Princes Ambassadors into the city, but vpon that condition. Contrariwise, the Ambassadors pressed them earnestly, to oblige themselves to the Prince, without any exception, and propounded certaine Articles for the maintenance whereof, they required oath: threatening the citizens with very great harmes, if they would not yeelde to that which they demanded of them.

The men of *Schaffoufe*, seeing the Ambassadors persist still in their opinion: to make good their owne part, received the *Switzers* Ambassadors into their city, and made alliance (for some yeares) with them of *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Lucerna*, *Swits*, *Zug*, and *Glaris*, so that the Ambassadors of *Austria* returned backe, and performed iust nothing.

Before this, they of *Schaffoufe* were in good amity with the *Switzers*, and from the yeare, one thousand, three hundred, forty five, made alliance (for some time) with them of *Zurich*. But because they were Subiects to the house of *Austria*, against whom, the *Switzers* had (well neere) continuall warres: they could not then entertaine firmly this amity, but were compelled, to go in war against the *Switzers*, vnder the Ensignes of the *Austrians*. But after this last alliance, they were very good and faithfull friends vnto the Cantons, and bare them company in many warres and battailes. For immediately after the alliance

Schaffoufe
reunited to the
empire againe,
and great pri-
uiledges gra-
nted thereto.

The Switzers
Ambassadors
received into
Schaffoufe, &
alliance made
with them.

The Switzers
had continu-
all warre a-
gainst the
house of Au-
stria.

began: the *Austrians* came and assaulted the *Switzers*, and namely them of *Schaffouse*.

The Cantons made war on Sigismund of Austria, by the Popes command.

The men of Schaffouse accused by Peregrin de Hendorff.

It came to passe, that the Cantons (obeying the command of Pope *Pius*) made war with *Sigismund* of *Austria*, which being pacified, they of *Austria* took Arms againe, because *Mulhouse* and *Schaffouse* had joyned themselves with the *Switzers*, who ledde a great Army to the Count of *Ferrara*, and into the quarters about *Montebeliard*. At the same time, *Peregrin de Hendorff* accused them of *Schaffouse* in the Imperiall chamber of *Rothuile*, and solicited so much, that they were put to banishment from the Empire. Among others, he charged *John* and *Conrad* de *Fulach*, brethren & citizens of *Schaffouse*, of a noble and ancient Family, who sometimes possessed a Castle, neere vnto the downefall of *Rheine*, whence *Albert* of *Austria* had expelled them, but soone after they entred it againe by intelligence. In regard whereof, they & the other citizens that maintained their iust quarrell, were proscribed. In this war the Cantons sent a good Garrison vnto *Schaffouse*.

Incurfions made on the Austrians lands, them of Schaffouse.

While these helpes and succours lasted, the citizens made diuers courses into the lands about, appertaining to the house of *Austria*; as in the Mountaines of the black Forest, in *Negow*, *Kleckow*, and other limittrophing lands of *Snaba* and of *Basle*. Finally, hauing laide siege before *Waldshout*, which is a Towne at the entrance into the Blacke Forest, where the Riuer of *Ar* falleth into the *Rheine*, and which was vnder the *Austrian* gouernment, peace was made; wherein they of *Snaba* were exempted, & stood banished from the Empire, at the pursuite and charges of *Sigismund*. Thus then the Cantons hauing experimented in these warres, the faithfulnessse of them of *Schaffouse*, and knowing well withall, what commodities they receiued from such a city, seated in so apt a place on the confines of *Suetia*; And reciprocally, themen of *Schaffouse*, feeling themselves to be deliuered from their enemies, by the good assistance of the *Switzers*; they thought it very expedient, both for the one side and the other, to prolong the alliance. And accordingly, in the year 1479. they made an alliance for twenty five yeares following: wherein were comprehended, the men of *Fri* and *Vnderwald*, with whom *Schaffouse*

A new alliance of Schaffouse for 25. yeares, made with the cantons.

(still then) had not any particular acquaintance.

The tenour of this alliance, is (almost) answerable to that of the ancient Cantons. For in the first place, they binde themselves to aide one another. Afterward, they establish a forme of iudgement, for reconciling or auoyding such differences, as should happen between them of *Schaffouse* and the Cantons. Then followeth in what manner debts ought to be paid, & what meanes are to be vsed in such cases. Then for the punishment of homicides, or men-killers. The last Article concerneth the new & ancient alliances, to wit, the one side shall make no new alliance, without the will and consent of the other: And that the ancient alliances shall alwayes be esteemed of most aduantage, & to preceede all the other.

After all this, the warre of *Bourgonne* happened, and some yeares consequently, that of *Snaba*, moued by the Emperour *Maximilian*, against the *Switzers*. In both these warres, they of *Schaffouse* did their duty exceeding well, furnishing men and money for the weale-publike: by which meanes, they entred into the good grace of the Cantons, much more then euer they did before, and wonne great honour. Also, the year after the last warre, to wit, 1501. they made perpetuall alliance with the *Switzers*, and were enrolled in number of the Cantons, obtaining the 12. ranke or roomes.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the warres of the Switzers, since such time as they came to be in number of the Cantons and making them twelue.

After that *Basle* and *Schaffouse* were numbered with the cantons, and that they were 12. during the alliance which they had made with King *Lewes* the 12. in the year, 1503. some among them (in great number) went for him in the war of *Naples*, without leaue neuerthelesse, and against the Edicts of their Magistrats. As the *Switzers* and *French* might brag of small happinesse, in the first warre of

A breefe of the Articles and conditions of the alliance.

Schaffouse is reckoned for a twelfth Canton.

Wars in Italy, the French & Switzers not fortunate in the war of Naples.

Naples, vnder King *Charles* the eight: so their fortune proued little better in this last warre. They, who (during the first warre) were left in Garrisons, in strong places and Fortresses of the Kingdome; dyed of diseases for the most part. Such as escaped in this warre, in recompence of their traualle, brought home to their owne houses, that villainous contagion of the Pockes, which afterward was termed the Spanish disease, the *Neapolitane* euill, and the *French* Pockes: At the last war they were overcome in two batailles, and lost a great number of their men. The year 1507. the Cantons sent succour vnto the King, who (by their meanes) made himselfe Master of the field, which the *Genewages* had planted in a Mountaine, that commanded ouer their city, which (soon after) yeelded it selfe.

The Spaniards brought it first out of the Indies into Christianisme, & bestowed it on the French, at the siege of Naples.

An honorable minde in the Switzers, not to beate arms against their Alie.

The Cardinal of Sion a warlike and capall enemy to the French.

The year 1507.

At the same time, the Emperour *Maximilian* demanded men of the *Switzers*, and they promised him a leuée of 6000. men, prouided, that he should not leade them against the King of *France*, their alie: but because he would not accept this condition, the leuée remained: and was not made.

Soone after, to witte, in the year 1509. the league of alliance between the King of *France* & the *Switzers*, tooke ending, and the Emperour, Pope *Iulius* the 24. the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, leagued themselves together, and made warre on the *Venetians*, wherein the *Switzers* serued the King of *France* for wages. The year following, Pope *Iulius* made alliance with the *Switzers*, by the meanes of *Mathew*, Cardinal of *Sion*, who immediately after the alliance concluded, led fixe thousand *Switzers* into *Italy*, vnder pretence of defending the lands of the Church, against the Duke of *Ferrara*. But his true intent was to surprize and expell the French out of *Millane*. The *Switzers* hauing discovered his purpose, would not follow the Cardinal: against the French, and their Lords had likewise forbidden them: so that the Pope sent them into *Suetia*, without paying them their wages, wherat they were very highly discontented.

In the year 1511. perpetuall alliance betweene the *Switzers*, the houses of *Austria* and of *Bourgonne*, was renewed. On the other side, the Ambassadors of *France* desired the *Switzers* to renew the alliance

with their King: but the most part of them were displeased, because to soone as the first alliance was expired, the King had denied them all their payes and yearly pensions.

And albeit that a very great number among them, were no found well-willers or friends to the Pope, who likewise had not payed them: yet notwithstanding, fearing lesse hee should extortunuate them, they durst not alie themselves with the King of *France*, who then was enemy to the Pope. Heereupon, hapned a disgrace to be done them by the French, for they had taken at *Lugano*, a Herauld of the *Switzers*, with letters from the Seigneury about him first, they drowned him, and to despight the *Switzers*, the Coate of Armes, which the Heraulds and Officers to the Cantons vse to weare they fold at open port-sale, or out-criy, as we commonly call it.

The *Switzers*, in the very strongest of winter, led their Army ouer the Alpes, where hauing burned some Villages, they returned backe againe, without performing any other memorable deed. But the year following, Pope *Iulius* (who had lost a great bataille at *Rauenna*, at encountering there with the French) called them to helpe him: and therefore they sent into *Italy*, an Army of twenty thousand me. They beeing ioyned with the *Venetians* (then reconciled to the Pope) tooke at their arriual *Cremona* and *Paria*, driving the French out of the whole Dukedome of *Millane*, so that nothing remained to them, but onely the Castle of *Millane*. In regard of these worthy exploits, the Pope gaue the *Switzers* the title of *Defenders of the Church*, enriching their Standards with diuers Images; and publicly gaue to the whole Nation of the *Switzers*, two great Standards; which they call, *Plume*, that is, *The sword and Bonnet*, as a noted mark of liberty. *Maximilian* *Sforza*, re-established in his paternall dominion by the *Switzers*, *Federus* made alliance with them, and gaue to the Cantons *Daguno*, *Dokarno*, *Mendryse*, and the Vale of *Madusa*.

He gaue also to the *Grisons*, their confederates, the Vale *Telma* or *Valturna*. Likewise *Charles*, Duke of *Sauoy*, whose predecessors had particular alliance (long time before) with some of the Cantons:

Z 2 made

The Switzers offended with the King of France, about their payes & pensions.

Great wrong done to an Officer of Armes.

The Switzers reuenged on the French in very notable manner, and called, Defenders of the Church.

The Switzers made alliance with the Duke of Savoy.

Great gifts bestowed on the Cantons.

made alliance with all the Switzers, for 25 yeares after following.

The King of France is denied to be leagued with the Cantons.

The victorie of the Switzers over the French at No uara, very famous.

An Armie of Switzers, by counsel of the Emperor, entered into France thorough Bourgogne.

In the same yeare, the King of France solicited the Switzers, to become agayne allied with them: but because hee would not let free the Castle of *Millaine*, and some discovery was made beside, that his Ambassadors laboured to corrupt some particulars by gifts, and to buy their voices for faire money layde downe: they were commaunded to depart out of the Leagued countries; and so the warre was renewed again. For the King sent a great Army into *Italy*, vnder the conduct of the Lords of *Trunse* and *Trimonille*, who besieged *Maximilian Sforza* in *Nouara*. Hee was then accompanied with foure thousand Switzers, to whose ayde, eight thousand more were sent. Their vanguard being arrived at *Nouara*, and they within being ioyned with them, they gaue the battell to the French, vanquishing & driving them out of *Italy*. *Guichardin* the Italian, an Historian much renowned, writes that the Switzers won such honor by this victory, as many haue made no difficulty in equalling this happy successe of theirs, with (almost) all the braue exploits of the Greekes and Romanes. Notwithstanding, the field was deere enough bought by them, because fourteen hundred Switzers were there slaine, and the most part of them by the Cannon, before that they could come to handie strokes. Which made the people of *Swetia* to murmur in many places, and all blame fell on them: that tooke part with the French: so that diuers withdrew themselves from *Swetia* for a time onely, and two only had their heads smitten off in those mutinies and commotions; for the rest, all was well pacified, without any effusion of blood.

After this victory of the Switzers, the Emperor *Maximilian*, quitting the amity and alliance of the King: aduised the Switzers, to enter France by Bourgogne, with an army of six thousand men; where to (well-neere) sixteene thousande other voluntary ioyned themselves, together with some troopes of horse belonging to the Emperor, vnder the conduct of the

Prince of *Wirttemberg*. There they besieged *Dijon*, the capitall City of all *Bourgonde*. But the Lorde of *Trimonille*, an olde Captaine, being not of strength to defend well the place, agreed with the Switzers, on conditions, that the King should acquit whatsoever he pretended to the Dukedome of *Millaine*, and paye them (at certaine appointed times) fixe hundred thousand Crowns for assurance whereof, he gaue them foure Lordes of marke, as hostages, with whom the Switzers departed thence immediately.

Nowe, although it was a matter most palpable and notorious to all men: that this composition warranted the kingdom because that *Dijon* being taken, the Switzers might haue run vp so faire as to the gates of *Paris*, or ioyned themselves there with the English; and beside that king *Leues* hadde not a sufficient Army to make head against them; yet notwithstanding, he would not ratifie his composition. For he would not admit (by any meanes) that his rights to the Dukedome of *Millaine*, should be so much as talk of. The Switzers seeing themselves thus handled, and highly offended with such slye trickes: threatened to kill the Hostages; except the confirmation might be brought within a certaine time. Neuerthelesse, the winter grew extreame vpon them, and yet they resolved to re-enter France in the month of November: But the King sent his Ambassadors, who laboured (by all meanes) to make a perpetual peace with the Switzers. In the meane while, they coule no way ioyned, because the conditions which the King propounded, were so very vnreasonable: which was the cause that the time spent in selfe indayes and deliberations, in meere take and situlous disputes, whereby the enterprise of making into France, was quite broken. Concerning the rest of these meetings and assemblies, they were thus considered on: that in the month of December, the thirteenth yeare, they of *Appenzel* were added to the Cantons number, and held the thirteenth place.

CHAP

* Dijon.

Meanes made to get the Switzers gon out of France

The King of France refused the former composition agreed on by Trimonille.

Much talton and nothing done.

Appended the 13. Canton.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Originall of Appenzel: how it tooke that name. The Lawes, Customs, & manner of government there obserued.



Appenzel is the name both of a Country, and of a Village. The country is situated somewhat about *S. Gall*, betweene the high Mountains, and on the Frontiers of the Grisons country. The inhabitants liue (scatteringly) in Villages, and among the number of them, there are eight chiefe and principal, which haue euery one their Temple or parish church. The maine head of all is the village of *Appenzel*, whereof all



dwel in the chieft town or village, where they buile a very strong Castle, named *Claux*: the village was therefore cald *Appenzel*, which in Latine is, *Abbatis Cella*: that is to say, *The Chamber or dwelling of the Abbot*.

The people of *Appenzel* aimed at liberty, first by armes, and after peace made, they bought liberty for themselves & their children, by meanes of a great sum of mony, which they paid to the Abbot. They had wars which continued seuen yeares, against *Cuno de Stouffen*, Abbot of *S. Gall*, to whom the townes about the Lake of *Constance*, and belonging to *Frederick D. of Austria*, the bishoppe of *Constance*, the Count of *Wirttemberg*, & many Counts & Gentlemen gaue succour. Yet they of *Appenzel* would not yeeld themselves for all this, but being ayded by the Citizens of *S. Gall* (who, at the beginning, were partakers with the Abbot, but afterward ioined with them of *Appenzel*, won some battels, tooke fixe Townes, and more then sixty Castles, part whereof were quite ruined. In this war, they leagued themselves with the Switzers, who were enemies vnto the

house of *Austria*. Some say, that they allied themselves with *Suits* and *Claris* onely; but others doe maintaine, that it was with *Lucerna*, *Vri*, *Suites*, and *Vnderwald*. This Warre tooke ending in the yeare, 1408. and by meanes of the Emperour *Rupert*, agreement was made betweene them of *Appenzel* and their enemies, in the City of *Constance*.

This being done, the men of *Appenzel* framed a forme of government to themselves, which yet they hold vnto this day. For till then, each village had her ensigne, and her estates apart, or by it selfe. Now there was but one Ensigne, one assembly of their estates, and one Councell, composed of the most honest people, and the notablest persons in all the Villages throughout the country. Then three yeares after the peace was made, the Abbot of *Saint Gall* attempted a new suite against them: but then they made alliance with *Zurich*, *Lucerna*, *Suits*, *Vnderwald Zug*, & *Claris*, which so offended the Abbots of *Saint Gall*, as, about the yeare one thousand foure hundred twenty five, *Henrie Manndorff* (then Abbot) preuailed so far, that they of *Appenzel* were proscribed by the Emperour, and excommunicated by the Pope. Banishment was no great hurt, or inconuenience to them in any manner whatsoever, because the country (being round engirt with Mountaines, and not Trafficking almost with any bodie) no inuasion could bee made vpon them. As concerning the excommunication sent from the Pope, they resolved in an assembly of all the country, not any way to care for it. And therefore they expelled all the priests (that obserued the command of the Pope) out of their Country, and would not permit them to administer the Sacraments: amongst all which they killed but one.

The Abbot of *Saint Gall*, perceiving that this course did him not any seruice; and that (on the other side) the men of *Appenzel* ranne verie fiercely vpon such, as durst teare them to bee excommunicate, and ruined the Castellles of manie Gentlemen. Finally, by helpe of the Bishoppe of *Constance*, and the Noblemen of *Swabia*, hee accused them before the Electours of the Empire, imploring theyr helpe and aide in this extremitie. The Electours sent to the Switzers, and to

their league with the Switzers.

Their forme of government, first by themselves, and afterwards in due fashion,

People are banished and excommunicated, because they maintain their countries liberty.

The Abbot of S. Gall appealed to the Electors.

The Switzers
would not
war on their
neighbours.

Warre made
vpon the No-
ble-men by
them of Ap-
penzell.

When anger
helps not, pa-
tience must
prevaile.

Appenzell re-
ceiued into the
Cantons.

the Citties of *Suaba*, that they should bring them of *Appenzell* vnder obedience. But the *Switzers* would not make any war on their neighbours and fellow citizens: but rather laboured to make peace, which was agreed on foure yeares after this ex-communication, the men of *Appenzell* hauing bene (before) ouercome in two encounters, by the Count of *Toggenbourg*.

This peace lasted not long, for the Gentlemen, neighbours to *Appenzell*, about the Lake of *Constance*, assembled a great number of horsemen, wherewith to invade them of *Appenzell*. But they disappointed their hope, and got before them; possessing themselves of *Rineck*, & of the Vale of *Rheynse*, in the year, 1445. The Lords of *Hagenwill*, who helde that country in pawne or pledge: caused them of *Appenzell* to be censured with banishment, by the Imperiall Chamber established at *Rottnille*. But gaining nothing by the bargain, they sold them their right, for the summe of fixe thousand crowns, and tooke off the censure. In the year, 1452. they made perpetuall alliance with seauen of the Cantons, and (after that time) ioyned themselves with the *Switzers*, in the warres against the Dukes of *Austria*, of *Bourgonne*, and the league of *Suaba*, wherein they shewed themselves both faithfull and valiant. Afterward, in the yeare, 1513. they were receiued into the number of the Cantons.

CHAP. XV.

Concerning the alliance made betwene the five last Cantons; And a breuiate of their Articles, binding them together in confederacy.



ALL the latter cantons, except *Basle*, long time before their receiuing into this ranke, were allied to the other ancient Cantons, and then afterward, at sundry times they were receiued and numbered with the cantons,

according as wee haue noted already.

Now those Cantons doe hold this right about their confederacies, that they deliberate, and giue aduice in their dayes of consultation, for all occasions concerning (in common) the common-wealth of the *Switzers*. They haue a share or part, in all commodities and discommodities of the commonalty. They gouerne (in equall authority) all the *Baliwicks* by them obtained, and partake equally and publicly, all booties gotten in warre. For the rest, the Articles of alliance of the old Cantons, and latter with the first, are almost alike.

The first and principall Article, concerneth mutual succour or assistance, wherein there are diuersity of clausies. The Cantons which shall be called, ought to succour their associate or companion, without any fraud or delay. If a Canton beso suddenly engirt by the enemy, as he cannot call the other, neither by Letters nor Ambassadors; yet shall not they forbear (for all that) from giuing succour, and in as speedy manner, as if they had receiued expresse aduertisement. If the latter Cantons doe conceiue, that a wrong is done vnto them; yet notwithstanding, they shall moue no warre against any person, without the will and consent of the olde Cantons. If their enemies will debate their cause in iustice, and accept the *Switzers* for their Iudges, or others of equall and indifferent iudgement: the Canton may not attempt to pursue his right by Armes. Euery one of the Cantons, at their owne charge and expences, shall come to succour the other, and send such numbers of men as they would haue, and according as they shall see it commodious, wherewith the other Canton must content it selfe. In like manner, the limits are prescribed, wherein the auncient Cantones stand bound to send helpe to the new: And the limits are the confines of the Cantons, as they then stand. There is likewise mention made, concerning charges and expences, at the besiedging and battering of Townes and Castles. And the Lawes agreed vpon at *Stantz*, touching the partage of booties, which also are hereine confirmed.

The second Article declareth, what kinde

What rights
and priuileges
belonged
to the Can-
tons

Articles of al-
liance of the
latter cantons
with the for-
mer.

The limita-
tion & bound
of succour to
be sent.

Of differen-
ces betwene
two Cantons
or many.

No subjects of
one Canton
to be entre-
tained by an-
other Canton

An especiall
fury of the
conditions
most maceriall

kinde of course is to be obserued, if a difference do happen betwene two Cantons or many: But wee shall speake in our second Booke, what forme of iudgement is in the case to be kept. Moreover, there is mention made, concerning actions in cases of iniuries betwene particulars, and what Iudges they are to take note of in that kind. Then for the exadging of names: Concerning commerce, and free Traffike, and what bargaining ought to stand free for buyers, as well on one part as the other. That no Canton shall receiue the citizens and subjects of another Canton: till they be first left at liberty, by them vnder whose dominion they were before. That the new Cantons shall not make alliance with any whose euer, without consent of the olde Cantons. If war is moued betwene the old Cantons, the latter shall remaine as newters, and labour onely to agree the parties. Each Canton shall keepe his or her ancient priuiledges, rights, and customes in their true integritie.

Behold the principall conditions of the latter alliances, wher namely it is decreed that the new Cantons shal not moue any warre, without aduice of the old, neither refuse that which is right, nor any honest condition of the country, and other such like things, concerning warre, are established fully. And because that the most part of the latter Cantons, are vpon the limits and euen out (as it were) of *Suetia*; they ordained, that no one shoulde attempt to make any warre, except it were for some matter of very great importace: and so much the rather, because it is very hard to conduct and maintaine an army in those quarters.

CHAP. XVI.

Here we are to speake of the Switzers wars in Italy, when the French undertooke to recouer the Dukedome of *Millaine*, &c.

The death
of Lewis, the 12.
K. of France,
after whome
succeeded
Frances de
Valois.

IN the yeare of our Lord, one thousand, five hundred, & fixtene, King *Lewis* the twelfth dyed. He had newly fought by

his Ambassadors, the amity and alliance of the *Switzers*. Neuerthelesse, in the meane time, he made great preparation for war, pretending to recouer the dukedome of *Millaine*. *Frances de Valois*, his kinsman, and his sonne in law, came after him (as successor) to his crown, who following the deliberation of his father, had also his minde and eye fixed on the *Millaineses*. The *Switzers* (on the other side) allied with the Emperour *Maximilian*, *Ferdinand* King of *Spaine*, *Sforza* Duke of *Millaine*, and with Pope *Leo* the tenth: vndertook to defend *Millaine* against the French. Wherefore, after they vnderstood the King of France his preparation they sent (at their first leuy) six thousand men to the Duke of *Millaine*. Afterward, the tenth of Iune, they made another leuy of 13000. men, which they sent also to ioyn with the first.

King *Frances* passed ouer the Alpes in the meane while, by vnaccustomed waies, shunning the Garrisons of the *Switzers*, which were vpon the vsuall passages, and entered into *Italy*, with an Armie verie potent, of French and Germaines. This was the reason that the Cantons sent twelve thousand men more thereto, so that the campe of *Switzers* onely, consisted of one and thirty thousand men. Now, although the Kings troopes were well provided and resolued, yet they would not hazard any thing, nor set vpon so great an Army of *Switzers* as being such indeed as hardly (at any one time) had so manie euer before bene in the field. Hereupon by their Deputies, they began to treat on peace with the Colonels of the *Switzers*: who likewise (for their part) were not far off from it in disposition, because they considered, that their confederate princes did not march on roundie with them.

For first of al, their wages was not paid them, according to promise. Moreover the Emperour had not sent his companies of horsemen, as he stood bound to do by the confederacy. And contrarywise, he had not prohibited the Lance-Knights (which hee might haue done in regard of his authority) from going in seruice with the King: but suffered them (by troopes) to depart from Germany, and enter into France. Finally, although the forces of the Pope and King of *Spaine* were nere-

The Switzers
attempts to
guard Millain
against the
French.

The Camp of
Switzer, was
30000. men in
number, and
newer so ma-
ny of them
seene before
in the field at
one time.

Reasons indu-
cing the Swit-
zers to listen
to peace when
it was moued.

yet

yet notwithstanding, they could hardlie be perswaded to passe the *Pas*, and ioyne themselves with the *Switzers*. Beside, there were messengers gooning and comming betweene the French and them, & from them to the French. Wherefore, the *Switzers* seeing themselves without money, and forsaken of their Confortes: made peace in the village of *Galleras*, with the Deputies to the King of France, vnder honest conditions. Which having bene confirmed by some Cantons, immediately twelue thousand *Switzers* took their way to *Como*, and returned home to their country, without carrying for the rest, who likewise prepared to depart the next morning. But the Duke of *Milaine* would not accept the conditions of this peace; and the Cardinall of *Sion*, (a great and perpetuall enemy to y French) laboured by oblique means, to breake & frustrate all.

It came to passe, that by cunning tricks and plottes, the thirteenth day of September, the *Switzers* of the Guard to the Duke of *Milaine*, and some others beside offended with the King, in the night time brake in vpon the French, sending worde instantly to aduertise their companions, in what danger they were, and intreated their present succour. The other, imagining that it would be a great shame vnto them, to forsake their friendes in such a neede, and being made to beleuee with all, that the French had begunne this broyle, went with all their troopes to assist them. The fight was very sharp on all sides; but the night parted them. In this charge was slaine *Frances*, the Lorde of *Bourbon*, the Lord of *Imbercourt*, also the Count of *Sancerre*, the Prince of *Talemond*, sonne to the Lorde of *Trimouille*, the Lords of *Bully* & *Amboise*, and manie other: which made some to holde opinion, that the *Switzers* were Maistres in this conflict, and a brute ran thorow *Italy*, that they remained conquerours. But the very same night, the King having mounted his Artillerie on their carriages, leuelled the battalions of the Gascogins and Germaines, re-assembling the horse-men vnder their Regiments, and sending *Bertelmeo d'Aluiana* with the Armie of Venetians: very early in the Morning, he gaue battaile to the *Switzers*, whom he vanquished, after they had lost manie

of their men.

The *Switzers* seeing the victory in a contrary hand, withdrew them-selves to *Milaine*; yet in such fort, that their retreat fauoured not of fight. For, they brought backe the Artillery which came out of *Milaine*, and marched in ranke of battaile, hauing their wounded Men in the middle among them, and going but a very softly pace: yet in all the French Army, not a man, eyther Horse or Foot, durst pursue them. On the morrow, hauing lesse the Duke of *Milaine* fiftene hundred men, to strengthen his garrison in the Castle, they returned into *Spretia*, by the way of *Como*. But, by reason of their feile, the French recovered the dukedom of *Milaine*.

The Emperour *Maximilian* contested hardly to take it from them againe, & the yeare following, he ledde into *Italy* (to effect that hope) an army of Germans and *Switzers*; but he could doe nothing, and so was glad to come backe again immediately. As for the King of France, hauing well felt how deare a price this victorie cost him: he neuer ceased till hee hadde made peace and alliance with the *switzers* in the end. Perpetuall peace, betweene the French and the *Switzers*, was made in the yeare one thousand, five hundred, and eightene, the last day of November; and the alliance was confirmed three yeares after, to wit, in Anno one thousand, five hundred, twentie and one. The Articles both of the peace and alliance, are set downe in their due place, heereafter following.

CHAP. XVII.

A Discourse, concerning the Alliance of the Switzers, with the King of France.



T that very time, all the Cantons, Zurich onely excepted, made Alliance with the King of France. And, although they of Zurich were earnestly

The retreat of the *Switzers* backe to *Milaine*.

The Duke-dome of *Milaine* recovered by the French

Perpetuall peace betweene the *Switzers* and the French.

Chap. 17.

Alliance with the K. of France.

Certaine reason why the King of Zurich refused to be allied with the King of France

The allegations of *Huldreich Zuinglius*, why Christian men should not make themselves hyrc-lings in warre.

The men of Zurich were peacefully minded, and little giuen to warre.

Taxations imposed vpon the new league

nestly sollicit by the rest, to ioyne in this league with them: yet for all that, they could neuer bring them to the point of yielding to this alliance. In the first place, the yeares going before, *Mathew*, Cardinall of *Sion*, who came verie often to Zurich: by his Orations and perwasive speeches, had wholly estranged them from the French. On the other side, *Huldreich Zuinglius*, being then a principal minister at Zurich, in his ordinary preaching and Sermons, ceased not to turne the people, from taking wages to goe in warre seruices. Shewing by arguments & remonstrences of great weight, that it was not lawfull for a Christian man, to fet himselfe to sale for a price of money, and go shed the blood of such as are (offensively) innocents, and neuer did him any manner of wrong. He sayd, they ought to follow the manners of the ancient *Switzers*, who (by their manhood) had planted liberty in their country. All which while, they wholly estranged themselves from such course of liuing: their liues were maintained by their traffick; neuer binding themselves vnto any Prince, neither hadde they any freedome that was up be sold.

And as hee had words & reade at command, so hee approved by great store of found reasons and arguments: that such alliances did but enserue & mercerly prostitute the liberty of the *Switzers* to forraigne Kings and Princes. So that the men of Zurich, being (otherwise) people of peace, and little addicted to martiall affaires, were much moued with his speeches, and abhorred this new League. On the other side, the Capitaines that hadde bene in the warres in the time of King *Charles* the eighth, and *Louis* the eleuenth, dissuaded them from the league, as being farre vnlike to the alliances with former Kings. For in precedent times, after that the *Switzers* had well vnderstood & comprehended the occasion of the war; they made choise of such Capitaines and soldiers as they should send to the King, according to their promise. But the Newe League, the Cantons neither choise Capitaines nor Soldiers, neither cared what became of all, what the occasions of the warre were, nor whether they were iust, or no. But, if the King were to deale with any people, hee choise such Capitains

of the *Switzers* as himselfe pleased, and caused them to come whether he thought good. By which means, the Cantons had not any power ouer their Men for warre, except they might counter-mand them, when any warre was moued in the country.

Moreover, many saide, that this newe League was contrary to the ancient and perpetuall alliances of the *Switzers*. For, in the first Article they stand bounde, to guard all the Prouinces of France, against all enemies whatsoever they are. True it is, that the first alliances were exempted; but immediately is added, that if the ancient allies begin to make warre vpon the French, the Cantons ought to send succour to the King, against the other whereon ensued (as it seemeth) that if any one of the Cantons, or of the Confederates, could not haue reason (in friendly manner) of the King of France, and would pursue his right by Armes: the other Cantons are bound to warre on him, according to the new League, and contrarie to the promises of the ancient alliances.

Moreover, it is not any long time, since the *Switzers* denied their troopes to the Emperour *Maximilian*, alledging for their excuse, because he would haue had them serue at his Coronation: that they were occasioned (for many reasons) to keepe their men of warre (as then) at home in their owne country. Therefore it appeared to them vnto this, that they should then allye themselves with the King, who would make a League of them, so looke as the alliance was concluded.

They continued also, that it would be farre off from their ancient grantie and magnanimity, if they should league themselves so strictly with the King of France, of whom (but a yeare and an half before) they had written vnto the Electors of the Empire, that it was no way expedient that he should gouern the affaires of Germany: so that if he should be elected Emperour, they were not minded to giue him obedience. And, as concerning the commodities of the alliance, which many did make lowd proclamations of there were others of opinion, that the profite would fall into some particular purses, and especially of such, as enriched themselves by the pensions of France; but the Common-

Articles concerning the ancient and perpetuall Alliances of the *Switzers*.

The *Switzers* denied their troopes to the Emperour *Maximilian*, and vpon what cause.

The *Switzers* denied obedience to the King of France, if hee were chosen Emperour.

12000 *Switzers* sent home to their country, without the rest of their companie

A hot & fierce fight betweene the *Switzers* & the French wherein the *Switzers* were ouerthrowne in the end.

Read the lorde du Bellay, in the first booke of his Memoires.

Arguments
very confi-
dently alled-
ged by the
Switzers, a-
gainst ioyning
in League
with the King
of France.

monwealth of the *Switzers* would be no way benefited by the bargain, as very easily was to be proved.

For in the first place, the country had no need of any strange horsemen or infantry, having work enough to doe in nourishing their owne breed for that employment. Moreover, the hope of helpe, and money from *France*, robbed the *Switzers* of all their true force and courage. In following the example of their predecessors, they were best to let their hope leane and rest vpon God, to serue and honour him in sincerity of heart, and vprightnesse of conscience. That not onely hope in God, would faile and diminish by such a League, but also it was to be feared, that it would very strongly break and corrupt their ancient manners, cause all husbandry to cease, giue ouer honest trades and exercises, and engender nothing but idleness. And then is easily known what followeth: dissolution in diet and apparrell, drunkennesse, whoredomes, adulteries, thefts, and blasphemies. For these are the fruites of warre, and the Arts that are learned in the armies of strange Princes.

The fruites of
war in forraign
Princes serui-
ces.

For a small conclusion, the euent and successe of precedent alliances, haue both instructed and guarded many (especially the men of *Zurich*) to weigh well & consider on nouell combinations. For, albeit that some fewe did sufficient seruice to the nation, as that which was made against the Duke of *Bourgogne*: yet notwithstanding, the most part of those alliances, brought it into great extremities. Because in such strange wartes they lost many of their people: or els in those contentions, they were rudely hurried and agitated, by factions and seditions. For these reasons, and diuers other considerations, the inhabitants of *Zurich* could not (as then) be induced to ally themselves with the king of France.

But the other confederates, who were not of any such opinion, maintaine what they did, by reasons enow. First, they declared, and would proue it, that euery voyage in war was not condemned by the word of God: but that many holie persons had made wars; wherein they were ayded and succoured by others, as in like manner they had assisted their Allies. Secondly, that the war of the *Switzers* was not mercenary nor vendible; because

Arguments
for alliance of
the *Switzers*
with the King
of France, against
those former-
ly alledged by
the of *Zurich*.

they went to the seruice of a King onely, (with whom they were ioynd by an honest alliance) with the will and consent of their Lords.

Thirdly, that if the King should moue a warre, which all men knew to be vniust; then it remained in the power of the Lords of the Leagues, to deny him succour. But if the occasion were doubtfull and vncertaine, the souldier had nothing to doe to make any curious inquisition thereof: it only appertained to the King and his Councell, to render a reason for it. Fourthly, that the *Switzers* Countrey was greatly peopled, but narrow, hard, & barren in many places, and could not furnish so many men with nourishment: wherefore the commodity was not to be condemned, which the King had offered voluntarily.

To these we will adde, that the *Switzers* ought to consider, with what neighbors they were enclosed, from wherof enuyed them, and others pryed into their Liberties: so that it was both well and wisely done, to fortifie themselves with strange succour against them, and that trust and hope in God, did not prohibite the vie of humane assistance. Also, this was a means to traine vp the *Switzers* in martiall discipline, which is necessary for all Commonwealths: and in regard whereof, warlike people haue euermore bene highly respected. Finally, although that some alliances haue discommodited the Countrey; yet notwithstanding, the *Switzers* haue sped well in the more part, especially in those which they had with the kings *Leues* the eleuenth, *Charles* the eight, and *Lewis* the twelfth. And therefore they must needs expect a happy yssue of this which they contracted with a King powerful & fortunate.

This was the discourse then made concerning alliance with the *Frenches* I learned of my predecessors, which liued in those times. The selfsame question hath bene often and seriously debated & handled, euery in my time, by men well grounded in the Maxims of State, to whome (as yet) I referre the further knowledge of the case.

The *Switzers*
counties lied
with
people, but very
barren.

Martiall & mi-
litarie Dis-
cipline very ex-
pedient for all
Common-
wealths.

of



Of them that are Allied and Leagued with the CANTONS.

And first, The Abbot of Saint Gall. CHAP. XVIII.



Hitherto wee haue shewne what the Cantons & confederates are, making vp a whole body of the *Switzers* Commonwealth, and what hath bene the estate and condition of euery one of them before they were leagued. Also, for what causes at what times, and with what conditions they assembled themselves in a body politicke. Now we will discourse of the associates of this Commonwealth, according to the same order: and we will heere shew, wherefore, when, and vpon what conditions they allied themselves with the Cantons. And because the Abbot, and the City of *Saint Gall* do holde the first ranke, wee purpose to begin with them.

Another Dis-
course of the
Author, con-
cerning the
associates in
particular ma-
nner.

The City of S.
Gall took
name at first
of one Gallus,
a Gentleman
of Scotland.



Gallus, of whom the city of *Saint Gall* hath taken name, was a Gentleman of Scotland, and Disciple or Scholler to an Abbot, named *Colombanus*, with whome hee came into France, and thence transported himselfe into Germany, to a place called *Tuggen*, neere to the Riuer named *Limagne*, at the mouth of the Lake of *Zurich*. There he preached the Gospel with great zeale and affection, to the people of the Countrey, then bewitched with diuers kindes of Idolatry. Hee continued (soone after) at *Bregents*, at the mouth opening of the Lake of *Constance*: next, at *Arbonna*, and in diuers other places of

Swetia, for the space of sixteen years, or thereabout. *Gonzo* Duke of *Snaba*, hauing called him to bee *Byshoppe* of *Constance*, he would not accept that charge: but counselled the Duke to giue it to one of his schollers, named *Iohn*, whom hee thought to be more fit for the place. As for himselfe, about the yeare six hundred and thirty, he retired into the Mountaines, about the Lake of *Constance*, into a solitary place, and in the very same plot or square of ground, where the Citty and Abbey of *S. Gall* now standeth: hee builded a little Cell or house, wherein he spent the rest of his dayes, with some of his schollers, in the studye and meditation of holy matters.

After the death of *S. Gall*, his schollers liked well to liue in that place, and according to his manner of life: neuertheless, without making profession then of any certaine rule or order. But the Kings of France, and the Dukes of *Snaba*, taking delight in their deuotion, did them many kinde Offices: where by the number of these religious men encreased, & (by little and little) the small filly house of *Saint Gall*, became conuerued into an Abbey. For fourescore yeares after the death of *S. Gall*, they requested Counte *Bertrand*, Gouvernour of the countrey for the Kings of France, that hee would giue them an Abbot. He sent them a Priest, named *Omer*, bred and brought vp in a Colledge, called *Caire* of the *Grisons*, and towardes *Pepin*, Prince of France, sonne to *Charles Martell*: who following the aduice of his father, established this Priest the first Abbot of *Saint Gall*, and then (first of all) the Monkes made profession of the rule of *S. Benedict*.

Gallus refused
to be byshop
of *Constance*,
and preferred
one of his
schollers to it.

The death of
S. Gall, & suc-
cession of his
schollers, and
his little house
becoming
an Abbey.

Omer a priest
the first Ab-
bot of S. Gall.

As

After that time, the abbey became verie rich and powerfull, so that the Abbot of that place, was sette in number of the Princes. And in ancient times he was vnder protection of the Emperours, who tooke the Gentlemen of *Snaba* to be Gouernours of this abbey. Afterward, warre being kindled betwene the *Abbot*, and them of *Appenzel*: the Monkes well perceived that their Conuent stood in neede of some good Protectours, because the Townesmen or Citizens of *S. Gall*, who were (as within the abbey) ioyned with them of *Appenzel*, who were also fauored by many seruants of the *Abbot*.

The Abbot of S. Gall desires to be receiued into the number of 4. Cantons, and to bee ordered by them.

Landberg the Abbot being dead, Huldreich assumed the Rule, succeeded after him.

Abbot Huldreich renewed the league with the four Cantons, and more stridly.

and reprooued his aduersaries very stoutly. This association endureth yet to this day, and although al the Cantons are not at agreement with the *Abbot*; as concerning matter of Religion, yet notwithstanding, according vnto the articles of alliance, they send him a Capitaine, who manageth and gouerneth ciuill causes, conseruing (in this regard) the rights and priuiledges of the *Abbot*.

Couenants of alliance kept, though not in Religion all alike.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the Towne or City of S. Gall.

THE Cittie of Saint Gall, oweth her original and encreasing to the Abbey, and hath bene enfranchised by the Emperours, who vnto it to the Empire, and gaue it many priuiledges and immunities. In the time of the Emperour *Arnould*, the citie began first to be enclosed with walles: as fearing the courtes and surprizals of the *Hungarians*, and both it and the Couent were vnder the Empires protection. The citie was subiect vnto the Abbey in many things: meane while, the citizens had their rites, which they augmented by their industry, & by means of the Emperours liberalities.

The Abbey began and created the city of S. Gall.



Wealth and ease were the first causes of strife & civil contention.

Now, when the number of citizens, and the riches of the Abbey beganne to increase: many debates and contentions also tooke Original, betweene the abbot and the citizens. Oftentimes, the Townes round about it, and the Imperial chamber, would set them at agreement againe. Sometime likewise, they were glad to satisfie the Abbots demands with money, and encreased their liberties, by buying their rightes of him. But when they of *Appenzel* moued warre against *Abbot Cuno de Stouffen*, the men of *S. Gall* beganne to take part with the *Abbot*, and got nothing for their labour but blowes, vvhich caused them (soone after) to make alliance vwith them of *Appenzel*. This vvarre being ended, and some other after, *Abbot Landberg* being made a fellow-Bourgesse vwith

with foure Cantons: the citizens of *S. Gall*, to maintaine themselves by the like expedient, entred perpetual alliance with *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Lucerna*, *Suits*, *Zug*, and *Glaris*. This alliance was sworne on the Eue of *S. Iohn* Baptists, in the yeare, 1454. And they of *Saint Gall* made a publicke banket for the Ambassadors of the Cantons, wherat were present about fiftene hundred men. Before this alliance, they were leagued with some Cantons for certaine yeares: as with *Zurich*, *Constance*, and *Schaffouse*, in the yeares, 1312. and 1347. And at other times often with *Zurich* and *Constance*. Afterward, with *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Vri*, *Suits*, & *Vnderwald*, in the yeare 1329. But I haue purposely omitted those alliances made for so short times, contenting my selfe onely with this last mentioned, which continueth to this day

1500 men present at one banquet.

CHAP. XX.

Of the Leagued Grisons.

IT is generally agreed on that the people of the Grisons are very ancient. For some ages before the birth of our Saviour Iesus Christ, the *Tuscan* being driven from their houses by the *Gauls*, they possessed the Alpes, vnder conduct of their capitaine, named *Rhatius*, for whose sake they called themselves *Rhatians*. Heretofore this country extended it selfe greatly in length & largenes, so that the *Romane* Emperors made two *Rhetian* Prouinces, named the first & second *Rhetia*: which comprehended not onely the *Alpine* regions, but also a great part of *Snaba* & *Bauaria*. Now it is well knowne, that this first *Rhetia* beginneth at y^e founte of *Rhaine*, & taketh a sufficient great quarter of the Alpes, and all the valles on both the sides. Almost all the people there are (to this day) called *Grisons*; and in former times they were tearmed *Gris*: as likewise the *Almains* gaue them the same name, & call them beside, *Graw* *Wunder*, that is to say, *Leagued Grisons*. For, in regard that these *Rhatians* are Leagued, not onely with the *Switzers*, but also among them

Concerning the antiquitie of the Grisons being sometime called *Rhetians*, of the capitaine *Rhatius*.

Diverse of names giuen to the people of *Rhetia*.

time, we call them *Leagued Grisons*, & som times the *Switzers* names them simply, *Wunder*, that is, *Confederates*.

We are to obserue three leagues of the Grisons. The first tooke name of her antiquity, and of the situation of the countrey: for they called it, *The High League*, or *high Grisons*. It containeth nineteene Communities or Fellowships, among whom (heretofore) the Abbot of *Dissentis*, and the Baron of *Rhatia*, & the Count of *Misauk* held the cheefest ranke: but the families of the 2. latter are expired. Neuertheless, among them in common, they which possesse the Castle of the ancient Barons of *Rhatia*, are called *Lords of Rhatians*, a title which (some



short while after) the *Lords of Maribere* took, and after them, they which are named *Planters*. They of *Tauferscher*, *Luiner*, and *Mafaxeral* are the principall people of this league.

The second is called, *The league of Gods house*. I thinke it to be so termed, because the bythop of *Coire* is comprized in this league. It also comprehendeth nineteene Communities; two whereof doe speake the *Germane* Language; the other, v^e the *Rhetian* or *Grison*, which is their mother tongue, & cometh neere to the *Italian*. The principall people of this league are the city of *Coire*, which is the bishops See. Also they of *Fregual* and of *Engadin*, out of which countries run two renowned riuers, to wit, *Esch* and *Inn*.

The third league hath ten Communities, and is called, *The League of ten Iurisdiccions*. Therein are comprized them of *Rhuchenberg*, and of *Tunlesch*. The former two leagues had (at the beginning) amity and alliance a certaine time, vwith the Cantons neerest to them. For, in the yeare, 1419. the bythop, the Chapter, & the citie of *Coire*, made Alliance vwith them of *Zurich* for one and fiftie yeeres. Also, they were sometimes allyed vwith them of *Glaris*. And the Grisons of the high league, wer long time confederated with them of *Vri*. Then after, with them of *Gods house* they made a perpetual alliance vwith feauen of the Cantons. But the thirde League is not comprized in this alliance, and yet notwithstanding do

Three seuerall Leagues of the Grisons.

1. The High League, or high Grisons.

2. The league of gods house or of the Hofpital.

3. The league of ten iurisdiction.

Seuerall alliences, & at seuerall times.

entertaine this amity and society with the confederates, euen as firmly and faithfully, as if they stood solemnly bound thereto.

First then, in the year 1497. the high league, more properly called, *The Grifon league*, made perpetuall alliance with seauen Cantons: and the year following, the league of *Gods-house* ioynd it selfe with them, by this occasion following. Some years before, the league of *Gods-House* had had certaine great differences, with the dwellers in the county of *Tyrol*. In the end, by the will of the Emperour *Maximilian*, it was decreed; that the parties should chuse an equal number of Iudges, to take knowledge of their variance, and that *Thomas*, Bishop of *Constance*, should be Arbitrator aboue all the Iudges. But while the Councellers to the King delayed to end this discord, the Bishop of *Constance* dyed: and in his stead, *Maximilian* subrogated *Fredericke*, Bishop of *Ambourg*. But the Kings councellers taking no knowledge of this other Arbitrator, prolonged (from day to day) the decision of the suite, as before they had done: all this while mollesting the *Grisons*, and charging them still with uell impositions.

They perceiving no cessation, deputed two of each league, and sent to *Innspruck*, insisting, that this difference should end, according to the order of the Emperour *Maximilian*. Which the councellers pretended not to know, albeit churcs of them, and (among the rest) the chanceller was present when the decree was set downe. Yet notwithstanding, because the Deputies should not be sent backe without answer; they assigned a day at *Velceure*, in Lent the next year ensuing. In the meane while, they of *Austria* planted Garisons vpon the Frontiers, and strong Artillery in diuers places, making (vnder hand) their preparation for warre. For they had appointed that day expressly, because they would set vpon them at vnawares, & vterly overthrow the *Grisons*, no way standing on their guard: wherein the Bishop of *Coir* lent his helping hand to them of *Austria*. But the league of *Gods-House*, hauing discovered the enemics intent; sent men to the cantons, who kept then a day at *Zurich*, and gaue them to vnderstand this eminent danger.

The Ambassadors declared, that beside the olde quarrels, new differences were moued, betwene them of *Austria* and the *Switzers*, so that there grew an appearance of warre: therefore for the profit & security both of the *Switzers* & *Grisons*, it seemed good, that they should be allied together. For by that meanes, the *Grisons* should easily expell the enemy out of their country: although they gaue them but little ayde, or almost none at all. On the other side, the *Switzers* should haue a Bulwarke to back them, and so might the more strongly make head against the enemy. The Cantons, who had bin well affected to the *Grisons* before, and knew those Mountain-bred men, to bee a warlike disposed people, and how beneficiall this alliance wold be both to the one and other: concluded and established a perpetuity of loue with the *Grisons*, in the year 1498. and the Moneth of December, and the Articles of the alliance are these that follow.

The Articles of alliance, betwene the Switzers and the Grisons.

1. *First, that they shall be friends, & giue mutual succour one to another.*
2. *The second Article concerneth the agreeing of differences, which may happen betwene confederates.*
3. *The third is, that no man shall giue or sell away, those actions that he hath against his debitor, or the answerer, or surety for him.*
4. *The fourth concerneth victualles, according to one anothers trading: And to bee freely in the Markets, without standing bound to pay any new tributes.*
5. *That neither the one nor other side, shall make any new alliance, wherein these Articles shall be comprised, but with exceptions: And that in times of warre, the one side shall not make peace, except the other be therein comprehended also.*

These are the Articles and principall points of the alliance. But the year following, the warre of *Suaba* happened, wherein the *Grisons* valiantly defended their Frontiers, against the men of *Austria*. And by the ayde of their people, many times in like manner, and by the assistance of the *Switzers*, diuers braue battailes

An offer of alliance betwene the *Switzers* and *Grisons*.

A perpetual league of loue with the *Grisons*.

For friendly and assistance.

Agreeing of councils.

No telling of debts.

For food and trading.

For new alliances, & making of peat.

New trouble hapned by the warre of *Suaba*.

Peace made in the city of *Basle*, for the *Switzers* and *Grisons*.

John Iaques de Medicis, Marquisse of *Marignano*.

The *Grisons* allied with the French.

For friendly and assistance.

Agreeing of councils.

No telling of debts.

For food and trading.

For new alliances, & making of peat.

New trouble hapned by the warre of *Suaba*.

The Bishop of *Sion* is Count and Governour of *Valais* or *Valois*.

were wonne against the enemy. Yet after these victories hapning on either side, peace was (at length) made in the city of *Basle*, with the Emperour *Maximilian*; in which peace, the *Grisons* are also comprised. By this meanes, the beginning of the alliance was wholefome and happy to both parties, and afterward, in many wars where the *Switzers* were present, vnder wages of strange Princes their confederates: the *Grisons* alwayes marched as kinde companions with them.

It came to passe, that in the year one thousand, five hundred, thirty and one: *John Iaques de Medicis*, who afterward was Marquisse of *Marignano*, getting vnto possession of the Castle of *Musf*, vpon the Lake of *Coma*, and hauing taken *Clauenna* from the *Grisons*, foraging the country thereof: many Cantons, according to their league of alliance, sent succour to the *Grisons*: by meanes whereof, the enemy was overcome at last, and driuen far off. In our time, the *Grisons* were allied with the French, and with the cantons of *Swetia*, and went to warre together for the King: yet in such sort neuertheless, that they send oftentimes a regiment separated of the *Switzers*, & which hath his Colonell & Captaine in chiefe.

CHAP. XXI.

The Alliance of the Valaisians, or people of Valois.

THE name of *Valaisians*, or them of *Valois*, comprehends three distinct people, enclosed within the most high Mountains, and dwelling in the Valley, from the fource of *Rheine*, so farre as the Lake *Leman* is. They were anciently called *Viberines*, *Sedusians*, or *Segusians*, some say, *Sebusians*, and *Peragrians*. At this day, the *Viberines* and *Sedusians*, are called the high *Valaisians*, and are diuided into seuen Dioeces, or Wards of ten Parishes. The *Peragrians*, or lower *Valaisians*, are subiects to the other: but the Bishop of *Sion* is Prince of all the country, hauing the sovereignty both temporall and spiritual, and he is called Count, or Governour of *Valois*. We haue descri-

bed in another Tract, apart by it selfe, not onely this Valley, but likewise all the most remarkable things of the *Valaisians*.



Five Wardes or Dioeces of the *Valaisians*, made first alliance with *Lucerna*, *Vri*, and *Vnderwald*, in the year 1417. They were then in warre against a Bishop, named *William de Raron*, and his

Father *Guiscard*, whom they had (by a popular tumult) forced from their houses. The *Bernians* gaue assistance to the Bishop and his Father, who were of their Bourgeois: And for this cause the *Valaisians* desiring to haue succour elsewhere: allied themselves with the fore-named 3. Cantons. Now fearing lest this might be an occasion of breeding quarrell betwene the *Bernians*, and the three Cantons allied with the *Valaisians*: the other cantons, who were as neuters to the business, laboured so earnestly, that the difference was pacified, and the Lords of *Raron* re-established in their goods. Before this alliance, the *Valaisians* had made one (for the space of ten years) with them of *Berne*, in the year 1250. Again, after this warre, they contracted another alliance (for certaine time) with the *Bernians*. But in the year 1475, they made a league defenseue and offenseue. And in the same year when wee wrote this History (to wit, 1575) an hundred years being expired, after the beginning of this league: they renewed and confirmed it on eyther part, by magnificent Ambassadors. Two years before they were leagued with the *Bernians*, they made a certaine agreement with them of *Vri*, *Suits*, and *Vnderwald*.

To conclude, in our time, vpon great differences moued, concerning matters of Religion, Ceremonies, life and manners of the Cleargy, whereof reformation was required, *Swetia* being diuided into contrary parts; *Adrian*, Bishop of *Sion*, and seuen Wardes of the *Valaisians*, in the year 1533. made alliance with seauen Cantons, in the Towne of *Erlibourg*, which Cantons made profession of the Roman Religion, as namely, *Lucerna*, *Vri*, *Suits*, *Vnderwald*, *Lug*, *Erlibourg*, and *Sollenre*. In this Alliance, (ouer & beside that which is vied in the other) it

A a 2 was

Guillaume de Raron and Guiscard his father.

Contracted alliances of the *Valaisians* with the *Bernians*.

Differences about the ceremonies, iustice, and manners of the Cleargy.

Alliance of the *Grisons* with the *Switzers*, and vpon what occasions.

A great difference betwene the league of *Gods-house*, and them of *Tyrol*.

The *Grisons* depute two of each league for ending their cause.

Cunning and stratagem used for such to oppress the peoples liberty.

was especially agreed, that they should aide one another, to maintaine the vfed and approued Religion, to wit, that of the Romane Church, against all them that would depriue or violence it.

CHAP. XXII.

Of Rotwill, or Rotuill.

Opinions concerning the name of Rotuill, or Rotuill, which is an Imperiall Towne or City.

Some haue imagined, that *Taxagatium*, whereof *Ptolomy* speaketh in his Geography, was *Rotwill* or *Rotuill*, which *Clareanus* calleth *Erythropolis*, hauing changed the *Aleman* or *Germane* word, into a Greek word: but they much deceiue themselves. For *Ptolomy* placeth *Taxagatium* in the country of the *Grifons*, and *Rotuill* is feituared beyond *Danubius* in *Germany*, on the left side of the Riuer *Nicra*, and very neere to the Spring-head of both those Floods or Riuers. This city is sufficiently renowned among the Imperials, for therein is a chamber of the Empire, which is vulgarly called *Hofricht*, wherunto all the round neighbouring countries resort, for causes of appeal. Such as are contumacious, and fayle of their appearance there; are sent (by sentence of the Iudges) into banishment from the Empire. It is said, that this chamber was established by the Emperor *Conrad* the third, and that it is 424. yeares since.

The first alliance of them of Rotuill with the cantons.



The first alliance that they of *Rotuill* made with the *Switzers*, was in the time of the Emperor *Fredricke* the third, in the yeare 146. This alliance was renewed diuers times betweene them. At last, in the yeare 1319. they contracted perpetuall alliance with all the Cantons of the *Switzers*. During the warre of *Suaba*, they of *Rotuill* (engirt with enemies on all sides) shewed themselves alwayes faithfull to the *Switzers*; offering them amiably and liberally all their riches and men: which the *Switzers* could not accept, but onely desired them, to defend their city against the enemy. Now in regard that *Rotuill* is situated

along the limits of *Swetia*, and that succour cannot bee brought to one another, but with danger, considering, they must passe through other mens land, the alliance speaketh expressly, that they must be careful for drawing any war vpon them, or vpon any of their confederates.

And first of all, It is said, that they may not make war with any whoeuer, without the knowledge and consent of the Cantons. They shall giue no succour to any person out of *Swetia*, without the will and consent of the Cantons. Moreover, if they would haue reason by Arms, for any iniury or out-rage done vnto the; they must attempt nothing, but by aduice of the Cantons. If their enemies will vndergoe iudgement, such as the Cantons shall thinke to be honest and equall: the men of *Rotuill* must also consent thereto. If warre chance to be moued among the cantons; they of *Rotuill* are to follow that part, which the most part of voyces do allow. The cantons are to conferre (with all their power) the Imperiall chamber of *Rotuill*; which (in the mean while) shall vse no authority against the *Switzers*, or any of them. And if any stranger shall cite or summon thither a *Switzer*; they are to make knowne, and helikewise, how farre he is to bee defended by priuiledge. In breefe, they are not to molest any *Switzer* in that iurisdiction.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of Mulhouse.

Mulhouse is a Towne in the county of *Ferrara*, or (as some doe hold opinion) in the Territory of *Basile*. It is thought that in ancient times it was called *Ariabium*. For in the Guide or Director of wayes, appointed by *Antonius Augustus*; this place is set betweene *Augusta Rauraca* (which is *Basile*) and *Vruncim*, which some do thinke to be called at this day, *Ensbeym*; then Mount *Brissac*, *Heluetum*, and *Strasbourg* are named. In times

of antiquity, *Mulhouse* was in number of the Imperiall townes: but the Bishop of *Strasbourg* was Gouvernor thereof, also of the Towne



Rotuill is situated through the midst of *Swetia*.

A breuiate of the Articles of alliance betweene them and the Cantons.

The Imperiall Chamber of Rotuill, to be powerfully defended.

The situation and nomination of *Mulhouse*.

Mulhouse one of the Imperiall Townes.

Towne of *Colmar*. It came to passe, that warre happened betweene *Raoul of Habsbourg*, and the Bishop of *Strasbourg*; wherein *Mulhouse* was taken from the Bishop, & the Castle ruined. After which time, *Mulhouse* was againe re-obtained, and numbered among the Imperiall Cities and Townes.

Her first alliance with the *Switzers*, was made about the yeare 1464. For in regard that the neighboring Gentlemen molested the Towne, and narrowly watched all occasions to assault it; the citizens made alliance with them of *Berne*, for fifteene yeares, as also with *Fribourg* and *Sollemure*, and by means of the *Bernians* intercession, the other seuen Cantons tooke the Towne into their protection. Which proued to displeasing to the Noble-men, that these priuate enmitities conuerterd themselves (soone after) into open warre: which caused the *Switzers* immediately, to send and plant Garrisons in *Mulhouse*. Afterward, all the Cantons brought their troopes into the field, and came with great assistance to releue *Mulhouse*.

In the end, hauing besiedged the towne of *Waldshut*, appertaining to the house of *Austria*; they compelled the Gentlemen, to come to some equall conditions of peace. Afterward, they of *Mulhouse* were receiued for fellow-Bourgeses with them of *Basile*, and thereby more strictly vnited to the *Switzers*. Nine yeares after, the 19. day of January, they made alliance with all the thirteene cantons. The conditions were all alike to the alliance of *Rotuill*, as well in regard of warres, as leagues with strangers.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of Bienna.



Bienna is at the ende of a very pleasant Lake, abounding with plenty of fish & round engirt (on all sides) with goodly Vineyards. It is vnder the government of the Bishop of *Basile*; and yet it enioyeth lawes and regi-

ment a part by it selfe, as also liberrall franchises and priuiledges.



The first alliance of the of *Bienna*, was made with the men of *Berne*, in the yeare 1303. to ridde the country of certaine robbers and theues, which wandered there in fo great numbers, as almost no way had any security for passage. In this alliance, they of *Strasbourg*, *Basile*, *Fribourg* and *Sollemure* were also comprized. Three yeares after, in regard of some great differences, which they had with their neighbours: they made a particular alliance with the *Bernians*. Their third alliance was made in Anno 1352. and fifteen yeares after, because *John de Viana*, Bishop of *Basile*, (a man of turbulent spirit) would not suffer any of his neighbours to liue in quiet: they of *Bienna*, desirous to provide for their owne ease and tranquillity, ioyned themselves more strictly with the men of *Berne*, by giuing each to other the right of fellow-Bourgeses. The Bishop very angry at this vnion, mustered together some troopes of horse, and (at vnawares) ranne vpon them of *Bienna*, and clapt vp in prison the Authors of this association.

When the men of *Berna* heard of this deede, they came to succour their fellow Bourgeses, tooke (by force) the Castle, which the Bishop had in *Bienna*, set the prisoners at liberty, and made warre vpon the Bishop, as also on them of *Sollemure*, his associates. In this warre, they tooke and ruined many places, which were in subiection to the bishop.

CHAP. XXV.

Of Geneva.



Geneua is the last and vniuersall Citie of the *Allobroges*, of which (amongst other of Antiquity,) *Cesar* hath made mention in his Commentaries.

Aa 3

It

John de Viana Bishop of Basile, a man troublesome to his neighbours.

Julian Caesar in comment. lib. 1

In *Leſſon com.*
Lib. 1.
The ſituation
and antiquity of
Geneva.

It is neere to the limits of the Switzers, at the end of the Lake *Lemanus*, and an iſſue of *Rhone* cometh into it. Not onely the words of *Julius Caſar*, but alſo many antiquities there found, do teſtifie the ancientneſſe of the city. Many famous Monuments might haue bene ſcene there, but that the city was oftentimes ruined by enemies, and much deſtroyed and deſaced by fire. For I finde in ancient chronicles, that in the time of *Helioſabalus*, *Geneua* was embraced with ſo fierce a fire, as hardly was any one houſe to be found, that ſtood free from it. The Emperour *Aurelianus* reſtored the city againe, being ſo pitifully diſfigured, granted it great priuileges, and gaue it the right of Fairs, and of the Empire, becauſe it was ſituated moſt commodiouſly. Hee called it *Aurelia*, according to his owne name: but after his death, hee took her ancient name againe. Afterward, it was forraged (as many other cities were) by diuers barbarous Nations, intruding themſelves into France. And ſome 250. yeares after, or thereabout, within the ſpace of 7. yeares, fire tooke it in ſuch terrible manner, as the moſt part of the city was quite ruined.

The Biſhoppricke of *Geneua*, in former times had very ample priuileges & franchises: yet notwithstanding, the citizens held their liberties to themſelves, and alwayes carefully conſerved their leagues perperuall with the Biſhop, according as they were left vnto them by their anceſtors. The Counts of *Geneua* were great enemies to their liberties: who (neuertheleſſe) were vafiſſales of the Biſhoppricke, and held their Earledomes of him by fealty. So in like manner were the Counts of *Sauoye*; but the citizens maintained their rights and priuileges couragiously againſt the Counts.

In the yeare 1420. when *Amias*, the fiſt Duke of *Sauoye*, laboured to obtain of Pope *Martin*, by way of interchange, the right and ſuperiority (as they call it) ouer the city of *Geneua*: the Biſhop named *Iohn de Pierre-ſeize*, made an agreement for him, and all his ſucceſſors with the citizens, that he nor they ſhould at any time conſent, that the liberties of *Geneua* ſhould be exchanged or alienated. If either he, or any of his ſucceſſors did otherwiſe; the citizens might hold and ranke him or them in the number of traitors

and conſpiring enemies. Some while after this, the Emperour *Maximilian*, hauing amply publiſhed his Sonne in law, *Philibert*, Duke of *Sauoye*, Vicar of the Empire in thoſe parts: then againe, *Philibert* and his brother *Charles*, ſtroue to ſubiekt *Geneua* vnder their awe, pretending the title of this new right, and priuileges of the Vicariſhip, giuen in former times to the Counts of *Sauoye*, by the Emperour *Charles* the fourth. Who (notwithſtanding) tooke from Count *Amias*, all action, power, iuriſdiction, and preheminance, ouer the city and territory of *Geneua*.

While theſe praſtiſes and conſpiracies of the neighbouring Princes laſted, they of *Geneua* maintained themſelves heedfully in amity with the Switzers, and (diuers times) made alliance with the Bernians and Fribourgers, for certain yeares. At length, they combined alliance and fellow-Bourgeſhip perpetually, with the of *Berne*, and confirmed it more ſtrictly, in the yeare 1536. Then in regard of the religions alteration, the Duke of *Sauoye*, and the Biſhop of *Geneua*, made war vpon the citizens, they being ſuccoured by them of *Berne*. This alliance hath bene (ſince then) renewed, and many friendly motions made, to allie *Geneua* with the Cantons: but I know no reaſon, why it is nor executed and done.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of New-Caſtle.

THE City of *New-Caſtle*, is ſeated in the country of the *Anantiſ*, vpon the lake which is called the Lake of *New-Caſtle*, at the head whereof is another little Towne, called *Tuerdun*. *New-Caſtle* is both a city and country, and the Count thereof was choſen by ſucceſſion of the Counts of *New-Caſtle*: but ſince, ſaine to the Count of *Hochberg*, the Marqueſſe of *Roſſin*, and to two Dukes of *Longueuille*. During the warre betweene King *Lewes* the twelfth, and the Switzers, the men of *Berne* (in name

The eſtate of
New-caſtle,
being both a
City & Count-
ry in the an-
cient country
of the Auſ-
tiſ.

The Counts
of Geneua
and of Sa-
uoye, great
enemies to
the liberties
of the citi-
zens of Ge-
neua.

An agreement
made be-
tweene the
Biſhop and
citizens
of Geneua,
concerning
the liberties
of the City.

A Govern-
or placed in
New-caſtle by
the Cantons.

The cauſe &
reſolution of this
diſput argu-
ment.

A good and
ingular kind
of govern-
ment well ob-
ſerued among
them in thoſe
parts.

name of all the cantons their confederates) poſſeſſed themſelves of the city of *New-caſtle*, and of the whole county, and placed there a Governour. This order the other cantons continued, except that of *Zurich*, who hauing loſt their ranke: at the returne of it to their time againe, they ſhould command at *New-caſtle* two yeares together.

But when the time drew neere, *Jone* of *Hochberg*, widow to the Duke of *Longueuille*, preuailed ſo much, as (with certain conditions) the county was ſurrendered back againe, in the yeare 1529. Sometime before, this county had bene alloted from the Cantons of *Berne*, *Lucerna*, *Fribourg*, and *Saltzburgh* by meanes of ſome Articles, which were confirmed againe vpon this reſtoring or ſurrender. At this day, the counties of *New-caſtle* are particularly allied with the men of *Berne*, or the *Bernians*.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of thoſe people that are gouerned in com-
mon by the Citizens of the Switzers.

WE haue appointed for a third-part of ſue Switzers common-wealth, thoſe people that are gouerned (in common) by the Switzers. It is neceſſary then, to ſay ſome what of this time, and by what title, they became ſubjects to the Switzers. Among them there are ſome Townes, which wee may rearme ſtipendiaries becauſe (at their own proper coſts and charges) they march along in warre with the Switzers. Neuertheleſſe, they gouerne themſelves by their owne lawes, and make election of their Magiſtrates; & yet the maine ſouerainety appertaineth to the Switzers, to whoſe Lawes and Edicts, thoſe Townes ſtand bound to obey. Anciently they belonged to the houſe of *Auſtria*; but during the warres againſt that houſe, the Switzers became Maſters of the neighbouring countries, and theſe Townes yielded theſelves to them vpon certain conditions; to wit, that they ſhould be as well ſubiect

to them as to the houſe of *Auſtria*, their ancient priuileges ſaued and excepted. Thoſe Townes are *Bada*, *Bremgarten*, *Frauenfeld*, *Mellingen*, and *Rapſwill*.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of Bada.

BADA is a Towne vpon the Riuier *Limagus*, or *Limathus*, and ſo called, in regard of hot waters, whereof there are many Welles or Fountaines in that place, wherunto men and women vſe to reſort (in great numbers) from diuers countries. For this cauſe ſome haue called it the Towne of Baths, others, the Caſtle. According to cuſtome of our Elders, who called Baths, thoſe places where there were hot Springs and Fountaines: ſo may wee rearme this, the Switzers Baths. As in Italy there are the Baths of *Stratiell*, and others: In France, the Baths of *Arles*, of the *Comenues*, and of the *Tarbes*. In Germany, the Baths of *Spach* or *Spam*, and of *Aix*. In like manner, *Bada* a Towne of the Marquiſate of *Bada*, in a certaine inſcription, is named *The Baths*: And in the inſcription of *Wettingen*, they of *Bada* are called, The citizens of the Baths.

This Towne is one of the moſt ancient of *Suetia*, by the teſtimony of *Cornelius Tacitus*, who tearmeth it a Towne of *Cantu*, hauing in abundance, and with great pleaſure, very wholeſome waters. The ſame Author ſaith, that the Romans took notice of a Garriſon in the Caſtle of *Bada*, and reputed it ſelfe to be a Garriſon for the Mountains, which cloſe & ioyne together in that quarter, do locke vp this country. To paſſe out of Germany and *Suetia* into France, and into Italy, wee muſt goe through *Bada*, then ouer the lands of *Zurich*, from thence into the country of *Ergow*, and thwart ouer *Suetia*. In ancient times, this Towne had two Caſtles, one ſeated vpon an high Rock, which is nothing now at this day, but old decayed ruines (being ſpoyled and deſaced by the Switzers, as we ſhall declare anon.) And the other at an end of a bridge, where

Hot waters or
Baths belong-
ing to the
Switzers.

Of Baths in
diuers coun-
tries.

In England
likewiſe a
Towne of
Baths.

The teſtim-
ony of *Corne-
lius Tacitus*,
concerning
Bada.

Bada ioyned to the house of Austria, & resolved to the Switzers.

By what means Bada came into the power of the Switzers.

A Council of war, & their answer returned vnto the Switzers.

In the false-came council it was decreed, that men did not stand bound to keepe Faith with them that were cal led heretics.

where (in our time) dwelt the Bayliffes or Gouernours, which were sent thither by the Cantons. Bada hath had (in former times) Counts, the race whereof are quite extinct, and their successors haue bene the Lords of *Habsbourg*, who ioyned that County to the house of *Austria*, and diuers other goods. But from the house of *Austria*, Bada came into the Switzers hands, at the time of the Council of *Constance*, in manner following.

Fredericke of Austria, brought Pope *John* the 22. out of the Councell, & maintained him against the Emperour and the Councell. For which cause, by the Decree of the Councell, he was excommunicated, banished from the Empire, and his goods confiscated. The Emperour himselfe, with an assembled Army, from the Townes and Citties of *Germanie* and *Swabia*, the Duke of *Bawaria*, and some others, made warre vpon him. Also commandement was giuen to the Switzers, on behalfe both of the Emperour and the Councell to assaile *Fredericke* with all their forces. Whereof they made refusal, alledging that they could nor doe it, and their honor saued: in regard of the peace formerly made (for fifty yeares following) with them of *Austria*, confirmed by Oath and Letters Patents. The Fathers of the Councell made answer to this excuse of the Switzers: that *Fredericke* was an enemy to the Church, excommunicated and banished by publike order: This warre concerned the good of Church, who was offended and iniured (in her members) by *Fredericke*.

Wherefore, if in this cause the Switzers undertooke Armes, according to the command of the Emperour, they should doe a good and holy worke. They should also well consider with themselves, how much it would wounde their honour; if (in contrary opposition) they continued idle excuses, which would wrap them vp in the same censure and condemnation with *Fredericke*. Ouer and beside all this; according to the aduice of the Ambassadors of England, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Bohemia, Polonia, and Princes, Gentlemen, and Lawyers, the Emperour declared, that the Switzers might (with a good and safe conscience) make warre vpon *Fredericke*, notwithstanding the peace made. Because that the Subjects of

the Empire, in all actions doe except expressly or covertly, the right and Majesty of the Emperour.

The Emperour sent a copy of this arrest and decree to the Switzers, enioyning them againe to make war on *Fredericke*, and by the same means adiudged to the empire, all that which they of *Austria* had engaged to them before. Promising also, nor to make any peace with *Fredericke*, till the Switzers were first reintegrated into their former agreement. The Switzers being then perswaded with such reasons, leuied their Armes; but because they were to Warre in the name of the Emperour, and of the Romane Emperie, they demanded wages of the Emperour: declaring, there was no reason, that they should furnish themselves at their owne charge; and the fruit of the victory fall into other mens hands; and that theire wealth was not sufficient to furnish such expences.

The Emperour thought this demand to be made in equiuy; neuertheless, because he was somewhat empty of money, hee agreed with the Switzers, that all the goodes of the house of *Austria*, which they possessed already, or could conquer in this warre; they should enioy in the Empires name, vntil they should be paid their wages, and charges during the war. By especial Letters, the Emperour exhorted them of Zurich to enter the field, and granted them (in title of Fee) the Countrey which is beyond Mount *Alpys*, named the *Frise Prouince*, which they of *Austria* held. According hereto, the yeare one thousand, foure hundred, and fiftene; about the fifteenth day of April, the men of Zurich, with their troops well prepared, went to besiedge a Towne seated on the *Riuer of Rous*, named *Mellingen*, and on the third day took it by composition. From thence they went to *Bremgarten*, where the Cantons of *Suits* & *Zug* ioyned with them. They of *Bremgarten*, (by example of the other) yielded themselves to the Switzers, vnder protection of the Empire.

At the same time, the Lucernians tooke a Towne named *Sursey*. The Bernians, assisted by them of *Sollemure*, *Bienna*, the County of *Nem-castle*, and some others beside, got into their power *Zofingen*, *Arberg*, *Aron*, *Lentsbourg* & *Brig*, to-

A Copy of the Decree sent by the Emperour to the Switzers

The towne of Bada is yielded vpon to the Switzers.

The Switzers demand wages of the Emperour for their fees.

The Castle of Bada vpon conditions of deliuey.

Subtle deuises break the blowes of the Switzers, and to holden their liberties daily prailled.

The Emperours Letter to them of Zurich.

The Conquests of the Switzers.

A counter-Stratagem of the Switzers.

together with the country of *Ergow*. As for them of Zurich, after they had taken the forenamed Townes, they besiedged Bada. All the other Cantons, except *Bern* ioyned with them, for they of *Austria* held no place in *Swissia* of greater strength then this: and the Garrison of Bada had much ouer-travelled the Switzers, especially them of Zurich, and this was the reason, that the Cantons resolved to force both the Towne and Castle. As for the towne, after it had bene beaten with the Cannon, for the space of three weekes, without ceasing, it yielded. But the soldiours still defended themselves in regard of the fortresse, and held our well, after reddition of the Towne. The Switzers on the other side, hauing receiued succour from them of Berne, did dayly beate the place, and pressed the Garrison to yeelde themselves. At length, the Souldiers hauing no more stones, arrows, darts, nor any other munition proper for defence, truce being granted for some dayes: vpon condition, that if within a limited time *Fredericke of Austria* did not deliuer the from this siege, they would quit the place, and deliuer the castle into the power of the Switzers.

While these things were in working; by the intercession of the Duke of *Bawaria*, and the *Burggrau* of *Nuremberg*, *Fredericke* was reconciled to the Emperour *Sigismund*, who sent immediately his Ambassadors to the campe of the Switzers, to giue them command for the ceasing of warre. But the Switzers feeling yet the outrages which the Garrison of Bada had done vnto them, so soon as the truce time was expired, so pressed them within, that two dayes after Pentecost, the castle was deliuered to them, which they burned and quite ruined, as soone as the enemy had auoided it. On the Morrow, the Count of *Togge*, Ambassadour from the Emperour, being arrived at the Switzers campe, to command them agayne, that they should giue ouer armes, found the castle to be taken and spoyled. This strooke somewhat deadly vnto the Noble mens hearts: but they had no occasion to complaine, because the Switzers had done nothing, but in case of open & lawful warre.

Then, as the Emperour was ready to go for Spain, to fetch thence *Pierre de Lune*,

that he might be Pope, who afterwards was called *Bene* the eleuenth; being in need of money, because his cofers were emptied (hauing disbursed great payes, without any intermission in the precedent warres, and for the affaires of the Councell) he engaged to them of Zurich, Bada, Bremgarten, Mellingen, Sursey, and the Lands to them belonging. Also to them of Berne, the country of *Ergow*, which they had taken, as already hath bene declared: yet paying a great sum of crowns. At this day, the country of *Ergow* is possessed by them of Berne only. The yeare following, they of Zurich made a part of that which was ingaged to them, ouer to the Cantons of *Lucerna*, *Suits*, *Finderwald*, *Zug*, and *Glaris*.

From the beginning, the men of *Vri* would not haue any part; as thinking, that the detention of these places, contradicted the treaty of peace made with *Fredericke*. But after they vnderstood the reasons of their confederates, who protested (in themselves) the same desire of obseruing the peace: but that by command of the Emperour, and of the Councell, they undertooke armes. Next, that by the will and consent of them both, they possessed now those places for wages, and price of warre-seruice, and held them on the faith of the Emperour, the soueraigne Lorde; yet for a great summe of money, which they had layd out & disbursed. The men of *Vri* hauing heard these Reasons, and other of the like Nature, entred into part of this engagement. The Bernians also were receiued in at the length.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of Bremgarten, and Mellingen.

Bremgarten is a Towne, situated on the *Riuer of Rous*, which enloseth it in the midst almost, in forme of a demy Island, a great Germane mile beneath *Lucerna*. It appeareth by the ancient priuileges of this Towne; that it was (heretofore) numbered among the Imperials. Neuertheless, it became (afterwards) subiect vnto the Counts of *Habsbourg*, then to the Princes

The Emperour engaged Bada to them of Zurich and of Berne.

Vri stood free from all these partakings, till further information from their confederates.

Vri and Berne accepted into this combination at last.

How and in what manner Bremgarten is seated.

A description
of the situa-
tion of Mel-
lingen.

of *Austria* descended of them. But it is not well knowne at what time, neyther by what title, they came to make themselves Lords thereof.

Mellingen is a little small Towne vpon the selfesame Riuer, about halfe a German mile below Bremgarten. It hath alwayes beene vnder the dominion of the Counts of *Habsbourg*. These two Townes were taken (as *Bada*) in this war which the Switzers made vnder the Emperours name, and then afterward, the Emperour *Sigismond* pawned it to the Cantons: vpon condition, that all their ancient rights, priuiledges, and customes, should remain entire, and the Citizens to yeelde the same dutie to the Cantons, as formerly they had done vnto the Counts of *Habsbourg*, and Princes of *Austria* their Lordes. At this very day, both these Townes are vnder gouernement of the eight first Cantons.

CHAP. XXX.

Of Rasperwill.

The forme &
situation of
Rasperwill.

AS concerning *Rasperwill*, it is a town on the Lake of Zurich, wherein dwelt (sometimes the Counts of *Rasperwill*, who had to their successours the Countes of *Habsbourg*, that gouerned likewise in these quarters. In the year 1458, the Switzers became masters thereof. There were then two factions in this town, the one of *Austrians*, and the other of Switzers. Duke *Sigismond*, tooke some of the Switzers partakers, and brought them as prisoners to *Impruk*. The rest amazed at this deede, fled into *Suetia*; but by entermise of the Cantons, they all re-entred *Rasperwill* againe. For the Cantons protested out a lawde, that they would come and assault the towne, except the prisoners might be enlarged, and the banished receiued.

How Rasper-
will became
loynd to the
Cantons, and
to afterward
continued.

It came to passe the year following, that the Switzers made warre on them of *Constance*, who had done them some deplorable outrages. Peace being made, as they of *Vri*, *Suies*, *Vnderualde*, and *Claris* returned homeward to their houses, they demanded victuals for their troopes, and passage thorow *Rasperwill*, which they easily obtained by the persuite of their partakes. But, being entred more strong, and

in greater number then the Citizens (the most part whereof were Switzers in affection) they compelled the Citizens to sweare fidelity to them. So that from that time, *Rasperwill* remained in the power of those foure Cantons: who (neuerthelesse) left the citizens to the same liberty as they had vnder the Dukes of *Austria*.

CHAP. XXXI.

Of Frawenfeld.

How the town
came to be
taken by the
Cantons.

TWO yeares after the taking of *Rasperwill*, the seauen Cantons then being in warre against *Sigismond*, Duke of *Austria*, tooke *Frawenfeld*, the chiefest town in all the country of *Turgow*. There were reasons and occasions enow, whereby this warre was vndertaken and attempted. The Duke had imprisoned Cardinall *Casano*, byshoppe of *Brescia*, and because he did not release him, so soone as Pope *Pius* (who formerly was named *Aeneas Syluio*) sent him command to doe it, hee was therefore excommunicated. But, because this Thunder-bolte did not dismay him, and he appealed from that sentence, to the next Councill: the Pope commanded the Switzers to defend the Churches rightes, and to set vpon *Sigismond*. The Cantons, who had as much credite with the one, as with the other, obeyed the Popes command: but there happened other occasions to induce this warre.

The causes
that procured
this warre.

The Pope
commanded
the warre.

Small sparks
can cause and
kindle a great
fire, and insu-
luous suspicion
prone to por-
duce great
harme.

The towne of *Winterduer*, in the countie of *Kybourg*, appertaining to the Canton of Zurich, was subiect to the Duke of *Austria*. There is euery year in that place a *Fayre*, on the day of Saint *Gal*, the fixe of October, whereat the Country people round about doe meete in great numbers. They of *Kybourg* being come thither, the gates were shut against them, vpon a sinister suspicion of the inhabitants, that they of Zurich would surprize the Towne, during the *Faire* time, & had therefore made some preparation.

Now, as the Bayliffe established by the Canton of Zurich in those quarters, required that the Gates might be set open, and that they of *Kybourg* might haue free trading, according to their accustomed maner, promising that the town should

One wrong
or injury draw-
eth on ano-
ther, and to
no meanes
danger

It is now cal-
led both *Stria*
and *Austria*.

Violence and
cruelty is deat
and will not
bear any in-
jury.

A new Garri-
son is plant-
ed in *Winter-
duer*, which soon
after was be-
sieged.

The Bayli-
wickes gou-
erned by the
7. first Cantons,
and others
with them.

should receiue no endamage; nor withstanding all this, no credite would be giuen vnto his words. As a counterchange of this injury, they of Zurich prohibited their people from bringing either victuals or merchandizes to *Winterduer*. The Duke of *Austria* on the other side, standing vpon his guard, placed a garrison in the towne. These things happened before the excommunication from the Pope.

But yet there was another occasion for the moouing of this warre. There were two brethren, Gentlemen of mark, of the country of *Stria*, named *Vigilins*, and *Bernard Gradlers*. They of *Austria* had inforced them from their houses, and depoyled them of all their goods: without excepting so much as the dowrie belonging to *Bernard's* wife, who was of the house of *Starckenberg*. After they had solicited the Duke a long time, to restore their goods againe, and neuer could obtain so much, as that hee would admit but what iustice did allow: at length, they withdrew themselves into *Suetia*, and were receyued as Bourgeses into Zurich. Afterward, they brought a little town, called *Egghow*, they made warre on the Duke of *Austria*, assisted by the men of Zurich. The Duke placed a new garrison at *Winterduer*, but after the 4000s of Zurich were drawne thence: some difference fell betweene the Garrison, and the inhabitants of *Kybourg*. So that once more they of Zurich (hauing demanded succour of their confederates) went forth into the fields, going to besiege *Winterduer*. At this time then, to wit, in the year, one thousand, foure hundred and sixty, *Diesfenbow*, a Towne on the *Rheine*, in the country of *Turgow*, this country also, and *Frawenfeld* were conquered, and reduced vnder the power of the Switzers.

CHAP. XXXII.

Of the nine Baylywickes, or Governments.

THE common Baylywickes, are gouerned (in part) by the seauen first Cantons, and partly by some other with them. There are nine Baylywickes, or Go-

uernments in all, to wit, the Countie of *Bada*, the three Prouinces, *Turgow*, *Sargans*, the *Rhegnues*, that is to say, the valley of *Rheine*, which they call *Rimball*, *Lugano*, *Locarno*, *Mendrisio*, and the vale *Madia*. The foure last are beyond the Alpes, in Italy, towards the *Adriannesse*, & speak Italian; the other the *Germanes* tongue. *Sargans*, and the valley of *Rimball* are on the Frontiers of the *Grisons*: the other 3 are seated within the confines of ancient *Suetia*.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Of Bada and Turgow.

IN this manner (then) were the Towne and Countie of *Bada*, *Turgow*, and *Frawenfeld*, by the Switzers conquered: at such times, and by those means, as formerly hath bene related. The Cantons of Zurich, *Lucerna*, *Vri*, *Suies*, *Vnderualde*, *Zug*, *Claris*, and *Berne*, commaunded at *Bada*. They are Lords of *Turgow*, except the Canton of *Berne*, which hath no part therein. As concerning the taking knowledge of criminall causes, the Emperour *Sigismond* tooke it from *Frederick of Austria*, at the time of the Councill of *Constance*, and engaged it to the City of *Constance*, which kepte it till the year 1499, when the Emperour *Maximilian* attributed that authority to the Switzers, by a treaty of peace which hee made with the. And therefore the seuen first Cantons a-boue named, are Lords of *Turgow*. But concerning the knowledge of crimes; appellations and fines or amercements, which may happen, as oftentimes they doe: that appertaineth to the tenne first Cantons, who made warre agaynst the Emperour *Maximilian*, and the League of *Swaba*.

The manner of
their Con-
quest hath bin
already de-
clared.

Criminall cau-
ses took away
by the Emp.
Sigismond.

The authori-
ty belonging
to the ten first
Cantons.

CHAP. 34.

Of the three first Prouinces.

NOW, to speake of the three Prouinces, which are along beyond the Riuer of *Rust* (to distinguish them from the free Prouince, beyond the Mountain *Albino*, which was giuen to them of Zurich, by the Emperour *Sigismond*, as we haue already declared before:) they were taken by the Switzers, at the very same time when

Concerning
the situation
and true
names of the
free Prouin-
ces.

The reason why the name was thus giuen them, according to the authors opinion

when *Bada* was conquered. Heere let me tell you, that we call certaine Castles & Villages, which lye along the Riuer of *Ruß*, both aboue and below *Bremgarten*, free Prouinces. This name was giuen them (in mine opinion) because that the three villages, to wit, *Meyenberg*, *Richen-see* and *Ergow*, had anciently kept (each one) her iurisdiction, Magistrates, and Officers by themselves: so that they seemed as three seuerall Prouinces, now ioyned all into one. In times past, all that quarter was called the Countie of *Rora*, and so it was named by *Henry* the 5. Emperour, in a priuiledge of the Abbey of *Aduren*. The castle belonging vnto the Countes of *Rora*, was in the Towne of *Arone*.

Some difference among the Cantons, concerning the conquest of the free Prouinces.

As such time, as (by command of the Emperour and the Councell of *Constance*) the Switzers made warre on *Fredericke* of *Austria*, they of *Lucerna* conquered those places, which are along the Riuer of *Ruß*, and namely that countie of *Rora*. After the warre, when they contended who should be Lords thereof only: the Cantons of *Zurich*, *Suits*, *Vnderwald*, *Zug*, and *Glaris* opposed against them, and in diuers dayes held at *Begkenried*, *Vnderwald*, *Suits*, and in the campe before *Bremgarten*, they shewed, that (from the beginning of the warre) the Cantons had agreed, that they should be Lords (in common) of all places in the countie of *Ergow*, that should be won in that Warre. Now, although the Lucernians maintained, that they had giuen charge thereof to their Ambassadors; yet notwithstanding, after the testimonies were gathered both of the one side & other, the Lords of *Berne* being appointed iudges of the variance, pronounced, that these 5. Cantons had part in all the country.

The Lucernians pleaded their Title in right of their Ambassadors.

Tenneyeares after that, by consent of the sixe Cantons, they of *Vri* were ioyned with them, and hadde a great part also in that government. And therefore *Zurich*, *Lucerna*, *Vri*, *Suits*, *Vnderwald*, *Zug*, and *Glaris*, are Lords thereof at this day. The country is not great; and therefore, of what Canton soeuer the Bayliffe is, hee makes not his residence there: but when necessity doth so require, he comes once a yeare to iudge suites in law, and then he is lodged (most often) in the Abbey of *Muren*, which is rich enough, and well builded.

Vri ioyned with them ten yeeres after, & had a part in the gouernment.

CHAP. XXXV.

Of the Sargans.

Among the Grifons, the *Sarmetes* liued long time since; but at this day, both their towne and countie is vulgarly called *Sargans*, whereof diuers etymologies are made. But in the auncient Chartres, this Towne is named *Sarmegans*, which is a word deriued from the name of *Sarmetes*, whereof *Pliny* maketh mention. Now, because the dwelling of the *Sarmetes* was at the spring of the Riuer *Inn*, where now they of *Engadin* and of *Munsterthal* make their abiding; the inhabiting *Sargans* (now in question) it may be, are yssued from them: there or else might take their name of the Riuer called *Sar*, which runneth thorough the Towne.

In former times, this countie belonged to the Counts of *Werdenberg*, who in that respect were called Countes of *Sargans*. Afterward they pawned it vnto the *Austrian* Princes, and at another time to the Countes of *Togge*, but redeemed it againe, and possessed it til the yeare 1483. And then, *George* Count of *Werdenberg*, sold it to the seuen first Cantons, who sent a Bayliffe thither each one by his turne, that commanded the whole country, & kept in the castle where the Countes were wont to dwell. As for the Towne of *Sargans*, although it is subiect vnto the Switzers: yet notwithstanding, it enioyeth his priuiledges, and electeth Magistrates that administer iustice, and also deale in criminall causes.

The situation of the Country and Town of Sargans, and diuersitie of names them belonging.

The Count of Werdenberg, Count of Sargans.

Sargans sold to the Switzers.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Of the Rhegufes: now adayes called *Rhimball*.

That is to say: The Valley of *Rheine*.

THE *Rhegufes* are of the Grifons countie, dwelling on the bankes of *Rheine*, aboue the Lake of *Constance*. As for them that dwell beyond the *Rheine*, where

The situation of the Rhimball, and of the countie on either side of *Rheine*.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Of the Governments and baylywickes which are in Italy.

The valley of Rheine seized by the Count of Togge, and adopted ion to the Emperour.

where are *Bregents* and *Veleure*: they are yet to this day, subiects to the House of *Austria*. But they on the hither side, as *Rhine* and *Alstetten*, two little Townes, and the valley tending toward the Count of *Werdenberg*, they are obedient to the Switzers. Heerefore, all this countie appertained vnto them of *Austria*, who pawned it to the Lords of *Ion*. But at the time of the Councell of *Constance*, when as *Fredericke* of *Austria* was banished by the Emperour *Sigismund*: the Count of *Togge*, the Emperours adopted sonne, seized on this valley of *Rheine*, and other places belonging vnto the house of *Austria*, by disbursing money for them, to whom they were engaged.

The valley sold to them of Appenzell.

Afterwards, this Count pawned this Valley of *Rheine*, for a great summe of money, to two Gentlemen, *Huldreich* and *Conrad* *Beier*, brethren. In the yeare, 1460. *Jaques* *Beier*, their Brother and heire, hauing some variance with them of *Appenzell*, and fearing his vnableness of keeping this valley against their strength: willingly sold them his rights, and resigned the engagement. After that, this valley remained in the power, and vnder dominion of *Appenzell*, for the space of thirty yeares, or thereabout.

How Rhimball came to belong to the Switzers.

But when it so fell out, that the men of *Appenzell* were troubled in warre, against the Abbot of *S. Gall*, his subiects, and the Citizens also, and the Abbey of *Rosach* (new built) quite defaced: the Canton'd Switzers, confederates with the Abbot, mustred vp their troops, and called their other allies to them, by whose helpe they maintained the Abbot, and condemned them of *Appenzell* in a great fine. Which made them to require peace, and beside, to offer them the rule of the Valley of *Rheine*: the possession whereof fell (as a recompence) to the Cantons of *Zurich*, *Lucerna*, *Suits*, and *Glaris*. After this, they parted with a portion of this Seignurie, to the Cantons of *Vri*, *Vnderwald*, and *Zug*, who had assisted the likewise to *Appenzell*, who indeed were ancient Lords thereof. So that (euen to this day) these eight Cantons, each after other) send a Bayliffe into this valley, who makes his abiding in a small Towne, called *Rhine*, at one end of the valley, somewhat aboue the place, where the *Rheine* enters into the Lake of *Constance*.

Bayliffes sent by the eight Cantons to the valley for Rulers there.

Baylywickes beyond the mountaines.

Lucarno or Luca the first Baylywicke.

Locarna the 2.

Mendrisa the third.

The vale Madia the fourth.

How and in what manner the seuerall Baylywickes came to be commanded by the Switzers.

FOUR Baylywickes do yet remain, which the Switzers call Baylywickes beyond the Mountaines, because they are quite ouer the Alpes. The first is *Lucarno* or *Luca*, a Towne vpon the Lake, which some call the Lake of *Ganna*; others, the Lake of *Lugano*. This Lake is in the midst of two other Lakes, to wit, that of *Como* on the left had, and on the right hande of the Lake *Maior*, whereinto it shutteth vp it selfe.

The second Baylywicke, and neereft of all to this former, is *Locarna*: a very pleasant Towne, at the head of the Lake *Maior*, sometimes beautified with verie goodly and strong Castles; and accounted the cheefest in *Lombardie*, next vnto that of *Millaine*.

The Baylywicke of *Mendrisa*, on the left hand of the Lake of *Ganna*, maketh the third.

And for the last, there is the Vale of *Madia*, which depended heerefore vpon *Locarno*, as *Mendrisa* on *Lugano*.

These foure Baylywickes fell to the Switzers, in the yeare, 1513. by the Donation of *Maximilian* *Sforza*, Duke of *Millaine*. For, hee hauing driuen the French out of Italy, by the counsell and authority of Pope *Innius*, and being holpen therein by the Venetians and Switzers, he made a present of these foure Baylywickes (abutting on the Frontiers of their country) to the Switzers. He gaue also the Vale of *Tellinato* the Grifons. But three yeares after, King *Frances* hauing vanquished the Switzers at *Marignano*, expelled the Duke, and re-venited to his Crowne the Dukedome of *Millaine*. By an accord made at *Fribourg*, he confirmed this donation of his owne royall authority, as his successors in the dukedome of *Millaine* did the like.

All the Cantons send their bayliffes thether by turnes, except that of *Appenzell*, which was nor in the number of the *Cantons*.

B b

tons, when as these countries were first giuen to the Switzers: but they were receiued in a yeare after onely.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Of Bellizona.

WE might ranke among these Bayliwicks of Italy, the Towne of *Bellizona*, which obeyeth to the Cantons of *Vri*, *Suits*, and *Vnderwald*. This Towne (in former times) appertained vnto the Countes of *Misauk*, who were reiecte by the Dukes of *Millaine*. Afterward, hauing found meanes to enter againe by intelligence; they fold it to them of *Vri* and *Vnderwald*. But the Duke of *Millain* recouered it againe, and tooke it from the Switzers, by the same subtle tricks which the Counts of *Misauk* had vsed to repofesse it. This hapned about the yeare, 1422.

After that time, the *Switzers* made many voyages ouer the Mountaines to recouer *Bellizona*. At length, in the yeare 1500. they got into possession of it agen. For, in regard of continuall warres betwene the *Sforzaes* and the French: the men of *Bellizona* willing to prouide for their owne safety, yielded themselves to the Canton of *Vri*. The French, becoming masters of the *Millainnes*, labored often (but all in vain) to regain the town. Finally, at such time as the Dukes of *Millaine* gaue the fore-named foure Bayliwicks to the Cantons, they were also confirmed in the possession of *Bellizona*.

The Switzers in full possession of Bellizona.

Three Bayliwicks in Bellizona, & how their gouernment is ordered equally.

The whole country is diuided into 3. Bayliwicks, to witte, *Bellizona*, the vale *Brune*, and *Riniera*; and in like manner gouerned (turne after turne) by those three Cantons, that they haue a Bayliwicke belonging to each one. As if *Vri* doe establish a Gouernour or Bayliffe at *Bellizona*: *Suits* placeth one also in the vale *Brune*, and *Vnderwald* one at *Riniera*. Then beginning againe, *Vri* commends one to *Riniera*, *Vnderwald* to the vale *Brune*, and *Suits* to *Bellizona*. And because that the Bayliwicke of *Riniera* is of the least reuenue, most commonly, he that hath bene Bayliffe at *Bellizona*, is established nexte after at *Riniera*.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Of the Alliances made by the Cantons, with Kings and Princes neere neighbouring to them.

Demosthenes, the most eloquent of all the Græcian Orators, a man wonderfully well acquainted with affaires of State, and (aboue all) a deare Louer of his Countreyes liberty, wrote thus. *Ouer great familiarity with Tyrants, should be suspicious to ciuill and free Cities: And no trust is to be repofed in them, especially if they bee neighbours, because euery King and Tyrant is an enemy to liberty, and contrary to lawes.* The euent and successe attending on such cases, did well witnesse, that this Learned man had giuen very wholesome counsell to the Athenians, yea, and to all Greece. For *Phillip* the sonne of *Amyntas* (against whom *Demosthenes* made head) and the succeeding Kings of Macedon oppressed the liberty of the Greekes, by a dissembled amity, and working certaine combinations and alliances, deuised onely for their owne aduantage.

The case standing thus, I thinke, that many stand thus amazed, what shoulde moue the ancient *Switzers* to make such alliances as they haue done with straungers, Kings and Princes, their Neighbours. But here is to be noted and obserued, that all alliances doe not hurt one like another in a Commonwealth. They are to be mistrusted, which do import a league offensive and defensive, & ouergreat familiarity. Otherwise, for the benefite of peace, it is needfull sometimes, that Princes and great Lords nere neighbouring, should ally themselves together, for the better vse of some rightes, and the easier manning of their affaires. The ancient *Switzers* made many such alliances of peace and amity. And if at any time they were knit more strictly to some King or Prince, it was not inconsiderately done: but, as appeareth by the tenour of the alliances, the conditions wer such, as their liberties could no waies be easily touched or wronged.

They

The Learned & wife counsell of the Græcian Orator Demosthenes well approued and expetiched by his own country.

The Switzers haue bin wounded at for their leagues.

What alliances are said to be dangerous and what are indifferent, & not hurtfull.

The prouident care of the Switzers in making their League.

Chap. 41.

Their alliance vvith Millaine.

Leagues with Popes.

With neighbouring Princes.

With Bishops and Cities.

Their alliance of most note and obligation.

Verreintaine of the first treaty of alliance.

Galeazzo D. of Millaine, and his Wife Blanche Mar. his capitulation with the eight Cantons.

The prouident care of the Switzers in making their League.

They made diuers alliances, for a certainty of times, with Popes; as *Sixtus*, *Iulius* the second, *Lev* the tenth, & with *Clement* the seauenth. With neighbouring Princes; as the Dukes of *Austria*, of *Sauoye*, of *Millaine*, and of *Wertemberg*. Then, with the Byshoppes of *Constance*, the Cities of *Subas*, and others on the Lake of *Constance*, and on the River of the *Rheine*. But, without staying our selues at the most part of these alliances, wee will touch those onely, vvich were hereditary, that continue yet, must longer continue, and are most notable among all the other. As namely, the Alliances with the Dukes of *Millaine*, of *Austria*, of *Bourgogne*, of *Sauoye*, & the most remarkable and last of all, with the King of France.

CHAP. XL.

Of the Alliance made by the Switzers, with the Dukes of Millaine.



I cannot well set downe what treaty or discoufite was anciently had, and at the first time, betwene the Duke of *Millain*, and the Switzers. But in the yeare, one thousand foure hundred sixty and fixe, Duke *Galeazzo*, and *Blanche Maria* his wife, made an accord and agreement with eight Cantons, vpon certain conditions: which yet vnto this day, are called, *The Articles or Capitulations of Millaine*. Wherein also, mention is made of other ancient capitulations, which shew and testifie, that long time before, the Switzers, especially they of *Vri*, which inhabit at the Alpes, had bene affociates with the Lombardes, vnder certaine conditions. But because the ancient Capitulations, are (almost) quite worne out of mens memories: I will propofe the Summary of the accord with Duke *Galeazzo*, and his wife, the Lady *Blanche Maria*.

The Articles of Agreement, betwene the Duke of Millaine, and the Switzers.



THE first Article, concerneth them of *Vri*. The Ordinary of the great church in *Millaine*, intended a Proceffe against them, concerning the Valley of *Lwiner*. By this first Article, the Duke agreed, with them of *Vri*, to haue free possession of that valley, in the regard of ciuill iurisdiction: renouncing his owne rightes, and promising to obtain the same of the Ordinary.

They of *Vri*, on the other side, shall pay a tribute to the Duke, & euery yeare, in the Moneths of Iune or Iuly, or before midde-August, shall send him foure Hawkes, and a Crosse-bow. As concerning the difference touching the Churches reuennues, betwene the Ordinary, and them of the Valley, each of the two parties shall nominate two Iudges, and to those foure Iudges, the Duke shall adde one, as an Arbitrator: and of him, he must and will make choyse among the Lords of Councell, and in one of the seauen Cantons. These Iudges, must nominate what it is, that the Prince and they of the Valley, should pay vnto the Ordinarie. And if there happen anie variance besides, for matters of Duties not payed: they also are to censure thereupon.

The second Article is, that the eight Cantons, their subiects, and all they that haue dwelt in their countries, the space of foure yeares, shall enioy the ancient liberty, to wit, that they shal stand exempt from all tributes, imposts, and tolles, throughout *Millaine*, euen to the ditches of the Towne.

The third Article, concerneth debts, and imprisonments.

The fourth is for such variances as may happen betwene the Duke and the Cantons, and of some particulars against the Duke.

The fifth, is for proceffe and suites of particular persons.

The sixth, matter of free Trafficke, and that it shall bee lawfull for the Switzers, to go and sell their Wares and Car-

The Ordinaty of the great Church of Millaine, against them of Vri, and vpon what occasion.

Iudges appointed betwene the Ordinarie and them of Vri.

The nature of the 2. Article.

The third.

The fourth.

The fifth.

The sixth.

The feuenth.	tle: and the Duke no way to impeach them in their selling, or his Subiectes in their buying.	The sixt speaks of awards, and decifion of law fuites.	Awards in fuites.
Renewing & reconfirmati-on of these articles.	The feuenth importeth, that the duke and the <i>Switzers</i> shall maintain and preferue themselves in good amity; and that neither party shall giue passage, or allow lodging or harbor to the enemies of neither side.	The feuenth willeth, that if criminal parties on either side, doe withdraw to a nie one of their precincts, after that they or he shalbe adiudged culpable, on know ledge of the cause; he or they shall be sent backe to their Magistrate, who is to chastise them according to the exigence of the case.	Disobedience in awards or sentence.
Freedom from Tolles.	Now, in regard that after this transaction, <i>Millaine</i> changed her Lordes oftentimes, these Articles haue beene also renewed and confirmed from one time to another. And finally, in the yeare, 1512. <i>Ferdinando Gonzaga</i> , Gouvernour of <i>Millaine</i> , in the name of the Emperor <i>Charles</i> the fiftie, renewed this accord with the <i>Switzers</i> , very neere with the same conditions.	The eight is, that in such reuenews, dismes, goods mouable and immouable, which the <i>Switzers</i> possesse in the Duke-dome of <i>Millaine</i> , or which may fall to the from this time forward: they shall haue the same rights in them heere, as the <i>Millaine</i> ses enioy in <i>Swetia</i> .	Of reuenues goods, &c. on either side.
For Bread Corne.	The Articles of Agreement, betweene <i>Ferdinando Gonzaga</i> , Gouvernour, and the <i>Switzers</i> .	The ninth; that passe & passage may be as free and safe in the countries of each other, as formerly it hath bin, & with the like maintenance of amity.	For free and friendly passage in eithers countries.
A Franke is two shillings sterling.	THE first Article concerneth benefit of exemption, from Tolles, Taxes, and other charges. Item, it shall be lawfull for the <i>Switzers</i> , to buy any kinde of bread corne. But if there be a dearth, and the Market measure is sold for more then thirteene Francks, it is not lawfull to transport any. Neuertheless; for our amity with the <i>Switzers</i> , they may carry away two hundred measures: The Cantons did make the same condition with them of <i>Millaine</i> .	In the tenth, the <i>Switzers</i> make exception of their other alliances, & all precedent instruments: to the end that they may not derogate or faile in the fore-named conditions.	Of other Alliances.
Selling of falc.	The second, is for the selling and carriage away of falc.	In the last, the time is agreed on and prefixed, for this combination: which is, to continue for four yeares after the death of the Emperor <i>Charles</i> .	The time of this alliance.
Free passage and crading.	The third, confirmeth to the <i>Switzers</i> their ancient priuiledges, for going and coming freely, and trafficking through all countries of <i>Millaine</i> , without any need of support or safe conduits, except in the time of pestilence, and then to bee free from all Tolle, onely the gate of <i>Millaine</i> excepted.	Now, although (for diuers reasons) this agreement hath not bene renewed to this instant between the King of <i>Spain</i> , Duke of <i>Millaine</i> , and the <i>Switzers</i> : yet notwithstanding, both on his part, and theirs likewise, ancient amity hath bene carefully kept; and euen to this day, the <i>Switzers</i> enioy (almost) the same priuiledges, as in elder times they did among them of <i>Millaine</i> .	Of the <i>Switzers</i> Alliance yet with <i>Millaine</i> .
To whom these priuiledges belongeth.	The fourth, declareth who and what they are, that must enioy these priuiledges, wherein are (by name) excluded all <i>Millaine</i> ses, that shall retire themselves into <i>Swetia</i> .	CHAP. XLI.	
For suoyding of fraud and deceit.	The first ordaineth, to prevent & auoyd all means of fraud, that such as inioy these priuiledges, shall not keepe companie, or trade in merchandize with them that are vnacceptable, or may not haue the benefit of them.	Of the <i>Switzers</i> Alliances with the Dukes of <i>Austria</i> and <i>Burgongne</i> .	
		Like as there hath bene no Prince or Princes, that haue made so much war vpon the Cantons, as the Dukes of <i>Austria</i> : so in the same manner, the <i>Switzers</i> did neuer make so many accords, treaties and alliances, as with those Dukes. At this time, I meane not to make mention of those	A strange course, that much contention should beget as many friendships.

The Emperor Sigismund, affirmed the Simple, a great enemy to the Switzers.	those alliances which haue lasted but for some few yeares, and agreed or combined with one or two Cantons onely, but rather will resolute my selfe on the perpetuall and hereditary alliance of <i>Sigismund</i> , Duke of <i>Austria</i> with the Cantons; which was renewed afterward, by the Emperor <i>Maximilian</i> , <i>Charles</i> the fiftie, and <i>Ferdinand</i> .	dealt withall by Duke <i>Charles</i> . To be plaine, <i>Sigismund</i> nor the <i>Switzers</i> were strong enough to make head against the Duke, and therefore some men, better sense and skil in such businesse, layd downe their opinion; that <i>Sigismund</i> and the <i>Switzers</i> were best to agree in vinity, and make war together vpon their common enemy. King <i>Lewes</i> the eleuenth pusht hardly at that point, and followe the matter very hotly: for it was his custome to prepare such diets for the Duke of <i>Bourgongne</i> , and to raise him for many enemies as might bee. To further these practises, he sent his owne tuncio with a <i>Switzer</i> , named <i>Iustus de Silini</i> , who soday after was byshop of <i>Sion</i> , and of <i>Granoble</i> also. <i>Sigismund</i> likewise fauored him, and gaue him as many good respects, as hee could receive by his byshoppricks. At length also by his moanes, and by authority of the King, an hereditary alliance was made, the substantiall points wherof follow thus:	Good advice in cases of extremity, much auails.
K. Lewes the 11. denied ayd to Sigismund against the Switzers.	This <i>Sigismund</i> , surnamed the Simple, was sonne vnto <i>Fredericke</i> , who brought Pope <i>John</i> the 22. out of the Councell of <i>Constance</i> , whereby he was banished from the Empire. <i>Sigismund</i> was a great Enemy to the <i>Switzers</i> , and had many warres against them, wherein he was continually beaten, as at <i>Widerduer</i> , <i>Mulhausen</i> , <i>Walden</i> , <i>Sion</i> , <i>Turgow</i> , and other places, & lost in these warres the countrey of <i>Turgow</i> , which is great, fertile, and well peopled, yet afterward conquered and kept by the <i>Switzers</i> . Seeing by Armes he could not quail the <i>Switzers</i> , hee withdrew into <i>Fraunce</i> , and required succour of King <i>Lewes</i> the eleuenth, which hee was flatly denied: because the King would not entangle himselfe in warre with the <i>Switzers</i> , of whose magnanimity hee had formerly made good proof, being Dolphyn when the battell was fought against them neere to <i>Basile</i> .	A breuiate of the Articles of hereditarie Alliance betwene the Duke of <i>Austria</i> , and the <i>Switzers</i> .	Iustus de Silini, byshop of <i>Sion</i> & <i>Granoble</i> .
Sigismund engaged Per via to the Duke of Bourgongne.	Hereupon, he made his recourse to the Duke of <i>Bourgongne</i> , and pawned to him the Countrey of <i>Ferrara</i> , and other Seigneuries on the Frontiers of <i>Swetia</i> , for the sum of fourscore thousand crownes: onely that he might finde busines for the <i>Switzers</i> , by means and help of the duke of <i>Bourgongne</i> . <i>Lazius</i> writes, that <i>Sigismund</i> sold <i>Swetia</i> it selfe, but therein he abused himself. This engagement did not aduance the matter, according vnto <i>Sigismund</i> 's expectation: for <i>Hagenbach</i> , gouernor in these pawned countries to <i>Charles</i> Duke of <i>Bourgongne</i> , began to tyrannize vpon all the people, violating women and children, and putting many innocents to death. By which occasion, <i>Sigismund</i> being moued to compassion, and incited by the continuall complaints of his subiects, redeemed the pawned countries, & assigned the monee to be paid at <i>Basile</i> . But notwithstanding all this, <i>D. Charles</i> would not forsake his possession, but strove still to hold the same by force. The <i>Switzers</i> (on the other side) were but crookedly	First, They shall continue them-selues in mutual peace and amitie, so that the Austrians in <i>Swetia</i> , and the <i>Switzers</i> in the Countreys belonging to the Duke of <i>Austria</i> : may freely and safely Traffike, and also mannage theyr other affayres.	For trading in friendly maner.
The cruel and violent dealing of Hagenbach.	If any variance or contention happen betwene them: they shall pursue their right in iustice, and not by armes.	The Arbitrators to iudge their causes shall be the Bishop or Cite of <i>Constance</i> , and the Byshop or Seigneury of <i>Basile</i> . And before they take knowledge of the cause, both parties shall promise to the Iudges, by authentick Letters vnder their handes: that they will beare no malice, neyther doe any outrage, what sentence soeuer is giuen vpon their difference.	For differences.
	As for common suites, concerning successions and debts: the ordinarie Iudges in their Courts of iustice, are to take order for them.	If Duke <i>Sigismund</i> stand in need of succor from the <i>Switzers</i> , they shall send him	For Arbitrators to cure cause.
		B b 3	For ordinarie Law-suites.

Of succour
from the
Switzers, and
from the D.

men: provided, that it may be done with their honor, and without prejudice vnto their ancient alliances, and they are to receiue as much wages, as the Cantons haue customarily payed to their Souldiers. The same is also to be done by the Duke, if the Switzers desire any succour from him.

Of Charters,
letters, Regi-
sters, and
bawies of cau-
tes.

The Cantons shall deliuer such Charters, Letters, Registers, Bookes of reason, and other like instructions to the Duke, as are or shalbe in their hands, and belong to him; or declare to whom they haue formerly given them: onely excepted, such letters and Registers, as concerne cities, townes, and castles, which nowe are in the power and authority of the Switzers.

For benefit of
enjoying their
towne rightes.

The Duke and the Switzers shall remaine Lords of those countreies, cities, castles, Fortresses, Townes, Burroughes, and Villages as they haue taken, and now possesse; without any suite in Law, or any kinde of quarrell to be offered on eyther side for them; neyther shall suffer anie wrong or iniurie to be done, neither to the countreies, cities, castles, &c. of one another.

Of meddling
with the sub-
jects of one
another.

Neither side shall make alliance with the other Subjects, nor giue them the right of Bourgeoisie, nor receiue them into protection to either damage or prejudice; except any one with all his goods retire into the countrey. And yet with this exception notwithstanding, that hee shall remaine answerable to the iurisdiction of his first Lord. But if any such person do pursue his intention by violence, they among whom he hath retreated himselfe, shall present him immediately in iustice. Because neither the Duke, nor the Cantons ought to lodge, maintaine, or fauour (in any kinde whatsoever) the Enemies of one another.

No enemies
of each other
to be fauored
on either side.

The Duke shall make satisfaction, for the transaſion of *Waldshout*; wherein the Switzers shall assist him with all their forces.

The transa-
ction of *Wald-
shout*.

The one shal not greue or offend the other, by exaction of any new Portages or Tolles.

For portages
and tolles.

Such persones as hold any thing by title of fealty of the Duke *Sigismund*, shall continue his Subjects: excepting them of conquered countreies, and of places engaged, and that haue not bene re-

For tenure in
case of fealty.

deemed.

This alliance shall bee renewed from tenne yeeres to tenne yeeres: and if by aduenture it happen to be broken, the party interested shall demand iustice, without mouing any warre.

For renew-
all of this al-
liance.

All enmities and warres which formerly haue bene betweene Duke *Sigismund*, and the Switzers, and their predecessors, shall bee appeased and laydeto sleep, by means of this agreement, which is to be inuolably kept on either side.

All former
wars and in-
juries off by this
peace.

This first transaſion was made before the war of *Bourgonne*, in the year one thousand, foure hundred, seuentie & foure. In the same year, *Sigismund* bl *Austria*, *Rene* of *Lorraine*, the Byshoppes of *Strasbourg* and *Basle*, the Cities of *Strasbourg*, *Basle*, *Colmar*, *Seltstad*, *Muhlthard*, and some others, made alliance with the Switzers for certain yeeres: against the violence and tyranny of the Duke of *Bourgonne*, who being slaine 3. yeeres after in the battale of *Nancy*, *Sigismund* of *Austria* renewed the hereditary Alliance, and this first transaſion made with the Switzers, by the entermise of *K. Lewis* the eleuenth. This alliance was confirmed with the Cantons of *Zurich*, *Bern*, *Lucerne*, *Fribourg*, and *Solothurn*, with liberty to the other Cantons, to enter into the same alliance if they pleased. There was not any new Article added at that time: but onely the forme and meanes of mutual succour, which was couched in far more cleare and plainne termes. Some yeeres after this, Duke *Sigismund* not hauing any legitimate children, resigned his Dukedome to the Emperor *Maximilian*, reseruing onely to himselfe an annual pension. *Maximilian* required the Switzers to enter the forenamed alliance with him. But because they had bene at some variance with him, and hee with them, and there grew some apparance of warre (considering it seemed evidently, that *Sigismund* had thus depoyled himselfe, to iniury the Switzers) they would not enter into any new alliance, especially, because hee meant nothing else but fraudes in all this carriage, as the euent plainly declared. For immediately, they of *Austria*, and of the league of *Swabia*, moued warre against the Switzers and Grisons.

The alliance
of many on
monweathe
to resist the
proud D. of
Bourgonne.

After peace vvas made, betweene the Emperor *Maximilian* and the Cantons, on

D. *Sigismund*,
resigned his
Dukedome to
the Emperor
Maximilian.

Maximilian
intended no-
thing else but
fraude in his
design.

The Emperor
renewed the
hereditary
alliance of
Austria with
the Switzers.

on the twelfth yeare, which was in Anno, 1. 11. the Emperor renewed the hereditary alliance of the house of *Austria*, with the Switzers, and ioyned in one, the house of *Bourgonne*, and his Nephew *Charles*, of whom he was tutor. Moreouer, not onely the Switzers of the first alliance, but the twelve Cantons. Item, they of *Appenzell*, with the Abbot and Towne of *S. Gall*, confirmed this alliance hereditary, with the houses of *Austria* & *Bourgonne*. In this alliance or transaſion to be confirmed, made by the meanes of King *Lewis* the eleuenth, is expressly set downe first of all: that therein is comprehended onely the county of *Bourgonne*, and the high countreies of *Austria*, the county of *Tirol*, and that which is beyond the Mountaine. Item, some Townes along the *Rheine*, as *Waldshout*, *Lauffenberg*, *Secom*, *Rhinfeld*, & others that are on this side the Mountaine. Neuethelesse there is added, that order shall be giuen, that those other countreies not comprized in the alliance, shall not enterprize any thing by Arms against the Switzers, nor the Switzers against them: All outrageous words & actions are prohibited, for feare of alienating their hartes, as hath happened sometimes heretofore thereby.

Money giuen
by the Empe-
ror in the
name of his
Nephew
Charles.

Moreouer, the Emperor *Maximilian* promised, in the name of *Charles* his Nephew, to giue (in present) euery yeare in the city of *Zurich*, to each one of the cantons, two hundred crownes. To the Abbot and city of *S. Gall*, and the Bourg of *Appenzell*, an hundred crownes to each of them: vntill such time as *Charles* shall be growne greater, to gouern these countreies himselfe, & then hee shal stand bound to confirm the alliance, which accordingly was done. For in the yeare 154. by letters which the Emperor *Charles* the first, sent to the Cantons, he confirmed the alliance; inso much as concerned the house and county of *Bourgonne*, for his brother *Ferdinand* was chosen then Duke of *Austria*. The conditions and Articles of alliance with *Bourgonne*, are the very same as them of *Austria*. To wit, that it shal be lawfull for eyther side, to traffick, and to go and come freely into one anothers countreies: Item, that they neyther doe, nor suffer any of the countreies, to make warre vpon each other. And if (by aduenture) some enemy would doe vio-

Charles the
first confirmed
the alliance
with the Swi-
zers when he
came to age.

lence to one of the two sides: the other (being thereto required) shall be careful to prouent it without any delay, for feare, lest against right and equity, it should be oppressed.

CHAP. XLI.

Of the Alliances betwene Sauoy and the Switzers.

THE Dukes of *Sauoy*, (which part was called by our Ancients, the country of the *Allobrogiens*) long since, and for long space of time, helde amity with the Cantons of *Berne*, *Fribourg* and *Solothurn*. In the ende, *Charles*, Father to *Philippe*, now Duke of *Sauoy*, made an alliance with all the cantons, for twenty five yeeres, in Anno, 1512.

People of
Provence,
containing
the Countie
of *Sauoy* and
Dauphine.
The Alliance
of Duke
Charles with
the Cantons.
For preferen-
ce of amity.

The first Article treateth of the amity which is to be maintained on either side, without any outrage, or seconding an enemy to passe among the Allies.

The second ruleth the knowledge of Processes and Law-cases, wherein Iudges of equall number are to be elected on both sides, who shall call the parties into the Towne of *Bienne*, and there ende the difference. If two sentences be giuen, hauing as many voyces on the one side as other: the Iudges shall elect a subarbitrator in one of the cantons, that shall haue no part of interest in the Process. As for causes betwene particular persons; they are to be decide d by Iudges of the places.

For suites and
law-cases.

The third ordaineth, that it shall be lawfull for the Subjects of the allies, to goe about their affaires freely, and in all safety, in the countreies of *Swiss* & *Sauoy*, without being charged with any new imposts, portages, or tolles.

For freedom
of commerce
on both sides.

The fourth auoucheth, that if any man haue a difference against the Duke, and would haue it referred to the orders spoken in the cantons: if the Duke will not agree thereto, the Switzers doe not stand bound (by any alliance) to assist any such party against the Duke.

For any diff-
erence against
the Duke.

The fifth speaketh, that if the Switzers are assailed and pressed with warre, the Duke shall send them (at his own charge) fixe hundred horse at the leste; provided, that

For mutual
succour in
warre on ey-
ther side.

The Liure
Tournois it
two shillings
sterling.

No Nauall
war, or passage
of the Seas.

For preferen-
tion of this al-
liance finally.

Payment of
one crown to
each Canton
yearly.

The men of
Berne ioynd
with their tel-
low-Bourges-
ses of Geneva

A new and
perpetuall al-
liance be-
tweene Phil-
bert and the
Cantons.

that hee haue then no warre in his owne country. In like manner, if the Duke haue any warre in his owne hand, & demanndeth succour the Switzers shall send him fixe thousand foot, or more, to each man whereof the Duke shall pay 6. *Liures Tournois*, for wages euery Moneth. If (ouer and aboue this number) hee demanndeth some other Switzers, that desire to goe to warre vpon their owne good will towards him: hee shall not stand bound to pay them any wages, but what he will do out of his owne liberality.

The Duke may demand no seruice of the Switzers, in any nauall warre, nor cause them to passe the Seas: but onely to defend the countries, which they possesse at the day of making this alliance.

To the end that this accord may bee fitly kept, the Duke nor the Switzers shall meddle with any affaires of strangers, to debate any thing to the preiudice of their alliance: neyther shall they giue right of Bourgeship, to any subiects of Swetia or Sauoye, but onely to such, as shall haue their persons and goods transported into eythers countries.

While this alliance endureth, the Duke shall yearly pay in the City of *Berne*, to each Canton, the summe of two hundred crownes.

Vpon the ending of this alliance, which lasted almost 25. yeares, the King of *France*, *Frances* the first, despoyled Duke, *Charles* of the most part of his countries. And in this warre, the *Bernians* taking in hand the cause of their fellow-Bourgeses of *Geneua*, with them of *Fribourg* and *Valois*: tooke all the Dukes places in the countries of *Faut*, county of *Romont* and *Tuain*. After this time, the Emperour *Charles* the fift (in the protection of who the Duke of *Sauoy* was put) was in war continually in *Piedmont* against the *Fréché*: and that was the cause of breaking the renewing of the alliance. At length, *Philbert*, the Sonne of *Charles*, hauing recovered his countries, by the meanes of peace betweene the Kings of *Spain* and *France*: made a new and perpetuall alliance with the Cantons of *Lucerne*, *Suits*, *Vri*, *Vnderwald*, *Zug*, and *Soleurre*. It is (almost) the very same as the former: but onely that there is no mention made (to my remembrance) of mutuall succour. Soone after, the other Cantons re-

newed with him, the very same conditions of ancient amity and alliance.

CHAP. XLII.

Of the Alliances betweene the Switzers and the Kings of France.

King *Lewes* the 11. was the first King of *France*, that allied himselfe with the Switzers, and that assigned rewards & pensions annuall to all the Cantons. Being as yet *Dolphin*, hee led a great Army into *Germany*, conducted by the Count of *Armignac*. This hee did in fauor of Pope *Eugenius*, and of the Emperour *Fredericke*; onely to breake the councill of *Basile*, as the Pope desired: and furiously to invade the Switzers, whom the Emperour hated, and to break off their sledge (in meere despight of them) which they had plantd before the city of *Zurich*, because he was allied with the house of *Austria*. The Switzers had another Army before the castle of *Fransterg*: 1600. men whereof, they sent thence, to succour *Basile* & the Fathers there in the councill.

Being about 2. miles from *Basile*, they did set vpon the *Dolphins* troops so slyly, as (although in regard of their enemies multitude, who had enclosed them on all sides) they were euery man (almost) slaine in the field: yet notwithstanding, they lo weakened the French Army (for there were slaine about 6000. of them) that the *Dolphin* standing in feare of a further losse, and of the valour of the Switzers; tooke his way suddenly home to *France*, leaving the businesse vnexecuted, that the *Dolphin* seeing his enemies slaine bodies lying on the ground, saide thus. Sometimes with farre lesse forces, and in the space of three houres; I haue broken an Army of thirteen thousand men, without any such paine or danger as I haue met with heere, labouring a whole day toughly, to ouercome a little handfull of men. Neuer hadde I to deale with more valiant and fast enemies; and therefore I will take order, for euier warring any more against them. Which hee most truly and faithfully performed a long time after,

Rewards and
pensions yearly
allotted to
all the Can-
tons, by King
Lewes the 11.

The Switzer
set vpon the
Dolphin
troopers near
to *Basile*.

The words of
the *Dolphin*
vpon the
slaughter of
his enemies
the Switzer.

euen vntill he came to the crowne.

Hee neuer loued *Charles* Duke of *Bourgonne*, and yet durst not make open warre on him, because hee was not well appointed for it: and therefore hee laboured by all meanes, to fet the Duke a iustling with the Switzers. But to compasse his intent the more easily, and haue the Switzers at his command, when hee should stand in need of their assistance: he made an alliance with them for ten yeares, giuing as an annuall pension to each Canton, the summe of feuen thousand *Liures Tournois*. During the warre of the Duke of *Bourgonne* against the Switzers, the King furnished them with a great summe of money: as fearing least (through want of coine) they should giue ouer contending, and talke of truce. The Duke being foyled at *Morat*; the King gaue publickly great gifts to the Switzers, and in particular to their Captaines and Colonels. Finally, after the death of the Duke, slaine in *Lorraine*: to set an imbarment, that (by right of warre) the Switzers should not possesse themselves of *Bourgonne*, where there were many men that nodded the head at their deuotion: hee bought the country for a goodly summe of money. And because he must needs make warre, to get into possession of the country: hee made vse of the foote Switzers to serue him, giuing to them farre greater wages, then euery any Prince had done before.

Charles the eight, sonne to *Lewes*, in the yeare, one thousand, foure hundred, foure score and three, renewed the alliance which his father had made with the Switzers; and vfed their seruice in the warre, wher hee ouercame the Duke of *Bretaigne*. But principally in the warre of *Naples*, hee diuers wayes made good proofe, that the warlike Switzers, were both loyall and valiant of their persons. His successefull, *Lewes* the twelfth, hauing vndertaken the conquest of *Millaine*, and very desirous to turne the Switzers, from the amity they bare to Duke *Lodowick Sforza*; made alliance with them for ten yeares. At the end whereof, hee thanked the Switzers, & denyed to pay the rewards and yearly pensions, which hee had payed in publike and to particular persons. Which so highly offended this martiall people, as partly of their own inclination, but much more by meanes of the Cardinall of *Sion*,

who solicited the principals of the cantons; they made a league with Pope *Nilius* the second, in the yeare, one thousand, five hundred and ten. Centenies afterward, this King laboured to make a new alliance: but the Switzers beeing ioynd with the Pope, would neuer listen to it. But in the yeare, one thousand five hundred and twelue, they droue the French out of *Millaine*, and re-established *Maximilian Sforza* in the Dukedome. Then the yeare following, they ouerthrew the French at *Nouara*, and came with a maine Army along to *Bourgonne*.

Lewes the twelfth, had his Sonne in law *Frances de Valois* for his successeur: who wonne a memorabill battaile against the Switzers, when hee ouercame them at *Maringano*: Hee brought into France, *Maximilian Sforza*, and made himselfe Lord of the Dukedome of *Millaine*. After a victory so remarkable, knowing well, how bloody it had bin, and at how deere a price the French had bought it: the first thing hee did, was (to winne the good fauour of the Switzers) a kinde agreement made with them, ioyning them to his crowne, by a firme and durable alliance. The conditions and treaties of this peace and mutual amity, are comprized in these thirteene Articles following.

First, all enmities, dissentions, warres, differences and quarrelles in precedent times, are utterly brought to nothing; and as for particular variances, which concern nothing in common with the occasions of warre, they shall stand vterly void, by those Articles of agreement, made betweene the Duke of *Millaine*, King *Lewes* the twelfth, and the Cantons.

Secondly, all prisoners, in what part or place foueer they are deteyned as prisoners, or as slaues; they shall be released and set at liberty, without paying any ranfome.

Thirdly, if any man at Armes of the Switzers, haue any suite against the King of France, not for any matter of warre, he may contest in iustice, according to the Articles following.

Fourthly, all such persons as after the accord made betweene King *Lewes* the twelfth, and the Cantons, were and are allied with them, or receiued into the number of their Bourgeses: shall be comprehended in this treaty, and enioy the benefit

The Switzers
cha'ed the
French out of
Millaine.

Frances de
Valois succed-
ed to *Lewes*:
the twelfth.

The tenour of
the peace
made be-
tweene King
France the
first and the
Switzers.

For free deli-
uery of prison-
ers.

For suites in
law against
the King.

For such as
are to enioy
the benefit
of this peace.

King *Lewes*
a great enemy
to *Charles*
Duke of *Bour-*
gonne, yet
durst not war
with him.

Great gifts &
pensions to
the Switzers
for foyleing
the Duke at
Morat.

King *Charles*
renewed his
old league
with the
Switzers.

King *Lewes*
the 12. made
alliance with
the Switzers
for ten yeares.

The Switzers
displeased
with *K. Lewes*

nefit thereof. Onely such excepted, as are out of the limits of *Swetia*, that speake not the Germane tongue, and are not subiects to the Cantons.

For priuiledges and franchises.

The fifth Article, confirmeth to Merchants and subiects of *Swetia*, the priuiledges and franchises, which the Kings of France haue formerly graunted vnto them.

The kings bounty to the Switzers.

Sixtly, to the end that the *Switzers* may the better vnderstand the good will and liberality of the King: hee will pay them downe presently a great summe of crownes, for their great charges at the siege of *Dijon*, and afterwards in Italy.

For maintenance of loue and amity.

Seauently, that peace may bee the more firmly maintained on eyther side, and to continue on this begun amity: if any difference happen to be moued, neither the one party or other shall undertake Armes, in that manner to pursue his right; but according to the order before mentioned, is to demand reason for cause of iustice.

No harboring of enemies on either side.

Eighthly, neyther side shall giue passage, food or harbour to the others enemies: nor suffer their subiects to vndergo Armes, for such Princes or common-weales, as are enemies to France, or to the Switzers. Such as do the contrary, shall be repealed to their country, and punished according as they haue deferred.

For free permission of trafficke and passage.

Ninthly, permission is granted vnto Merchants, Pilgrims, & Subiects, French or Switzers, to trafficke, voyage, goe and come freely, into France and *Swetia*; without any outrage, or beeing offered by any new tolles or taxes.

Yearly pensions given by the King to the Cantons, &c.

Tenthly, the King giueth yearly to each Canton, the sum of two thousand *Liures Tournois*: As much to the *Valaisians*, and as much to the *Grisons*, as was granted vnto them by king *Lewes* the 12. And moreover, the sum of 40000 *Liures Tournois*. Item, to the Abbot of *S. Gall*, to the Subiects, and to them of *Toggenbourg*, the sum of 600 *Liures Tournois*. To the city of *S. Gall*, 400: To *Mulhouse*, 400: And to them of the county of *Gravere*, 600.

Priuiledges belonging to particular places.

Eleuenthy, the ancient priuiledges and franchises, which they haue (till then) enioyed in the Dukedome of *Millaine*, the inhabitants of *Bellizana*, *Lugano*, *Lo-*

carna, and the Vale *Madia*; are to them fully referred and confirmed.

A courtsey left by the king to the Switzers, thofe.

Twelfty, the king leaueth it in choise to the *Switzers*, to declare within the compasse of a yeare, whether they affect or no: to hold the countries and castles of *Lugano*, *Locarna*, and of the Vale *Madia*; or else to forsake them, for the sum of thirtie thousand crownes of the Sunne. And if they take the money: then they of the Vale of *Telina*, and of the county of *Clauenna*, shall haue their part in this summe, as much as one of the Cantons.

For continuance of this amity.

The last Article ordaineth, that this peace and amity betweene the Realme of France and the cantons, shall continue inuiolable and perpetual.

Exception made by the King of France.

The king excepteth in this peace, Pope *Leo* the tenth, the See and Romane Empire, the kings of *Spain*, of *England*, of *Scotland*, of *Nauarre*, and of *Denmarke*: The Dukes of *Sauoy*, of *Lorraine*, of *Guel-dres*: Item, the Duke & common-wealth of *Vence*, *Laurentius de Medicis*, the house of *Medicis*, and the common-wealth of *Florence*: The Bishop of *Liege*, and all the confederates of the king.

Exception made by the Switzers.

The Switzers also except on their part, Pope *Leo* the tenth, the See of Rome, the Emperour and Romane Empire; the house of *Austria*; the Dukes of *Sauoy*, and of *Wurtemberg*; the family of *Laurentius de Medicis*; the common-wealth of *Florence*, the Marshall of *Bourgonne*, their ancient alliances; and all their allies and fellow-Bourgeois.

The reason of these exceptions.

The reason for these exceptions, is, that if the king of France make warre vpon any one of them aboue named, in his own countries: the Switzers may keepe what promise or alliance they haue formerly made or sworne, to those Princes or common-wealths. But if one or more of those Princes or common-wealths, come to assault the king in his owne kingdom: the Cantons shall not permit any of their Subiects to goe in warre against the king; but shall countermand them, as it is ordayned in the eight Article, and which they are to keepe and obserue inuiolably.

To these conditions is added the forme to be kept in the deciding of strifes and differences. But it seemeth to me, that it would bee great losse of time and paper

The Ambro-guandier needfull instructions.

paper to insert it: because it agreeth almost altogether, with the accord of *Millaine*, and other formes of iudgements, whereof we haue spoken heretofore. All this conference and treaty of peace, was made by the Ambassadors on eyther side, and sette downe in writing, in the Towne of *Fribourg*, on *S. Andrews* day, in the Moneth of Nouember, and in the yeare 1556.

The King made a more strict alliance with the Switzers.

The King hauing made pacification with the Switzers, as already hath beene declared: yet hee would needs proceede somewhat farther, and allie them more strictly to his crowne. Which also he obtained, and that agreement was past at *Lucerna*, five yeares after the fore-mentioned peace. Then all the Cantons (except *Zurich*) and all their confederates, allied themselues with the King of France: and the renour of that alliance was as followeth,

The Tenure of a more nere agreement, made betweene the King and the Switzers.

Concerning warre in any place belonging to the crowne, and luyes of men.

1. If any one (whosoever it be) make war within the Realme of France, in the Dukedome of *Millaine*, or any other country appertaining to the crown, eyther on this side, or beyond the Mountaines: the King may make a leuie of Switzers, when and at what time himselfe shall thinke meete, to wit, of fixe thousand men at the least, and seauen thousand at the most, except the Lords of the Leagues will permit more.

For choise of Captaine and Colonelle out of the cantons.

2. Hee may also chuse out of all the Cantons and confederates, such Colonels and Captaines as he shall thinke fit: provided, that they be men of good fame and credite.

Against hindering or men and delay of time.

3. The Lordes of the Leagues shall giue no hindrance to those Colonels, Captaines, and Soldiers, neither delay time, or put any case in question, to hinder their going: but that within ten daies after that first day, whereon the King required succour, they shall bee permitted to march away.

For continuance in the Kings seruice, except warres be at home in Swetia.

4. They shall continue in the Kings seruice, vntill the end of the warre; if it seeme good to him, and they not recalled home by their Lords: The King shall

also pay them (euery one) his accustomed wages. But if there happen warre in *Swetia*, and that thereby the cantons cannot succour the King, as they otherwise would: In this case, they shall sit and quire of their promise, and they may suddenly countermand home their men; to whom also the King stands bound, to grant their departure immediately.

When the King shall haue occasion to make war.

5. If the King would make warre vpon his enemies: he may make the same leuie of fixe thousand Switzers at the least, and seuen thousand at the most; chusing Colonels and Captaines, men of faire and good fame, which are Switzers, or of their Allies.

An Army of Switzers not to be diuided, &c.

6. The King may not separate an Army of Switzers, or diuide them in troops for Garrisons in diuers places: and they are not to serue at Sea, but on the land.

Wages agreed on for the Switzers, & in what manner it is to be paid, vpon the due of three Months pay.

7. As concerning the wages for the Gendarmery; it is agreed on both sides, that the King shall pay for a Moneth vnto each Switzer Soldier, foure Florins and an halfe, of them that are called *florus du Rhin*. And their wages shall begin on the day, when they set forth from their houses: and then shall three Moneths pay be due vnto them, although the King do not vse them in seruice so long. And before they part out of *Swetia*, they must receiue the first Moneths pay: and the rest for the two other Moneths, at meete places, according as need shall require. If after those three Moneths are past, the King will longer retaine the Switzers; hee shall pay them the same wages euery Moneth, vntill such time as they may commodiously returne home to their owne house.

Pay for men of higher rank & place, according to their degrees.

8. The Colonels, Captaines, Ensigns, Ambassadors, & others that haue charge in the troopes; shall bee payed after their accustomed manner, and according as the Predecessours to the Kings of France haue done.

Concerning incourt to lodge sent the Switzers, wher war is made on them.

9. If any war is made vpon the Switzers, the King of France shall stand bound to succour them at his owne cost: sending them two hundred compleat horsemen, and twelue peeces of Artillery, with all their equiPAGE and furniture; to wit, six peeces for battery, and fixe Canons. Moreover, hee shall furnish the Switzers (from three Moneths to three Moneths) in the city of *Lyons*, with certaine sums of

Vpon death
or necessity
of Salt.

Against recei-
ving cyther
others ene-
mies.

The liberality
of the King to
the Cantons.

Exception
made on the
Kings behalfe

Exception al-
so on the can-
tons behalfe.

A caution or
generall war-
ning.

of money, for expences in the warre. And if the *Switzers* affect it rather: instead of two hundred complete horsemen, the King shall giue them all the three Moneths, the sum of two thousand crownes at the least.

10. If it come so to passe, that if (thorough occasion of moued warre here or there) the *Switzers* cannot haue any Salt: it may be bought for them in France, & so bee conuayed home into their countries.

11. No side or party shall receiue into protection, neyther bestow Bourgeship on any of the others subiects, nor succor, lodge, or defend men banished, or enemies to cyther side: but according to the Articles of peace, shall hinder & expulse them.

12. Finally, the King being willing to make knowne his loue and good will towards the *Switzers*: ouer and beside the twenty thousand Francks, which he promised to pay them by the treaty of peace, further promiseth, to pay yearly to each one of the Cantons (while this alliance shall continue) the summe of a thousand pounds *Tournois*. He will also pay to the confederates, the moiety of the pension which they had before.

The King excepteth Pope *Leo* the 10. The *Romane* See and Empire; the kings of *England* and of *Scotland*: the Duke of *Sanoye*, of *Lorraine*, of *Halstata*, and of *Guelbres*; the common-wealth of *Venice*, and of *Florence*; the house of *Medici*; the Marquesses of *Brandenbourg* and of *Monferrat*.

The Cantons do likewise except Pope *Leo* the tenth, the *Romane* See and Empire; the common-wealth of *Florence*; the house of *Medici*; the Duke of *Sanoye*; the house of *Austria*; their alliances, their Bourgeses and confederates; the Duke of *Wirtemberg*; and *Ottavian Maria Sforza*, Bishop of *Landa*.

Neuerthelesse, if any of these aboue named, make warre on cyther of these parties, in their countries on this side, or beyond the Mountaines: the other shall giue succour, without exception of any person, according to the tenour of this alliance, which is to endure while King *Frances* liueth, and three years after his death.

This alliance being expired, *K. Henry*

the second, Sonne and Successor to king *Frances*, contracted a new alliance with the Cantons, vpon the same conditions before named: and that alliance lasted 5. yeares after his death. Now because the Dukedome of *Millaine*, and some other Prouinces, comprehended in the alliance made with king *Frances*, were dismembred from the crowne, when this new league was contracted: It is expressly set downe, that the *Switzers* shall not stand obliged, to giue the king any succour, for recovery of those countries. But if he can reconquer them by the ayde of another Army, and he shall bee Lord of them againe, as of other Prouinces belonging to his Kingdome: for the better conseruation of them, the Cantons shall furnish him with men, who shall likewise attend him in warre, for the recovery of *Bullen*, and the county of *Bullenois* in *Picardy*.

If the king will goe in person to some warre, hee may make choise (at his pleasure) of Captaines *Switzers*, and command a leuye of fixe thousand men at the least.

He may not disioyne or separate the *Switzers* Army, when hee is vpon the point of giuing battaile: but out of such occasion, he may plant the in Garrisons, in Townes and strong places, to defend them.

As for the wages, rewards, & succors, which the king is to giue vnto the *Switzers*; it beareth the very selfe-same reason as is in the precedent alliance; and the other Articles doe agree with them before mentioned.

And to the ende, that the treaty of peace, made in the yeare 1516. may remaine firme, when wages rest vnpaid, it is thus ordained. The demander shall acquaint his Magistrate with the matter, to whom, if the cause seeme vpright; he shall goe or send to the kings Ambassadors, which are in *Swetia*, or if they be absent, the Magistrate shall write to the king, and require satisfaction for the party. If the king yeelds to reason, the demander is satisfied; but if he refuse to pay according to equity; the demander may then call his cause before Iudges and Arbitrators, and there haue it debated. And if the King yeelds to reason, the demander is satisfied; but if he refuse to pay according to equity, the demander may then call his cause

King Henry the second succeeded his Father King Frances.

Concerning the litle of the Dukedome of Millaine.

A breuiate of the new alioyned Articles.

For leuy of men.

No funding of the Switzers army.

For waggs rewards.

When wages remaine vnpaid.

In cases concerning the King and a private man.

before Iudges and Arbitrators, and there haue it debated. And if the King will not yeeld to the Iudges his part, the *Switzers* may passe on to further knowledge of the facts, and what they appoint, shall be allowed for firme and auailable to cyther party, euen as if the Iudges on cyther side had therein assited.

The Merchants both French and *Switzers*, according to the articles of peace, shall not be greued with any new taxes, tolles, or imposts.

If any suite be moued betweene par-

ties on cyther side, the demander may pleade before the Iudge, in the place where the defender dwelleth.

This alliance was treated and past at *Solleurre*, in the yeare, 1549. All the Cantons (except *Berne* and *Zurich*) with their confederates, being bound thereto.

Finally, King *Charles* the ninth, Sonne to King *Henry*, renewed this alliance with the *Switzers*, vpon conditions litle differing from the former: and that alliance continueth yet to this day, after the kings death.

For suites in law.

When this alliance was made.

King Charles the ninth with the Switzers.



THE MANNER OF GOVERNMENT obserued among the *Switzers*.

THE SECOND PART.

WEc haue shewne in our first Part, of what parts & parcels, the common-wealth of the *Switzers* is composed; for what causes, & with what conditions these people, dwelling in diuers places, allied themselves together, to make vp one body of a Commonwealth. Also with what industry and trauaile, they haue maintained their liberties; and with what Princes and peoples, they haue associated and leagued themselves. In this second Booke, wee shall declare, how this common-wealth is gouerned. And because the confederates haue (each one) their Magistrats, Lawes, and particular gouernment, and that the cantons do make one common-wealth apart, and yet there is a councill in common to the whole Nation, and laws and ordinances, to whose obseruation all are obliged: First, I will make mention of the *Switzers* commonwealth in generally; then I will describe the estate and gouernment of the Cantons, feueral-

ly in their places.

They that haue written concerning common-wealths, doe set downe three sorts.

The first, when all the managing and gouernment of the common-wealth, is in the power of one only, who is called a King, if he gouerne iustly, with consent of the people, and according vnto the lawes; for if he do otherwise, he is a Tyrant.

The second, when a small number of principall men, and more people of good behaviour, do gouerne.

The third, when all the people haue the authority in their hands.

Thus there are three kinds of Commonwealths, to wit, Monarchy, Aristocracy, & Democracy: who haue for their vicious shaddowes, Tyranny, Oligarchy, and Anarchy.

We cannot compare or sute the *Switzers* common-wealth, with any of these before named: but as (aunciently) the great Commonwealths of *Rome* and *Carthage*, and (in our time) that of *Venice* may be termed mixt and compounded,

Three feueral kinds of gouernments, & their hurtfull shaddowes.

A forme or shape of the Switzers commonwealth.

C c be.

For new taxation.

A breuiate of the course of the first Booke Argument.

A breuiate of this second Booke Argument.

A Democrati-
cally kinde of
gouernment
in some of the
Cantons.

The other are
Aristocratically
and Popular.

Affaires of
State & differ-
ences ended
by Ambassa-
dors.

The common
wealth of the
Switzers is
not otherwise
to be gover-
ned then as it
is.

because (in some matters) they shared or rooke part, with all the three kinds of gouernments; so in like maner, the commoweth of the Switzers is mingled or composed of a Seigneuriall, Lordly, and Popular government. For among all the people, of whom the whole common-wealth of the Switzers is compounded: there are some, whose government is merely democratically, & where all things (almost) are done by the deliberation of the people. As in those Cantons that haue no cities, to wit, *Vri, Suits, Vnderwald, Glaris*, and *Appenzell*: yea, euen in *Zug*, although it is a city. The other are gouerned by Lords, as cities commonly vse to be, namely *Zurich, Berne, Lucerna, Basile, Fribourg, Solleurre*, and *Schaffouse*. But because the Soueraignty appertaineth to the people, who doe elect these Lords, these common-wealths are compounded of two kinds of gouernment: so that notwithstanding, the one is more Aristocratically, and the other more Popular.

So then, the common-wealth of the Switzers being compounded of people, that haue not all one, and the same forme of gouernment: the order and policy also is very diuers and mixt. For if vpon some dayes of audience, ambassadors do aduise on matters of the whole common-wealth, or end some differences: this appeareth to be a gouernment merely Aristocratically. And yet neuertheless, because they are (for the most part) elected by the people, and that in causes and affaires of importance, they cannot go beyond their aduice, but deale according to the peoples command, to whom they must render an account of their negotiation: it may easily bee noted, that such a kinde of gouernment is not altogether Aristocratically.

Now it plainly appeareth, that the Switzers common-wealth cannot bee better gouerned, by the liberties which they do enioy, was gotten by their ancestors, nor by the industry and power of one, or of a small number of particular men: but the people themselves were employed therein, and did enfranchise it with the expence of their purses, blood, and liues. And therefore it is no more then reason, that they should reape some fruit of their trauaile. And as concerning, that

it seemeth incommodious and perillous in a popular estate, that all men should deliuer their aduice, but rather, that it ought to be done by them of most wisdom, and men of best quality: This danger is not to bee doubted in the Switzers Common-wealth, for they do most in-employ, and send on their dayes of audience, the best and wisest persons of each Canton. And although they haue not power to conclude definitiue (because it might be a dangerous consequence, for the peoples liberty) yet notwithstanding, they are as the chiefeest counsellors, and make a conference of opinions, vpon the State affaires. Afterward, the people giue their content, by assemblies which they make in Townes and Villages. Now such as are not altogether stupid and ill-affected, may know and approue, that which hath bene deliberated in those dayes meetings, for common benefit: considering, they giue them plainly to vnderstand euery thing.

CHAP. II.

Of the manner and behaiour of the Switzers in the times of both peace and warre.



Forasmuch as the right gouernment of a common-wealth, is best discerned in affaires and managements of peace and warre: it behooueth vs to shew how our predecessours haue carried themselves therein. As concerning exercises of war, beside that which nature hath done, in fashioning the Switzers fit thereto: necessity also hath constrained them, to apply their paines, and that in good earnest. The Country is Mountainy, sharpe, and hard for culture, anciently desert and savage for the most part, making the people not onely indurate and hardened for trauaile: but also robuste, stiffe, & strong, and so (by consequent) very apt for warre.

Now as naturally the people of *Europe* are more magnanimous and warlike, then they of *Asia*: so the *Europeans* which

No dangers
to be feared in
the Switzers
common-
wealth.

The obserua-
tion among
the Switzers.

The best
glaffe to shew
any common-
wealth in lat-
tue nature.

The nature &
quality of the
country.

The Switzers
are naturally
men fit for
warlike im-
ployments.

Concerning
those people
bred on the
Alpes, & na-
ture of the
country.

All the Switz-
ers are fol-
diers borne.

The Princes
of Austria
haue most in-
iured the
Switzers.

A comparison
well worth
the obserua-
tion.

It is an especi-
all command
to euery Swit-
zer young and
able to beare
Armes.

which dwell in Mountainous and hard countries, are reputed to be more martially minded then the other. Prooofe hereof appeareth, in the histories of the *Goths, Vandales, Hunnes, Lombards, Franconiens*, and other people, who being bred in the very coldest countries of the North: did yet disperse themselves ouer the fairest parts of *Europe*, and eyther foraged, or troubled them, treading vnder their feete the power of Rome, sometimes so much renowned through the world. In like manner, as the very coldest countries of the Alpes, do beare the highest and tallest Trees, and haue beasts more fatte and faire then can be desired: so the naturall disposition of the country, and tempera-
ture of the ayre, produceth men more robuste and strong then others are. Wherefore, in many Countries, some are men for Armes, others are labourers, and others are artisans: but in *Switzerland*, all are Soldiours borne, euen by a meere manner of desire, and there is not a *Switzer*, (provideth hee haue stature and apt disposition) but in him may bee seene the very liues (to life) of a man of warre.

And because almost all the neighbors to the Cantons, but especially the Princes of Austria, laboured by continuall warres, to annihilate the liberty of the *Switzers*, and that for the space of two hundred yeares: meere necessity made the *Switzers* martiall, being compelled to carry weapons daily in their hands, to maintaine their liberty, bridle the headstrong courses of their enemies, & to preserve their wities and children. And as it was said of *Agessilus*, after he was wounded by the *Thebanes* in an encounter, that he receiued worthy wages, for teaching them the art of warre: euen so Noble-men that entrusted the olde *Switzers*, simple peasants, and shepheards, to handle a Sword, and compelled them to vnderstand the trickes of fencing, receiued (in the end) the recompence for their apprenticeship, hauing bene so many times beaten in battailes, and finally driuen out of *Switzerland*.

From hence it ensued, that their lawes & customes were accommodated to the exercises of warre. For whereas in many Countries, the people are forbidden to carry and manage weapons: so on the contrary, there is none so young in *Swit-*

zerland, dwell he in City, Town, Village, or Field, be he a peasant, porter, or of the very basest condition can be desired; but he is strictly commanded to haue Armes, according to his quality. And because that in our time, the Harquebuz or Calliuer was in great vse for warre: there was a prize and reward propoted in publicke, for such as would exercise, and couldexteriously handle these fiery weapons. Not only in Citties, as was done in many parts of *Germany*: but also in the most peopled Townes and Villages. Nay, there was a prize and reward appointed for children; that could draw the bow to the end, that they might afterward be the better fashion-
ed for weapons of more danger, which prooued to such an expert practise, that from their very youth, they accustomed themselves to discharge the Calliuer.

Their other pastimes also fauored all of war. For they neuer vsed to meete together, were it on solemne daies & festiuals, according to the Churches dedications, or at weddings and other such like occasions, but with Drums and Trumpets for war. And it was (and still is) a great honor for a Bride-groome, to be attended on with a great number of Pikes, Halberbs, & Shot, who (vntreated) march before him, or come to honour his feast, in the nature of a muster, marching after the manner of war. Many times also, boyes of 8. or 10. yeares old, and others somewhat more aged, meet together and make musters, with Drums & Ensignes, some bearing Calliuers, others Halberbs, & others Pikes: so that to see them march, it might well be said, that they had hearts & hands already apt to manage those warlike weapons. In this manner, they that neuer vnderstood any thing set downe in the Military precepts of *Vegetius*, nor of any other, inured from their infancy, without any command: but onely of their owne motion, and by a naturall inclination to Armes, can carry and manage themselves with countenances and stepping fits for Soldiours. In many places, euery yeare, or at certain times of the yeare, the Lords cause general musters in arms to be made for all their followers, as if they were going to war against the enemy. These musters are sometimes performed at the dedication of Temples, sometimes at Fairs; and in some other places, when the

Prizes & re-
wards propo-
ted onely for
encourage-
ment to han-
dle the calliuer.

All the exer-
cises and pas-
times of the
Switzers like
honour of war.

The exercises
of the Swit-
zers children,
that they be-
come soldiers
from their
Cradles.

Good & ver-
tuous exam-
ples are terri-
ble to bad
minded men.

Subjects take their oath to a Gouvernor, sent newly to some Baylwick, for then they all muster, and shew themselves in Armes.

It is altogether needlesse, that I should make any long discourse of other exercises, which do dispose the to be the more valiant in war: as to runne, leape, throw the stone and barre, to wraffle, to shew all kindes of defence fit for Arms; for which there are prizes publicly appointed euery yeare. Morcouer, I am of the minde, that in all christendome, there is not any people, that do exercise themselves more in swimming, then the Switzers: who (with much ease) can vie that Arte, swimming thorough great Lakes, Ruers, Streames, and very impetuous floods, where-with the country doth greatly abound. When they are at leysure, and haue done their husbandry in the fields: they daily follow hunting, sometimes ouer the highest Mountaines and Rockes, almost inaccessible, after wilde Goates, Kids, and other beasts. At other times they pursue Beares, Wolves, Ounces, & wilde Boares, reputed it as an honour to him that can kil one of those sauage creatures, and fasten his head at the entrance of his doore; yet sometimes hee makes a present of it to the Seigneury. The Grecians had an ancient custome among the, to give the heads of wilde Boares, vnto Gentlemen or Gouvernours of the country, as an honourable present after hunting.

Now we are to declare, how the Switzers doe carry themselves in warre. First then, I will make mention of their Arms: next, how they chuse and enroule their Soldiours: And consequently, of other things belonging to the acte of warre. Let me then tell you, that (ordinarily) the Switzers Souldiours are well furnished with Armes in their houfes: yet (oftentimes) the Citties and Towns do fit them with Armes, which are kept in their publick Arsenalles and Magazines. Their Armes are commonly those of the Germane Lance-knights, to wit: the Harquebuzze, or Caluier, or Musket; the Pike of eightene foote in length; the Halbert: the Courtlace, and Sword made apt for both hands. They weare also a long Sword by their sides, whereas their ancestors did weare one farre shorter on

their thighes, proper to ioyne with the enemy neuer hand, and to giue him the Stoccado.

Now adayes, ouer and beside this long Sword, they weare a large Poniard or Dagger, of three or foure fingers bredth, and sharpe pointed: which the very meannest of them do adorne and enrich, with curious workmanship of gold and siluer. Some weare shirtes of Mayle; others Corselets, or a good Cuirats for the body.

The poorer sort, and especially the Muskettiers, content themselves with a Murrian or head-peece. Some, in stead of Armes plated with yron or Steele, make vse of skinned Beares or Buffelles: Others weare doublets of linnen cloth, redoubled in iust thickeesse, and made full of oylet-holes, and these doublets thus made, are not easily to bee transpierced. For the rest, as Polybins writeth, that the braue Parado or Romane Soldiour, vsed to weare a Panache of three plumes, red or blacke, about the length of a foote and an halfe, because this addition to the rest of his furniture for warre, made the Soldiour seeme to be twice greater and higher, then he was indeed, much more comely to looke on, and terrible to the enemy. Euen for the Switzers Soldiours, who coe to appeare lightly among all other, do weare on their heads a Plume of Feathers, one part white, and the other answerable to the Ensigne, or Colours of their distinct Cantons.

They beare euery man vpon his Arms, a white crosse, plaine and right, which is the Switzers Ensigne of war: Each man yeelds himselfe vnder the Standard of this Canton. They serue their tune with Drums, Fifes, and Trumpets: yet in such sort, notwithstanding, that the Drums of the Switzers are easily discerned from them of the Allemans or Germanes, because the found of the Switzers Drum is weighty and deepe, and the other more blustering. Particularly, they of *Vri* vie in warre, a Cornet made of a wilde Bulles home. They of *Fnderuuld* do the like. The *Lucernians* oftentimes vse a Cornet of Brasse, which they say was giuen them by *Charlemaigne*.

Now as concerning the enrollement of their Soldiours, it is done in manner following.

What they vie now at this present day in their due order.

The braue Parado or Soldiour of Rome in his gallantry of Plumes.

The Impfe or signall of the Armes of the Switzers purposed for warre.

If

How and in what manner they vie to enroule theyr men for war. If warre be made on them abroad.

When they march forth abroad to war

The care of the old Switzers in their enroulement.

A reason concerning the name of Germanes, and how it came vp at first.

A great happinesse to be among such men, and in such a campe.

If warre be made vpon the Switzers, and that they are assailed in their owne country; as no person was excused at Rome, when *Hanniball* was at the gates of the City; eue: so (without the least delay) all such as are able to carry Armes, they lay command on, to run with speedylucour, as to a sudden and dangerous fire, which euery hand ought helpe to quench. Yet in all this, they proceede by good order; for in the time of peace, each Canton hath certaine Capitaines, Ensignes, and chosen men, that ought still to be ready vpon any warning. But because it cometh to passe more often, that they must leade their troops out of their country, and all are not meete for marching, neither ought to be drawne abroad, for the country should be left naked of men of warre, and so remaine as a prey to the enemy: Then one neighbour makes choise of another for his companion, and according to the aduice of *Xenophon*, the very strongest Army that can bee imagined, is that which is compounded of friends and companions.

The ancient Switzers well knowing this, tooke especial care, that in their enroulement, friends, and such as knew one another, might be ranked together. And heereupon they ordained, that in warre, Switzers should aide each other, & loue together like brethren, throwing of all particular hatreds, which they could formerly pretend one against another. The other *Allemaigne* Soldiours had a custome to call one another brother: in regard whereof, some haue thought, that our ancient named them *Germanes*, which is as much to say, as brethren. Yet notwithstanding, they were all (almost) at the Swords point one against another, & (very often) the furious Lance-knights, who by their hackt and slasht faces, seeme to breathe no other word but warre: haue receiued more cuts and gashes by their friends and companions, then from their enemies.

On the contrary, ordinarily in the Switzers Campe, there is a very great tranquility, & one louing another (thogh otherwise they know not at all) euen as if they were brethren. And when they are the very greatest enemies in the world: yet notwithstanding, for the good and quietnes of their country, they renounce

all spleene & particular quarrels. Whereof I will declare a memorable example, which oftentimes (in my youth) I heard reported by my ancestors.

Two Switzers being deadly enemies, to wit, *Arnould of Fnderuuld*, who afterward was a great Capitaine, and *Zerchintes of Zurich*, both of them very valiant men, and meete for war. It came to passe, that during the warre of *Suaba*, they were both at one time in the Campe: when the cheefe Leaders (knowing their enmity) commanded them to be friends, and (as then) to forget their ancient quarrels. It happened in a certaine encounter, that *Arnould* was round engirt with his enemies: which *Zerchintes* perceiuing, came with his companions to relecue him; and did set him free from the danger wherein he was. In the euening, being returned to the Campe, *Arnould* went to the Tent of *Zerchintes*, and called to him by his name. His fellows and followers, being ignorant of that which had happened, were perfwaded by their owne opinion, that he came to challenge combat with the other: Wherefore they stept betwene them, & admonished *Arnould*, to remember the command giuen by the Captains, and to take heede of mouing any trouble in the Campe. He answered, that he came with a quite contrary disposition, and so acquainted them with all the aduenture. And instantly presented to *Zerchintes* a very goodly horse, fit for warre seruice, which he had wonne in that daies trauaile. From that time forward, euen to the houre of death, they were very louing and intimate friends.

As the ancient Switzers shewed themselves brethren, in succouring and assisting their companions, doing as they would be done to themselves: so did they obserue the same forme, in sharing and diuiding a gorten booty. For first of al, they gaue prohibition on paine of death, that no man of theirs, should bee so hardy or bold, as to forsake his ranck & the troops, vntill such time as the enemy should bee driuen in route. Afterward, when the Capitaines had giuen licence to rifle and ransacke; all the booty was brought in common, & distributed by the poll. And because the cantons are publicly vntied, euen so the publicke booty, as Artillery, Cattel, conquered Countries, Tolle,

Cc3 and

A very memorable example of great vertue in the Switzers, appearing by two mortall enemies.

How the ancient Switzers vsed to diuide their bootie at they won in the warre.

Distribution
by equality of
portions]

They that de-
fence best
ought to have
best.

The ancient
Switzers order
for victu-
als, Arms, mu-
nitions, &c.

Prohibition
for violating
of Churches,
maids, and
women.

Of the manner
of the Swit-
zers battalions

Example of
the battaile of
Nouara.

Example of
the two dayes
at Marignano

and other reuennues, are parted among them by equal portion. Albeit there are some of the Cantons, that doe furnish out twice, thrice, and some whiles five times more Soldiours, then others doe. Neuertheless, extraordinarily and particularly, recompence is giuen, and gifts bestowed vpon Soldiours, that haue borne themselves valiantly, & performed some braue exploit in the warre, beyond the fortune of their companions: and also to those Cantons in like manner, that haue bene more employed and charged, then the other.

Forasmuch also, as victuals and other munitions, are in warre to bee especially considered: the ancient Switzers ordained, that such as brought victuals, Arms, or other necessary things, and came to sell them in the Switzers campe, they should be fauoured & maintained, in all respects as if they were Switzers. There is also a perpetuall law, and established by length of time, that in warre, Temples and other places destined for the exercise of Religion, should be left intire and vntoucht. And that no outrage should be offered to maids nor women: but onely to such, as shall giue Armes to enemies, or acte the parts of Soldiours, by hurling stones, or hurting in some other manner.

As concerning the manner of camping, and ranging themselves in battaile; it is needlesse for me to shew here, that which the Switzers do in particular, or in common with the other Germans. Only I will say, that in our time, and by the memory of our ancestors; among all Infantry, the battalions of the Switzers hath alwayes bene highly esteemed. For being compoled of Pikes crossed, it resembleth a Porcupine, so that such as vnderstand the affaires of warre, doe iudge, and experience hath approoued it, that this battailon, may beare head against the horsemen. In the battaile of *Nouara*, the Infantry of the Switzers being not covered with any horse: foiled and droue in route, the French Infantry and Horsemen. Afterward, on the day at *Marignano*, hauing had battaile against king *Francis*, two seuerall dayes, which they lost, by reason of the thundering Artillery, and multitude of their enemies: Neuertheless, though vanquished, yet they returned to *Millane*, ranged in battaile, so that

their retreat seemed nothing like a flight; and yet the French (for all their victory) durst not follow them. It is not long since, when on the day at *Dreux*, in the first Troubles, the *Keltres* & the French Cavalery, liuely charged the battailon of the Switzers, and slew the most part of their Captaines: yet notwithstanding, the Switzers rallied themselves three times, and kept their ranks so well, that euen in that battaile, their enemies confessed themselves, that they were very valiant & warlike men.

But let vs leaue such discourse to men of warre, and shew you how the Switzers busie themselves in the times of peace, & how they are ordered from their infancy. First, as concerning letters and learning, which holds the first ranke: I freely confesse, that the ancient Switzers were not very carefull thereof. But rather they imitated the Romans therein, when they were in warres continually, against the *Aequi*, *Volcians*, *Yentres*, and other neighbouring people. And as they then, with rustical songs celebrated the valiancy of their ancestors: so in the same manner, the olde Switzers had vulgar songs, to remember the victories which they had obtained in warre. The Song wherein the day of *Sempach* is aptly described, when as Duke *Leopold* was slaine, is very common in Switzerland. As for knowledge of Artes, and of the Latine tongue, men of warre; bruske and vnapt to handle Bookes, rather thought, that such matters belonged to Churchmen. But in our dayes, there are to be found in all the cantons of Switzers, men learned both in the Tongues and Sciences. And as for many that vnderstand not the Latine tongue: yet they forbear not to reade Histories of all kinds, either concerning government of life, or affaires of State, or of Religion: And there are Libraries, well furnished with Bookes, written in the vulgar tongue.

Now, as concerning Schooles, it is a very long time since, that the Colledges of the Abbey of *S. Gall*, and of *Ceire* among the *Grisons*, were renowned, as we haue already shewne else-where. But within some certaine yeares after, letters and learning became quite banished. The Pope *Pius*, formerly named *Aeneas Sylvius*, provided an Vniuersity at *Basile*, from whence

Example of
the day at
Dreux.

How the Swit-
zers eare
themselves in
times of peac-
e: and are en-
dured vpon their
children's
hood.

Letters or
learning link
regardlesly
among the an-
cient Swit-
zers.

Many in the
Cantons learned
in tongue
and sciences.

Of Schooles
for the further-
ing and main-
tenance of
learning.

Pope Pius
erected a Vni-
uersity at
Basile.

Goodly Prin-
ting-houles.

Love of ver-
ue & iustice
among the
Switzers.

The Lawes of
the Switzers.

The alliance
of the Swit-
zers.

Of vnder-
taking Armes
or going to
warre.

In the case of
mutual aide
and assistance

whence haue come many learned and excellent men: whom it is needles to name, because they are sufficiently famous, and knowne by their writings. There are also diuers notable and publike Schooles at *Zurich*, at *Berne*, and one established at *Lausanna*, by the Lords of *Berne*. Nor must I let sleepe in silence, the goodly Printing-houles at *Basile*, *Zurich*, and *Geneua*, renowned among them all that are in *Germany*.

Beside the study of good letters, wherein I haue made mention, there is loue of all vertue, and especially of Iustice, which appertained also to the maintenance of peace. For it is a matter most certaine, that the common-wealth of the Switzers is grounded vpon most great equity, and hath euermore bene famous, in regard of her iustice: as appeareth by the lawes, alliances, customes, and manner of life among the ancient Switzers, and by many examples, and particular actions. I need not make mention of their lawes, because they agree with those of other common-wealths, that are ruled by good lawes: where crimes and misdeeds are seuerely punished, without any exception of persons.

As for their alliances, the Articles of them, reported in the first Booke: do declare, with what vprightness, diligence, & faithfulness they are made. The ends of them are, that euery man may enioy his owne peaceably, and that (by a common consent) all violence may be expulst and banished. For the better governing of this case, it is expressly forbidden, to goe and assault, and make warre one vpon another, either rashly, or without iust cause. And therefore also, before Armes may be vnderaken, the wisest and most discrete persons in all the nation: in a publicke assembly, must examine the causes of the warre, and vnderstand them to be iust and lawfull. Then afterward, when question is vrge: of repulsing an enemy, it is most strictly prohibited to the confederates, that ought to giue assistance; to vse therein no fraud nor cunning. But if they be called by letters, or by messages; or admit they could not be called, the passages being fore-closed by the enemy: yet notwithstanding, they are commanded to go and giue succour, enen to their vtmost power.

Moreover, because it many times happens, that the recovery of debts and borrowed money, do beget great debates, so that such differences betweene particular persons, doe sometimes set the Cantons at variance one with another: the Articles of the alliances do euery where make mention, what course is to bee observed in the recovery of such debts, and for taking pawns, to cut off the oute great licence of lenders, and to shunne the fraudulency of borrowers. Whosoever hath bene but a meane reader of Histories, knowes very wel, what troubles haue happened in Rome, in the case of debts, at all times, and whensoever the people are oppressed by the violence of vlturers, & taxed in great summes, when they would mutiny, and demand, that the vlturers contracts might be tome in peeces, & other made of more honest nature. But the providence and vprightnesse of the ancient Switzers, made such an imbarment, that neuer was the abolition of Obligations vrge in Switzerland, although the country is not very great, nor rich, and hath bene troubled with warres continually.

Because also, that men of warre are prompt and ready, to lay hand on their weapons; and (offentimes) fight vnder a false and dangerous pretence, they being men rather quarrellous, sturdy & outrageous, then valiant; yet taking a delight in this forwardnesse of enduring nothing, as thinking it makes men magnanimous and inuincible: the ancient Switzers laboured to remedy this euill, first by imposition of great fines, on such as began the stirre, and to outrage their associates. But because choller is a furious beast, and very difficult to be bridled: to hinder him from taking carriere, and obuiate murders; they added another remedy, to wit, that such as were found present at those quarrels and debates, if they did not pacifie and hinder their proceeding, and impose on them the penalties appointed by the lawes: then themselves should be grieuously punished by the Magistrate. For they would not permit, that men should be so ouerwaided and mastered by choller, and their lawes (in the meane while) lose their power and authority. If any man committed a murder, and escaped from the hand of iustice: hee could not be receiued into any of the Cantons.

Concerning
debts & bor-
rowed mon-
ies.

Great trou-
bles in Rome
about cases of
debts.

Great care &
providence in
the Switzers.

An especiall
care against
quarrels and
strifes of par-
ticular per-
sons.

A good law to
be vsed in o-
ther places.

Against such
as committed
murder.

If any man were banished, for offending any one of the Cantons, or killing a man: he was to stand excluded from all the rest, except hee could proue by sufficient witness, that he slew his enemy in the mere defence of his owne body.

The Svvtizers are protectors of the oppressed.

Such hath beene, and still is, the equity of the *Svvtizers* in doing iustice, & punishing the faulty from time to time: that many straglers haue made their recourse to them, and haue accepted them for Arbitrators in their differences. For they do shew themselves protectors of all such as haue any wrong done to them; and vpon this their coming to them; they haue sent Ambassadors, nay, haue undertaken Armes, to re-establish in their goods and possessions, some that haue bene despoyled of them by very powerful Lords.

Examples of diuers protected & holpen to their rights by the Svvtizers.

The Cantons (in this cause) made war on the Princes of *Austria*, to maintain the right of the *Fulachs*, Citizens of *Schaffhouse*. And for certaine Gentlemen of *Stiria*, named the *Gradlers*: & constrained the Duke of *Austria*, to restore such goods as hee deteyned from them. In the like case, but of much greater importance they gaue battaile vnto Duke *Charles of Bourgogne*, to maintain *René*, Duke of *Lorraine*, whom *Charles* had disposed of the most part of his countries. In like manner also, many times haue they made warre on certaine thecues, who couering themselves with the title of Noblemen; robbed and spoyled Merchants. To soile these thecues, they haue bin faine to make out vpon them, not onely in their owne country of *Switzerland*; but also in countries further off, allying themselves (to effect to good a worke) with those farre off townes. By which meanes, the wayes of *Switzerland* haue bene made very secure: so that Merchants, charged with neuer so great summes of money, goe and come in al safety, transporting their Merchandizes whether they please, without any need of company or transport. And a pleasant Prouerbe grew thereon, that if any man carried his purse full of gold or siluer on his staves end; hee might safely passe through *Switzerland*, and care not how many looked on him.

The Svvtizers haue made warre vpon thecues that robbed and spoyled passengers.

Good actions are euermore worthy to be commended.

Justice sildome walkes without her companion Liberty, vnder which epithite wee will comprehend hospitality, which alway hath made the people of

The bounty and hospitality of the Svvtizers.

Switzerland to bee highly commended. They haue not the delicates of the *Italians* and *French*, but they offer liberally those presents which the earth yeeldes them, as namely, Milke, Butter, & Honey. And who would bee afhamed, or can despise this liberality; seeing the great Patriark *Abraham*, entertained Angels with such viands, when they came to see him? And yet the country is not without good store of wilde Beasts and Fowles, with diuers kindes of Fishes, both in Lakes & Riuers. And as great men in times past, (so sweetly sung of in learned Poets) honoured men of worth, by giuing them flesh for their food: euen so oftentimes in *Switzerland*, presents are giuen to straglers, and them of the same country also, passing from one place to another, of good and delicate flesh, namely Venison, and also of very dainty Fish. But principally, the *Svvtizers* are liberrall and charitable to the poore, in lodging, feeding, & furnishing them with other needefull things: so that there are very few countries, wherein so many poore beggers are to be seene, as in *Switzerland*. I do not heere dispute, whether the Magistrate doth well, or no, in suffering or supporting them: onely I was desirous to shew heerein, the great humanity of the *Svvtizers* towards the poore, which resort thereto from all parts.

It is no shame to follow virtuous & good examples.

The Svvtizers are greatly charitable to the poore.

The people of *Switzerland* (among all other) take pleasure in Feasts and publike Banquets. In Cities and Townes, they of one trade, or of one band, haue certaine houses ordained to assemble themselves in. Euery Village (almost) hath a house by it selfe, which they call the house of good company: because they there meete, onely to maintaine loue and amity. The men doe meete there often, and sometimes the women are invited thither, to sitte and banquet with their husbands. They do not vie any sumptuous dishes or delicates, but most often content themselves with one or two kindes of meates. Many times euery neighbour bringeth his dish, and there feed friendly together, on that which was provided for their owne priuate houses. And as among the *Lacedemonians* it was ordained, that aged men and Magistrates should be present at banquets, to the ende, that euery man should carry himselfe honestly: the

The Svvtizers delight in feasting & banqueting, only for the maintaining of brotherly neighbourhood.

Aged men & Magistrates allowed by the Lacedemonians to be at Feasts and Banquets.

very fame is practised in *Switzerland*, so that all of one Trade, or of one Brotherhood, haue their distinct places, and the Magistrate, with the most auncient men, haue the higher ende of the Table allowed to them.

The Svvtizers delight not in Musike at their meetings.

They do not much delight in Musike at such Banquets, because they conceiue more pleasure in conferring together: either of particular affaires, or (oftentimes) of publike businesse. About all, when one of the most aged begins to discourse on some notable matters, which happened from his predecessors; euery one is very attentive, without the least interruption. And many times, he that hath a good & pleasing tongue, will speake loud enough on the faire deseruings of his Ancestors. The ancient *Svvtizers* were very sober & modest in all things, especially at publike Feasts and Banquets: so that it is a matter rare & most ignominious, if any man should be drunke in such an assembly.

The Author grewed to write that which the peoples fully compels him to do.

But I am enforced to write, and to my great greefe, that although there is more moderation in the *Svvtizers* Banquets, euen at this day, then in many other people of *Germany*: yet notwithstanding, drunkenness will not be banished, nor so vilely thought on, as in elder times it hath beene. And as *Xenophon* saide of the *Lacedemonians* (whose common-wealth hee had most highly commended) that hee durst not maintaine now in his time, that the lawes of *Lycurgus* were in full force, because in former times, sober and moderate people, affected rather to liue among them in great continence, then to be Lords in other Cities, where they might possesse worlds of riches: So now in the time of *Xenophon*, the *Lacedemonians*, yea, them of greatest power among them, contented to haue the gouernment of cities, as fearing they should be compelled to liue in their owne particular condition, glorifying themselves openly, of their wealth and riches. And whereas their Ancestors were studious, to make themselves become honourable, & worthy of giuing command to others: these men courted after dignities onely. So that whereas the *Grecians* (on their owne meere motion) made request to the *Lacedemonians*, that they would accept of the gouernment: matters became so contra-

rily changed, that the *Grecians* prayed & exhorted one another, to resist against the *Lacedemonians*, yea, and to expulse the vicerly, fearing lest they should vsurpe vpon the gouernment.

It appeareth now to me, that euen as much may befaid of the *Svvtizers*: for I must needs confesse, that the frugality & temperance of our auncients, in eating, drinking, cloathing, and in the whole course of life, is dead, or as if it had neuer beene at all. The *Svvtizers* are not now so continent and spare in liuing, as heerebefore, when they maintained their liues with the labour both of their mindes and hands, without taking wages of Kings & Princes, strangers to them. And therefore I am much afraid, lest we lose that wholly too, which yet remaineth, namely, valiancy and strenght in warre, humanity, debonarity, iustice, and vprightness. So that one day, they who (heerebefore) haue so carefully compassed amity & alliance with the *Svvtizers*: it is to bee doubted, may change their mindes, and study how they shall best subdue them. I desire of God, that he will turne from my country so deadly a danger; and I desire also, and exhort all them that ought to think thereon, to strue to bring in vie againe those honest ancient manners, that frugality, continence, equity, humanity, loyalty, & constancy of the olde *Svvtizers* in al their actions.

The Svvtizers are greatly altered from their famous progenitors.

The Authors especiall care of his country, cries honour, and of his countrymen.

CHAP. III.

Of publike assemblies and meetings, or rather of the Councill and Senate of the Svvtizers.

In all Commonwealths, three things are especially to be considered, to wit, the Councill or Senate, the Magistrate, and Iustice; for the Common-wealth of the *Svvtizers* hath no common Magistrates: except wee may place in that ranke, the Bayliffes and Gouernors, which are sent heere and there, not by the councill of the Common-wealth, but by each one of the Cantons in it selfe. For the rest, the coun-

The three ornaments of any common-wealth.

The words of Xenophon once sing the Lacedemonians.

A strange alteration in the gouernment.

The councell
of the Swit-
zers not equal
alwayes.

councell of *Switzerland* is not alwayes equal in number; for sometimes, ouer & beside the Cantons, the other allies and confederates, especially the Ambassadors of *S. Gall*, of the *Grisons*, and of *Mulhouse*, doe meete together. And then this is the very greatest councell, which doe assemble but rarely, and to conferre on peace or warre, or of other affaires, which appertain equally to all the confederates.

The Ambassadors of the 13 cantons meet oftent together, but not upon all occasions.

Oftent of all other, there doe none but the Ambassadors of the thirteen cantons meete together, to consult and aduise on matters of the Common-wealth. Every man of them hath a deliberate voyce, as well as the other, and therefore, though one Canton doe send two Ambassadors: yet they shall haue but one voyce, & one aduice, because the aduice is collected according to the number of the Cantons, and not to the number of Ambassadors. Neuertheless, all the Cantons doe not send their Ambassadors at all daies meetings; as when there is question of the Bayliwicks, governed by the feauen or eight first Cantons, or of other things on them depending: then feuen or eight ambassadors onely meete together, & haue their deliberative voyces. But if there be any speech concerning the Bayliwicks of Italy, belonging to the twelue first Cantons: then those twelue ambassadors doe assemble. And as for that which concerneth the good of the whole Common-wealth: the ambassadors of the thirteene Cantons, doe then make a perfect & compleate body of councell.

The Ambassadors haue their assemblies according to their causes.

In our times, since *Switzerland* became diuided into factions, by reason of differences happening in Religion, they likewise instituted particular assemblies: so that the five Cantons of *Lucerna*, *Vri*, *Suits*, *Vnderwald*, and *Zug*, that make expresse profession of the Religion and Ceremonies of the Romane Church, & are very strictly vnited together, by speciall amity (I know not whether it bee by league or alliance) they meete together more often then the other cantons, and are (as it were) a councell apart. And therefore, when speech is made of the five small Cantons, they before named are vnderstood, and not the five first in alliance. As also in making mention of three, of feuen, or of eight Cantons: it must be considered according to the time and or-

Lucerna, Vri, Suits, Vnderwald and Zug, are the five small cantons.

der, when they were entred into league; as thus *Vri*, *Suits*, *Vnderwald*, *Lucerna* and *Zurich*, shall be the five Cantons. Sometimes they of *Fribourg* and of *Sollemre*, assemble themselves with the five forenamed, and call themselves the feuen catholike Cantons. Now, although any in the cantons of *Glaris* and *Appenzell*, doe belong to the catholike Church, & Masse is sung in their cheefest Villages: yet notwithstanding, they are not ranked among the catholikes, because (for the most part) their people walke with them that are of the new Religion. Finally, the four Cities, to wit, *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Basile*, and *Schaffouse*, haue likewise (sometimes) their assembly apart; but yet it is not so often as the other.

The feuen Catholike Cantons, but will be to a fling under by the catholikes.

Moreouer, it is very vnease to decipher particularly, all those things whereon the councell of *Switzers* doe deliberate: neuertheless, I will touch some of the principall articles. The first and cheefest, is concerning war and peace, as likewise mention is made in most part of the alliances, that if a great wrong is done to one of the cantons, and it thinketh good to haue reason by armes: it must first be referred to the councell of the leagues, to the end that the ambassadors may regard together, whether the cause of warre be iust, or no, lest warre should be lightly moued, and vpon triuiall occasions. Then afterward, if it appeare to bee expedient to begin warre, and for the safety of the common-wealth, the means must next be consulted on.

Of what matters the councell of the Switzers is to take knowledge.

It chanced (in my time) that *Christophor Landberg*, being leagued with many Gentlemen, furiously to invade them of *Rotauille*, allied to the Cantons many said, that such succour ought to be sent to *Rotauille*, as the inhabitants desired. But the greater part of the Senators, and Deputies to the councell of *Switzerland*, hauing vnderstood the causes of the variance; hindred any such proceeding. For they saw plainly, that the whole State would overthrow it selfe into very great perill, and vpon silly occasion: because there was pregnant apparance, that by invading *Landberg*, they must thereby meddle with the Duke of *Wirttemberg* his neighbour, to whom the *Switzers* hadde beene good friends a long time. Nor could they come so neere him, without irrita-

War is not to be moued on slight occasions.

An example of Rotauille allied to the Cantons, and sent with danger.

Example of the warre at Suba, when peace was made at Fribourg.

No Canton can be compelled to make alliance with a strange Prince.

For the establishment of laws and ordinances.

irritating (by the same meanes) many other Princes, that wer his kindred, friends, and confederates. Neuertheless, because they of *Rotauille* should not complaine, that they were forsaken in such a necessity: fifty Soldiers of each Canton were sent as a Garrison to their Towne, but they stayed at *Schaffouse*, and (soone after) the difference was pacified by Iudges, chosen for cyther side. And as the councell deliberated on the matter of warre, and whether it should be begun, or no: peace also was treated on by the same councell, and not by the Cantons in particular.

According heere to, in the warre of *Suba*, all the Cantons together sent their ambassadors to *Basile*, where they made peace with the Emperor *Maximilian*. So the councell of *Switzerland*, assembling at *Fribourg*; made perpetuall peace with the King, and all the Realme of France, in the yeare, 1516. The negotiation of alliances, is ioyned with that of peace: for very often in the dayes of our ancestors, and in ours also, the Cantons (by aduice of their councell) haue made alliances with neighbouring Kings and Princes. Wherein this order is kept still to this day, that no one of the Cantons can be constrained to make alliance with a strange Prince, but is to remaine at his owne liberty. As in the yeare, 1519. when all the cantons allied themselves with king *Frances*; they of *Zurich* refused to be bound, and afterward, they of *Berne* renounced this alliance. In like manner, when *Philbert*, Duke of *Sauoye*, obtained to enter league and amity with the *Switzers*: first the five small cantons began, and then *Sollemre* ioyned with them afterward.

The second Article, of such things as the councell of *Switzerland* doe ordaine, concerneth laws and ordinances. Each Canton hath his lawes and customes by himselfe, which remaine firme and inuolable: neuertheless, by a common consent, our ancestors deuised and established many publike Edicts and Ordinances. Among which number, are the fore-mentioned lawes of warre: wherewith also may the accord at *Stantz* bee ranked, passed betweene the eight first Cantons, and whereof we haue spoken in the first booke. Also, because Priests abused their immunities and priuiledges; they were repro-

ued by a publike Edict, containing this in effect. Whosoever of the citizens or inhabitants of the cantons, be hee Priest or no, be hee a Counceller, Vassalle, or bound to the Princes of *Austria*: hee shall stand bound neuertheless, and promise by oath to his canton, to procure & aduance the profite thereof, and of all the confederats, and discouer speedily and in good conscience, all that may bring them any damage. This oath shall precede all other, and no obligation, how expresse soeuer it be, shall excuse them, if they go aginst this oath.

Such Priests as dwell in *Switzerland*, and are not of the country, may draw no man into ciuill or ecclesiasticall iustice, out of the country; except in matrimoniall and ecclesiasticall causes. If any one dare do otherwise, the Magistrats of the canton wherein he dwelleth, shall prohibite all men, not to harbour, lodge, or friend him, nor to frequent his company: none shall presume to protect him, vntill such time as hee hath renounced all forraigne iustice, and payed the charges of the party, that receiued endamagement by such iustice. Whosoever shall doe wrong to his neighbour, cyther in taking pawns against order of right, or by any other meanes: hee shall be punishable in body and goods, vntill hee haue satisfied the party. He that is not of the Church, and yet hath summond his aduersary, cyther before a Iudge of the Church, or secular, and out of the country: hee shall pay all the charges endured in that cause, in regard hee ought to plead in the same place, where the party dwelleth. No man shall assigne ouer his action to another, by which meanes he may the easier afflict the contrary party.

If any man shall renounce his Bourgeship, and thereby doe wrong to another, by drawing him into strange iustice: hee shall neuer bee receiued againe into the number of the citizens, till first hee haue made satisfaction to the party. All the cantons shall take order, that the waies be sure and safe, because both *Switzers* & strangers may passe securely, conuaying their Merchandizes through the country, without any manner of violence done to them: whosoever shall attempt otherwise, by common consent of all, and our helpe to the vttermost, hee shall be compelled

Against Priests that abused their immunities & priuiledges.

No Priest may commence law-sutes out of the Country, but with exception.

For punishing of wrong done to neighbors.

No suite to be pleaded out of the country.

No colour admitted to wrong another.

For secure & safe passage on the highwayes.

No pawne to be taken but by the Magistrate's consent.

An Edit against Brokers for Benefices.

The Authors reason for the Lawes & Edicts alleged.

Concerning Embassages sent forth of the country, or employed at home on serious affairs.

When Alliances are to be contracted.

pelled to make satisfaction, answerable to the faculties and riches as the party hath lost. No man in any Canton whatsoever, shall rescue pawne or pledge of any other, without consent of the Magistrate: neither shall do, or procure any injury to be done to his neighbour; but hee that doth the contrary, shall be compelled by them of his Canton, to satisfie the other to the uttermost damage.

All these things before recited, were agreed on, and ordained by the sixe cantons of *Zurich, Lucerna, Uri, Suits, Vnderwald, and Zug*. There was another Edit also published, against many Brokers of Benefices, for in regard that such fellows did oftentimes cause much trouble unto Priests, made by the Ordinaries of the places, and (vnder colour of some purchased Bulles) were so put in possession of vacant Benefices: It was concluded by common consent of all the thirteen cantons, in the year, 1520, that if such people pursued to maintain the right of such Bulles, they should be imprisoned, where if they did not renounce those Bulles, they should be drowned. I could set downe many other examples, of Edicts & publick lawes, but I thinke it needlesse: and these formerly rehearsed, are to no other end, but to let the Reader perceiue, that the ancient *Switzers*, who were devoutly affected to their Religion, and euermore gaue great honor to men of the church, did neuer yet (for all that) leaue the bridle so freely to them, or admit them any such licence, as was contrary to publick liberty and tranquility.

If any Embassages were to be sent out of *Switzerland*, for the appointing of some difference, contracting of alliance, gratifying some Prince, or exhorting some one to this or that, or else to command or declare some matters of import, or to denounce warre: Say also, that it were in *Switzerland*, to negotiate with some Canton, City, Towne, &c.: The counsell consults and determines what is to be done in this case: as whether it is necessary to send ambassadors of all the Cantons, or of some few only.

When there is a question in hand, for contracting alliances or leagues, all the Cantons do then send ambassadors: As when the alliance was made and signed with King *Henry*, not only the Cantons,

but also the confederates sent their ambassadors to the King. But in many other affaires, they name but foure or fise Cantons, who send Embassages in the name of all. As the ambassadors of *Zurich, Lucerna, Uri, and Glaris* went to the day at *Ansbourg*, & obtained of the Emperor *Ferdinand*, confirmation of the priuiledges for their owne cantons, and for all the rest likewise. Moreover, this counsell hath charge, with reference to the Lords that assist them, to aduise on what is to be negotiated, or answering ambassadors of Kings and Princes strangers, and also of other common-wealths, as they are oftentimes met withall, in the publick assemblies of the *Switzers*.

Finally, the counsell aduiseeth to provide for the Prouinces, which do belong to the Cantons, to the end, they may be governed as best becometh. First of all, because that some estates are of great profit, as of Secretaries, Commisaries, Officers, Interpreters, *Landmans*, & *Landweibel* in the country of *Turgow* (where of the first, to wit, the *Landman* is Iudge criminall, in name of the ten first Cantons, and the other is as ordinary Procutor or Attorney) the counsell commits these estates to certain men, who cannot (in meane while) chuse Officers vnder them, answerable to their appetite. Moreover, if some difficult processe or suite happen in a Prouince, and the Governours or Bayliffes will not iudge according to their aduice: the whole busines is referred ouer to the counsell, where if the sentence of the Bayliffes seeme to be vnjust to eyther of the parties, they may appeale to the maine Senate or Council of the *Switzers*.

As for causes in the Bayliwicks and Governments beyond the Mountaines; the ambassadors (which are yearly sent thither in the Moneth of Iune) doe take knowledge of them, and end them. But for other suites on this side the Mountaines, the counsell of *Bada* doth iudge them: And appeale also may be made from the sentence of the ambassadors that haue giuen iudgement beyond the Mountaines, to the counsell of *Bada*, because that authority is greater, and their power more ample. Yet some say no, and that the appeale is to be addressed to the Cantons: that each of them may vnderstand

In other occasions,

Aduice for negotiations, & answering Ambassadors.

For prohibition & governing of the Bayliwick and Prouinces.

Landman & Landweibel.

When difficult cases happen in a Prouince.

Order for causes on eyther side the Mountaines.

The counsell of *Bada*.

Distribution of annual revenues.

The capacity and power of the counsell, in all matters whatsoever that concerne the common-wealths welfare.

To whom the calling & the assembling of the counsell appertaineth.

The order & aduisation for calling the generall assembly.

Of Ambassadors from Kings and Princes.

stand the matter, and by them the difference to be decided. Also the Governours and Bayliffes, are to render an account to the counsell, of the tolles, reuenues, and fines: the annual reuenues are distributed by equal portion among the Cantons, to whom the Bayliwicks do appertaine. There is the like also of the Abbeys in those Bayliwicks, the protection and government whereof (in temporall occasions) do belong to the Cantons. In briefe, the counsell doth know all things, which concerne the administration of the Prouinces appertaining to the Cantons; they cause the Governours to render their accounts; they giue audience to whosoever can accuse them, and they punish them, if they haue defered it; eyther by depriving them of their dignities, or returning them to the Cantons that established them, to haue some other sent in their stead. To speake all in one word, the counsell takes knowledge of all matters that concerne the good and tranquility of the common-wealth: as well in the Governments and Bayliwicks, as also in the Cantons themselves.

Now concerning the authority of calling, and assembling the counsell, for the demanding of their aduice: it hath belonged (of ancient time) to the Canton of *Zurich*; which by a very authentick priuiledge, holds the cheefest ranke among all the Cantons. Whensoever then there is question made, to hold a generall counsell of the nation: the Lords of *Zurich* make knowne by their Letters to each of the Cantons, both the time & the place where they are to meete together. If any one, or more of the cantons, do thinke it necessary, that the counsell publike and general should be assembled; first they giue aduertisement to the canton of *Zurich*, and require by their letters, that the Ambassadors of the other cantons may meet together. But if the affairs are pressive, and require speedy deliberation, then each canton must aduertise his confederates, to be in readinesse for aduising (altogether) on that which is to be done.

Likewise the Ambassadors from Kings and Princes strangers, do demand leaue of the cantons, to present themselves at those dayes of meetings: & sometimes they make request, that one day (extraor-

inary) may be held for them. But on the dayes of particular meetings, they proceeded otherwise, because *Zurich* signifies the same to foure Townes: and when to fise or seuen catholike cantons; they of *Lucerna* do assemble them. There are also daies of and for particular meeting of the cantons allied to the K. of France: whose Ambassador residing at *Sollesre*, calleth the cantons at the Kings charge. I thinke there is permission also, for the ambassadors of the Pope, and of other kings, friends, and allies to the *Switzers*, to demand their dayes: provided, they are at their Masters expenses.

The ancient *Switzers* had no perpetuall or certaine place, for holding their daies of generall counsell: for I am perswaded, there is no one of the first eight cantons, but they made an assembly at some times, though most often it was done at *Lucerna*, at *Zurich*, *Bremgarten*, and at *Bada*. In our time, the custome hath bene (not by any law or ordinance purposely made for it) that the *Switzers* kept their dayes at *Bada*, in the Townehouse: and so much the rather, because the Towne hath many commodities for such assemblies. First, the place is beautified with goodly buildings, and very apt Innes or houses of lodging. The situation of the place is pleasant and healthfull, and the neerenesse of the Bathes yeelde wonderfull pleasure, drawing thither great resort of people from farre remote countries. By meanes whereof, the neighbouring people to *Bada*, (feeling the gaines sweetnesse) bring thither all kinds of victuals in great abundance, which causeth the Towne to be well furnished with all good prouision, and at all needfull seasons.

Next, it is seated (almost) in the midst of *Switzerland*, so that the cantons furthest off, may appeare there (by neerenesse of wayes) all at one and at the same time. Also it appertaineth to the eight first cantons, & (by that meanes) the most part of the cantons are Lords thereof, and haue equall authority in the place. Beside, the particular assemblies of the foure Townes, is oftentimes kept in the Towne of *Aron*, appertaining vnto the canton of *Berne*; howbeit (sometimes) it hath bin of *Basle*, when question was made of entering accord with *Luther*, & that for the cause

Dayes of particular assemblies, according to their order, and for whom they are called.

In what place the counsell did assemble on their daies of meeting.

The commodious situation of the Towne of *Bada*.

Bada belongs to the 8. first cantons.

The meeting
of the Catho-
like Cantons.

of *Strasbourg*, that then sent their Ambassadors thither. The catholike Cantons do oftentimes assemble at *Lucerna*, sometimes at *Beckenried*, in the territory of *Prigori* at *Brumer*, which belongeth to them of *Swits*. But when the Ambassador of France demandeth (in his Kings name) a leuye of men of the *Switzers*: the day is oftentime held at *Sollemure*, where he entreatheth the Cantons to be present; and sometimes also it is at *Lucerna*.

At what time
the dayes of
audience for
sutes are
held.

The custome is, that (euery yeare) dayes of meeting are held at *Bada*, about mid-Iune. Then the Bayliffes or Governours appertaining to the Cantons, yeeld a reason of their feuerall charges before the councill, and attend to the ending of suites concerning the Prouinces. At the same time, the Ambassadors of the twelue first Cantons, do meete at *Lugano*, & take an account of the ioure Bayliffes for the Prouinces of *Italy*, and iudge the causes of appeale: but yet in such sort as a man may appeale from them, to the Councill or Parliament of *Bada*, it being of farre greater authority. The councill so assembled, they sit by ordination of the Cantons, to ende such controuersiall cases, as were not concluded on at the precedent meeting: for oftentimes causes of importance are not ended at the first Session, either because they appeare not of sufficient merit, or want due power of prooffe. In regard whereof, they are referred ouer to a further day, and in the meane while, the Ambassadors craue audience of the Lords of their feuerall Cantons, to know how they shall carry themselves therein. Sometimes also, in an vnexpected accident, or some other such case of consequence: the Canton of *Zurich*, or some other, will assigne the day, especially, if it be a matter concerning the common-wealth. Now, although the Councill are assembled only for publike affaires; yet notwithstanding, after they have taken order for them, if any particulars of the Prouinces come, and would haue their causes pleaded, they giue them audience. But the particular dayes of the Cantons, and those that the Ambassador of France causeth to be held; haue no certainty of time, but according as occasions offer themselves, & as it is pleasing to them that haue power to assemble the councill.

Concerning
sudden & vn-
expected ac-
cidents, and
sutes of parti-
cular persons,
from the ge-
nerall busines.

Particular
dayes for the
Cantons.

The manner of proceeding on these daies of meeting, is thus. At the day assigned by the ordinary councill, or commanded to be kept: the day before, the Ambassador for the canton of *Zurich*, sends the Lieutenant of *Bada* to all the Innes and houses of receite, to know what Ambassadors are come, to whom the Lieutenant giueth kinde welcome, and receiue them honourably, in name of the whole *Switzers* common-wealth, and the morrow after, he calleth the to come to the Town-houfe. If the Ambassadors of all the cantons are come, they are called, and then they treat on affaires concerning all the Cantons together. But if vpon the day named, they for the new Cantons, as for *Basile*, *Schaffouse*, *Sollemure*, and *Fribourg*, are not as yet arrived, as oftentimes it comes so to passe: then feuen or eight Cantons do assemble, and discourse on matters only concerning themselves.

The Ambassadors are seated in councill, according to the order & number of the Cantons, so that he of *Zurich* sits in the highest and most eminent place; he of *Berne* next; then he of *Lucerna*, & so consequently the other, according to the order of the Cantons. Being seated, the ambassador of *Zurich* salureth them all, and hauing made some breefe preface & excuse, according to custome; he declareth y which the Ambassadors had in charge on the last dayes meeting, and referred them to the next dayes deliberation, as oftentimes they are assembled to that effect, and if any thing hath hapned since then, he propoundeth it also. Then he addeth that which his Lords haue giue him in charge, touching the Article whereon he is to deliberate: the other ambassadors do the like in their ranke, & declare whatfoeuer their Lords commanded them. After that euery one hath made knowne that which they haue in charge to say: the Bayliffe or Governour of *Bada* (of whatfoeuer Canton it is) demandeth orderly of each counsellor, his aduice concerning the matter that hath bin in question. The he of *Zurich* speaketh first, and the rest after, according to their ranke. Hauing all spoken, the Bayliffe counteth the voyces, according to the number of the Cantons and not of the counsellors: for sometimes one Canton sends two ambassadors, who may well assist in councill, yet they haue but

Of the order
and manner
of proceeding
on the dayes
of meeting.

Particular
causes haue
the same or-
der of proceed-
ing as them
in generall.

After what
manner their
causes are de-
bated.

The Romanes
order for plea-
ding law-ca-
ses, not so co-
munit as that
of the
Switzers.

The negli-
gence of many
Aduocates &
Attornies do
often times
preiudice ve-
ry iust causes.

Chap. 4. Of publike Sentences & Iudgements. 303

but one voyce, as of one man onely.

Thus you see how they proceed in deciding those things, which concerne the publike good: In particular causes also, they follow the same order, giue their aduice, and collect the voyces. But such as haue any causes to plead on these daies, demand audience first of the Ambassador for *Zurich*, who assigned their day, & put their names vpon the Role. When they appeare before the councill, sometimes the parties themselves will plead their owne causes: or haue Aduocates, Proctors, or speakers, which they bring with them, or chuse among such as they finde in *Bada*. For at all times, and whensoever these dayes are appointed, there will meet there a great number of such men, belonging to the neighbouring Townes & Burroughs, pensioners of the Switzers. Causes are there debated, not according to the ciuill Law, nor by the aduice of Lawyers; but with equity, and according to the lawes & customes of the people, long time obserued among them.

I know, that many will account this forme of pleading, to be barbarous, especially such as would haue men follow the Romanes order of pleading, for the ending of suites: without which (they say) the very wisest men do wrong themselves often, in the deciding of difficult causes, and matters of importance. As for my selfe, I thinke well of the Romanes lawes, written by men very wise and skilfull in affaires, and I will not infringe their authority in any manner whatsoever. But yet I say, that the proceeding obserued by the *Switzers*, for ending controuersiall cases, is to be preferred before that which is vsed among other Iudges, that giue sentence according to the Roman lawes. And I am well assured, that mine opinion cannot be reiected, but by ill-disposed & wrangling spirits. For it cannot be denied, that many Aduocates and Attornies, are much more careful for maintaining the ciuill law, then cyther equity or right: considering, they do nothing else many times, but tie themselves to fillables, words, and termes of the law, which they expound according to their owne fancy, labouring to circumuent a party, and to take him by the nose, as we vse to say. And surely, they do nothing but for the benefit of their owne purples, troubling themselves

ouermuch, to obscure and muffle vp matters; by which means, suites are made immortal, to the ineuitable detriment & ruine of both parties, being brought (by them) to extreme poudry and misery.

In which respect, they gaue no very euill language, that tearmed such practitioners and brablers, blood-suckers of the people: for they empty their purses, yea, and sucke them to the bare bones. And if among the Iustices of *Switzerland*, an error happen to be committed, in the decision of difficult causes, which cometh very sildome to passe: yet notwithstanding, it causeth no such harme, as doth the length and immortalizing of suites. So I may well say, that the manner of proceeding among the *Switzers*, doth lessen expences, ease the people, cuts vp the rootes of lingering suites and differences: because the sentence doth sooner resolute both the parties, and brings them to agreement: whereas in other places, we see suites encrease day by day, and from one case vndeclared, growes a great number of nouel variances.

CHAP. IIII.

Concerning Sentences and Iudgements, in publike and peculiar differences.



Hauing thus made mention of the councill, and daies of audience among the *Switzers*; we are now to speake, concerning such sentences and iudgements as they vse to giue. If any suite doth happen between particular persons in the Bayliwicks: the Bayliffs or Governours are Iudges in those places, or else the Canton (from whence the appellation ariseth) taketh knowledge, and iudgeth thereof. But the Iustices of euery Canton do iudge (each one within his iurisdiction) in the causes & differences of the Subiects. Beside this, there is iustice for publike suites, which are variances, happening between two or more Cantons, or between some particulars against a Canton: and such condition as the Cantons haue, the same also their confederates haue.

Lawyers make
sutes to seem
immortal.

Error sildome
committed a-
mong the
Switzers in
law causes,
because these
sutes are
quickly ended

Concerning
sutes of parti-
cular persons
in the Bayli-
wicks.

Publike vari-
ances be-
tweene Can-
tons.

Did

Thus

Their ends & ours are quite contrary.

more, then to see their country peaceable and flourishing. If now each man had no other meaning, but would aime at that mark: so many suites would not be seene, and easily might those be appeald, that are the hottelt attempted.

CHAP. V.

Of those Common-wealths, which are in each of the severall Cantons.
And first, of the Common-wealths of Zurich, Basile, and Schaffouse.

Having shewne already, how the whole Commonwealth of the *Switzers* is governed in common: it behoueth now, to make mention, of the Commonwealth in each distinct Canton. Now it seemeth to me, that the common-wealths of the thirteene Cantons, may be referred to three formes. For as there are three names of soveraign Magistrates and Cantons, so haue they likewise as many formes of common-wealths, differing not onely in name, but also in the things themselves.

In some certaine Cantons, the cheefe Commanders or Heads of the councill, are called *Ammans*. This is obserued in the Cantons that haue no Cities or Townes, but Villages onely, hauing a popular estate, and the soveraignty appertaining to the people, by whose aduice, the very greatestt affaires of importance are decided. Of this number are *Vri, Suits, Vnderwald, Zug, Glaris, and Appenzell*.

The other Cantons haue their cities and townes, which haue the soveraignty: yet in such manner, as there are two formes of common-wealths. For the cities and townes, especially such as haue bene built by some Princes, or some

times haue bene subiected to them: are governed by an *Auget*, whom they call, *Schultheys*, (who is cheefe of the councill) and by some number of counsellors chosen by free election, from and by the whole number of citizens. The forme of this common-wealth is *Aristocracical* among all the other: and in this manner are governed the common-wealths of *Berne, Lucerna, Fribourg, and Solleure*.

There are other cities and townes diuided by certaine companies, by each whereof, and by voyce of such men, as are in euery of them, the Lords of the councill are elected, and the soveraign Magistrate or cheefe of the councill, who by them is termed *Burgemeister*, that is to say, Master of the Bourges, which we in a shorter word call *Bourgmester*. Such are the common-wealths of *Zurich, Basile, and Schaffouse*. Now we are to speake of these diuers formes of common-wealths in order, beginning with the last, first.

First then, all the people of these Townes free and Imperiall, were diuided into two ranks: the one of Noblemen, the other of Yeomen. The Noblemen had a Society by themselves, apart, which the *Allemaignes* or *Germanes* did call, *Ein Geselechaft*, and they of *Zurich, Ein Constail*.

In elder times, in the city of *Basile*, which is very spacious, and for the multitude of Noblemen, they were diuided into two societies, bandes, or companies of Noblemen. Oftentimes they were in quarrels, and had the soveraignty: so that out of the one company they chose the Confull, and out of the other, the Tribune or Captaine of the city, which is the estate of greatestt authority, next vnto that of Confull or Bourgmester.

Neuertheless, afterward the Noblemen lost this soveraignty, or else forsook their right voluntarily. For at the time of the councill of *Basile*, when *Lewes*, then Dolphin of France, brought (very neere to *Basile*) an Army of *Armignacks*, in fauour of Pope *Eugenius*, and the Duke of *Austria*; many Gentlemen of *Basile*, went and ioyned with that Army, in regard whereof, they were all banished, and their posterity deprived & excluded from all publike honours.

D d 3 After

In townes or cities, the cheefe man is called the *Auget*, the cheefe man of the councill.

Election of the Lords of the councill, and the soveraign Magistrate, called a *Burgemeister*.

Townes diuided into two ranks, Noblemen and Yeomen.

Two bandes of Noblemen in *Basile*. The Confull and the Tribune or Captaine of the City, the two cheefe offices.

The Noblemen banished and their posterity deprived.

Two Judges chosen for either side.

Places appointed for the ending of suites & differences according to ancient custome.

They that met at one place, went not to another except by especiall appointment.

What matters cannot be loosingly ended, what course they take then

Thus then, for the deciding of such differences, each of the parties doe chuse two Iudges for either side, who are absolved of the oath which they haue taken to their Canton: and promise to iudge according to right and equity, and labour that the suite may bee loosingly and very speedily accorded, or iudicially ended.

By the ancient alliances, there were certaine places appointed, for the ending of such suites. The seven first Cantons sent their ambassadors and arbitrators to the Abbey of the Hermitage, to end their such suites as happened among them. By an article of very ancient alliance with them of *Glaris*, it is expressly said: that if they had any suite with them of *Vri*, the assembly should be at *Merch*. If against the canton of *Suits*, the arbitrators should meete at *Bergeraz*: and at *Brunen*, if against them of *Vnderwald*. And then the other Cantons, hauing had knowledge of the cause, pronounced the sentence. The *Bernians*, and the three Cantons of *Vri, Suits, and Vnderwald*, assembled at a place named *Dashenboltz*. They of *Zurich* and *Berne*, at *Lofinge*. The *Fribourgers* & they of *Solleure*, hauing a suite against the eight first Cantons, or some of them, sent their Iudges to *Zofinge*; and if they were defendants, to *Willifow*. As for the causes of them of *Basile, Schaffouse, and Appenzell*, they pleaded them at *Bada*, together with them of these Cantons, allied with them of *Rotuille* and of *Mulhouse*. But the differences of them of *S. Gall*, were determined in the Abbey of the Hermitage: and them of the *Grisons*, at *Wallenfisch*, which is a Towne at the end of the Lake of *Rine*, in the Bayliwick of *Sargans*.

When then some difference happeneth, which cannot be loosingly accorded, and that the entrety of the Cantons serue to no purpose: the arbitrators and ambassadors of the Cantons that are in suite, do meete at the place appointed, & (with them) the ambassadors of the other Cantons confederates, who come thither to atone the parties, and to make some amiable composition. The Iudges and Arbitrators being assembled, after that the parties haue pleaded their causes: if the Iudges take resolution, & giue sentence, the parties must (of necessity) be contented. But if they be of diuers opi-

nions (as many times it happeneth) and that there are as many voyces on the one side, as on the other, then a fifth Iudge or arbitrator is chosen, whom they call *Ein obmann*, or, *Ein gemeinen mann*. He giueth no sentence at all, but onely approueth one of those, which the arbitrators haue pronounced. Sometimes the Iudges themselves do chuse the odder arbitrator: yet in such sort notwithstanding, that he is a man of one of the Cantons, no medler with eyther party, nor hauing any interest in the cause.

The alliance of the seven first Cantons, makes mention of this election and choise: as that of *Fribourg*, that of *Solleure*, that of *Appenzell*, and them of *S. Gall* and of *Mulhouse*. It is added to the articles of the alliance of *Schaffouse*, that if the Iudges cannot accord, by choise of another arbitrator, taken from one of the Cantons; they shall then take one of the Lords of the councill of *S. Gall*. And in the alliance of *Rotuille*, command is giuen to the Iudges, to chuse for an odder arbitrator, one of the Lords of the councill of *S. Gall* or of *Mulhouse*. Sometimes also the complainant chuseth. As if the *Bernians* haue a suite against the three first Cantons, or any one of them; the Cantons that name sixteen men, out of which number, the *Bernians* are to chuse a sub-arbitrator. But if they bee defendants, the Cantons will then (for sub-arbitrator) chuse one of the Lords of the lesser councill of *Berne*. If some difference fall betwene them of *Zurich*, and of *Berne*; the complainants chuse for an odder arbitrator, one of the defendants Lords of the councill. The same is obserued in suites for them of *Basile*, against the other cantons; and so in the *Grisons* causes.

Thus you see how the *Switzers* gouerne themselves, in the deciding of controuersiall suites betwene the common-wealths. I know very well, that some may dispute subtilly, both for and against this order there obserued: but I will leaue that discourse to the Readers. For mine owne part, I admire the simplicity and integrity of our ancestors, who by such manner of proceeding, haue often brought to end very great variances, and carefully conserued publike peace and concord. But they did not regard their owne particular profite, neither desired any thing more

When voyces are alike: chuse the fifth: then a fifth arbitrator is chosen.

The addition to the Article of Schaffouse.

The complainant is allowed to chuse the odder Arbitrator.

All the common-wealths of the Cantons referred to three formes.

The cheefe men of some councill called *Ammans*, in an Estate, merely popular.

There is nothing to well becoming, one place, but it may become vnto for another.

Afterward, when the Burgesse (by common consent) made alliance with the ten Cantons of the Switzers, in the year, 1351, the most part of the Noble-men, who hated the Switzer: dislodged from the City, and withdrew themselves to Castles heere and there, so that their authority diminished greatly then, and all the rest was lost in the year, 1429. For by the Sermons & exhortations of *Oecolampadius*, the doctrine and ceremonies of the Church were reformed, by order sent from the councill, against which, many Noble-men opposed themselves. And although they could not hinder the change of Religion, yet they abandoned and left the City and would not abide in it.

Oecolampadius his preaching & the alteration of Religion.

Some of the Noble-men got entrance again into the City, but were excluded from governing in the State.

After which time, the two companies whereof we spake, entered in againe, and got possession of those private houses, & as yet they keepe those houses to themselves, and they belong to the whole body of the Nobility. And those houses are called in their language *Zunft-hauser* and *zum brunnen*, but yet none of the is of the councill. For although the councill do meeete together (almost) every day, and the Gentlemen (having taken the City) dwelt most part of the time in their Castles, by common advice of the Burgesse, they were excluded from governing in the common-wealth, which they had renounced voluntarily. Nevertheless, some noble Families that dwell in the City, & have had care of the common-wealth with the other Burgesse, are in ranke of the foure first companies or Supporters of the City, and (in them) are chosen to be of the councill. And therefore, to do them honour, in regard of their condition; these Tribes or companies are called *Berrenzunft*, that is to say, the companies of Lords.

The privilege of them of Zurich in choosing their Lords of councill.

Therefore, there are no more companies of these Noble-men in *Basile*, but those that are distinguished with the other Burgesse. But at *Zurich* and at *Schaffouse*, the Noble-men have their companies apart by themselves. And they of *Zurich* have this privilege beside, above the tribes and companies of Tradesmen, to take the moiety, that is, the most part of the Lords of the councill, from fourth the company of these Noble-men: so that they are as a counterpoise to the other companies. Notwithstanding, there is

some difference among these Noble-men, for the Families of race, that live very noble and ancient: they do make a band by themselves, and they are called *die Stubler*, by reason of the place where they assemble apart by themselves, by right & especiall privilege. To the whole body of these tribes or companies, are ioyned many citizens, which are not of any trade nor traffick: in which respect, they may have place in one company, rather then in another. Porters, Labourers, Burden-bearers, and other such like manner of people, who when warre hapneth, are held and reputed to be of this body of companies, which they call *Ein Con-Castell*, and receive wages: they have a voice in electing the Master of the whole body of companies, and he is of the Seigneries councill, in regard of his place.

Porters, Labourers, and toying men are of the body politique.

Beside the Society and Company of Noble-men, the people of those cities & townes there, are parted into certaine tribes or companies, which the Germans call *Zunft*. The word (it may be) take this name or originally, of *Zamenkunft*, which signifieth to meeete and assemble themselves in company. Some interpret them to be Tribes; others, Courts, and others, Colledges or Abbeys: but wee will call them Tribes or Companies. The number of them is not equall in the fore-named Cities and Townes. For there are fiftene at *Basile*: whereof the four first are esteemed more noble then the other, and are called the companies of Lords, as already hath beene said. The first tribe or company, is that of Merchants. The second of Gold-smiths, Goldfiners, Founders, and Pewterers. The third is of Merchants dealing only in wines: with whom the Notaries, Masters of Hospitals, Spittles, and other such like communities are ioyned. The fourth is of Merchants dealing in Silkes, and of Factors for all States: This company is the very greatest of them all. The other eleven, are of all sorts of trades and handycrafts men.

Of other Tribes and Companies beside the Noble-men.

Fiftene companies at *Basile*, and how they are distinguished from the Noble-men.

Now there is a dozen or twelue tribes or companies at *Zurich*: heretofore they were thirteene in number, when many Drapers & workers in wooll dwelt there: for that was one company by it selfe. But now adies, the weavers of woollen cloth and other things, are ioyned into one company

Twelve tribes or companies are at *Zurich*.

Eleven tribes or companies are at *Schaffouse*.

Chief trades and artificers are distinguished by their families.

Concerning the division of the councill.

The great councill.

The lesser councill.

The great councill of Zurich, Basile, & Schaffouse.

Of the lesser councilles severally.

Of Councillers and Bourg-masters in each City.

pany with the Fullers and Diars. At *Schaffouse* there are eleven companies only: neuertheless, it falleth out many times, that diuers trades are ioyned together in one company. They have their meetings by themselves: as at *Zurich*, the Millers and Bakers, the Barbers and Chirurgions, the Smiths and Metall men. So at *Basile*, the Filthermen and Marriers or Barquers, the Cordwainers and Curriers, the Taylors & Skinners. These companies are divided, and they are called *Spaltue Zunft*. For when there is question of cheefe Trades, and especially workmen in them, their houses of meetings and assemblies are by themselves. But in things that concern the common-wealth, and when, and where all ought to be present, to elect Lords of the councill, or the *Zunft*-Masters, who must be also in the councill, every man speaks his minde, and gives his voyce.

Out of each of these companies, some men are chosen, as many of one company as of another, to be Lords of councill. In every city there are two publike councill, which have the principall authority: as namely, the great councill, when as a good number of councillers meeete together, in name of all the people: as is vied in the affaires of greatest importance, and which do appertaine to the whole common-wealth. Next, the lesser councill, who meeete together every day, about the common-wealths businesse, and take knowledge of differences happening among the citizens. The great councill of *Zurich*, consisteth of two hundred men: That of *Basile*, is of two hundred forty foure: and that of *Schaffouse*, is of foure score and sixe.

As concerning the lesser councill of *Zurich*, it is of fifty: that of *Basile* hath threescore and foure: and that of *Schaffouse*, hath but twenty sixe. For out of each tribe or company, twelue are taken for the great councill: except at *Zurich*, where they elect eightene of the Nobility. At *Zurich* also each company giueth three men for the lesser councill: at *Basile*, foure; at *Schaffouse*, two. Next, in every of these cities, there are two Councillers or Bourg-masters, who are the cheefe and Presidents of councill. Over and beside these two, at *Basile* there are two Tribunes, who are theie in councill with

the Bourg-masters. Moreover, at *Zurich* the Noble-men send sixe from among them, to the lesser councill: the other companies doe send each one but three. By the plurality of voyces, choise is made of sixe other men, out of such companies as the councill do propose, to fill vp the number.

How many are sent from each company.

As concerning the election of councillors (for so will we hereafter call the Lords of the lesser councill) it is done in manner following. Every year, about mid-lune, and mid-December, all the citizens of *Zurich* assemble themselves together, every man in his tribe and company: and the elect a cheefe man, whom they call, *Zunftmeister*, that is to say, Master of the tribe or company. The custome of these three cities, is, that the companies have two Masters: but one of them is in estate but sixe Moneths, at the end whereof, the other succeedeth him. Neuertheless, it often comes to passe, that hee who was *Zunftmeister* the halfe year before, is chosen againe. By this meanes, the lesser councill is divided in two parts, to wit, the old & new. Such as have beene in charge the first sixe Moneths, we terme them of the olde councill; for although they be called when the councill is helde, yet notwithstanding, it is not alwayes so done, and there are many matters which passe in the new councill only.

The election of councillors for the lesser councill; and after what order they elect the *Zunftmeister*.

The great councill of *Basile* is divided in the same manner, and of twelue which is taken from each company, there are sixe of the new councill, and sixe of the olde. Beside the *Zunftmeister*, the lesser councill of *Zurich* chuseth one councillor from each of the companies: but the lesser councill of *Basile* chuseth two. These councillors thus elected, with the other which we have said to be chosen extraordinarily at *Zurich*, are divided into two bands: whereof the one is the olde councill, and the other the new. These two councill are changed euery sixe Moneths at *Zurich*; so that at their ending, the olde councill electeth the new. At *Basile*, and at *Schaffouse*, they continue in the estate a whole year together.

Of the old & new councill.

The great councill of *Basile* divided in like manner.

The election of the councill at *Schaffouse*, is made on the morrow after Pentecoste: and that of *Basile*, on Saturday be-

The changing of the old and new councill.

The times of the elections, & their approbation.

Of giving the
voicce it is not
in all places a-
like.

The fitting of
the olde and
new council-
lers.

Of the Bourg-
masters or
Consuls, the
manner of
their election.

Masters of
companies &
communities,
Tribunes of
the people.

The council
of thirteene
men.

before the foure and twentieth day of June. At Zurich, the **Zunftmeister** are elected by the companies in their houses of meeting: then the council of two hundred confirmeth this election; but at Basile this confirmation belongeth to the olde council. The voyce is given openly at Zurich, and secretly at Schaffouse. For in each tribe or company, charge is given to particular persons, to collect the voyce, whereupon they all come to them in order, and tell them closely in the eare, for whom they give voyce to be **Zunftmeister**. The lesser council assemble at the ofteneft, three times euery weeke, and some whiles (vpon earnest occasion) four times. The olde and new councilers of Zurich, are leated one by another, & sometimes one among another: but at Basile, the old councilers are about the younger. They haue also this custome, to withdraw often into another Hall, to consult together. After resolution is taken, a councillor of the first company, reporteth the aduice to the new council: and they call the reporter **Den Officer**.

The Bourgmaster, whom they call **Bourgermeister**, as much to say, as Master of the Bourgesses, is President of the old and new councils. The great council electeth him by open voyce at Zurich; at Schaffouse by secret voyce: and at Basile, the olde council first electeth the Bourgmaster, and the new council the yeare following. The Bourgmaster is in state at Zurich, fixe Moneths: but at Basile and Schaffouse, a whole yeare together, and turne by turne, the Bourgmasters and Councilers olde and new are changed. They whom at Basile they terme **Zunftmeister**, and **Oberstermeister** at Zurich (as much to say, as Masters of companies and communities) doe second the Bourgmasters in their authority.

At Zurich there are three, and at Basile two, who with the two Bourgmasters are called the foure chiefe & principal Lords of the city. Nine other Lords of the lesser council at Basile, are ioyned to these four in chiefe, and by reason of the number, they are called the council of thirteene. They heare the causes of very greate importance, and deliberate on them first, before they propound any thing to the lesser council: and therefore they may be called Preconsulters, or first council-

lers. Moreover, there is a particular council at Zurich, whom wee may name the Chamber of accounts, for it manageth publicke affaires: and is composed of eight councilers, and haue the Bourgmaster of the olde council for their President. Then is there two Purse-bearers or Treasurers, and the Superintendents for Ecclesiastical goods do assit them, together with foure other councilers, two of the olde, and two of the new council. They take knowledge not onely of monies employed for the common-wealth: but oftentimes also, the younger council demandeth their aduice in cases of importance, whereon they consult a while, and then give their report to the younger council.

To these publicke councils, there are alwayes two Secretaries assitting, with their committees, when necessity requireth. The first and chiefeft is cald **Statthyschryber**, that is to say, Secretary of the city. At Zurich, the other is called **Andersschryber**, that is to say, sub-Secretary: but they of Basile call him **Raatschryber**, that is, Secretary to the council. There is a particular Secretary for the Chamber of Accounts; whom they of Zurich call **Rechenhschryber**. The estate of Secretary in these cities is honorable, and of great gaine. In regard whereof, the Gentlemen strue to keepe it in their owne power, as sildome is it giuen to any other. These men are they (among all other) that know the lawes, customes, priuiledges, and all the secrets of the common-wealth.

Next to the councils publicke, are Iustices of the city. There are two at Zurich, one for ciuill causes, **Das Statthyschricht**, which was in ancient times vnder power of the Nunnes, and the Abbess electeth the Lieutenant, or chiefe man in that kinde of iustice, whom they called **Den Schultheissen**, and his assessors or assistants: but now the election belongeth to the lesser or yonger council. Their number is of eight, and they haue their Lieutenant, Secondary, and Sericant. To them appertaineth the knowledge of ciuill causes, Debtes, Hires, Lendings, Borrowings, Sales, and as the **Smizers** vie to say, they iudge **Umb erb und eigen**. There is no appeale from their sentence: but if there happen any difficult

The chamber
of accounts,
the officers
thereof.

Two Secretaries
assitting to the
councilers.

The office of
Secretary, no-
rable.

A Iustice for
dealing in ci-
uill causes.

What causes
they take know-
ledge of.

No appeale
from the Ius-
tices sentence

The office &
authority of
the other Ius-
tice.

The Iustice of
greatest pow-
er and authori-
ty.

Law and Ius-
tice for crimi-
nall causes.

Criminal
Iudgements,
are openly
performed.

Criminal
causes at Zurich,
not openly
heard.

The other or-
ders of Iustice
in great and
lesser Basile.

difficult cause, they send it to the Council.

The other Iustice, whom they call **Das Zinsricht**, is a Iudgement of proceffe and suites, which happen for rents and yearly reuenues. The Secretary of the other Iustice, and two Lords of the younger council, it seemes doe daily assit for the ending of all such differences. In the bigger Basile there are two such kindes of Iustices, and a third in the lesser Basile. That Law or Iustice of greatest authority, which they terme also **Das Statthyschricht**, is composed of ten Iudges; one part whereof is of the council, and the other, such as the people do name. They take knowledge of all causes, ciuill and criminal: but when there is question of testaments, wils, contracts, monies borrowed, and other such like things: the Prouost or Lieutenant of the city sitteth in Iudgement. As for causes criminal, the Prouost of the Empire iudgeth them. And there are three Lords of the council, who do pursue criminal causes, by the sollicitation of one, who is an ordinary Attorney, named by them, **Oberstenrecht**, and keepeth company with the Iudges, hauing an aduocate waiting on him.

These Iudgements are done publickly, and haue eight open audiences, where by all are permitted to be there present, to heare and see what course is done. But at Zurich and at Schaffouse, the new council doth iudge the criminal causes. Neuerthelesse, the Bourgmaster doth not then sit: but it is the Prouost of the Empire, whom **Rechtswagt**, or **Rechtsherr**, who presideth and collecteth the voyces. Euery yeare the council chuseth some one of that body, to exercise that charge. Proceffe and suites criminal are handled at Zurich, with the doores fast shut: but at Schaffouse in open Court, so that all men may vnderstand the accusations and defences. But the council commandeth all to be absent, when there is question of pronouncing sentence. The second order of Iustice at great Basile, iudgeth not but in cases of small importance, which hardly exceedeth the summe of ten pounds. But the Iustice of smaller Basile, hath a Iudge apart, & taketh knowledge of all causes, except of criminal.

There are two Courts, or kindes of

Iustices at Schaffouse. The one which they call **Das Schuldricht**, is law or iustice for debts: for therein only is ended differences of contracts, debtes, and such like things. And if the summe whereof question is made, doe amount about an hundred crownes, the council then takes knowledge of it. In this Court are twenty assessors or assistants, to wit, one of each Tribe: moreover, eight other persons, chosen by the council. The other order of Iustice is named **Rechtsgricht**, or **Pflichtricht**, that is to say, Iustice for fines and amercements: because the Prouost of the empire, or Iudge in causes criminal, presideth there, and condemneth all such forfeitures & fines. There are twelue assessours out of the twelue Tribes, and who are of the great council. Causes criminal of lesser importance, are debated and ended in this Iustice there; as light iniuries, vulgar outrages, and suchlike. But when wordes do wound honour, and the wrong is not easie to be diffembled, or digested; the knowledge of such cases appertaineth to the lesser council.

Beside what hath bene saide, these three cities haue each one their particular council, which they terme **Ein Chorricht**, or **Segricht**, where they discourtse on causes of matrimony. For after that the religion was changed, the councils of the three cities established one council: wherein were a certaine number of assistants, elected by bipillke suffrages, and taken out of the olde and new councils, and among whom were some Diuines or Theologians as they call them. Neuerthelesse, at Schaffouse none of the Ministers were assistants, but only some learned men admitted to council, who had each one as his adiunct, some Doctor of the Law. These Iudges take knowledge of all matrimoniall causes: punish whoredomes and adulteries; and haue charge to observe the lines & manners of euery one.

Beside, in these common-wealths, bastards are deprived of all honours and dignity: nor is it lawfull for them to be seene at the council, nor in the Courts of Iustice. True it is, they are not guilty of that stain to their birth, neither can it be denied, but that (oftentimes) bastards haue wonne more commendations for

Two kindes
of Iustice at
Schaffouse.

The second
kinde of Ius-
tice at Schaf-
fouse.

Criminal of-
fences of les-
ser impor-
tance.

The three cit-
ies haue pec-
uliar coun-
cils beside
the other.

Diuines ad-
mitted to be
of the coun-
cill.

Of such as are
exempted &
prohibited,
not to be se-
en in the coun-
cill, or in any
Court of Ius-
tice.

for their virtues, then ever could their legitimate brethren: as we have an example of *sephir*, a Judge of Gods owne people. But to bridle the leud concupiscences of many, and to conferre the dignity of sacred marriage: Bastards stand as branded with infamy, and yke some eye-fores to well ordered common-wealths.

Next, hee that hath not dwelt tenne yeares within the city of *Zurich*, cannot be chosen to be one of the publike councill.

Such as are borne out of *Switzerland* cannot be of the lesser councill at *Schaffhouse*: But if they be Bourgeses of twenty yeares standing, they may be brought into the great councill, & into the number of the Judges.

I will not tell you that strangers are unworthy of these honors: but it is requisite first of all, that hee who ought to have charge in a common-wealth, should be particularly affectioned and obliged thereto, and afterward be well skilde and sence, in the laws and customes of the country.

And me-thinks, citizens, and such as (from their youth) have bene bred in a common-wealth; should have more advantage therein, than strangers.

Moreover, there is nothing more pernicious to common-wealths, then enivies and despights, proceeding from such advancements to high degrees: as draw on partialities and factions, the danger whereof cannot be avoyded, when naturall borne subjects are left despised, and ancient Families contemned, and charge of publike Officers given to strangers, & men of no merit.

Beside bastards and strangers, adulterers, murderers, and men made infamous for any crime: are (by a common law) excluded from councill in these common-wealths.

Publike estates and conditions are of diuers kinds in these common-wealths, and in great number, according as the cities are peopled: we will make mention of the principals only.

The highest degree, next after the Bourg-masters and *Zurich*-Masters, are such as have charge of the publike monies: who are called in many places of *Switzerland*, *Seckelmeister*, as much to say, as Treasurers or Purse-bearers. At

Basile there are three, named *Zurperherren*, that haue the keeping of the cities treasures. Besides them, there are three other, named *Ladenherren*, who manage the monies of the Imposts, Customes, and yearly reuenues of the common-wealth: They also pursue criminall causes, making themselves parties, by means of the ordinary Attorney. At *Zurich* there are men (almost) in the selfesame charge, whom they call *Die Ambgelter*; who manageth the tolle-monies of Corne and Wine, which they cause to be gathered by their committees. This rolle or taxation is not but on the Wine publicly sold, and on the Corne brought in from abroad: but for the wine & corne which the Bourgeses eate and drinke in their houses, they pay not any thing.

Beside these two Treasurers of the common-wealth, there is a third at *Zurich*, for the reuenues of the Church, & he is called *Der Bloesteren obman*: he gathereth certaine reuenues of the Abbeyes; wherewith the Ministers wages are paid, the Churches maintained, and the poore cherished or releued, and the ouerplus remaining, is referred to ease the people in times of publike necessities. Some yeares past, the country of *Zurich* having bene afflicted with an extreme dearth of victuals: the receiver sold corne at a meane price to them of the city, and to most part of the Villages round about, bought with the referred money at the best rate, and thereby the Subjects of the Seigneury were greatly releued.

Next to these, there are other Officers, as they that take care of publike buildings, whom the French call *Foyers*, the Germans *Wuthherren*, and they of *Basile*, *Lonherren*, because they pay the works & workmen that serue in publike. These Surveyers haue charge of the waies, Gates, Towers, Rampiers, Bridges, Couidits, and other publike Edifices: taking order that they shall bee maintained and kept in their best ability. Moreover, they iudge with three Lords of the councill (who are their adiuncts) such differences as happen for the confines, Gutters, Channels, Windows, Walles, and such like things, & wherin the neighbours are to be guided by their direction in their building. At *Basile* there are five Seigneurs, that take knowledge of these matters.

There

Diners Officers appointed to take charge of victuals. For bread. For Bell.

For fish.

For butter & cheese.

Other Officers noted by their names.

Of Schooles & vniuersities

The Vniuersity at Basile, founded by Aeneas Syluius, who was after Pope, called Pius 4.

The reason why so few Schooles are in the Vniuersity of Basile.

There is another degree of them that take charge of victuals. Of this number are the vishers for Bread, to consider if the Loafe carry his full weight, or no. Others view the Fleish in the Butchery, and aduisedly obserue, that they kill not any Beast, the fleish whereof is bad, and dangerous to be eaten; they also set a price vpon the pound, to sell it by. Then there are some that take charge of Fish, and heedfully foresee, that none be taken whe they are spawny, and haue an eye beside to the goodnesse of all other Fish in the Market. Others looke to salt Fish, and to the Marker of Butter and Cheese, how it is reasonably sold. There are some other Officers, whose names are sufficient to be noted: as the Patrons of Viddowes and Orphanes, *Schummoert*, and at *Basile*, *Waisenherren*: The Almoners; Vishers for weights and measures; Deputies for questioning of inatters; Comprollers of Ecclesiasticall goods; and Vishers of Schooles.

Moreover, in these cities there are Schooles very well ordered. At *Basile* is an Vniuersity greatly renowned, established by *Aeneas Syluius*, afterward Pope, named *Pius* the second, who gaue it all the same priuiledges, rights, and immunities, which the Vniuersities of *Boulogne*, *Colongne*, *Heidelberg*, *Erford*, *Lipsa* & *Prinnee* haue. *Aeneas Syluius* was lodged at *Basile*, during the time as the councill was kept there. He found the city so pleasant, the ayre so sweete, with such commodity and abundance of all things; that hee reputed the place apt and worthy to haue an Vniuersity founded in it. In the times of our ancestors, and our owne also, this Vniuersity hath yielded many wise men, professors of the tongues, in Philosophy and all Sciences, who are needlesse heere to be named. Neuertheless, considering the greatnesse of the city, and the fame of the Doctors there abiding, there are but few Schooles. *Beatus Rhenanus* reddeth the reason, and saith; It is occasioned by the finaltesse of reuenues belonging to this Vniuersity, and to many Schooles in Germany. As thinking, that if there were fewer Schooles and Vniuersities, they would bee much more frequented then they are. There is not any Vniuersity at *Zurich*, notwithstanding, euen to this present day, the tongues haue

beeene so faithfully taught there, and all good Sciences and Diuinity, that it is very famous, and highly esteemed among all them that study Diuinity.

Finally, these three cities whereof we speake, haue power to stampe and coyne monie: and therefore there are fording Mints, and Masters of the monies, whose charge is to take order that the money coyned with the stamp of the city, should beare full weight, and be of a good alloy. Each of these cities hath her money apart by herselfe. They of *Basile* do coyne the same money with them of *Haltsia* and of *hourgogne*, and call it a *Rappenmunty*, in regard of a Rauen, which sermeth for Armes to many peeces of their money. Five & twenty Sols of this money, makes a Florin of gold, which is thought to value threecore cruzers. At *Schaffhouse* the money is of the same alloy & price, as that of the Empire. They of *Zurich* do coyne Dallers, and halfe Dallers, of equal price with them of the Empire: but they haue a kinde of money, which is their owne in particular, whereof forty Sols makes a Florin of gold. They stampe also another sort of money, which they call *Bachers*, whereof sixteene makes a Florin.

In ranke of these publike charges and offices, we may set downe the Watch, & such as take care for prouision against the accidents of fire. There are two sortes of watch, besides the Sentinels in the clock-houses, and the Porters. First the perpetuall guardes at the cities cost, who keepe watch euery night, and diligently search through all parts of the city, crying at all houres of the night.ouer and beside these, out of each company are taken a certaine number of Bourgeses, who likewise watch (according to their turnes) with their Armes. This double guard is not done for any feare they haue of enemies: but to avoid the inconueniences of fire, and to take order also, that (during the time of night) all matters may be peaceable and quier.

They that are Committees, to take care of dangers concerning fire, when any such happenth in the witty, may command the Carpenters, and other men of like quality, to runne for quenching the fire, taking order that all may be done without confusion, and for the best safety of them that haue the misfortune of the fire.

Mint for the coyning of money in these three cities.

The money of Basile.

The monies of Schaffhouse.

The monies of Zurich.

The watch may not be forged among other officers in publike, & tending to the general good

The office of them that are guardes for accidents of fire

For time of dwelling.

For men born out of Switzerland.

Against strangers not natives.

For natives.

Against advancement of strangers and unworthy persons.

Adulterers, murderers, & infamous persons.

Of publike offices and estates.

Treasurers of the publike monies, & of Customes and impost.

The order at Zurich.

Tolle or tax for corne and wine.

The Treasurer of churches treasure.

A great debt in the country of Zurich.

Surveyers of publike buildings & their further charge.

They buy and sell with the councill on especiall occasions.

fire. Moreouer, they carry an eye over the watch at the Gates, and on the walls; lest any tumult should happen in the city. For it is ordained, that when the fire is in any one place, a certaine number of the Bourgeses (chosen out of each company) make their sudden appearance at the Gates or Ports, and vpon the walles in Armes. Moreouer, the whole city is distributed into certaine bandes, euerly one of them hauing his Capitaine & Ensigne to it selfe, vnder whom they go marching in excellent order. The Bourgmaster betakes himselfe to the Town-houfe, with some of the principall councillors and officers of the Seigneury, to aduise on what is good for the weale publike. And not onely Carpenters, Malons, and their seruants, but likewise most of the Bourgeses meete together, all labouring industriously to quench the fire: and oftentimes the women shew themselves of no meane courage, in bringing and casting on the water. Beside, if the fire happen in some Village out of the city, the iustitice disposed of euerly Tribe (whereof election is made for the purpose) do meete, and issue forth together, to quench the fire. They are conducted by one of the councill Seigneurs, who is sent to helpe and aduise what is inneed to be done, but most especially, to comfort them that haue the losse.

We haue already told you, that the *Swissers* take great care for the poore. At *Zurich*, and in some other Townes, there is a daily distribution of almes to all the poore there, as of Bread and Pulse-portage. There are a great number of poore Schollers in *Zurich*, sometimes forty, otherwhiles fourescore, that are thus relieved, some bestowing garments, and other needfull things on them also, vsing the poore in no worse manner, then they of the Abbeyes and Couents in the Seigneury of *Zurich* are. Vpon the Sundays and festiual dayes, an almes collection is made of the people: which Monethly, or at euerly two Moneths, by men chosen & deputed to the office, is distributed equally to the poore in the city, and such as live abroad in the fields. Beside, in the Cities there are great Hospitals, wherein needy cittizens, aged, impotent, sicke persons, orphans, and many other are releued. The Seigneury appointeth diuers

honest people, to haue care of the poores necessities: such as are the Master of Hospitals, Proctors, Receiuers, & their Committees and Comptrollers.

Hitherto wee haue shewne you the forme and state government obserued in the cities; but ouer and beside these, they haue authority in the neighboring countries, and (among the rest) the canton of *Zurich* hath more country iurisdiction, and larger Bayliwicks, then eyther *Basile* or *Schaffouse*. But in all the Lands and Seigneuries belonnging vnto these three cantons, there is one and the selfe-same order of government. For certaine Bayliwicks are governed by the councill of the city, in such manner, as the Bayliffes dwell in the city, and are councillors of the common-wealth, and yet go to keepe Courts in the Villages. And if there happen any criminal suite, and whereof there is defect of punishment capital, the councill taketh knowledge thereof. There are other Bayliwicks of farre larger extent, and thether Bayliffes are sent with ample power: so that they iudge not onely in ciuill causes, but oftentimes in criminall occasions, and chastise malefactors, according to the greatnesse of the delicts. These Bayliwicks haue their priuiledges and ancient customes: some also haue law and iustice apart by themselves, and are administred by Iudges chosen out of the same places.

The Bayliffes make no change or alteration (of any thing) in these places; but they leaue to the inhabitants, all their rights safe and sound: contenting themselves onely to preside in iustice, and giue sentence according to the lawes, and customes of each Bayliwicke. The canton of *Zurich* hath nine great Bayliwicks, to wist, the county of *Kybourg*, the Bayliwicks of *Greningen*, *Andelfingen*, *Grifensee*, *Eglisau*, the free Prouince, *Kegenbourg*, *Vadewille*, and *Lansfen*, neere to the fall of *Rhein*. There are two and twenty small Bayliwicks or Castle-tships beside: in some of which, there is as large extent of ground, and as great number of men, as in some of the greater Bayliwicks. Moreouer, beside these Bayliwicks, two pleasant Townes, namely *Winterdner* and *Stein*, are vnder the protection of *Zurich* canton. The Officers of iustice are in the same Townes; but the inhabitants are tyed

The cities extend no government, a broad, fourth of the cities limits.

All the Bayliwicks are not alike in their extend & authority.

No change of lawes, priuiledges, or customes, by the Bayliffes in any of their iurisdiccions.

What Bayliwicks do belong to *Zurich* & other Townes beside.

ed in obedience to the Seigneury of *Zurich*, to obey their lawes, and to go to war for that Canton; in which respect, the two Townes haue their feuerall Ensignes by themselves.

The Bayliwicks belonging to the Canton of *Basile*, are the Castle of *Farnberg*, leated on the top of a Mountaine aboue *Rhinfeld*; *Walbourg*, a small towne on the Mount *Iura*, which they tearme *Bort* *Howerstein*, in regard of the Rock there cut in lunder; *Hombourg*, *Munchenlein*, and *Ramstein*.

Schaffouse hath the most part of the country of *Clegowen*, all about *basile*, and sendeth Bayliffes and Chastellaines into the Bourtroghs and Villages on it depending.

CHAP. VI.

Of the publike estate and government, of the Townes of *Berne*, *Lucerna*, *Fribourg*, and *Solennre*: which are not diuided into Tribes and Companies, as *Zurich*, *Basile*, and *Schaffouse* are.

We haue already said, that the second kinde of publike government, is considered in such Townes, as are not distributed into certaine Tribes or Companies, out of which are equally chosen, the Lord & Seigneurs appointed for Councill and Iustice. In these towns they that are soueraine Magistrates, or Heads of publike councill, are called *Bur* *Schuldheffen*. The old *Alteman* word is found in the Lawes of the *Lombardes*, where it is written, *Schuldabis*. It seemeth that the word came of debt, which the *Swissers* tearme *Schuld*, and of commanding: as much to say, that the *Schuldabis* commands the debtors to satisfie them of whom they borrowed. And in this fence it is found written in the *Lombards* lawes, vnder the title of debts and wages, in these words.

If a free man who is a debtor, hath nothing else wherewith to make satisfaction, but his owne private Cattel, as Horses and Oxen for Labour, or Kine to the plow: then he that chal-
length or demandeth the debt, shall go to the

Schuldabis, and intimate the cause, giuing him to vnderstand, that his debtor hath nothing else to make reipment withall, but the matters above rehearsed. Then the *Schuldabis* is to make seizure on the said Cattel, &c.

The same word is found also in the twentieth rule of King *Luiprand*s lawes, in significant tearmes, as followeth. If any man haue a cause or suite, and do appeare before his *Schuldabis* to demand iustice: if in case that the *Schuldabis* do him not iustice within foure houres after following (if both the parties stand bound to answer before him) himselfe shall pay to the demander fixe Sols, and so his Iudge fixe Sols.

We may perceiue heereby, that the word *Schuldabis* signified (among our graue Ancients) a Iudge, that gaue sentence vpon differences concerning debts, made leuey on the debtors goods, and compelled them to pay their creditors. Neuerthelesse, there was no iustice so high, but hee stood in subiection to the county. At this day, the name is in frequent vse among the Princes of Germany: so that the Iudges of Townes and Villages haue no other name. Among the *Swissers* it is more honourable, for in the forenamed townes, the *Schuldabis* is lord ouer all. The fouraigine Magistrates of Townes among the *Swissers*, some haue thought were called Consuls, in imitation of the Romans: others hold opinion, that Bourgmasters and *Schuldabis* ought to be called Prefests. For mine owne part, I call them Consuls, that are Presidents in publike councill. The French call him an *Auyer*, whom we tearme *Schuldheff*.

Now as concerning the Townes whereof we speak, they are not diuided by companies and trades, because there are lawes which prohibit them from so doing. But although the forme of the Communeweiths of *Zurich* and *Berne* are different, yet the one stands bound to succour the other reciprocally, to maintaine and conserve the estate, such as is established in eythers common-wealth. In the meane while, the trades that are at *Berne*, *Lucerna*, *Fribourg*, and *Solennre*, haue houses established for meetings, for knowledge of the best and cheefest workmen, but not for the election of Magistrates. They tearme those Officers by the name of *Gesellschaftten*, and not *Zunftten*.

Ec In

What the order is in times of fire.

The city distinguished into diuers bandes in martiall order.

When fire taketh a village out of the city.

What care the *Swissers* haue of the poore.

A collection of charitable almes for the poore.

The words out of King *Luiprand*s lawes on the same effect.

A Iudge that sentenced cases of debts only.

The cheefe Magistrate of any Towne among the *Swissers*.

No Trades or companies in these Townes after such manner as at *Zurich*.

The words as they are written in the *Lombard* lawes.

Two public
councils in
those Townes:
the great and
the lesser.

In these Townes there are two public councils, as at *Zurich*, *Basle*, &c. *Schaffhouse*; to wit, the great and the lesser. The great council of *Berne*, is of two hundred men, as at *Zurich*, although it hath more than two hundred councillors. The lesser council of *Berne*, is of six and twenty. At *Lucerna*, eighteen councillors do govern the estate, during the space of six Months, and eighteen other six Months, or the rest of the yeare. To elect the council of *Berne*, the proceeding is in this manner.

Banderets
is the Capitaine
of a quarter in
any good
Towne.

The third Peries before Easter day, the four Banderets of the Towne, do chuse, and take with them sixteene Bourgeses, the worthiest and best esteemed men of all: then these twenty, with the *Auoyer*, do elect the great council, wherefore we may well call them Electors. First of all, they consider and examine exactly, the lues and manners of all them that are to be of the council of two hundred: and if any one of them hath soyled his dignity and reputation, with any bad or villainous ade; they depose him, and in the place, as well of the deposed, as of the ded, they chuse another, whom they do better like and allow of. In meane while, their election remaineth secret, untill the evening of the day before Easter, & then the Officers goe, and signifie to all them that are elected for the great and lesser councils: that they are to meete on the morrow morning in the Towne-house.

The Seigneurs
or the
great council
meete in the
Towne-house

The first Peries after Easter, the Seigneurs of the council do assemble in their houses of meeting, and afterward they condukt them to the Towne-house, that are newly set downe, to be in number of the two hundred, and then all the Magistrates are elected. The election ended, the Bourgeses go to feast in their houses, and after dinner, walke forth into the fields: exercising themselves there in leaping, running, throwing the Barre, Stone, and other pastimes. But the *Auoyer* goes againe to the town-house, accompanied with the twenty Electors; and there they elect the councillors, that are to be of the lesser council. On the morrow, they are named to the council of two hundred, and after that their election is approved, they goe and sitte downe in their places. Now in regard that the council of *Lucerna* doth command no longer time the

The election
of the lesser
council.

six Months onely: the election of the Seigneurs both for the lesse and greater council, is made twice yearly, if there be any vacante places, and that is done about mid-Iune, and mid-December. The new councillors are taken from the lesser council, that governed during the sixe precedent Moneths.

The *Auoyers* or Consuls, who are about the other Seigneurs, are elected by the lesse and greater councils, & by common voyces. The authority of the *Auoyer* at *Lucerna*, lasteth but a yeare, and a yeare at *Berne*: but yet in such manner, that the voyces are yearly taken for him, and hee againe elected. Next to the *Auoyers* of *Berne*, the principall men in the common-wealth, are the four Banderets, chosen out of four companies of trades-men onely, or men of handy-crafts, to wit, Carpenters, Curryers, or Leather-dressers (who are distributed in three parts) Bakers, and Butchers.

The Towne of *Berne* is divided into four parts, which are committed (each one of them) to these four Banderets: who view and over-see the Armes of all the Bourgeses, and provide for the affairs of warre. They continue in their charge the space of four yeares: but every yeare on the same day as the *Auoyer* is elected, they resigne their estates, and deliuey in to the hands of the cheefe Vsher of the Seigneury, their Ensignes, and all the other marks of their dignity, which are laide on a Table before the *Auoyer* and the council: and then the great and lesser council giues their voyces, concerning the Banderets. If one of them have continued in his charge fully four yeares, or is preuented by death, another is planned in his place: but yet it is thus conditionally done, that if the dead did not finish his four yeares, his succellour must accomplish them in the nature of a substitute, and afterward, execute the same charge four other yeares.

In all the Townes of the *Switzerland*, the dignity of Purse-bearers or Treasurers is great. Some whiles, the time of their charge is not limited at all; but they continue in that estate, so long as please the council, and themselves also. There are two of them at *Berne*, the one receiue the reuenuues of the Towne, and of the *Allmaigne* country: the

The council
of *Lucerna*
choosen twice
yearly.

The election
of the *Auoyers*
or Consuls.

The chusing
of the four
Banderets
of four compa-
nies.

The division
of *Berne* in
the four parts.

The election
of the councillors
wherefor the
lesser
council.

The time
of the Banderets
continuing in
their office.

The election
of them for the
great council

The dignity
of Purse-bearers
or Treasurers.

The Treasurers
at *Berne*
and their
dues.

the other is for the Romane country, because he receiue the reuenuues which the Seigneury derieth from the countries of *Vant*, and of *Sauoye*. Those men which we haue so lately named *Auoyers*, Banderets, and Treasurers, with one councillor of the two hundred, are called at *Berne*, *Die heimlichen Rath*, which is as much to say, as the secret or priuy council. For to them (before all other) matters of most secrecy, of consequence, and which concerne the whole Common-wealth, are reported and trusted.

After that the abouenanied Magistrates haue bene elected, and confirmed by the lesse and greater councils; aduice is vsed, concerning other publicke Offices, which is done in some of those Townes the very same day, and on the morrow in others.

As for those estates that haue not any dignity, as Sericants, Executors of iustice, Messengers, Watches, and other such like charges: ordinarily, the lesser council bestowes them of such, as they know meetest for them.

The Bernians hold this properly to themselves, as concerning election of their councillors, that they will not receiue any person into the lesser council, if he be not borne within the Towne. In elder times, if the sonnes of councillors were borne out of the Towne, they could not attaine to the fathers dignity. Now adayes, when some councillors are absent, about occasions of the weale-publicke; and for the gouerning of some Bay-livicker: if they happen to haue any children, they are reputed as borne in the Towne. For the great council, they may bee elected that are borne out of *Berne*: provided that they be Bourgeses, haue houses in the Towne, and are illud of the *Switzerland* country, or of the confederates of the Cantons. For no man is receiued into the council of the two hundred, if he be borne out of *Switzerland*: and the same is in practise at *Zurich*, as we haue already declared. In like manner; bastards, and people of infamous note, are quite excluded from council.

There are three Courts or Benches of iustice at *Berne*; all the Iudges whereof, are elected by the Banderets & Treasurers, and are confirmed by the lesser council.

furers, and are confirmed by the lesser council.

The first Court of iustice is called, *Das Vsergucht*. The *Auoyer* presideth there, but the cheefe Vsher, whom they call *Der grofz Weibel*, doth (almost) daily keepe the place, and hath 12 Assistants, to wit, the last man elected of the four Banderets, one of the Seigneurs of the lesser council, and tenne of the great, with one Secretary, and two Officers. They take knowledge of debts, injuries & outrages of slender consequence, as if one man giue another a box on the eare, or giue some words to his disgrace. A man may appeale from their sentence, to the lesser council, and from them, to the sixty men, which is a council composed of Seigneurs of the lesser council, and of sixe and thirty councillors of the great council. From the sixty, appeale may bee made vnto the generall. The Iudges doe assemble euery day to conclude cansses, onely Tuesday excepted, which is the Market day.

The second Court of iustice, iudgeth the appellations of the country of *Sauoye*; and therefore it is commonly called, the Court for strange Appollations; *Das veltch Appellants gucht*. The Purse-bearer or Treasurer of the country, siteth in iudgement there, & hath ten assistants, to wit, two Seigneurs of the lesser council, and eight of the great, with one Secretary and an Officer. They end all the appeales for the country of *Sauoye*, and giue audience to parties at all times, and as oft as they desire it. Notwithstanding, their ordinary vs is to meete after the day of *S. Martin* in November, vntill the Month of December. All they of *Sauoye* come thither to the appellations, they onely of *Lansanna* excepted: but at euery two yeares, the Treasurers cometh to *Lansanna* with some assistants, and there decideth the cansses of appeale.

The third Court or iurisdiction, takes knowledge of matrimoniall causes. It is the Consistory, where there are eight Iudges; two of the lesser council, who preside or giue sentence there (turne by fiftie) from two Moneths to two Moneths; two Ministers of the Church, four of the great council, and they haue a Secretary or Clerke, and an Officer. They assemble three times in the weeke,

namely,

The first
Court of iustice
where cansses
of a slender
consequence
are determined.

The second
Court is called
the Court
of strange appella-
tions, or appella-
tions.

The ordinary
meeting of
the Court.

The third
Court, the
consistory
for marriage
matters.

The limitation of their authority.

Two Courts of justice at Lucerna, and what causes are censured in them.

Criminal causes concerning life and death.

How they proceed in cases of death.

In the Bayliwicks of Bern

Of the Bayliwicks belonging to them of Bern.

namely, on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, then they consider not only on matrimoniall causes, but also cause such as give scandales, and put in practise the discipline of the Church. Moreover, these men and the Judges of the first court of justice, doe hold in estate but halfe the year, and are changed about Easter, and likewise about the end of September.

They of *Lucerna* have two courts of justice, the one they call *Das vuchengricht*, because the Judges do meete every weeke, and decide all suites proceeding of debts and contracts. The other is called *Das nurgricht*, the justice of nine: for nine Judges take knowledge of injuries and outrages, and accordingly inflict punishment. There is not any Consistory at *Lucerna*, neither at *Fribourg*, or *Sollemure*: because they are Catholics, and subiect to the jurisdiction of Bishops, by whose Officials the causes concerning matrimony are debated.

As for criminall matters capital, there are not any particular Judges thereto appointed, neither at *Berne*, nor *Lucerna*. But when question is made concerning any ones life, the great and smaller councils take knowledge thereof, and iudge it. The *Auoyer* sit in cheefest authority, and censure on the matters. After sentence is refused on at *Berne*, the *Auoyer* goes and sits in a seate of justice, appointed in some eminent part of the Towne, enuironed with Officers of the Seignury. Then the Clarke or Secretary readeth out aloud the confession of the offender, & the sentence given against him. Afterward the *Auoyer* enioyneth the hangman to execute the sentence, and commandeth the condemned person to be delivered to him. At *Lucerna*, the councill do iudge in criminall causes, of all the Bayliwicks, and all the Malefactors are punished within the Towne. But in all the Bayliwicks of *Berne*, there is justice apart by it selfe, which they call *Landgricht*, and the Judges of all the bayliwicks are called, and give their aduice in presence of the Bayliwicks, who preside: and yet in such sort, as the councill of *Berne* may approue, or change the sentence, if they thinke good.

The *Bernians* have many Bayliwicks, & are the most powerfull Seigneurs of the Leagues. In some they speak the *Alleman*

or *Germane* tongue; in other the *Romane* or *Sauoyan*. Among the *Alleman* Bayliwicks, there are foure depending on the Towne, and are euen as Subburbs thereto: whereof the foure Banderets are Bayliwicks, and if they were to go to war, those Bayliwicks march vnder the Ensignes of the foure Banderets. Moreover, there are seuen and twenty other beside, to wit, the vale of *Hafel*, which hath an *Amman*, out of the body of the inhabitants, but hee is elected by the councill of *Berne*, & there rendreth an account of his charge. *Vndersee* is a Towne so named, because it is at the end of a Lake: whether is an *Auoyer* sent, but he is of the Towne of *Berne*. The vale of *Simma*, both high and low, do call their Bayliwicks *Schachtlander*, that is to say, Castilians. *Fruingen*, *Sane* and *Aelen*, do name their Bayliwicks, *Gouernour*. *Laupen* and *Thun* are in the same condition as *Vndersee*.

Next to these, are *Signow*, *Trachselwald*, and the Rivers of the vale of *Emme*. *Brandis*, that receiues her Bayliwicks from the Lord of the place: but hee is numbered among the Bourgeses of *Berne*. *Sumf-wald*, where the Masters of the *Teutonicke* Order established a Bayliwicks. *Burgdorf* and *Pyrmatic* are gouerned all alike, as *Vndersee*, *Landbunt*, *Arberg*, *Nidwau*, *Erlach*, *Bippin*, *Wange*, *Arwange*, *Arbourg*, *Biberstein*, *Schenkenberg*, and *Lenzburg*. Moreover, there are three free Townes in the country of *Ergow*, vnder the Seignury of *Berne*, to wit, *Zofinge*, *Aron*, and *Brug*. There are eight Roman Bayliwicks, as namely, *Ananches*, *Modon*, *Turdun*, *Laufanna*, *Morges*, *Nyon*, *Orbe*, *Allie* and *Vevey*. Beside, they of *Berne* and of *Fribourg* have foure Bayliwicks in common; as *Mort*, *Schwarzenbourg*, *Granson*, & *Chablais*, whether they send a Bayliwicks successively at every 5. yeares end: so that if the Bayliwicks be of *Berne*, his causes of appeal goe to *Fribourg*, where the reasons of the Bayliwicks are examined. There are Prouosts beside, for the gouernment of *Abbeys*. The *Bernians* had nine in the *Allemane* country, sixe whereof held iurisdiction, and three in the *Romane* country.

They of *Lucerna* have onely two out of the Towne, as at *Wiken*, and at *Sempach*: but hee of *Sempach* hath no other authority in the place, but only the superintendency of the Lake, and of the Fish.

The Amman of the Vale of Hafel.

The Auoyer of Vndersee.

The Bayliwicks of the Vale of Emme.

The company of the Hanse-Merchants.

Eight Roman Bayliwicks.

Four Bayliwicks in common.

Of the Bayliwicks that belong to Lucerna.

As

The privilege of Merisau, and of other places beside.

Les Talions payes in some vic at Lucerna.

Cornets of Battle vied in stead of Trumpets at Lucerna.

Cornettes.

Rowland who the Italian call Orlando.

Monies coyned by all these townes.

As for their other Bayliwicks, they are gouerned by some of the Seigneurs of the councill. Those Bayliwicks are *Willison*, the Vale of *Entlibuch*, *Rotenbourg*, *Halsbourg*, *Berne*, and the neighbouring countie, which they call, *Chelamp*: *Moriswande*, that hath this priuiledge, to chuse for Bayliwicks, one of the Seigneurs of councill in *Lucerna*, euen whom they list, except the *Auoyer*: *Weggis*, *Elbon*, *Horbe* and *Krientz*. Moreover, the two Townes of *Sursey* and *Sempach*, are in the protection of the *Lucernians*: Neuerthelesse, they haue their councill apart by themselves, who iudge in causes both ciuill and criminall. But the *Auoyer* of *Sursey*, giueth his oath to them of *Lucerna*. Hee of *Sempach* is elected by the councill at *Lucerna*: but hee is in number among the citizens of *Sempach*.

The law of likenesse or equality, which the Latines termed *Lex Talionis*, is as yet vied (in some sort) at *Lucerna*. For if any man kill a citizen of the place, although hee did it vpon iust occasion, hauing beene prouoked thereto by the other, and in defence of his owne body: yet if hee be taken, they smite off his head; or if hee flye, hee is banished for euer. But if hee make satisfaction to the children or kindred of the dead, and cause them to giue ouer all pursuitt: hee may obtaine leaue of the councill to come againe into the townie.

Among all the *Switzers*, there is not any but them of *Lucerna*, that make vse of Braffe Cornets, instead of Trumpets. The crooked Cornets, which they call *Partsch-boener*, giues a frightfull sound. The *Romans* also made vse of Cornets in warre: and thereupon, they that founded or winded those Cornets, were called *Comitines*. The men of *Lucerna* say, that *Charlemagne* gaue those Cornets to the, because they carried themselves valiantly in a warre which hee had against the *Saracens*, and that *Rowland*, a Lord very highly beloued of *Charlemagne* in those times, serued himselfe with those kindes of Cornets long before.

The forenamed Townes do coyne monies, but *Berne*, *Fribourg*, and *Sollemure*, haue one particular kind of coynes: whereof two and forty Sols, and two thirds of a Sol, makes a Florin of *Rhene*. Moreover, they stamp another more great sort

of money, which the *Switzers* call *Den Dickenpfennig*, and the French a *Tellon*. These *Tellons* are minted at *Sollemure* for the most part; and yet notwithstanding, are counted of lesse value, by a tenth part, then them of *France*. They of *Berne* coyned first certaine money, which the *Switzers* termed *Baches*: in regard of the figure of a Beare, which was stamped on the one side, for they called a Beare *Bacren* and *Baczen*. Afterward, the other Cities and Townes of *Switzerland* and of *Swabia*, coyned the same money: sixteene peeces whereof, valued a Florin of gold. The money of *Lucerna* cometh not neere to the value and price of that of *Hafel*, which is more hard and strong: for the Sol of *Lucerna* valueth but the moiety of that of *Hafel*, and fifty Sols of *Lucerna*, will make one Florin.

Now we come to speake of *Fribourg*, which is diuided into foure parts, like vnto *Berne*: the first is called the Borough, the second, the Island, or the Meadow, the third, the new Towne; and the fourth, the Hospitall. The councillers of the common-wealth are chosen out of these quarters. As in the other Townes, so in this there are two publicke councillers; to wit, the great councill, consisting of 2. hundred, and the lesser of foure and twenty. The election is made on the Sunday before *S. John Baptist* day. The lesser councill manageth the affaires of the Towne, deciding the causes of appeals: except of the Bayliwicks of *Sauoye*, conquered in warre. As for the matters which concerne the whole State, and are of maine importance, the councill of two hundred takes knowledge of them. The *Auoyer*, who preside both in the lesser & great councill, is elected on *S. Johns* day by all the people, and continueth in his charge the space of two yeares.

Next vnto the *Auoyer*, are the foure Banderets, who are Captaines of fuerrall quarters in the city or townie, & although they are not of the ordinary number of Seigneurs of the lesser councill: yet notwithstanding, they assist there in name of all the people, and deliuer their aduice, except in appellations. If some thing be propounded which seemeth to belong to the councill of two hundred, they may ther make their report of it. Furthermore they remaine in authority, three yeares: and

Worth eightteene pence sterling.

Money with a Beare stamped on it.

The valuation of the coines.

The estate & condition of Fribourg, and how it is diuided into foure parts.

The two councillers.

The office of the lesser councill and of the greater.

The Auoyer in his place of charge.

The foure Banderets next to the Auoyer.

E c 3

and

and are chosen by the great & lesse coun-
cels, as many other Officers are. Then
followeth the office of the Treasurer,
who manageth the monies, and all the
teuennues of the Towne: he hath (as his
coadiuter) the Secretary or Clarke of
the Towne, or his Committees, who re-
gister downe all those summes, which the
Treasurer receiue, or imploeyeth. His
charge also is, to haue an eye on all the
publike buildings. Twice euery yeare he
renders an account to the lesfer counsell,
and remaineth in his charge, the space of
three yeares.

In *Fribourg* there are foure principall
Secretaries: the first is called Secretary
of the Towne; the second, Secretary of
the counsell; the third, Secretary of the
country; and the fourth, Secretary of law
or iustice. In like manner, the estate of
Saulter, or cheefe Vsher, is honourable
both in *Berne* and *Fribourg*, where it is na-
med, *Großschreiber*. He is very often
neere to the *Auger*, and when the Seig-
neurs are set in counsell, he is at the door,
counteth voyces, calleth the parties, and
takes care of prisoners. His charge conti-
nueth three yeares.

As concerning Law and Iustice at
Fribourg, they are established in manner
following. First, the Court of Iustice be-
longing to the Towne, called, *Das
Stättgericht*, is a particular assembly of
certaine Iudges, to know and decide dif-
ferences among the *Bourgeses*. And if
there be any criminall proceffe or suite;
their charge is to interrogate the priso-
ners, to present & deliuer the case in que-
stion, and then to relate all to the lesfer
counsell. The other assembly of Iud-
ges, is tearmed *Das Landgericht*, judg-
ing the causes of dwellers in the coun-
try. In each of these iurisdiccions, there
are two Seigneurs of the lesfer counsell,
and two of the great, and they meet three
times euery week. Appeale may be made
from their sentence, to the lesfer council.
Moreover, there are twelue Iudges, cho-
sen out of the great and lesfer counsels,
for the appellations of the Bayliwicks,
conquered in the last warre against the
Duke of *Sauoye*. They meete together
once in euery Moneth, and there is no
appealing from their sentence.

At *Fribourg* there are two kindes of
Bayliwicks, as in the other Townes: the

one of Bayliwicks neighbouring to the
Towne, which are gouerned by certaine
Seigneurs of the counsell, who dwell in
the Towne, and come dayly to counsell,
and of such Bayliwicks there are five. The
other is, when the Bayliffes are sent to
dwell on distinct places with ample au-
thority: and they of *Fribourg* haue four-
teene such Bayliwicks, and foure in com-
mon with the *Bernians*. The Bayliffes are
elected by the great and lesfer counsels,
the morrow after *S. John Baptists* day, and
hold in office the space of five yeares: but
euery year they render an account of
their charge, before the lesfer counsell.
They entrueth also, and deale in criminall
suites: but them they send to the lesfer
counsell with their sentence, which the
counsell hath power to approue, change,
or moderate.

That which at *Fribourg* is called *Kro-
nungen*, and in the vulgar, *Leistung*, is
carefully maintained at *Fribourg*. By
these words is vnderstood a remise or ra-
tiance for certaine time, and the charges
to be on his owne head; when the debter
doth not pay his debt, at or on the day of
assignement, as in this manner. When
the debter maketh not satisfaction, on
the day appointed for repayment, the
creditor sendeth one, two, three, or more
seruants (on horse-backe) to an Inne or
Hofery, whose expences there the debter
is constrained to pay (tarry they there ne-
uer so long) vntill hee hath made satisfac-
tion to the creditor. Some say, that the
Duke of *Zerigen* established this Law.
Such as infringe or breake it, are punished
by imprisonment, banishment, or by the
purse. And there is a certaine Iudge, who
they call *Bourgmester*, that holdeth a
strick hand in this case. Moreover, if a di-
uorcie or suite is moued, and a man demand
the *Eröstung* three times, if it is not gra-
ted to the demander, it is present banish-
ment. Such as breake the peace, where-
in they are enioyned to liue one with a-
nother, are banished likewise: and they
that (without iust cause) will meddle, or
take part on eyther side, when a cause is in
pleading.

Finally, the *Fribourgers* make feasting
yearely, with solemne procession of all ci-
tizens through the Towne, on the second
day of March, and on the eight and twen-
tieth day of Iune; which are dayes of bat-
tles

Two kindes
of Bayliwicks
belonging to
Fribourg.

Fourte Bayli-
wicks in com-
mon with the
of Berne.

Dealing in
criminall ca-
sions.

A day or se-
bearing of the
debt at the
coll & charge
of the debter.

Anman is
held as a
Mayor or
Bourgmester
among the
Switzers.

A law made
by the Duke
of Zerigen,
for payment
of debts.

Banishment
from the breach
of peace.

Dayes of fe-
sting or
feasting
observed.

tailes giuen, and victories wonne by the
Switzers, against the Duke of *Bourgonne*,
at *Granfon*, and at *Moral*.

CHAP. VII.

*Of the Commonwealth of those Cantons that
haue neither Cities nor Townes, but dwell
only in Villages.*

Hitherto we haue discoursed on two
formes of Common-wealths, con-
cerned in the Cantons of *Switzerland*,
that haue Cities and Townes. There re-
maineth now a third, which is of those
Cantons that haue no Townes, but make
their abode in Villages, and for that cause
are called, *Die Laender*. There are fixe
of them, to wit, *Fri, Suits, Vnderwald, Zug,
Glaris*, and *Appenzell*. *Zug* indeede is a
towne, & hath her Officers in the townes,
but the souerainty of the Canton apper-
taineth to them that dwell in the lands of
the Canton, with them of the townes, and
are Lords as well the one as other. In
all these Cantons, the cheefe of the pub-
like counsell, is tearmed *Anman*, which
signifieth a man in office and authority,
and that name is attributed to all publike
Officers. So that Abbots, and other Ec-
clesiasticall persons, do call their Iudges,
Receiuers, and other such like Officers,
Anmans.

As the Townes are diuided or parted,
by Companies and Colledges of *Arto-
zans*, or *Trademen*, so the Cantons are
distributed into certaine parts and portio-
ns.

CHAP. VIII.

*Of all the five Cantons forenamed, which in
this ensuing Chapter we will handle toge-
ther, according to their severall rights &
iurisdiccions.*

THE whole country of *Fri* is diuided
into ten parts, which by them are
called *Gnosammun*, as if a man
would say, Participations. It may be in

this respect, because they are all partakers
in pasturages, goods, honours, and pub-
like charges, and that from those ten parts
onely, they are summoned and called, to
be present at those assemblies which are
yearely made.

The Country of *Suits* is diuided into
fixe parts, which they call quarters. Be-
cause the country (heretofore) was di-
tributed into foure portions: but the
people coming to encrease greatly, they
made a new partage into fixe portions,
which neuerthelesse do retaine the anti-
ent name.

As for the Country of *Vnderwald*,
there is a Forest that diuideth it in the
middle: and therefore the diuision is thus
made to them that dwell aboue and be-
neathe the Forest. The whole Country
taketh name of that part which is beneath
the Forest: for *Vnderwalden* is as much
to say, as beneath or vnder the wood. In
elder times, *Stants*, a principall Village
beneathe the Forest, and neere to the
Lake, was the prime and cheefe place of
the country, and the people were called,
inhabitants of the Valley of *Stants*. But
now adays, because the word *Vnderwald*
is taken for the whole country, the *Swit-
zers* haue added these words, *aboue* and
beneathe the wood, *Vnderwalden ob
vnd nide dem kernwald*.

Now as concerning them of *Zug*, we
haue said already, that they are diuided in
two parts; the one is the Towne it selfe,
the other the Villages round about, com-
prehended vnder three assemblies, to wit,
the Mountain, the Vale *Egeris*, and *Bara*,
a Parish very neere to the Towne.

Glaris is diuided into fifteene parts,
which they tearme *Cagwan*, the word
signifieth the work of a day, and as much
distance or spaciousnesse of ground, as a
man can plow in a day. It may be, that
these parts were called Iournals, or day-
labours: because euery one prepareth &
ordereth the way in his quarter, and each
one knoweth where he is 'n labour.

The country of *Appenzell* is parted in-
to twelue orders or portions, which they
call *Raden*, whereof those fixe conioyned
to the Village of *Appenzell*, they
name them the orders within, and anti-
ently were subiects to the Abbot of *S.
Gall*. The other fixe are called the or-
ders without: to wit; out of the Abbots
Seigneury.

The diuision
of Suits.

Vnderwald di-
uided in the
middle.

Of the name.

Stants a princi-
pal village.

The partition
of Zug, the
Towne & the
Villages.

The diuision
of Glaris.

The orders or
portions
belonging to
Appenzell.

Election of the council.

The generall council of Appenzell.

Publication of a council to be holden on a day appointed.

None but natives can be councillors

The Switzers having, and kinne to strangers, living among them.

The council generall of all the people, & their appointed places of meeting.

Seignury; heretofore partly free, and partly in the iurisdiction of Gentlemen. Out of these parts (by equal number) are chosen certaine men, for the council of the Canton: in many of them there are threescore councillors, beside such as (having beene in office) continue perpetual councillors. At Zug there are five and forty councillors, nine of each assembly, for the Towne is counted for two.

The council generall of Appenzell, consisteth of an hundred forty foure, to wit, twelve of each order. And if matters of importance are to be treated on, and it appeareth needfull to assemble the council of all the people: then they will double or treble the council in this manner. Each of the councillors takes a man or two with him, if they be to hold a councill of three times as many persons, as ordinarily they use to do: and one of the councillors, on Sunday, in the Church after Service is done, hath a custome to signifie, that on such a day as he nameth, all the councillors are to meete in the Towne-house of the Canton, and each man is to bring with him such a one, as he holdeth to be an honest and wise man, who shall also be there bound to obedience, under the oath whereby all are obliged to the common-wealth. Beside, no man is elected to be a councillor, neither can he assist in the generall council, if he be not borne in the country, *Ein Landman*: And it is much more easie to obtaine the degree of Bourgeshippe, in the Townes of the *Switzers*, then in their Villages. Which proceedeth not of any inhumanity, for there are great store of strangers among them, towards whom they shew themselves very kinde and humane. But rather by a certaine order of aduised iudgement, and according to the custome of their predecessors: being neuer willing to mingle new commers among olde inhabitants of the country, both to prevent charges, and to preserve the common-wealth (the more easily) in one and the same estate and condition.

The souerainity in these fixe Cantons, belongeth to the assembly of all the people. All they of the country, from the age of fourtene, or sixtene, or vppwards, do meete eyther at the principall Village of the Canton, or else at some other place in the midd of the country. As they of

Vri meete at *Wetzlinge*, distant halfe a dayes journey from *Altorff*, the cheefest Village of that Canton. The people of *Glaris* meete at *Suanda*. The ordinary and annuall assemblies of these Cantons, is made euery year about the beginning of May. They of *Sms*, of *Vnderwald* vnder the wood, of *Glaris* and of *Appenzell*, do meete the last Sunday of Aprill. They of *Vri* and of *Zug*, the first Sunday of May. In elder times, they of *Zug* held their generall council the 24. day of Iune, being *S. Iohn Baptists* day. They of *Vnderwald* about the wood, meete the first day of May.

In these assemblies, first of all he is elected whom they call the *Amman*, in which office hee continueth the space of two yeares. Heretofore there was no terme of time assigned, but (oftentimes) the same *Amman* gouerned for many yeares together. He is permitted to be chosen among all the people, as a man that (for his vertue and wisdom) shall be thought most worthy of that dignity and charge, without regard at all, in what place or Village of the Canton hee dwelth. Notwithstanding, in certaine Cantons, as at *Appenzell*, while the *Amman* is in his office of authority, hee goeth to remaine in the principall Village, where the publike council keepeth most.

At *Zug* there are three assemblies of them without the Towne. Next, the Towne hath the power of two assemblies, and the *ammans* are chosen by order of each assembly. They that are elected of the assemblies without, doe dwell in the Towne, during the two yeares that they are *ammans*. In the same assembly where the *amman* is elected, his Lieutenant also is chosen, whom they terme *Stathalter*: and so are the Treasurers or Purse-bearers, called by them *Schekmeisters*. Next, the Secretaries and Bayliffes which gouerne the Bayliffes of the Canton: or those which the Canton holds apart with other Cantons. Moreover, Edicts are there read & confirmed, or abrogated yearly, by the voyces of all the people: so likewise sports, and playing at cardes, dice, clancing, excessive drinking, force-stalling Markets of victuals, and such like things.

When the council is thus held yearly by yeare, councillors are elected and confirmed:

The yearly assembling of these cantons.

The Amman is the first Officer chosen in the assembly.

Of the assemblies that are at Zug both within and without.

The election of the Lieutenant.

Secretaries & Bayliffes.

The electing and confirming of councillors.

An extraordinary councill holden.

Council more secret and priuate.

The council of seuen at Salt.

The 3 Courts of iustice. The first of iustice.

The second of iustice.

The order at Vil.

The Court of fiftene there.

Two Courts of law & iustice at Vnderwald.

firm'd: but yet this is not done by euery assembly, but each of them ordered by the subiects of the Canton, and by the companies among whom they dwell. Finally, if at some other times of the yeare, there happen affaires that concerne the estate of the common-wealth, an extraordinary councill is held. As if need require, to send Ambassadors to the dayes at *Bada*, or to some other Kings and Princes; or if there be question of making alliances, be they eyther for peace or warre, &c.

Beside the lesser councill and the generall, composed of all the people; some of the cantons haue a councill more strict and priuate, and courses of iustice for difticion of suites. In the Canton of *Suits*, which is diuided in fixe parts, the principall councillor of each part is taken: and these fixe, with the *Amman*, make the councill of seuen, called *secreet*. These seuen do manage and order all the reuenues of the country, and furnish all that is laid out for publike expences. Moreover, there are two Courts of iustice, the one being called the order of nine, in regard of the number of Iudges, and there the *Amman* sits as President. In this Court are decided the causes of greatest importance: as of inheritances, outrages, and terrible injuries, hard to be endured.

The Court of seuen, (so is the other order of iustice called) where the Lieutenant to the *Amman* sits as President: and those seuen are Iudges in causes concerning contracts, debts, and such like. They of *Vri* haue (almost) the same gouernment: for there the Court of seuen, with the Lieutenant to the *Amman*, doe censure and iudge of debts, which exceede not the sum of threescore pounds. There is another iudiciall Court of fiftene, where the *Amman* sits as President, and concludeth causes ciuill of greatest consequence.

At *Vnderwald* also there are 2. Courts of iustice, the one at *Stans* vnder the wood, and the other at *Sarna* about the wood, and each of them hath an *Amman*. It is saide, that the country was parted, in the year one thousand, one hundred and fifty; when some debate fell among them for paying of a certaine tribute. And whereas before that time, they had but one councill, and one Standard, bearing

a double key for the whole country: this partition caused each of the sides to take one key onely, and they that were about the wood, retained still their olde Standard, white and redde, because they were the greater part of the Canton. Then they vnder or beneath the wood, received from Popes another Ensigne, which had two keyes in it: for in regard that *Stans* (long before) had beene the principall Village of the Canton, they therefore kept still the Ensigne, which in those times they had at *Stans*.

The Towne of *Zug*, beside the councill generall of the whole country, hath a councill apart, order of iustice, Magistrate, a Lieutenant to the *Amman*, Treasurer, Voyer, &c. who iudge the causes of the Bourgeses, and manage all the publike affaires.

At *Glaris* there are two Courts of iustice, one of nine, the other of five Iudges, which the councill generall of the Canton do elect euery yeare. They decide law-suites in the Monthes of May, and of December onely. The nine take knowledge of differences concerning inheritances, and dangerous injuries. The five do censure suites of debts and payments, after that the nine (who keepe Court the space of fixe dayes) haue ended.

They of *Appenzell* haue two courts of iustice also, the first is kept in a publike place of the streete; in regard whereof, they call it *Das gassen-gericht*. Therein are foure and twenty Iudges, two of each order of the canton, and their President is the Vther of the canton, *Der Landtweibel*, and they meete together weekly enery Thursday: they condemne men in fines, and chastise such as wrong one another. The other court is called *Das geschwoeren-gericht*, iustice of oath: because twelve Iudges sit there, and take knowledge of differences, which are ended, by giuing oath to one of the parties. Moreover, from each order of the canton, a councillor is chosen, & many from the orders that are greater. These men make obseruation of such as breake public ordinances, and deliberate on matters which are to be propounded to the councill generall. In which respect, they are as Guardians of the lawes, and rearm'd cheefest councillors: their charge is perpetuall, and they are called in this canton,

But one councill and one Standard till the diuision.

The Popes gaue them another Ensigne.

The obseruations at Zug.

Two Courts of iustice at Glaris, and their feuerall authorities.

The Courts of iustice at Appenzell.

The first Court.

The second Court.

Another order of councillors, and their power.

Of the catho-
like Cantons.

ton Landthelick.

Suits, Pri, Vnderwald, Zug, Glaris, and Appenzel, are Catholike, and vnder the Diocesse of *Constance*. And if there hapen any difference concerning marriages, they goe to the Officialtie of the sayde place, but they of the other opinion goe to *Zurich*.

Punishment
for adultery.

As for adulteries, they are chastised in each Canton: some, by confiscation of goods; others (sometime by the fine of ten Dallers. I haue heard likewise, that (diuers times) the councill general of the whole Canton, doeth decide some differences concerning marriages.

Justice in cri-
minal causes.

Justice in causes criminall, is administred (almost in all the Cantons) by the publike councill, and oftentimes doubled or multiplied by the ordinary counsellors, the *Zunnen* sitting President, or his Lieutenant. At *Zug*, in criminal matters, other assistants are joynted with the councill or Iudges, chosen out of each diuision or assembly of the Canton. Sutes of Law are discust in an open publike place, where all may heare that which is said, and know the merite of the sentence giuen by the Iudges.

The order &
disposition of
the Bayli-
wicks in these
Cantons.

Now to speake of the Bayliwicks or Governements appertaining vnto these Cantons, they are carried and disposed in manner following. They of *Pri* send a Bayliffe into the valley of *Linier* beyond the Mountaines: who hath one of the same valley for his Lieutenant and Assistants also; with whom he iudgeth causes both ciuill and criminall, and continueth in his charge the space of three yeeres. Beyond the same Mountaines, they send Bayliffes also to *Bellizona*, and to two other places. They of *Bellizona* haue three Bayliffes, to wit, *Bellizona*, the Vale *Brune*, and *Buiera*, where the three Cantons doe command in such manner, that each of them hath alwaies a Bayliffe. Moreover, the inhabitants of Mount *S. Godardo*, are subiectes to the Canton of *Pri*, nevertheless they haue their Councill and their *Amman*, who are confirmed by them of *Pri*, & when there are criminal sutes, two of the councill of *Pri* do meet there. They haue their Standard likewise, but when they of *Pri* do display that belonging to the Canton, the other hold vp theirs.

They of *Suits* haue sometimes hadde

four Bayliwicks, to wit, the *Marche*, the *Hermitage*, *Cusnach*, and certaine small Villages or great Farmes, neer to the lake of *Zurich*: but the two former haue obtained municipall right, and doe elect a councill and triall of sutes in their owne bodye. Notwithstanding, euery yeare, when a councill generall is held at *Suits*, ordinarily they send their Ambassadors thither, and require, that they may haue leaue to elect their Magistrates; which is granted them, as in verie great fauour, with this exception, that they are to bee modest and obedient, for otherwise it remaineth in the peoples power of *Suits*, to send a Governour thither, whensoever they thinke meet.

Cusnach hath the same condition, but because, within some few yeares certaine strangers (customers for carriage of salt and other things that way) made their complaint, that they of *Cusnach* did them wrong, and vied them harshlie vpon no occasion: the men of *Suits* knowing the accusation to bee true, sent a Bayliffe thither againe, and appointed new ordinations for *Cusnach*. Besides, they haue two Bayliffes in common with them of *Glaris*, to wit, *Vazac*, which is a Towne, and *Gastal*. Thether they send Bayliffes, turne by turne, and alwaies there is one of *Suits* in one of the Bayliwicks, and one of *Glaris* in the other.

In like manner, they haue three other Bayliwicks in common, beyonde the Mountaines, in the valley of *Linier*, with the Cantons of *Pri*, *Suits*, and *Vnderwald*. The charge and office of all their Bayliffes lasteth two yeeres, except in the Bayliwicks beyonde the Mountaines, where they holde for the space of three yeares; and they goe not to the other but at certaine times, and to decide law controversies.

They of *Toggenbourg* are not subiects but Bourgeses of *Suits* and *Glaris*, and goe to warre for them successively. They of *Zug* send Bayliffes to *Cham*, a very little towne neere vnto their lake. The *Saint Andrew*, sometimes a Towne, to *Hunenberg*, *Walchenill*, *Stein-house*. To *Saint Wolfgang*, and to other Villages. They bought this Countie in the yeare 1517. Next, with them of *Suits*, they send (turne by turne) Bayliffes to

four Bayliwicks, to wit, the Marche, the Hermitage, Cusnach, and certaine small Villages or great Farmes, neer to the lake of Zurich: but the two former haue obtained municipall right, and doe elect a councill and triall of sutes in their owne bodye.

What pri-
judges have
goe to Cu-
nach, but
through their
owne right.

What Bay-
wicks they
enjoy in com-
mon with
the other.

Wher-
the Bayliffes
continue
ambassadors
of the Countie.

The order
and manner
of sending
the Bayliffes,
to their seuerall
jurisdictions.

Of customes
paying to
these Cantons.In case of
murders.Against mor-
gaging of
lands and in-
heritances to
strangers.Against drun-
kenness.For offences gi-
uen at the ele-
ction of pub-
lic offices.Public Pro-
cessions for
honourable
causes.

Vazac and *Gastal*. They of *Toggenbourg* are their Bourgeses, as we haue sayde already; and goe to warre for them, and for the Canton of *Suits*. Finally, the five first Cantons are Lordes with the other Cantons, of the Bayliwicks gouerned by them in common: except the men of *Appenzel*, who send a Bayliffe onely to *Montsal*, with the seuen first Cantons, & in the same manner.

Now follow some particular customes of these fixe Cantons, which are not common to all the Switzers. Whosoever shall haue committed a murther, although it was done in the defence of his owne body, hee is constrained to forsake the Canton, and it is not lawfull for the lesser councill to repeale him; but hee may demand and obtaine leaue of the councill generall to returne againe.

They doe not permit, that Landes or foundations of inheritances should bee pawned or ingaged vnto any one that is not of the Canton; for they holde them to bee no longer Lords of their country, if once they will become bound for debts and mortgage in such manner their inheritances to strangers. Likewise in the Canton of *Pri*, it is not lawfull for strangers, that haue bene receyued there as inhabitants, to buy any inheritances, but a house and a small garden for Pot-herbes onely.

If any man being drunke, doe commit some scandalous action, hee is punished by imprisonment, and beside, hee is forbidden to drinke wine for the space of a certaine time, and vntill the Councill generall haue pardoned him.

In publike assemblies, and in the distribution of honourable charges and Offices: hee that is put in election, is present, and his parents, brethren, and sons may giue him their voyces. They giue their voyces by lifting vp their hands on high, and some are set in an eminent place to count them. If they stand in doubt, and cannot so decide it, then they haue another course. There are two men, who hold two Halberds touching together at the points; they that giue their voyces, do passe vnder them, and two other men count them as they passe.

Finally, they vse Feasts and Processions, on such dayes as their Ancestors obtained any remarkable victory. As they

of *Glaris* do yearly celebrate the memoriall of the victory which they wonne against the *Austrians*, in the yeare 1387. and in the month of April, I wil declare at large, the ceremonies observed by them in this festiual; to the end, the better iudgment may be made of such feasts as are vied by others.

The order of the solempne Feast and Procession, performed by the men of *Glaris* in honour of their victory against the *Austrians*.

IN the moneth of April, euery yeare, on the Thursday of the first weeke (except Easter day fall on the Sunday following, for then it is deferred til Thursday in the weeke after) the Feast is celebrated. On the Sunday before, it is a lowde and openly published in the church, in behalf of the Seignery, that on Thursday following, the most honourable persons of euerie Family, especially the men, are to meete and go in solempne Procession to *Mulhensere*, by those waies, places, and passages, where their Ancestors were in great danger, euen so far as the Fountain, and to be warie of descending to the Village of *Hawes*, til first they haue pall the other way. Moreover, that all keepe silence while the Sermon is done, and to carrie themselves (that day) so modestly in their refection, that no disorder may bee noted, because the Seignery will chastise them seuerely that do otherwise, and because the whole Canton of *Glaris* doth solempnly feast that day. Forbidding also, that no man shall mount on Horsebacke out of the Village of *Glaris*, sicke & aged men onely excepted, who are not (being so mounted) to goe anie further then *Scheneffingen*.

After they are all assembled together, and rounded in a ring as it were, the *Amman*, who is in the midd, makes a kinde welcome (in name of the whole Canton) vnto such strangers as are come thither. First, to the Ambassador of *Suits*, who is yearly sent for celebration of the Feast: because thirtie Souldiers of *Suits* were present in the battell for which this Feast is kept. Likewise, he salureth the Abbots, Priests, & neighbors of *Gastal*, *Marche*, *Rapperswill* and *Toggenbourg*, giuing them hearty thanks, for coming to celebrate this

Read in the
former parts.The great
Feast of *Gla-
ris*.Remembrance
of their Ance-
stors great pe-
ril.Obsequies
after their
meeting to-
gether.

this ſolemne Proceſſion, and to thanke & ſing praifes to almighty God, the Virgin *Marie*, and their Patrones, *S. Fridolin*, and *S. Hilary*.

Fiſt, one beareth a red Standard, wherein is the Image of *S. Fridolin*, then follow 4 men, bearing a guilded Toomb, whereon are many faire and holy reliques enchaſed. Then come the Croſſe-bearers, carrying the Croſſes of *Glaris*, *Haurer*, of the Vale of *Linshe*, and of the churches neighboring to the Canton of *Glaris*, as of *Schennis*, *Wefen*, and others. The Croſſes are followed with Banners of all the Churches, and the Priests come after them, ſinging according to their order. The Curate of *Glaris* is the fiſt, accoſed by an Abbot, or elſe ſome other man of the Church. Among the ſtrangers the other Priests follow. Then the councell of *Glaris*, to witte, the *Amman*, with the Ambaſſadour of *Suits*; then the Lieutenant to the *Amman*, and the other Officers in their order, each guiding or leading one of the moſt honourable ſtrangers. The women (in great number) follow, to make vp the end and concluſion of the Proceſſion.

Being come to the place where the bartail was fought, there are eleven ſtones ſet down in thoſe ſeveral parts of ground where they began and held on fight with the enemy: for they had partings & meetings againe at hand-blows, eleven ſeverall times, and at each of thoſe ſtones the Standards and Banners ſtay, and all fall vpon their knees in prayer to God. Whē they are come to the ſixt ſtone, they caſt themſelves round in a ring, and then the Secretarie of the Canton readeth in a paper, the cauſe and originall of this Proceſſion, the ſummary whereof is this. War being moued betwene *Leopold*, Duke of *Austria*, and them of *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Solothurne*, *Lucerne*, *Juri*, *Suits*, *Unterwald*, *Luz*, and *Glaris*; *Leopold* led his Army to *Sempach*, where hee was ouercome, and ſlaine by the *Switzers*, the ninth day of Iune, one thouſand, three hundred, foureſcore and ſixe, beſide ſixteene Earles and Barons, and a great number of Gentlemen.

Afterward, in mid-August following, they of *Zurich*, *Vri*, *Suits*, and *Glaris*, beſieged and tooke the towne of *Wefen*, & the inhabitants promiſed perpetuall ſidelity to the *Switzers*. Truce was made, till

the beginning of Lent in the yeare following, which being ended, and war beginning againe, they of *Glaris* ſent a Garriſon to *Wefen*, where the Souldiers thinking themſelves to be in ſafety, and conſiding on the oath of the townſemen, were ſlaine (for the moſt part) in a night by them of *Austria*, who entred in the dead of night, by intelligence which they had with certaine of the inhabitants, that machinated this villany againſt the garriſon, and opened the gates to their enemies.

Furthermore, that the very ſame yeare, and the ninth day of Aprill, they of *Austria* brought an Army of fifteene thouſand men towards *Haurer*, and wonne the Fortreſſe of the Country. But three hundred and fifty Souldiers of *Glaris*, & thirty which the Canton of *Switz* ſent to aſſiſt them, ſlayed the enemy, and (Gods helps furthering, the Virgin *Marie*, and their Patrones, *S. Fridolin* and *S. Hilary*) they became conquerors, wonne eleven of their cheefeſt Enſignes, and liſt two thouſand five hundred enemies ſlaine in the field, beſide them that were drowned in the Lake, and among theſe, many of *Wefen* were there ſlaine, that formerly had betrayed the Garriſon of *Glaris*. And therefore, in dutifull thankfulneſſe to God almighty, the glorious Virgin *Mary*, and *S. Fridolin*, and *S. Hilary* their Patrones, and to all the Saints and Sainteſſes of Paradiſe, & in everlaſting remembrance of ſo great a helpe and deliuerance, this annuall Proceſſion was ordained vpon thoſe limits, where their Anceſſours had ſuffered many inconueniences.

After the reading of theſe ſeverall letters, a Sermon is made in the ſame place; the Priests of *Glaris* performe their Anniverſary, and followeth the Miniſter of the new opinion. All their prayers being ended, they go againe to the ſame ſtones, in the ſame rank and ceremony as they began, untill they come to the eleventh, which is placed neere to the Village of *Haurer*, towards *Wefen*, where they ſlayed the enemy at the laſt time. Then they take their way to the Church of *Haurer*; but they of the new opinion return home to their houſes. The reſt go to the church, where they ſing a Maſſe for the *Switzers* that were ſlaine in the bartail: and one reciteth all the names of them of *Glaris*, that perished there. Soone after this, a banquet

A Banquet made at the Cantons coll.

banquet is made (at the Cantons expences) for the Priests, and all the ſtrangers that came in the Proceſſion. After dinner, the Priests ſinging, bring backe againe to *Glaris* the guilded Toombe, the Banners and Croſſes.

This is the manner of the annuall Proceſſion and Feaſt of them of *Glaris*, in remembrance of ſo famous and remarkable victory. The other Cantons alſo haue their Feaſts, to celebrate the victories obtained at *Morgarten*, *Sempach*, and elſewhere.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Common-wealths belonging to the Confederates. And fiſt of all, Of the Abbey of *S. Gall*.

AFTER we haue ſpoken of the thirteene Cantons, and of their ſeverall Common-wealths; me-thinks now (according to the ſame order) wee ſhould make mention of their Confederates, among whom, the Abbot and Abbey of *S. Gall* holdeth the prime place. The Abbots of *S. Gall*, haue bin great Lords for the ſpace of many ages poſſeſſed of great meanes, and numbred with the Princes of the Empire: but I know not well, from what Emperour they receiued this honour and title. *Stumpfius* noteth, that *Conrad de Pfauers*, Annaliſt of *Switzerland* writeth, that Abbot *Huldrich*, of the houſe of *Alſace*, was made Prince by the Emperour *Phillip*, in the city of *Baſile*. Now albeit theſe Abbots are not of ſuch power as heretofore; yet notwithstanding, they continue ſtill great Lords, and haue their dominion in large extendure.

In the country of *Turgow* they are Lords of *Wile*, and haue a Pallace and a Vicar in the Towne. Moreover, in the high country of *Turgow*, they haue a great Territory, and well peopled, who are all ſubiect to them. The inhabitants are called *Die Gottshulſtut*, the Subjects of the houſe of God, or of the Abbey, and are parties in certaine Regions. Their names are *Rofac*, *Thumbeck*, *Golt*, *Underg*, *Morſwill*, *Tablate*, *Gozow*, *Wald-*

kilch, *Romſhorn*, *Summery*, *Mule*, *Hotſchwil*, *Bernatzell*, *Lumſſwill*, *Berg*, *Wittenbach*, *Roddmont*, *Strubenzell*, *Geſſervald*, *Helbach*, *Bergknecht*, *Luzwill*, *Zikerwangen*, *Vnd Wiger*. Theſe places are diuided into Caſtle-wicks or Prefident-ſhips, and the Abbot ſendeth Prouoſts thither. Moreover, he hath his *Ammans* and Officers, that hold meane Courts of iuſtice in many places. Beſide, he hath a higher Court of iuſtice, whether reſort all appellations, and where cauſes of importance are decided. All kinde of duties, and ſuch as are rendered to Princes, in theſe places are confirmed vpon him.

Beſide this country, the county of *Toggenbourg* acknowledgeth (as Lord) the Abbot of *S. Gall*, who ſendeth a Gouernour into the country, and a Iudge in criminall cauſes, which admitteth no further appeale. And yet they of *Toggenbourg* are Bourgeſſes of *Suits*, and of *Glaris*, & haue their priuiledges & franchiſes; by meanes whereof (among other things) they enjoy the freedome of Religion. Alſo in the Bayliwick of *Rhinthal* which belongeth to the cantons: the Abbot holdeth law courts of iuſtice in many Villages, & keepeth Officers there for that purpoſe.

CHAP. X.

Of the Common-wealth in the Towne or Citie of *S. Gall*.

Saint *Gall*, *Mulhouſe*, and *Rotville*, are numbred among the Imperiall townes, and therefore haue (almoſt) the ſame manner of gouernement, as we haue already deſcribed vnto you. But becauſe the citizens of *S. Gall*, do hold ſomething in particular; I will here ſet downe a ſummary deſcription of their common-wealth.

In the fiſt place then, the Towne of *S. Gallis* diuided into ſixe Tribes or Companies, & the Society of Noblemen. The fiſt & principal of theſe Tribes, is of wearers, becauſe of the linen cloth there woven, which is made very faire, and in a bounding quantity: which afterward is ſold in *Germany*, *France*, *Italy*, *Spain*, *Bohemia*, and *Poland*, greatly enriching the inhabitants that dwell in *S. Gall*, and ma-

FF king

The order of the Proceſſion in marching, as they paſſe along to the place where the bartail was fought.

The ceremonies in the Proceſſion of *Glaris*, being come to the field where the eleven ſtones are ſet in the ground.

The reaſon and originall of the Proceſſion, read in particulars by the Secretary

A ſecond reaſon vpon the beſieging & taking of *Wefen*.

A third reaſon of the ſame with an account of the ſea.

Gods iudgement for breach of faith.

Performe of the ſhall ceremony.

The conſideration of the ceremony of the ſtones.

The Abbot and Abbey of *S. Gall* the ſit confederate.

Abbot *Muldrich* was made a prince in *Baſile*.

What poſſeſſion the Abbot hold in *Turgow* and in diuers other parts of the country.

The Abbot power in the County of *Toggenbourg*

Imperiall Townes.

Six Tribes or Companies in *S. Gall*.

The fiſt tribe of wearers.

Two councils in S. Gall.	king the Towne much renowned, It hath two councils, according to other towns, to wit, the great and the lesse. The lesse is composed of foure and twenty, and namely first of all, twelve <i>Zunftmesters</i> . Each Tribe, Colledge, or Company, hath three Masters, which gouerne the company a yeare, turne by turne: but there are no more then two, which enter into the lesser council; the first is of the new, the second of the olde. The thirtieth <i>Zunftmeister</i> , is the first of the eleuen, which are elected out of each Tribe, to be of the great council.	The election of the Sub-Consull or Vnderburgmaster.
Twelve masters.	The <i>Zunftmesters</i> are elected by secret voyce in their Tribes, and are confirmed by the lesser council. Euery yeare, the council and officers of iustice, are elected about mid-Iune, and mid-December. Beside the <i>Zunftmesters</i> , nine other Senators do assise in the lesser council, and are chosen as well in the company of Noblemen, as in the other companies. The three Consuls (with them) make the number of foure and twenty councillors: For there are three Consuls in S. Gall, the first is in charge; the second is called olde Consull, for hauing gouerned in the very neerest yeare before; and the third preiudeth in iudgement for criminall causes, and in other places he is called, Prouost of the Empire, <i>Iserehuogt</i> . The council is elected the first Sunday of Advent, not in the lesser council, but in the general, by secret voyce, <i>Mis deruun</i> : the Sub-consull and the <i>Zunftmesters</i> , going then out of office, do collect the voyces.	When the lesse council do assemble together.
The election of the Zunft- masters.	The great council is composed of threescore and sixe, to wit, twelve of each company: whereby there are ninety persons in the great and lesse councils. After the election of the Consuls and the council, the ordinances of the Towne are read in this assembly: whereon the Consull and the new council do deliberate. Then they go (by two and two together) to the great Temple or Church, named S. Laurence, where all the citizens meete, and after reading of the lawes and ordinances, the Consull sweareth first to obserue them, and afterward, receiuerth of the council and whole assembly, the same oath. This done, the morrow after christmas day, and the day following, the <i>Zunftmesters</i> , and the other eleuen Seigneurs of the lesse council, do meete to-	The mad Thursday.
Nine Sena- tors.	The great council also doth sometimes extraordinarily meete when they are to discourse on matters, whereof the council ought to haue knowledge, as concerning sentences in criminall suites. Then the Prouost of the Empire sitteth President, and demandeth each case: this is done in the Towne-house, and the doores kept close. The lesse council electeth the Prouost, and giueth him power to iudge. Afterward, the great council decideth the appellations made vnto him, and receiuerth such strangers as desire to be Bourgeses.	The office of the lesse council.
Three Con- suls, and how they gouerne.	But this is done more often, in the ordinary assemblies of the great council, and	The three meetings of the Council generally of all the people, and their appointed times.
Election of the Council.		The office of the great Council.
The great Council, in what manner they are cho- sen, and what order they obserue.		The three meetings of the great Council euery yeare.
		The Court of Justice, called the Towne or City Court, and what Officers belong therein.
		Extraordinary meetings of the great Council.
		Election of the Prouost by the lesse Council.
		What causes they decide when they sit in Court.

and then also they conclude there on many appeales. Sometimes the lesse council fendeth affaires of importance to the great council, to bee considered on.

Euery yeare, the council general of all the people, is assembled three times, about publike affaires. First, to elect the Consull. Secondly, the morrow after Christmas day, to take oath of the new Consull, and to binde him to obey the Magistrates. And thirdly, in the Moneth of August, about S. Bartholmewes day, after that the ordinance for tolles and taxes is agreed vpon, to heare the Lecture, which is made before all. Moreover, the lawes and statutes of the Towne are distributed into three parts; one part whereof is deliuered to the people, in each of these three assemblies.

The principall and cheefest Court of iustice, is that of sue; who are the Consull, the Sub-Consull or Lieutenant, one of the new *Zunftmesters*, and two of the new council. They iudge in differences concerning borrowed monies, things laid to pawne, debts that haue no certaine time prefixed, wages that are due, suites concerning victuals, injuries, and fines. They sit on the Wednesday, or Friday, and there is no appeale from their sentence; neuertheless, they may send backe difficult causes, and of importance, to the lesse council.

Next to this, there is the Towne court of iustice, *Das Statgricht*, composed of twelve Assitants, chosen out of the Noble mens companie, and out of the other companies: so that the one is of *Zunftmesters*, and the other of the people. The cheefe Officer of this court is called *Satamman*, Maior of the city, and is elected with the other Magistrates, about Christmas day, and is confirmed by the great council. As for the Assitants, they are changed twice euery yeare, and elected by the great council, on one of the feast dayes of christmas, &c. by the lesse council, about S. John Baptists day, in the Moneth of Iune. These Iudges take knowledge of debates, barrings, and yearly rents, although the summes bee great. They are called together by tolling the Bell, and assemble in the Towne-house on Monday in euery weeke, except it bee a Feast day, or that

all the council doe meete together, for then they referre those causes till Wednesday. A man may appeale from their sentence, to the lesse council, provided, that the suite be of no lesse moment then an hundred Sols, or Shillings: and if the appellant loseth his cause, he is condemned in a fine to the Iudges.

The consistory court is composed of eight Iudges, whereof foure are Ministers of the Church, or some other men of learning: next, two councillors of the lesse council, and two of the great. There sitteth another Seigneur of the lesse council, as President, who questioneth the causes: and if there be as many voices on the one side, as on the other, hee reduceth both parties to such a counsell, as hee conceiue to be iust, and then sentence is giuen accordingly. The consistory censureth matters of marriage, and of diuorces, and no appealing is permitted from sentence. But if there happen any inuolued or entangled variance, or if some colour of pollicy be mixed with the case of marriage; then cause and all, is sent to the council, where the deciding is suspended, vntill the council, and some other learned men, haue aduisedly considered thereon.

As for publike Offices, estates, and charges, this common-wealth is therein gouerned, as the other are; hauing Treasurers, Masters of Halles, Receiueurs, and Administrators at the Gates, for customs, tolles, and taxations, *Vogers*, &c. Such as hold these places, do render their accounts, first to the *Zunftmesters*, next to the lesse, and lastly to the great council, on the morrow after christmas day. Hauing giuen vp their accounts, the lesse and great council do elect new officers, or reconfirm the olde: and it is openly read, what the charge is of each one of them in particular, and afterward, in presence of the council, they sweare to discharge their duty faithfully. But when many are established in one and the same charge, then such rules as they are to follow, are giuen them in writing.

And because the very greatest trading of S. Gall, consisteth in linnen cloth, and that not only the people of the towne, but them also in most part of the Villages round about, doe maintaine their liues thereby; the council is diligent and

Of the Consistory Court, and Iudges thereto belonging.

Concerning intricate and cumbersome cases.

Of publike estates, charges & offices.

New Officers chosen, or the olde aduised againe.

Linnen cloth the only main trading of S. Gall.

carefull, for well ordering all things in that respect, and for the avoyding of fraud and deceit. First, therefore, so soone as the weauer hath finished a peece of cloth, there are three expert sworne Visitors or Ouerseers, that come to looke vpon it, and according as it is good, or indifferent, they set on such and such marks. If it appeare to be bad and naught, they send it to the **Zunftmaster** of the weauers, and to the other eleuen **Zunftmasters**, who condemne the workman in a fine, or cut the whole peece into some portions, of eight Elles in length each one, or else through the midst, or if it bee worth nothing, they burne it openly. This view and visitation is done daily, and there is a Market of linnen cloth, which hath certaine Lawes, for the obseruation whereof, they that deale in such Merchandize are strictly bound.

After that the cloth hath bene scene and approued, the sworne Measurers do both Ell it, and marke it. The Measurers haue some other sworne men of the Mystery, to be their adiuncts, and the Merchants haue with them the Ouer-seers of the measuring. They call them **Zentzeiff**, measurers of linnen cloth, which are of diuers lengths: but a whole peece consisteth of 134. Elles, and may not be of any greater length. There is another view made at the whistlers, wher the cloth is thickened and whited. These Viewers are called **Die wipffen Schotter**. They looke that the clothes haue their requisite whitenesse, and whether they sustaine any harme in the thickning: and according as they finde, they marke, or condemne the whistler in a fine. Likewise there are certaine Merchants and Weauers, that visite the whistlers houses and grounds, to see if all things bee fitting and conuenient there: whether they haue sufficiency of wood and ashes, that none may be wronged by delay. Every yeare the Masters whistlers take newly their oaths, to doe their duties as becommeth them.

As for the clothes which the Viewers (whom they vually tearme **Blaw und Schwartzschotter**) thinke fit to send to the Diars: the cutters of linnen cloth, named **Lpntwathschnyder**, do cut them iust in the midst, and there are other committees, to regard that they haue their iust measure. After they are dyed into colours blew or blacke, if the Ouerseers

finde the dying to bee well taken, they marke the peece, and when they haue planned and smoothed it with a Rowler; others come to approue it valuable, and they set on the Seale. Contrariwise, if it be spoyled and viciate in the dying: they cut it, or dip it againe, if it may bee done, and the Plainner and Diar are condemned in some fine. All these things aboue named, are very carefully obserued, and if any dare do otherwise, hee is severely punished. For the Towne or City of S. Gall hath this priuiledge, to condemne in criminall suite, to fetch men out of places of refuge, and to punish them that vse any fraud, in weauing, marking, sealing, dying, plainning, or misusing any Linnen clothes.

Something likewise must needs bee said, what order they of S. Gall take, to auoid the inconueniences of fire: becaue they hauing bene heretofore much endangered thereby, it hath made them (suriuiving) to be the more prouident. Every euening, for the space of a quarter of an houre, there is a Bell rung, and it is called **Die feurglocken**, the Fire-Bell: which admonisheth every one, to looke to the hearths of their Chimnies, for feare lest fire shold take in any part. There are three two **Zunftmasters**, that four times yearely do visite the hearths, furnaces, & chimnies in all the houses; and thereupon are called **Die feurgichotter**, Visitors for fire. They regard also, what Armes and prouision of foode the Bourgeses haue: and whether they be prouided and furnished, according to the ordinances of the Seigneury.

Beside, if there rise any impetuous windes, or any rough stormes or tempests happen (beside the ordinary Captaines of the watch, whom they call **Die Wachtbister**) there are two other, named Masters of the watch, **Die wachtmaster**, who take with them two men of every Tribe, well appointed, and goe with the Captaines of the watch, to walke the round through all the streetes of the City, to preuent the dangerous accidents of fire.

Every night, two and thirty men keepe watch on the Towers and Walles, and in other places of the City, beeing appointed as Sentinels, by the cheefe **Zunftmaster**, with the Captaines of the watch.

When fire takes in any place

Four Captaines of the lesser council

The priuiledge belonging to S. Gall.

Schools, Almes-houses, Hospitals, &c. spared to be spoken of.

What proofs on they make against the inconueniences of fire.

Visitors for fire.

Against most calamities and tempests

Captaines of the Watch.

Concerning the Grisons in elder time.

If fire take in any part, some of the Citizens runne to the Gates, some on the Towers and Walles, some into the cheefest streetes; some keepe company with the Confull, and others labour to quench the fire. There are foure Captaines of the lesser councill, that haue a care of all this businesse, commanding every one to that which is to be done, and punishing greenously the disobedient. If the fire be without, and neere the city, they send forth a certaine number of men with their Captaines, to prouide against the inconuenience. Others keepe watch at the Portes, upon the Walles, and in other places, where they are by them appointed.

I spare to speake heere of Schooles, Almes-houses, and Hospitals, becaue they of S. Gall gouerne themselves therein, as other well pollicied cities do, and carry a faire and comely order among them. Likewise, I will not speake of the election of the Ministers of the Church, nor of their establishing and charge, neither what order they hold in their assemblies: becaue in this worke, we treat on the matters of pollicy onely, referring to discourse on the other, at some apter time and place.

CHAP. XI.

The Common-wealth of the Grisons.



THE name and dominion of the Grisons heretofore was of great extenture: but now wee vnderstande by that word, a people of the Alps, who the French and Italians haue named Grisons, and the Switzers Grauwundter. In ancient times, they inhabited Rhodia in the Alpes, neere to the fourie or head of Rheine, and of Inn.

The Grisons are diuided into three Leagues. The first is called the League

Grise, and hath ten Comminalties, to wit, the Abbey of *Disentis*, which the ancient Cardes or Mappes called *Disentine*. To this Abbey are ioyned *Tauetch*, *Trumb*, and some other places. 2. *Waltersburg*. 3. *Obersachs*. 4. *Lagnitz*. 5. *Fals*. 6. *Planz*. 7. *Schlerwisch*. 8. They of *Laax*, *Sinsif*, and them enuironing about the wood. 9. *Thannen*. The Grisons call these nine Communities; the part about the wood, *Die obdem Wald*; and the other ten; they call, vnder the wood. 10. *Flims*. 11. *Trimon*. 12. *Sufen*. 13. *Ratzuns*, the ancient abiding of the noble Family of the Barons of *Ratzuns*. 14. *Henzenberg*, and *Tufis*. 15. *Schopine*. 16. *Schamps*. 17. *Splugen*. 18. *Malas*. 19. *Rufflee*.

In each of these Comminalties, they yearely elect a soueraigne Magistrate, which many of them do call *Amman*, who with the Iudges or Assitants, elected by the same comminality, doth iudge suites in law, and condemneth delinquents, according to the exigence of the case. Beside these *Ammans*, there is a great Proctor of the whole League, whom they call *Den Landtrichter*, who is chosen by every one in the generall assembly of all the comminalties, and siteth President in the dayes meetings for all the League.

These meeting dayes for this Grise League, is in the Village of *Trumb*, which is the cheefe comminality, and there also meet the Seigneurs of the Iusticial court, wherein the *Landtrichter* siteth President, who hath fiftene Assitants, one Clarke or Secretary, and one Officer. The Lord of the Castle, and of the Barony of *Ratzuns*, is yet about the *Landtrichter*, by an ancient prerogative, belonging to the race of the Barons of *Ratzuns*, in whose rights, the Lords of the places haue enermore succeeded.

The second League is called *Der Gottshuszpundt*, The League of *Gods Handhold*, or of the *Cade* or League *Cathedra*, becaue of the Bishoppecke and Colledge of *Coire*: and it hath one and twenty Comminalties, which sometimes were reduced into eleuen much greater. The Towne or City of *Coire* is numbred in the first place, as the cheife of the League: and alone (among the eleuen Comminalties) is compounded of two lesser. But as the citizens

Three leagues founded on the Grisons.

The first league, having all these Comminalties belonging to it.

A soueraigne Magistrate in each of these Comminalties.

The Grand Prouost of the whole League, and his order in Court of Iustice.

The League of the Cade, or of Gods Handhold.

The estate & condition of the common-wealth of Coire.

The great councill of feauty.

The lesser councill of thirty.

Two Consuls.

The Gouernor or Prouost President

The Lieutenants Court of Justice, and his Assistants.

Of the second Comminalty.

These Comminalties are here counted as they stand in the Record.

are enclosed in the same walles: euen so are they counted but for one Comminalty, and the other twenty reduced into ten, make vp ten great Comminalties. The city (for so we will call it) of *Coire*, hath a common-wealth apart by it selfe, like (waiting but little) to that of *Zurich*, and to other governments of the same condition. For first of all, the citizens are wholly diuided into five companies, from each of which are chosen fourteene men, who are of the great councill publicke: so that the great councill and generall, is composed of feuty. From these feuty men, are chosen five of each company, for the lesser councill: to whom are ioyned the five *Zunftmesters* of the precedent yeare, whereby the lesser councill hath thirty counsellors, whereof fifteene called *Senators*, gouerne the common-wealth.

In the councill there are two Consuls, who are Presidents (turne by turne) a whole yeare. The councill and the Officers of iustice, are yearly elected on the cleuenth of Nouember, being the day of *S. Martin*. The thirty of the lesser councill do iudge in criminall causes, and the Gouernor or Prouost sitteth then as President, remaining in that charge a yeare: at the ende whereof, another taketh his place, and they two are (in this Office) as two Consuls. Next, there is a Court of iustice belonging to the Lieutenant, who hath fifteene Assistants, to witte, the five *Zunftmesters*, and ten from the thirty of the lesser councill. This Court taketh knowledge of ciuill causes, and pecuniary actions concerning debtes: there is appeale from them to the lesser councill, who doe decide also matrimoniall matters.

The second Comminalty, which wee should count for the third, because *Coire* takes it selfe for two, is named *Die Vier Doerffer*, the four Villages. 1. *Bergon*. 2. *Tiefencastlen*. 3. *Stalla*. 4. *Trincken*, with *Reamps* and other Villages, which with *Tiefencastlen*, make one iurisdiction, where the Bayliffe of *Reamps* iudgeth ciuill and criminall causes. 5. *Vatz* the high, where sometimes dwelt the Barons of *Vatz*: this Comminalty is ioyned with the fourth. 6. *Furishnow*. 7. *Ortenstein* in *Tumlesch*. 8. *Sinnada*. 9. *Zutz*: these two are in *Engadin* the high, and make one of the great comminalties. 10. *Ardetie*. 11. *Sculine*. 12.

Remusf: which with two other final comminalties, maketh one of the great. 13. *Bergel* about the Port. 14. *Bergel* vnder the Port. 15. *Pefclaw*, or *Pofflaaf*. 16. *Brusch*, which is ioyned with *Pofflaaf*, and maketh one of the eleuen great Comminalties. 17. *Munitertal*. 18. *Mals*. Each Comminalty hath his *Ammans*, *Podeffats*, and vnder-Officers as they teame them in least authority, vnder whom they are maintained in liberty.

The third League tearmeth it selfe the League of Iuridictions, or the league of Rights. The first and principall of the ten, is called *Tafas*, in regard of a Village so named, where the house of the League is, and where the dayes meetings for the ten Comminalties are held. 1. *Beelfort*, or *Aluanuw*. 2. *Churwalden*. 3. *Langwif*. 4. *S. Peter de Schansf*. 5. The little Abbey in *Bretigow*. 6. *Tenas*, or *Cattelfer*. 7. *Schiers*. These eight iuridictions doe acknowledge the Arch-Duke of *Austria* to be their Soueraigne. Anciently, the Barons of *Vatz* were Lords thereof: but all their race sayling, the Counts of *Toggenbourg* succeeded them. And after them, the Counts of *Amst*, whereof one being named *Gaudemius*, dying in the yeare one thousand, foure hundred, eighty nine, left these eight iuridictions to the Arch-Duke of *Austria*.

The Arch-Duke established a Gouernor there, which to this day is chosen among the *Grifons*. The Gouernor dwelleth at *Cattelfer*, and presideth in sentence of criminall causes: he manageth and conserueth the other rights of the Arch-Duke, who hath not the same right and equal authority over the eight iuridictions: but each of them enioyeth his priuiledges & particular customes, the instruments and charters whereof are kept at *Tafas*. The first and fourth iurisdiction haue great priuiledges and immunities, farre beyond the other.

The ninth Iurisdiction is called *Mals*, by reason of a Village so named, betwene the Riuer of *Langquart*, & Mount *Rhaticus* towards the South.

The tenth is named *Meyenfeld*. These two last did belong sometimes to the Barons of *Vatz*, afterward to the Counts of *Toggenbourg*; then they fell vnto *Wolfhard de Brandis*, in respect of his Wife, who was of the house of *Werdenberg*. The they

The League of Iuridictions, or of Rights. The house of the League for their meetings.

How they came to the Duke of Austria.

The Arch-Duke abhorreth not to dwell there in every part.

* A high Hill by Rhana.

The addition of the third league to the two other.

The Iuridictions bought by the three Leagues.

The ten Iuridictions vly thought together faith fully.

The Leagues vated all together in a perpetuall alliance.

The Author proceedeth to a more signifi- cant expression of the Comminalties, in their due places and order.

they became ioyned (with the other eight Iuridictions) to the two Leagues of *Grifons*, and made the third, referring to the Lords of *Brandis*, the right iultly to them appertaining. Afterwardes, these three leagues together bought these Iuridictions, and sent a Gouernor thither, who dwelt in the castle of *Meyenfeld*, and fate President in criminall suites: he condemned men in fines, and to death, & gathered the tolles, and other publike reuennewes. The ten Iuridictions allyed themselves together, in the yeare one thousand, foure hundred, thirty six, conditionally, to succour one another, & be abiding in all things (iust and reasonable) against enemies, repelling all wrongs that should be offered to any of them, & procure the peaceable enioying of their liberties. Also, all rights and duties appertaining to the Lords, they should be duly rendered, they permitting them to possess their franchises and priuiledges: all the rest being carefull and proud to preferue the good and benefit of one another.

In the same yeare, or the next following, these Iuridictions made perpetuall alliance with the two other Leagues, and so the three leagues became ioyned as in one body, the particular parts whereof haue bene already mentioned. But in our numbering and setting them downe, we haue rather followed the situation of the place, then the ranke which they holde in the dayes of assemblies, wherin notwithstanding are many opinions: & therefore I will describe them heere, according to the comminalties of the two first leagues, & as they are comprized in their alliance with the Switzers. The Comminalties of the *Grif* league, are the vally of *Langmitz*, *Flants*, *Oberjachs*, *Waltersburg*, *Laax*, *Sinif*, and other places about the *W* woods, *Flims*, *Schenis*, *Trimmis*, *Retzams*, *Nemtenberg* and *Tufs*, *Schamps*, *Rhinwald*, *Mafax* and *Ruffee*, *Safen*, *Thannen*, *Schopine*, *Fals*. The Comminalties of the league of *Cade*, are in order as they followe, *Coire*, *Furishnow*, the foure villages descending on *Aspremont*, *Vatz* the high, *Reamps*, *Tiefencastlen*, *Grifstein*, *Benio* or *Stalla*, *Auers*, *Bergel* about and belowe the Port, *Zutz*, *Sinnada*, *Pofflaaf*, *Steinberg*, *Schulis*, *Remusf*, *Munitertal*, *Mals*, *Galfen*, and *Schantzen*. As for the ten Iuridictions, I

vnderstand their order thus. *Tafas*, the three Iuridictions of *Bretigow*, *Beelfort*, or *Aluanuw*, *Churwalden*, *S. Pierre*, *Langwif*, *Mals*, and *Meyenfeld*. I know very well, that some doe name these Comminalties otherwise, but that importeth nothing, because in each Comminaltie there are many times notable villages, so that the Comminalty sometime takes his name of one, and sometimes of another. For mine owne part, I haue named the principall places of the Comminalties.

Thus then there are three leagues of the *Grifons*, containing fifty Comminalties, which (nevertheless) doe make but one Common-wealth. For, although many of the Comminalty haue their Iudges lawes, customes, & iustice, aswell ciuill as criminall, yet notwithstanding, the Soueraignty is with the councill of the three leagues (which they name in theyr Language, *Ein pundes tag*) 8 dayes of meeting or assemblies of Ambassadors, from each comminalty of the *Grifons*: whether some of them send two Ambassadors, others but one only. If the councill be ordinary, the *Grif* League sendeth thither 28. Ambassadors or counsellors; that of *Cade* 2. and from the Iuridictions, 14. If either one or other doe send a greater number, they haue no voyces there, but according to the aboue-named account. Sometimes also, the councill general of the whole Nation (which was made no long time since) do meet together: but that is very rarely.

The fore-mentioned councill, manageth the affayres of the common-wealth: yet in such sort, that the counsellors or Ambassadors deale not according vnto their owne best liking, but as the commandments and remembrances from their comminalties, and which they bring with them in writing on the dayes do direct them, and whereto they conforme their resolutions, which passeth by plurality of voices. The councill of the *Grifons* is (almost) like to that of the *Switzer*: for there they treat on the selfesame things which concerne the good of the whole countrey, of peace, of warre, of alliances, of Ambassadors, lawes and ordinances, & causes of appeales from the Haylwickes. There are three places appointed for the sittings in councill, to wit, *Ylants* in the *Grif* league, *Coire* in the league of *Cade*, and

He leaueh his labour herein so ouer considered.

Fifty Comminalties in the 3 leagues

The Councel of the three Leagues of the Grifons, and sending their Ambassadors thither.

The Ambassadors are to be guided by their directi- ons.

& *Tafnas* in that of the ten Iurifdictions. But oftentime the dayes are held at *Coire* at times of their affaires, which happeneth three times in the yeare: about the fixe and twenty day of January, the beginning of Iune, and the eleventh day of Nouember.

They haue another Councell or Senate, which they name *Einbytag*: wher the principal Magistrates onely, and, as being the cheefe of the three Leagues, do assemble themselves together. These men, are the Iudge-Princiual for the Grise-League; the Councell of *Coire* for the league of *Cade*, and the *Amman* of *Tafnas*, for the League of the tenne Iurifdictions. At all times, and as often as neede requireth, to provide for the publique affayres, and it appeareth not convenient, to call all the Deputies of the country together; then those 3. Principals do meete, with some of the cheefest of the three Leagues. But they cannot determine absolutely, onely they referre separately vnto the Comminalties of the three Leagues, whatsoever hath bene difficult among the Councillers, and that which is approued by plurality of voyces, is receyued of all. There is appeal also from the councell, to the Comminalties, and then matters are propounded in the Comminalties, whose sentences are set downe in writing: and being conferred on, they are gathered to a resolution and in arrest, by the pluralitie of Voyces.

As concerning iudgements in criminal causes: the Grifons doe therein proceede like the Switzers. If there happen any difference among the three Leagues, three or foure Iudges must be chosen on eyther side, and discharged of the Oathe which bindeth them to their league. They are to accord the difference by kind composition, or iudge according to theyr consciences. If the voyces fall out equal: an Arbitratour must be chosen by voyces and common suffrages of the three Leagues. If two Leagues bee in suite, they must referre themselves to the third, who shall deliuer vnto both the parties, the right whereby they are to be quieted. If it chaunce betwene two Comminalties of one and the same League: they must take (as Iudge) the verie nearest comminallty or Iurisdiction belonging to

the same League. But when the Comminalties of diuers Leagues are at difference: the councell of the three Leagues, namely the Iudges, are to provide therefore.

When one Comminallty, or some particular person therein, hath proccesse and suite against the three Leagues, or any one of them; two or three Iudges of each League are then to be chosen for it. And when two Leagues are at difference against the other, fixe Iudges of the two Leagues, and fixe of the other alone, are to be appointed. If they cannot conclude the strife; an arbitratour must be chosen, by plurality of voyces of the three Leagues. These iudgements are to be deliuered first at Ylantz, nexte at *Coire*: a second time againe at Ylantz, then againe at *Coire*, and at *Tafnas* the last of all.

It would much weary mee, if I should describe at large the Statutes & customes of the *Grifons*: notwithstanding, I shall not greatly displease or offend the Reader if here I glance at a worde or two. First then, it is agreed vpon betwene them, by the consent and aduice of the whole councell, that neyther the Byshoppe of *Coire*, or any of the Ecclesiastical Order: shal elect or establish any ciuile Magistrate, nor aduance a Gouernor or Amman, for any Comminaltie or Iurisdiction whatsoever; but that the people of the Grifons (by theyr suffrages onely) shal elect and choose theyr owne Magistrates.

Such as haue obtayned any Offices of the Byshoppe, may not be accepted into councell, so long as they do remaine in his seruice.

As concerning the Ministers of the Church, euery Parish electeth their owne: may depose them, pay them theyr Wages, which are too little in many places.

Thoroughout the country of the *Grifons*, no smal Tythes are payed, and as for the great, they pay but the fifteenth part, and giue nothing in the felds, but they giue it in the house, and alwayes after the harvests both for their Grapes and corne.

All they that are of a comminalltie, may fish in all the Riuers and Pondes, and hunt both Beasts, and fye Fowles freely, within

When one Comminallty hath suite against the 3. Leagues.

The places pointed for iudgements.

Concerning some Statutes and customes among the Grifons.

For election of Magistrates

For Ministers of the church.

For admission to Councell.

For paying of Tythes.

For Fishing, hunting and Fowling.

Another principal councell or Senate for them al.

The Principals meete together when the neede is.

Appeale from the Councell to the Comminalties.

Concerning iudgements in publique causes.

When variance happen amongst the Leagues, how they are then to behave themselves.

within their sayd Comminalty.

Thoroughout all the countries, one weight and measure of things liquid and dry, is to be vfed, to wit, the weight and measure of *Coire*. And it is not lawfull for the Bourgesies of *Coire* to alter any thing therein, without the consent of the other Leagues.

For our conclusion, we are to speak of Gouernments and Bayliwicks, wherein the three Leagues of the *Grifons* do command equally. On this side the Alps neere to *Coire*, they send a Gouernor to *Meyenfeld* and to *Melanz*. On the other side the Alpes beneath *Bergel*, toward the riuer of *Maire*, the Gouernment or Bayliwick of *Plurs* first presenteth it self, which is a great village in the field neighbouring to the Alpes and on the banks of *Maire* riuer, and euen as sightly to bee lookt on, as if it were a good Towne. In this place, there are digged infinite Chauderons of Rocks-stone coales, which serue as fell for the kitching; and it is faithfully reported, that the nature of this stone-coale is such, as when Fish cometh to boyling, they make them mount and leape out of the kettle into the fire; these coales are very abundantly sold in *Italy*. All the villages round about, are answerable and like to *Plurs*, where the Gouernour (whom they terme *Podstat*) decideth causes, & is soveraigne in that place in name of the *Grifons*, and deputed by them.

Next is the Towne and county of *Clauenna*, whereon *Plurs* in elder times depended. *Clauenna* is a Towne about the Lake of *Coma*, about fixe miles, as *Antonius* obserueth it also; in his booke of the wayes. The *Grifons* call the Gouernor of *Clauenna*, Commissary: & he is the most apparant, next to him of *Sondria*. The third more spacious and noble gouernement is that of the vale *Telina*, famous for the excellent wine, which there is made in extraordinary plenty, and is thence transported into Switzerland and Germanie. The whole vale of *Telina*, is diuided into fixe Bayliwicks. The first is that of *Bormia* a Towne about the valley, towardes the Mountaine of *Brault*: this Bayliwick hath many priuiledges and franchises, farre beyond the other. The second is the town of *Tiran*. The third is *Tel*, whereof (as some thinke) the vale *Telina* first tooke name. It is a Towne seated in a very high place, &

appearing to be so naturally: & it is counted to be the best fortresse of all the Province. *Sondria*, the most renowned town of all the vale *Telina*, maketh the fourth Bayliwicke. It is the most rich & powerful among all the rest, and he that is Gouernor thereof, is called Captain, because ouer and beside the Bayliwicke, hee hath an eye to the whole valley when it is chief in Armes. He hath his Lieutenant, who iudgeth with him the ciuil causes of the the Bayliwicke. Hee iudgeth also the criminal matters of all the vally, hauing lawyers and learned men to his councell, and giuing sentence according to the Lawes and Statutes of the vale *Telina*: which neuertheless may be moderated & made milder in the Bayliwicke by the *Podstats*. Beside all this, all causes may be appealed to the councell of the *Grifons* Signeuries, or to them that they haue ordained commissaries, and sent to iudge: or finally, to the councell of the Comminalties, who haue the soveraigne power. The fixt Bayliwicke is called *Morben*, and the fixt *Trabon*, which is last of al.

This is the order of the Bayliwicks of the vale *Telina*, yet some doe not set the Bayliwick of *Bormia* in this ranke, but diuide the whole vale into three partes; whereof the first comprehendeth *Tiran* and *Tel*; *Sondria* maketh the second; & *Morben* and *Trabon* are the third. In electing the Bayliffes, they follow the order of the Leagues and Comminalties. As for example, if the *Grise* League establish a Capitaine at *Sondria* for two yeeres, the League of *Cade* sends one thither for the two following yeeres: at the end whereof, the League of the Iurifdictions sends one for two other yeeres, this order is obserued in each League of the Comminalties. And sometimes the Comminalties, who should send a Bayliffe by their turn, would elect him onely; but now the councell of the *Grifons* makes the election. The byshop of *Coire*, and the City, do stampe money. The Abbot of *Dissenj* hath the same priuiledge also, amongst many other.

CHAP.

4. Sondria.

The Gouernor of Sondria called Capitaine, and iudgeth in causes both ciuill and criminal for the whole vale.

Appeal to the Seigneurs of the Grifons Councell.

5. Morben. 6. Trabon.

Another order of diuiding the vale.

The manner of electing their Bayliffes

Coyning of money.

CHAP. XII.

The Commonwealth of the Valaisians, or people of Valois.

THE whole country of *Valois* is divided into two parts. The higher *Valois* from the source or spring of the river of *Rhone*, so farre as the river of *Morsia*, which vnitheth it selfe with *Rhone*, somewhat beneath *Sion*. This was the dwelling of the ancient *Viberines* and *Sedusians*. The lower *Valois*, is from the river of *Morsia*, so farre as Saint *Mauris*, and this was the country of the *Peragrians*.

The higher *Valois* is divided into 7 Iurisdiccions, which they call *Dixaines*, wards, and *Zenden* in the *Alleman* tongue. I know not whence this worde is deriued, for it cannot produce the number often, because there are no more Iurisdiccions. A friend of mine told me, that the worde intended so much, as Diocesses, because that euery Ward hath his Diocesse or Iurisdiccion, his Common-wealth, and priuiledges apart by it selfe. Others do hold that the word *Zenden* commeth of another word, signifying, an Hundred: as in the Lawes of *France*, the Offices of the Earldomes or Counties, the Vicariates and Hundreds are number; and in some places of *Germany*, they are called *Zendgrauen*, the Iudges of some certaine Iurisdiccion. But without standing so strictly on the words original: wee may conveniently rearme them Diocesses or Communalities. So then, there are seven Communalities in the higher *Valois*, to wit, *Goms*, *Brighe*, *Vespie*, *Raron*, *Leuck*, *Siders*, and *Syon*. These seven Communalities haue thirty parishes. The lower *Valois* hath six Communalities, which they call *Banneries*: because each one hath his particular standard, and foure and twenty Parishes so numbred.

The *Peragrians* or lower *Valaisians*, had (in times past) long warre against the *Sedusians* and *Viberines*. In the end, after foure score and thirteen yeares, they were overcome and subiected; so that the *Sedusians* and *Viberines* ruined sixteen Castles, the old pitifull foundations whereof, are yet to be seene, and it is not lawfull for any to builde them againe, for feare they should proue hurtfull to the countries liberty. And therefore the higher *Valois* ouer-rueth the lower, and sendeth Gouernours thither to iudge in causes, & manage the affaires of the State. The Byshop of *Syon* (whom some call Count & Gouernor of *Valois*) is Prince of the country. Hee is elected by common suffrages of the Chapter of *Syon*, and of the 7 *Dixaines* of higher *Valois*.

The Annales of *Valois* do declare, that *Charlemaigne* gaue the County and Gouernment of *Valois*, to *Theodosius*, Bishop of *Syon*, and to his successors: with power to beare a sword, in signe of ciuill Iurisdiccion, and other priuiledges of Princes of the Empire. Because that Byshop (by reuelation of an Angel) had declared to *Charlemaigne*, that some secret sinne (I know not what) was forgiven him. Howbeit, there are sufficient circumstances to call the county into suspition, as we haue already made more ample mention in our description of the country of *Valois*. Notwithstanding, it is certaine, that the Emperours which came after *Charlemaigne*, accorded & confirmed the fore-named priuiledges to the byshops of *Syon*: namely, the Emperour *Charles* the fourth, then *Charles* the fifth renewed & increased them willingly, at the request of *Mathew Shiner* Byshop and Cardinal of *Sion*, from whom he had deriued many good and gracefull seruices.

Afterward, the Byshop had another grace granted, that the next most excellent estate to his, should bee that of the capitaine or Bayliue of the whole country whom they vse to call *Landts Hauptman*. He iudgeth in ciuill causes, and continueth in his charge the space of two yeeres: being elected by the Byshop, and by the Ambassadors of the *Dixaines* or communalities. Afterward, he is confirmed by publike approbation and consent of all the communalities, which haue each one his Magistrat, whom they of *Goms*, *Raron*, and *Leuck*, call *Maire*, the others *Castilian*. He iudgeth all suites, especially them criminall, with the counsellors which the communalities giue him as assistants. There be *Amman*s also (who are

Higher *Valois* ruleth ouer the lower.

The Byshop of *Syon* Prince of *Valois*.

Charlemaigne gaue the Gouernment of *Valois* to the Bishp of *Syon*.

The priuiledges of *Valois* confirmed by the Emperours

The Capitaine or Bayliue of *Valois*, and his authority.

soueraigne Magistrats in the Cantons of *Switzerland*, but they of *Valois* are iudged inferiours, and haue *Maires* as they superiours.

Appeale may bee made from the sentence, which is giuen by the Iudges of a comminality, to the counsell of *Valois*, who are called *Den landts rath*; and according to the custome of theyr Ancestors, they assembled twice a yeare, in the months of March, and of December. At which times, two or three Deputies of each Village, do meeete at *Syon*, in a Castle named *Maierin*. The Byshop assisteth there, and the Bayliue calls for the causes, and then they treat on affaires of the Common-wealth, election of gouernours and publike Officers, & such as shal iudge in the last power, of causes that concerne appeale.

The Barons of *Raron*, were sometimes great Lodes in the country of *Valois*. Their successors were the Lords of *Chimron*, who are Marshalls of the Bishoppricke of *Syon*, Vicount of *Syon*, and Steuwards of *Valois*.

As for the *Maze*, which they rearme *Asutzen*, it is a particular inuention of the people of *Valois*, to oppose thesclues against the power of great and rich men. Wee haue made ample mention in our description of the country of *Valois*, and there declared, wherefore it was putte in practise, and how it began.

We haue told you, that the Byshop & the seven *Dixaines* of the higher *Valois*, hold the souerainety of the whole country in their handes. The lower *Valois* is subiect to them, and is parted into sixe Communalities, viz. *Gundes* nere to *Syon*, is the chiefe Castlewicke or comminaltie of lower *valois*. Heeretofore it appertayned to the Canton of *Berne*, but in thewar which the *Switzers* made on the Duke of *Sauoy*, in the yeare 1536. the *Valaisians* did there recover it, in exchange of another country. 1. *Ardon*, 2. *Sallion*, 3. *Entremont*, 4. *Murtinich*, 5. the Towne of Saint *Mauris* in *Chablais*, where the mountains seeme as if they ioyned together. So that all *valois*, is shut or lockt vp by a Tower, & two gates (as it were) at both the endes of a bridge, vnder which the *Rhone* glydeth. In the yeare, 1475. the *valaisians* brake down the wals and fortresses of the fore-named places, except that of Saint

Mauris. Without the country of *valois*, the *valaisians* possessed themselves of 3. Bayliwicks, during the warre of *Sauoy*: as namely, *Monzey*, *Tuain*, and *Hochthal*. Neuerthelesse, some few yeares after that they surrendered *Ynion* to *Emanuel Philebert*, Duke of *Sauoy*, and retained both the other.

CHAP. XIII.

The Commonwealth of Bienna.

THE Towne of *Bienna* made perpetuall alliance with the *Bernians*, as wee haue already sayde: and it happened in the yeare one thousand, three hundred, fifty two. Thirty yeares after, it contracted perpetuall Alliance with *Solleurre*; and in the yeare one thousand, foure hundred, and seuen, with *Fribourg*, so it became allyed with three cantons of the *Switzers*. It acknowledgeth as temporall Lord, the Byshop of *Basle*, because as concerning the Ecclesiasticall Iurisdiccion, it is the Diocesse of *Lusanna*: but it is a long time, since it was no more subiect to the spiriual gouernment of the Bishop, as in like manner were the citizens of *Zurich* and *Berne*.

Afterward, when it came to passe, that the *Bernians* got the possession of the Bishoppricke of *Lusanna*, they enfranchised *Bienna* of the Ecclesiasticall subiection. The Byshop of *Basle* is Lord thereof very peaceably in temporall power, and establisheth the soueraigne Magistrat, whom they call *Maire*: but hee is chosen out of the number of the Townes counsellors, and the *Maire* giues oath to the counsell, and they to him. Hee taketh knowledge (with the counsell) of criminall causes; & sitteth as President in censuring them. The moitie of fines, amounting to aboute 3. *Liures Tournois*, appertaineth to the Byshop, with some tenths, and other reuenues: but the ports, rolles, customs, and such like, belong to the Towne only, and not to the Bishop. For hee is not permitted to impose any charge whatsoeuer vpon the Bourgeses, nor to engage the Towne: but the Bourgeses are bound to

3. Bayliwicks without *Valois*.

Bienna made alliance with the *Bernians*.

The Ecclesiasticall Iurisdiccion of *Bienna*.

The soueraigne Magistrat of *Bienna*, & his authority in criminall causes.

The Byshop imposeth no charges on the Bourgeses.

The Counsell of *Valois*, and the meetings and how they power extendeth.

The Barons of *Raron*, and their successors.

Of the *Maze*.

Of the Communalities that are in the lower *Valois*.

The manner of the franchisement of *Valois*.

Saint *Mauris* newly fortified.

The diuision of the country of *Valois* or *Valais*, the higher, & the lower.

Seven Iurisdiccions in the higher *Valois*.

Hundreds or Baronnies, or the account of so much land.

The names of the seven Communalities.

Six Banneries in the lower *Valois*.

Long warres betweene the *Peragrians* & *Viberines*.

The priuiledges
gauen by
Immer Ranslein.

The gouernment
of the Common-
wealth of Bienna.

Bourgmastre
President of the General
Council.

Other officers
of the Common-
wealth.

The office of
the Banderet.

Care for school
teachers.

go in warre for the Byshop, and at theyr owne expences, yet no further then a dayes journey from the Towne. If hee would haue them march any further, hee is bound to pay their wages. Yearly, there is repetition made to the Councell, what priuiledges Byshop *Immer Ranslein* gaue to the Town, in the yeare one thousand, three hundred, fourescore, & three. They of *Bienna* haue as ample priuiledges as in the greater *Basile*.

The Common-wealth of *Bienna* is gouerned in manner following. All the Bourgeses are diuided into fixe companies or brother-hoods: yet in such order & carriage, as no one man whatsoever may ioyne himselfe with two or more of the companies, who haue each one two Masters, & a seruant attending. The Councell publike is chosen out of the number of these Bourgeses. The lesser councell is composed of foure and twenty: and the greater, of thirty councellers. The election is made at the yeares ending, and at the beginning of the yeare following. theyr names are openly published in the church. There is choise made of some Elecours, out of the great and lesser councell: who (in presence of the cheefe Secretarie) do confirme the ancient Councellers, or elect new, if there be any such need.

He that sitteth President in the councell generall, is called Bourgmastre, and is elected by the great and lesser councell. He is next in office to the *Maire*, & when they deliberate on affaires of the Common-wealth, and question is vrged concerning ciuill cases: the *Maire* and Officers to the Byshop depart, and leaue the Bourgmastre President. Next to him are the Treasurers, *Banderets*, *voyers*, or Surueys, the Iudges of the Consistory, the Hospitalliers, and others elected in publicke charges, by the great and lesser councell, who are not advanced to such Degrees, but as they are knowne apt and able. The *Banderet* onely, is chosen by all the people. He hath charge not onely of bearing the Towns banner; but also (with the Bourgmastre) is protector of Schollers, taking care that they may haue diligent and faithfull Teachers and Ouerseers, and to take their accounts. The lesser councell assembleth three times euery weeke, to wit, on Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday; but if any man doe desire

to haue a cause extraordinarily decided, paying a Florin to the *Maire*, the councell shall be then assembled. *Bienna* hath no other particular Iurisdiction, but the Councell iudgeth all causes ciuill and criminal.

They of *Bienna*, are Lords of the Valley of *Saint Immer*, for so likewise is the Seigneury of *Argua* called; and is diuided into many Comminalties, vvhich haue (each one) their *Maire* or *Amman* elected and confirmed euery yeare, in the moneths of May and September. But they of *Bienna* haue not any bayliffe, for the Comminalties haue their courtes of Iustice, and when the parties cannot bee agreed, the cause is sent to the councell of the Towne, who send sometimes assistants to helpe in the countrie pleadings, and to end their suits: but appeale may be made from their sentences to the councell of the Towne. The inhabitants of this valley, do march in warre vnder the Standardes of *Bienna*.

CHAP. XIII.

The Common-wealthes of such people as are gouerned in common by the Cantones of Switzerland. And first of all, of stipendary Townes.

IN our former booke, we haue distributed the people gouerned in common, by the Cantons of Switzerland, into five stipendary Townes, and nine bayliwickes or Gouernements. Those Townes haue their Magistrates & Councell by themselves, to wit, a lesser Councell composed of twelue, and a great, of forty Councellers, comprehending the twelue of the lesser in the number. The cheefe of the councell is called *Schultheiss*, or *Auyer*: hee is elected at *Bada*, by the lesser and great councell.

At *Bremgarten*, the fixe first Cantons establish one of the two *Auyers*: who (notwithstanding) is in number of the Bourgeses, onely of whome the other is elected.

He

The valley of
Saint Immer, and
Seigneury of
Argua.

Bienna hath
no Bayliffe.

At *Frawenfeld*.

The priuiledges
of the
Townes.

The custome at
Bada is the
Townes, but
not the Tolles.

Concerning
the Towne of
Bremgarten.

Long remote
betweene *Zurich*
and *Bremgarten*.

The diuision
of the stipen-
dary Townes.

The referen-
ce of *Zurich*.

The ordinati-
on of the lea-
sen Cantons.

Hee of *Frawenfeld*, is elected by the Councell generall but in secret voyce. The Councell of these Townes doe elect Treasurers, *voyers*, and other Magistrates: for the Townes haue priuiledges, to provide for publicke charges, and haue likewise treasuries, and good round sums of ready gathered monies in them, for their condition and extendure, because the customes, tolles, and taxes do belong vnto them. Neuertheless, in the town of *Bada*, which is the passage of Germany into France, the custome belongeth to the town; but the tolle for Merchandizes transported that way, appertaineth to the Cantons. The lesser councell of these townes, provide not onely for the townes affaires, but also do decide suites: for they haue no other Courts of iustice, except at *Frawenfeld*, & they haue likewise both ciuill and criminall iurisdiction.

Bremgarten commandeth ouer some Villages neighboring to the town, which they call the Bayliwicke of *Cella*. This country is in the gouernment of the free Prouince, appertaining to the Cantons: but it was engaged sometimes to them of *Bremgarten*. When the Emperour *Sigismund* did put them of *Zurich* in possession of the free Prouince, he gaue them priuiledge, to disengage the country; but they of *Bremgarten* entreated them, that in regard of the amity, which had til then continued betweene the two townes, they would leaue the country to them, which was easily granted them. Wherefore at that time, by the liberality of them of *Zurich*, who gaue it: then by Letters: they of *Bremgarten* were put and confirmed in possession of the country, in the yeare one thousand, foure hundred, and eightene.

Neuertheless, they of *Zurich* referred to themselves the souerainty, & the punishment of Malefactours deserting death. The yeare one thousand, five hundred, twenty eight, a difference happened betweene them of *Zurich* and *Bremgarten*; to wit, about the causes of appeale, and to whom it belonged. The fixe Cantons ordained thereupon, that the Bayliwicke of *Cella*, might appeale to the councell of *Bremgarten*, and from them to *Zurich*: but as concerning suites moued at *Bremgarten*, the appeale was to bee brought before the eight Can-

tons.

The town of *Frawenfeld*, beside the councell apart by it selfe, hath an assembly of twelue Iudges, who decide suites among the Bourgeses, and country people in the Villages, that are vnder the townes iurisdiction. But as for criminall causes, and variances touching inheritances, and such like things; the knowledge of them belongeth vnto the councell. These Iudges execute their arrests, in condemning of certaine fines, and making seizure on the goods of condemned persons. Appeale may be made from them, to the leauen Cantons: but there is no appeale from the councels sentence.

For the present, by permission of the councell, the *Amman* of the country is cheefe of those Iudges; but anciently, and about an hundred yeares since, it was to the Apparour of the town, and afterwards to the Agent or Prooost of the Empire.

VVhen any Malefactour is to be condemned to death, the Iudges make choise (as pleaseth themselves) of twelue other men of the town, or of the villages resorting thither; and then these foure and twenty men may condemne to death. *Frawenfeld* obtained this priuiledge of the Emperour *Sigismund*; and therefore they haue prisons purposely. From the time of the *Austrian* Princes, they hadde power to put criminall persons to death; now adayes the Cantons conserue and maintaine the rights of *Frawenfeld*: and although condemnation of death appertaineth to tenne Cantons, yet *Frawenfeld* stands excepted, which dependeth not, neither is subiect but to the leauen first Cantons, the priuiledges referred.

Moreover, this Towne hath some particular rights, touching testaments and inheritances, and the Bourgeses may exact their debtes thorough all the country of *Targow* (annuall reuenues excepted) according to the rights of Iustice of the Prouince, and may (without punishment) lodge such as haue bene banished by the lawes; but they cannot bee drawne into any strange iustice, but the demander must come and pleade at *Frawenfeld*.

The Abbey of *Auge* the rich, hath
G g some

An assembly
of xii. Iudges
at *Frawenfeld*.

No Appeale
from the
councels sen-
tence.

When any
one is conden-
ned to death

Frawenfeld
subiect to the
leauen first
Cantons.

Particular
rights belong-
ing to *Fra-
wenfeld*.

The Abbey of Auge the rich and priuiledges it hath at Frawenfeld.

some rightes at *Frawenfeld*, whereto the Bourgesies stand obliged, and (anciently) the most part of them wer subiects to the Abbey; but afterward, they enfranchised themselves from all charges of fernitude, and now addayes, before giuing any Oath vnto the Abbot, they receyue Letters from him, whereby hee promisseth them, not to sel, engage, nor alienate the rights which he hath at *Frawenfeld*, by reason of the Abbey; and besides, that hee will conferre and keepe all their ancient Priuiledges, Franchises, rights, and good customs.

The ancient power in time of warre.

Finally, in the times of war, anciently, the Seignurie of *Frawenfeld* elected the Capitaine, the Ambassador, the Ensigne, and other cheefe offices of warre: which all the country of *Turgow* followed, and tooke Oath to them. Also, the Standard of the Towne is adorned with Images of Saints, like to the Standardes of the Catholique Cantons, to wit, with a Crucifixe, and two crossed Keyes; and on the other side, is the picture of Iesus Christes face, as in a Linnen handkercher. But within some fewe yeares this of the Prouince of *Turgow* obtained leaue, to haue their particular Capitaines and Standard. In meane while the Towne of *Frawenfeld*, and the places that are of their Iurisdiction, haue their Capitaines, Ensigne-bearers, and their auncient Standardes.

Turgow at liberty by it self.

CHAP. XV.

Of the Baylywickes or Gouernments.



The custome obserued in most part of the Cantons for their Baylywickes.

WE haue already formerly set downe, how many Baylywickes or Gouernments the Switzers haue, to what Cantons they appertaine, and how they became Lords of them. The Cantons do send their Bayliffes turne by turne, and in the most part of the Cantons, the custome is; that the charge is giuen vnto one of the Councillers of the lesser councill. The Bayliffe continueth in his charge two yeares, and then giueth place to him that is sent by another Can-

ton. They gouerne the Baylywickes according vnto the Lawes and customes of the people: neuerthelesse, in the Baylywickes on this side the mountaines, the Bayliffe doth not iudge alone in criminal causes; but hath (as adiunctes or assistants) the Iudges of the Prouince; in regard whereof, they do call this course of Iustice *Sitt Landricht*. They take knowledge of all suites of importance, and especially, those criminall, and giue sentence; Notwithstanding, the Bayliffe is soueraigne, for he sitteth President, and hath power to moderate the sentence.

The custome on this side the mountaines.

But in the Baylywickes of *Italy*, orbeyond the Mountaines, the bayliffes onely condemne to death: they may vuell call some learned men for councill, but those Councillers haue no power in the sentence. Finally, euery yeare about middle Iune, they render an account of their administration; they on this side the mountaines, at *Bada*, they beyond, at *Lugano*; before the Deputies, which the twelue Cantons then send thither, and then they iudge the subiects causes of Appeale. If some strange enemy make warre on the Switzers: all the Baylywickes send their people, who march vnder their particular Standardes, and euery baylywicke ioyneth with the Canton, vnder whose power it is that yeare. As in the warre of *Bourgenne*, they of the baylywicke of *Turgow* serued the Canton of *Zurich*. But if there happen any ciuill warre in Switzerland, because the baylywickes do stand as much obliged to one Canton, as another: they are not bound to giue succor, if the most part of the Cantons do not commaund them.

The custome in the Baylywickes beyond the mountaines.

When some strange enemy warreth on the Switzers.

In time of ciuill warre in Switzerland.

CHAP. XVI.

Of Bada.



HE Gouernement or Baylywicke of *Bada*, is much more magnificent then the other, because the dayes meetings and assemblies of the Cantons are held there: for the bayliffe of *Bada* euermore helpeth there, demanding for the causes in order, and

lea-

sealeth with his Signer, such things as are written in the name of all the Councill. Moreover, if the voyces be equall vpon either side: hee maketh that auayleable, where he ranketh himselfe, and by that meanes endeth all variance. This Bayliffe hath no authorities ouer the Towne of *Bada*, but ouer the Countie, which is diuided into many Villages and small Iurisdiccions: where hee hath his Lieutenants and Officers, who hold their pleadings with Iudges of the Village in name of the Bayliffe; exact the Fines, and render him an account, and sometimes also himselfe is present in those Iurisdiccions. But when there is question of condemning a Malefactor vnto death, foure and twenty Iudges of the whole Countie of *Bada*, meete together, and the Bayliffe cleketh them: but the custome is, that after they haue bene once thus elected, they continue all their life time afterward in that charge, if some lawfull impeachment doe not preuent it: and when any one of them dyeth, or is dismissed, then the Bayliffe putteth another in his place. These Iudges giue sentence according to the Lawes: neuerthelesse, the Bayliffe (who hath the foueraignty in his hand) may mitigate their sentence. Next to this estate of the Bayliffe, is hee that is called Secretary of all the Prouince: for, beside the dignity, hee hath profite, because all the Cantons serue him, so long as the dayes are kept. Moreover and beside, hee hath a Lieutenant, who is cheefe of all the Officers belonging to the Bayliffe.

Many villages and Iurisdiccions commaunded by the Bayliffe.

In cases concerning life or death.

The Secretary of the whole Prouince.

Two little Townes, belonging to Bada, Clingenow, and Keyserbol.

Zurzach a great Village.

licy thereof, because it is a place greatly renowned, in regard of two great Fayres very goodly and commendable, which are there kept euery yeare. Many Merchants, not only of *Switzerland* and *Germany*, but also of *France* and *Italy*, meete there, albeit each Fayre lasteth but one day.

Two great Fayres yearly at Zurzach.

Many do hold opinion, that this village is the place, which *Polomy* calleth *Forum Tiberij*; and that on this occasion, these Fayres are very ancient, as hauing bene ordained by *Tiberius*. It seemeth to haue taken this name of *M. Iunius Brutus*, a famous Roman Souldier, cured in that place, as is testified by an ancient inscription. The Iurisdiction of this village is one of the dependances of *Clingenow*: the Bayliffe cleketh an officer yearly, in the Moneth of Ianuarie, and eyght Senatours, foure whereof, ate in seruice a whole yeare, and they are called sworne Senatours; and then the other foure doe succcede them, hauing foure Iudges giuen them as assistants. These twelue, with the Bayliffe of *Clingenow*, who presideth, iudge the causes, and meete once in xv. dayes; but if any man requirith (in the meane time) that the Iudges should meet together, they doe; the party paying thirtene Shillings of the Money of *Lucerne*.

Four Tiberii.

Sworne Senatours.

The Bayliffe of Clingenow.

Moreover, the Bayliffe to the byshop of *Constance*, cannot condemn any greater fine, then the summe of tenne pounds; but if the crime appeare to deserue more rigorous chastisements, to witte, corporally; then the Officer to the Bayliffe of *Bada*, executeth the sentence, and punisheth the faultie. But out of the Fayre times, Malefactors are examined, first, at *Clingenow*; after they haue confest their fault, and are convicted of capital crime, they are deliuered into the handes of the Bayliffe of *Bada*. At the times of the Fayres, to witte, the first day of September, and the first Holyday of the Weeke, after Pentecost, the day before the Faire, all the Iurisdiction of the Byshoppe ceaseth, and belongeth vnto the bayliffe of *Bada*, who hath sole power and authority of commanding and forbidding, euen vntil the end of the Faire. For in regard that a great number of people doe assemble there, our Auncelors were desirous, that these Fayres might be in the safeguard and

Power of condemning finer or otherwise.

Concerning the times when the Fayres are kept.

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The government of Zurich.

protection of such as were souveraignes, and had me- as to bee strongest in these places then. In former times, the Princes of *Austria*, were Lords of the Countie of *Bada*; but now it belongeth to the eyght first Cantons. As for the government of *Zurzach*, it is managed by sixteene councillors, to wit, the twelue before mentioned, and foure assistants. But if there be any businesse of importance, it is referred to the councill generall.

CHAP. XVII.

Of Turgow.



Mong all the Bayliwickes of the Cantons, there is not any more plentifully peopled nor of larger extendure then *Turgow*, which hath more then fifty Parishes. The seven most ancient Cantons send thither a Bayliffe; & to them appertaineth the Seignoury & ciuill Iurisdiction of the countrey. If Switzerland be assaulted by a stranger enemy, they of *Turgow* ranke themselves with the seven Cantons: but the knowledge of criminall causes, and such as are capital, belong to the tenne Cantons.

Mean Courts of iustice in the villages of Turgow.

Condemnation of fines.

The Ecclesiasticall persons and what Iurisdiccions they haue.

The Abbey of Aug.

Beside, there are many Noblemen, & Ecclesiasticall persons, that haue meane courts of Iustice in diuers villages of *Turgow*, yet in such sort notwithstanding, that all the villages are subiects to the Bayliffe of the whole countrey. The inferior Seigneurs may condemne fines of twentie shillings, and sometimes so farre as tenne poundes: but the moiety of the fines be- longeth to the Bayliffe, according to the ordinances well vnderstoode, and established among them.

All they that haue Iurisdiccions, are called *Erchtsheren*. The Ecclesiasticall, are the byshop of *Constance*, who hath his Prouosts in *Turgow* to witte, at *Arbonna*, *Tanneg*, *Guttingen*, and *Gothliebe*. The Chapter of *Constance* hath Iurisdiction within *Altnaw*. The Abbey of *Ange* the rich, nowe vnited and incorporated with the Byshoppricke of *Constance*, hath great reuenewes, and many

Iurisdiccions in the countrey of *Turgow*, to wit, *Stekbure*, *Bernange*, *Mannebach*, *Ermaringen*, *Tribeltingen*, &c. Many Gentlemen are vassalles to this Abbey. The Abbot of the Hermitage, is also Lord of *Eschemetz*. In like manner, the Abbey of *S. Gall*, hath Iurisdiction in some Villages: as also the Abbeyes founded in the countrey of *Turgow* haue, as *Tobel*, the Comanderie of the Knights of Saint *John*, *Fischinge*, the Abbey of *Benedictines*, *Ittinge*, *Chartroufe*, *Munsterlinge* and *Tennikon*. The Abbey of the Monkes of the *Cisteaux* order. Also *Veldbach*, *Calchere*, *Saint Katharine du Val*, nere to *Dissenhow*, and some other Prouosts in one or two Villages, and sometimes in many, haue Iurisdiction.

There are great store of Castles, appertaining vnto diuers Gentlemen, who dwell there, and enioy their ancient Iurisdiccions: the names of which Castles I will recite, together with the Lords vnto whom they belong. The Lords of *Plum* dwell for the present time at *Wellenberg* and *Griefenberg*. *Herder* and *Burgelle* are to the Lords of *Landberg*. *Wengie* belongeth to the Lords of *Giel*. *Spiegelberg*, to the Lords of *Montprat*. *Vinsfeld* vnto the Lords of *Schelsenberg*, and of *Gemminge*. Vpon the limites of the countrey, there is a Towne belonging to the Count of *Oberstein*. *Ruuenbourg* and *Mammer* appertaine to the Lords of *Tum*. *Salenstien* and *Blider*, to the Lords of *Hannule*. *Clingenberg*, to the Lordes of *Herdeheimer*. *Ottelshouse*, to the Lords of *Schenck*. *Epishouse*, to the Lords of *Hagenuille*. *Liebenfels*, to the Lords of *Lanz*. *Clinge*, to the Lords of *Brum*. *Neufere*, to the Lords of *Stecker*. *Sonnenberg*, to the Lords of *Gutenfou*. There are many castles also ruined the most part of whose Iurisdiccions, doe belong vnto Ecclesiasticall persons: but other some of them belong vnto Gentlemen dwelling in other castles, and also vnto some particular men of the Countrey.

Beside, the Abbey of *Rinow* hath iustice both ciuill and criminall in the townie of *Rinow*, which appeareth to be very ancient, although it hath no store of beautifull buildings. Some are of opinion, that the Romaines planted theyr campe there heeretofore, to encounter with the Germanes.

In

The Abbey of Benedictines.

Of Castles belonging to Gentlemen.

A Towne on the limits of the countrey.

Castles ruined and desolat.

The Abbot of Rinow.

The Isle within the Rheine.

The Standard of Rinow.

Bischoffzell or Episcopalia.

The Byshops Buliffe in the townie Castle.

The Councell and two Presidents.

The Byshop taketh oath of the townsmen.

The ancient townie of Arbonna on the Lake of Constance.

In the Isle which is not within the *Rheine*, the Abbey of the *Benedictines* is to be scene, one of the most ancient in all *Switzerland*. The Abbot is Lord of the Towne; neuerthelesse, if any Malefactor be condemned to death: he is deliuered vnto the Prouost or *Amman* of the Prouince, and his goods remaine seized and confiscated to the seven Cantons. They of *Rinow* haue their standard, vnder which they march in Warre for the Switzers. Moreover, there are some Towns in *Turgow*, which continue in the Switzers protection, and haue their Franchises & priuiledges verie ample, & Iurisdiction particular.

There is another Towne, named *Bischoffzell*, at the meeting of two Riuer, called *Sutera* and *Tur*, which is well into the countrey of *Turgow*: and it hath his Standard, where vnder the fouldiers goe to Warre for the Switzers. But the Governour of the countrey is only but to bee scene there, and can command nothing of the inhabitants, who are subiect (in some things) vnto the Byshoppe of *Constance*, yet hee gouerneth according to their ordinances.

The Byshop hath a Bayliffe in the Castle of the Towne, to whom appertaineth the moiety of the Fines: but the Townsmen doe elect the Councell, and the two Presidents out of them, whom they call ancient Senatours, that gouerne the Common-wealth with the Councillers. One of the two, iudgeth in criminall causes, and there is no appeale from the sentence of the Senate: neither is it lawfull to draw a Bourgesse before any other Iustice then that of the Towne. The Impost of Wine, and other Reuenewes belong to the common-wealth. When the Byshoppe taketh his Oathe of the Townsmen, hee promisseth first himselfe, neuer to diminish in any manner whatsoever, their ancient Priuiledges and Franchises.

Arbonna is an ancient Towne, on the Lake of *Constance*, whereof *Antoninus* maketh mention in his guide of the waies. It is vnder the dominion of the Byshop of *Constance*, who hath there a Bayliffe: but they of the Towne doe elect theyr *Amman* and Councell, who manage ciuill causes. The Switzers haue some Seignouriall rights in that place: for the castle is

open to them in the times of warre, for best accomodating themselves; and the Inhabitants are theyr Souldiers for seruice.

Dissenhow, a Towne vpon the *Rheine*, betwene *Stein* and *Schaffouse*, as also of the countrey of *Turgow*, and besides the seven Cantons, who are Lordes of this countrey: *Berne* and *Schaffouse* haue some right in the domination of *Dissenhow*. Neuerthelesse, the Townsmen giue Oath onely to eight Cantons, and haue great store of priuiledges: their councel and *Auger* haue the Iurisdiction of some Townes about it. But all are esteemed to bee vnder the government of *Turgow*, and goe to warre with the other for the Switzers: but yet vnder the Standard of *Dissenhow*.

But besides the Iurisdiccions of the Ecclesiasticall, and of the Gentlemen: there are many Villages, whereof the Cantons are entirely Lords, and they are called the Iurisdiccions of the countrey of *Turgow*, and the Officers of the Bayliffe, doe holde the pleadings in these Villages. Heeretofore there were diuers formes of pleere, and manie customes: but the seven Cantons (by aduice and consent of the Lords of the Iurisdiccions) ordained and established a common manner of pleading, thoroughout the whole countrey of *Turgow*. Beside, if a particular man haue a suite against the Lord of a Iurisdiction, he presents it to the Bayliffe or Governour of the countrey, and of him demandeth iustice.

There are two kindes of Law and Iustice (in the highest degree) in *Turgow*: for they must pleade before the Iusticiary bench of the Prouince, or else before the Bayliffe and his assistants. The Law or Iustice Prouinciall, it appertaineth not onely vnto the seven Cantons, who establish a Governour in the countrey: but likewise they of *Berne*, *Fribourg*, and *Solenne*, haue therein their part, whereof wee haue giuen a reason in our former booke.

Sometimes this court of Iustice was held at *Winterduer*, when as the countrey of *Kybourg* was ioyned to the countrey of *Turgow*; afterward, it was helde nere to *Constance*, when the Emp. *Sigmound* had engaged *Winterduer* to the Bourgessees of *Constance*; & sometimes in other places: but

G g 3 now it

Dissenhow on the Riuer of Rheine.

Oath to eight Cantons only.

The Iurisdiccions of the countrey of Turgow.

Order for the suites and pleas in Turgow.

Law or iustice termed Prouinciall.

it is fully resolved on at *Frawenfeld*, and the Cantons have concluded, that it shal neuer bee transported any whether else hereafter.

Twelue Iudges are chosen by the Bayliffe, foure of *Frawenfeld*, and four of *Turgow*: the Bayliffe sits President in name of ten Cantons; or the *Amman* of the country, established by the Cantons; or the Lieutenantwhom the Bayliffe substituteth in his place. The causes of appeale, concerning the whole countrey of *Turgow*, are decided in this Prouinciall Court of Iustice, together with the suits in matters of debt, the knowledge whereof may appertain to this court: also the causes of injuries, crimes, and other offences deferring death. The Bayliffe and his assistants (who most often are the *Amman* of the country, the Secretary, and the cheefe Vsher) doe censure also in the same suites: & it is at the discretion of the plaintiffe or demander, to make choise before which of the two courts he will pleade.

The Bayliffe causeth the sentences and ordinances to bee executed, with imposition of a fine of ten poundes, payable by him, that satisfieth not the sentence in ten dayes. The Prouinciall court of iustice, imposeth no fine of money, but banisheth: onely refused, that it condemneth him in a fine that pleadeth his owne cause in person (because the custom is, to take one of the Iudges to declare the fact) and enters it into the Court where the Iudges vse to sit. He that is accused to contemne the ordinances of the Bayliffe, is imprisoned.

A man may appeale to the Cantons, from the sentence given in either of the Courtes; and, according to the importance of the cause to the seuen Cantons, or to the ten in taking knowledge. Likewise al Fines (as the goods of persons put to death, confiscations, and fines imposed on such as are accessaries to crimes deferring death) doe appertaine partly to the seauen, partly to the ten Cantons. Heere may be alleged (for example sake) mighty and horrid injuries, yet not meriting death: violence done by any man to him that is strictly commanded to lue in peace with his aduersary, outrageous acts committed to a man vpon the publique high way, by wounding, robbing, or offering him any such like violence. Also, if

any man vsurpe, encroach vpon, enclose, or appropriate to himselfe any part of the high-way, transpose or alter boundes, markes, and limits; or change any goods layed to him by way of pawning, or giuen him in trust to keepe; if he violate Fayth, or forswear himselfe openly; or if he carry himselfe insolently toward the Bayliffe or Iudges, &c.

Besides, all such as the Prouinciall court of Iustice declareth guilty of death: are sent vnto the other Iudges with their causes, to haue the sentence pronounced on them. These Iudges are in number foure and twenty, and heretofore the custom was, that the Bayliffe ioynd twelue Iudges, to the twelue of the Prouinciall Iustice, and chose them thoroughout the countrey, at his owne discretion: but now adayes (and oftner then any other) the Iudges of *Frawenfeld* doe pronounce the sentence of death. This is to cut off charges, which would be farre greater with-out comparison, if the Iudges should be called from diuers parts of the country, it being of so large extendure.

There is no appeale granted from this sentence: neuertheless it is permitted to the Bayliffe, to moderate the Iudges sentence, or to alter the manner of the punishment vpon the Offender; or else to saue the condemned mans life; but hee may not (by any meanes) aggravate, or make heauyer the condemnation.

CHAP. XVII.

Of Sargans.



THE Country of *Sargans*, hath heretofore had Countes or Earles, that gaue it the name, and sold it vnto the *Switzers* Countrey. Those Countes were of the house of *Werdenberg*, by reason of the Counties thereunto belonging, and also of *Monforte*, being then diuided into many families: but the countrey standeth separated by a certain small Riuer, named *Sar*. Part of it, about the Riuer, hath some villages; the cheefest whereof

Concerning sentences of death.

A custom that in former times, but otherwise provided, and vpon good reason.

A great power granted to the Bayliffe.

Concerning the Originall of Sargans, or the name of the Riuer Sar.

whereof is called *Regauz*, where the law pleas are held: as also the Abbey of *Pfeuertz*, the Abbot whereof hath iurisdiction in those quarters. It seemes that this part was heretofore diuided from the other, so as the name of *Sargans* belonged to them that dwelt beneath the Riuer, and whereof (vndoubtedly) they borrowe their name. For there is another *Sargans*, or of *Sarunets*, whereof *Pliny* maketh mention, which at this day is called *Engadin*, and neere the fource or spring of *Rheine*: but they which dwell about the Riuer, may bee of the quarter of the *Rheguses* and *Rhucans*, at this day termed *Rhinthall* and *Rhuchenberg*. They haue their court of iustice by themselves, and other weights and measures, then they beneath the Riuer.

The towne of *Sargans* is small, and hath a Castle, wherein the Bayliffe dwelleth, and it is the cheefest of all the Bayliwicke. There is a councill at *Sargans*, and an *Auoyer*, whom the *Switzers* (beeing Lords there) doe establish: as also in another Towne of the same Bayliwicke, named *Walhenitat*, on the Lake of *Riue*. But the lower court of iustice belongeth to them of *Sargans*, as likewise the principall Villages haue their Court. The last or latest appellations, for causes criminall and capital, are held at *Sargans*; where Iudges are chosen, both of the Towne, and from the whole Bayliwicke. Oftentimes, in stead of the Bayliffe, the *Amman* is President of the country. The Bayliffe himselfe pleadeth against the offender, and hath a Secretary and an Officer. If criminall persons are prisoners at *Walhenitat*; then iudgement and execution to death is done there: but the Bayliffe sitteth President, and not the *Auoyer* of *Walhenitat*.

CHAP. XIX.

Of Rhinthall.

THE Bayliffe of this Valley (which taketh his name of *Rheine*, and is vpon the left bancke thereof, about his entrance into the Lake of *Constance*) maketh his abiding in a small Towne, called *Rhinek*, somewhat below the Valley.

The whole Bayliwicke is diuided into certaine portions or free-farmes, which they tearme *Hof*; and these are their names: *Alstet*, a little Towne, *Marpach*, *Bernnenge*, *Taall*, whereon *Rhinek* dependeth, and *Oberriede*. Each hath his iurisdiction by it selfe, and two *Amman*s; whereof the one is entailed by the Bayliffe of the cantons, and the other by the Abbot of *S. Gall*. The moiety of the fines belongeth to the Abbot, and the other part to the Cantons. Neuertheless, at *Alstet* the fines are diuided into three parts, whereof the third appertaineth to the inhabitants. Some say, that the higher and lower iurisdiction of this place, belongeth to the Prince of *Austria*. The lower court of iustice of *Lustenow* (which is a Village in the Bayliwicke of *Rhinthall*) appertaineth to the Counts of *Amisa*. The acknowledgment of criminall causes, belongeth to the cantons: and their Bayliffe causeth the sentences to bee executed in those places where the delicts were committed, hauing *Amman*s for their Iudges.

The inhabitants of this Valley doe principally employ themselves in husbandry about their Vines, and spinning linnen yarne, which they sell at *S. Gall*, & lue very commodiously by these meanes. Also they of *S. Gall* haue store of lands, and many vineyards in this Valley, with plenty of Vine-dressers and Barne-keepers: in regard whereof, they set a taxation on the wine with the inhabitants of *Rhinthall*, and set downe a price to be payed by the Masters and others, who buy it before vintage time at publique sale, and pay the money to the Vine-dressers. This tax bindeth not them who haue not solde their wine before that time. When the vintage draweth neere, the Deputies of each Village doe meete at *S. Gall*, and the Seigneury appointeth one or two of the councill to fit with them; and then they (altogether) set a price vpon the wines, if they cannot agree, but that there are as many on the one side, as on the other: then the Village, whose turne it is to bee Arbitrator, sets downe the determination. For every Village (in his rancke and place) hath the right and priuiledge of arbitration, when as the taxers cannot, or will not agree together. The price agreed vpon, then they begin to cut and gather grapes for the vintage: but it is not lawfull

The Bayliwicke diuision and their several iuridictions.

The diuision at Alstet.

Acknowledging of criminall causes.

How the inhabitants of the Valley bestowed their time.

A tax set vpon the wine to such as are buyers before the vintage.

In what manner they set a price vpon the wines, & how it is concluded by arbitration.

Of them beneath the Riuer Sar.

Another Sargans or Sarunets.

Of the Bayliffe & Countes of Sargans & their Auoyer.

For criminall and capitall causes.

The Amman sometimes in stead of the Bayliffe.

Rhinthall taketh name of the Riuer of Rheine.

full to begin before.

CHAP. XX.

Of the Barons of Altax.

BEtwene the Bayliwicke of *Rhinthal*, and the county of *Werdenberg*, you may see the Seignoury belonging to the Barons of *Altax*. Now, although the Barons are fouraigne Lords; yet notwithstanding, in regard of the situation of *Rhinthal*, I was not willing to passe any further, without making some mention thereof.

The race of the Lords of *Altax* is most ancient, and heeth hath written concerning lustes and Tournaments, declareth, that the Emperour *Henry*, surnamed the Faulconer or Fowler, made choise among all the Gentlemen of *Swabia*, of *Frederick*, Baron of *Altax*, to prescribe to others, the order to be observed in those Royall pastimes. They of *Misauk* in the *Grifons* country (whom *Pliny* calleth *Hirfaxes*, at the *Trophee* of *Augustus*) were sometimes subjects to the Barons of *Monfax*: to whom the Emperour *Sigismund* gaue the name and dignity of Counts, and *Wolffe*, Baron of *Monfax* was in the warre against the *Obotrites*, in the yeare nine hundred, thirty five. Some say, that those Counts descended of the house of *Altax*, and that there are many Gentlemen (of very ancient race) in the country of the *Grifons*, descended of the first *Rhatians*, who were of *Tuscanie*, and vaunt themselves also to be issued of the Romanes.

In Antiquity, the Lords of *Altax* dwelt in the *Grifons* country. For neere to the Valley of *Leng*, where they inhabit, who (among all other) vaunt and glorifie themselves, to bee of most noble and ancient race; theris the Village of *Oberfax*, which retaineth yet the name of that Family, and it hath a Cattle of the same name. I am of the minde then, that the house of *Altax* is *Grifon* by original, and descended (with many other of the *Grifons*) of the *Tuscanes*, who were before the Romanes. Also the country, whereof they are Lords to this day, was heretofore reputed to be of the *Grifons*: considering, that *Strabo* extendeth the *Grifons* limits, so farre as the Lake of *Centance*.

This Baronny hath had heretofore two strong Castles, to wit, *Sax* (which was burnt before the warre of *Appenzell*) and *Fortegg*, builded afterward, vpon the warranty of *Virich* of *Altax*, Abbot of *S. Gall*, at such time as the Barons were in warre against the Counts of *Monfort*. There are many Villages in this Valley, subiect to the Barons of *Altax*. If any warre threaten *Switzerland*, they chule their most valiant Soldiours, which they send to their succour. Also *Huldrich*, Father to *Huldrich Phillip*, now Baron of *Altax*, fought valiantly for the *Switzers*, in the warre which they had against the Emperour *Maximilian*, and the league of *Swabia*: and as a recompence and acknowledgement of his valor, the Cantons gaue him diuers peeces of Artillery.

It is a long time since the Barons of *Altax* haue beene Bourgeses of *Zurich*, the rest of the Cantons neuer had any dominion ouer the Barons of *Altax*: but themselves were soueraigne Lords, and no man might appeale fro their sentence, to any other iustice. At this day, there is no more of this race of the Barons of *Altax* left, but one, namely, the Lord *Huldrich Phillip*: but by the grace of God, it is now augmented, because this lord hath had (by two wiues) five sonnes, already of good stature, and which promise faire hope, namely, *Albert Iohn*, *Tinbault Iohn*, *Phillip Iohn*, *Iohn Christopher*, and *Iohn Huldrich*.

CHAP. XXI.

The Bayliwicks or Governements of Italy.

THE first and principall of the foure Bayliwicks of *Italy* is called *Lugarno*, and the Bayliffe is called a Captain, commanding ouer all the foure, if any warre doth happen vnexpected.

The second is that of *Locarno*, almost

Two ancient Castles belonging to the Baronny.

When war is menaced against *Switzerland*.

The Barons of *Altax* Bourgeses of *Zurich*.

The now living issued of the present Barons of *Altax*.

And of great experience & knowledge.

The description of *Locarno*, and how it is situated by every way. The fleshy *Fenouys*, or where flesh is in great plenty.

Great Families in *Locarno*, and thore of Gentlemen.

Locarno appeareth to be very healthfully seated.

of as great and large extendure, as *Lugarno*. I will set downe in this Chapter, an exact description of the Bayliwicke and Towne of *Locarno*, made (at my request) by *M. Thaddens Dun*, Physitian, and a native of *Locarno*, my very good friend. For thereby may be knowne, what the gouernment of the other Bayliwicks is, which although they are not of the like extendure, neither haue the same policy, yet notwithstanding, they are gouerned in the same manner, in respect of the Bayliffe, and dominion of the *Switzers*.

The Towne of *Locarno*, is called *Lugari* by the *Germanes*, and *Locarno* by the *Italians*. Some do hold it to be so named, as being a place of flesh: because in all the country round about, there is no meane number of cattell. It is seated on a plaine, betweene the foote of an high Mountain, and the Banck of the Lake *Maioir*. Towards the East it hath the head and beginning of this Lake: to the South, the neck of the Lake, and the high Mountaines. It extendeth and shooteth it selfe out along the middle of the Lake, to his fall, and towards the North are also very high Mountaines. To the West, and against the lands belonging to the Bayliwicke of *Bellinzona*, is a plaine of great length, yeelding yearly a plentifull Hay-haruest, & thwart it passeth *Thefina*. Neere to the Towne, betweene this plaine, the Towne it selfe, the foote of the Mountaine, and the Lake banks, is a fruitfull parcell of Land for Corne and Wine, and a great goodly field, abounding with grasse; which heretofore hath beene much more spacious, but the neighbouring Riuer (by vndermining it) hath borne away a great part thereof. The Mountaines of long extendure, are very aptly husbanded, hauing goodly and faire vineyards in them.

Heereby we may coniecture, that *Locarno* is great, by reason of the Families therein, to the number of foure hundred, or thereabout: and there is not any greater Towne about the Lake *Maioir*, neyther are there more Gentlemen in any town of that quarter, by which reason, it is the cheefe and principall Towne. This description doth demonstrate, how pleasant the place is, the ayre also is thire temperate, sweete, and healthfull, euen as much as can be desired. The windes of the South do blowe there very little, and euen

as tired, broken, and spent, by reason of the Mountaines defending before it. The North winde is there also sweet enough, because the high Mountaines doe couer the Towne. From the East to the West, the windes breathe at their ease: and there is not a Pond, or Marshy plot in this quarter, so thar to say all in a word, the place is sufficiently pleasing.

Heretofore, the town of *Locarno* had a great & strong castle, of very goodly shew, in regard of the many Towers & Turrets, and well engirt with sightly Ditches. It was sometimes the principall dwelling of the Counts of *Rasques*, and the French were Masters there, the space of thirteene yeares, but yet could not expell the Counts. There is a Pallace within the saide Castle, which is the Bayliffes house: there also abideth the Trucheman or Interpreter, and the two *Switzer* Archers of his Guard, of whom wee shall make more ample mention hereafter: within the walles enclosure of this Castle, therewas a goodly Hauen or Port, where the Ships for warre were kept.

The Castle was square and quadrangular, beautified with Towers at each corner, and had a very strong wall about it. At that time, the Lake *Maioir* washed the foote of the Castle, so that the Ships were easily sent forth vpon the Lake. But now, the Riuer of *Madia* hath gathered such a boundance of sand and grauell, as the place is become farre enough off from the Lake. Since the yeare one thousand, five hundred, thirty one, the *Switzers* wholly ruined the Castle, except the Pallace; the foundations are yet to be seene, and the walles of many houses, for there was not any castle so strong in all the country. Also it was munited with Artillery of all sorts, and other furnishings for warre, in great plenty. *Frances Guicchiardine* maketh mention in the first Booke of his Histories, that fiftene thousand *Switzers* got themselves together, to go and assault this castle; thereof he speaketh againe in the eleventh Booke, and at the end of the twelfth.

Long since, in the times of the Dukes of *Milaine*, the whole country was commanded by the Bayliffe of *Locarno* (except the town of *Brisag*) and it was a county, wherof the *Rasques* were Lords, they being Gentlemen of marke in the town.

The ancient goodly Cattle of *Locarno*.

A Pallace in the old Castle and how it is employed.

The singularity of the ancient Castle.

This goodly Castle was quite decayed by the *Switzers*.

Guicchiardine in Lib. 5. c. 11. 12.

The extendure of the Bayliwicke of *Locarno*.

The situation of the Seignoury of *Altax*.

The Antiquities of the Barons of *Altax*.

* So named of the Forest of *Hircinia* running thorough *Germany*.

Gentlemen descended of the first *Rhatians*.

The Valley of *Leng*.

The original of the house of *Altax* of the *Grifons*.

The County of Locarna divided in twaine.

Of the fertility of the country, and encrease of their Vines.

Of the Fields and Meadow grounds about Locarna

Two Harbours gathered in a yeare continually.

towne of *Coma*, whereof also they were Masters sometimes, but after they surrendered it to the Duke of *Millaine*, in the yeare one thousand, foure hundred and sixteene. But afterward, this county was diuided in two parts, and the Vale *Madia* separated from the Bayliwicke of *Locarna*.

At that time also, the Vale of *Perzafche* and *Gambaron* (whereof shall be spoken hereafter) obtained leaue, to elect their *Podestats*. The extendure of the Bayliwicke of *Locarna*, may bee knowne by the Parishes, whereof there are twenty and more.

The foote-ground of the Mountains of *Locarna*, and a great part of the Territory, yeeldeth plenty of very good wines. In the Hilles and Mountaines, the Vines are bound high, and store of good grasse groweth vnder them. On the plaines they shoote vp about Elmes and other Trees, as Hops do about Poles; also the twigs as being wouen together, and bound at the ends, are extended from one Tree to another. But if they stand too farre off, where the branches come too short, then they fixe poles in the midst, where they fasten the branches, for feare lest they should hinder the Cornes encrease, or the other sorts of pulse, which are also there sowne. The Vines are of great and incredible yeelding, the grapes huge, and very ripe, which causeth an extraordinary plenty of wine.

The fields cannot be very spacious, in regard of the so neere neighbouring Lake and Mountaines: yet notwithstanding, they are very fertile, by reason of the grounds goodnesse, which the husbandmen do fatten and labour very diligently. For because there are no great store of fields and meadows, and the towne is sufficiently peopled; their paines are performed at the better leylines. Many times they render twenty graines for one, and they haue two Harueils in one yeare. In the Month of Iune, they reape and gather Wheat and Rie: In the Month of October, they haue the like of Miller, Pannicke, and other Pulses sowed in Spring time.

The Mountaines and Vallies are furnished with cattell in great abundance, especially Goates. Also there is plenty of Partridges, Pheazants, Larks, Hares, Co-

nies, Butter, Cheefe, and admirable store of Chestnuts, for the nourishment of country people. At the beginning, they eate them rawe, then dried, and afterward boyled, roasted, and fried. Also they make Meale of them for Bread, and that Meale serueth the to diuers vies: but Gentlemen eate chestnuts among their other delicates.

When therefore there is a good season of chestnuts, the dearth of other victuals is not great in that country: where also is store of good Figs, variety of Apples, Peaches, Peares, Cherries, and other dainty fruites, as Plums of diuers kinds, Pomgranets, Citrons, Oliues, Oranges, and other fruites in great plenty. The Lake aboundeth with Fish, dainty and good; especially Trowts, whereof store are brought & sold in *Millaine*. In briefe, the country is enriched with all good things, for the maintenance of life; yet sometimes there is scarcity of Corne, by reason of the countries narrowness, and Salt is brought thether from other places.

Euery Thursday there is a great Market at *Locarna*, where meete no meane store of people. You shall see many boats arrive there, from all the Townes of the Lake *Major*, from whence come diuers Merchants, rather to buy, then sell. They come thether also from sundry parts of the Dutchy of *Millaine*, from *Lugano* and *Bellinona*, neighbouring Bayliwicks: as also from *Milank*, and the Valley of *Linnor*, not speaking of them about *Locarna*, and the vale *Madia*. It is one of the goodliest Markets in all those countries. There is a very spacious place neere to the Lake, where the Merchants set vp Tents, to defend them from raine, and such like accidents.

The people of *Locarna* are diuided into three degrees to wit, Noblemen, ancient citizens, whom they call Bourgeses, and the inhabitants, descended from diuers parts, and whose ancestors began to dwell at *Locarna*, more then an hundred yeares before.

There is a fourth race noble, as of the *Aurells*, *Muralter*, *Magorians*, and *Duns*. That of the *Duns* is the most ancient, and before the other: their houses and goods beeing partly at *Locarna*, partly at *Scome*, which is a Towne neere

What fish, Fowles, and other helpfull food the country affordeth.

Variety of all kinds of fruites, and of dainty fish.

All blessings for the felicitie of man.

A market at Locarna euery Thursday.

Noblemen, Bourgeses, and inhabitants: the three degrees of people in Locarna.

A fourth degree of Noblemen.

In memory of former receiued fauours.

The Commissary and how he is elected.

The Commissary's power and authority.

Municipal law, the private law of euery City.

A Trucheman allowed to be his Interpreter.

The people haue power to elect Magistrates.

The election of the Attorney.

neere to *Locarna*, but not so wel peopled, seated on a plaine neere to the Lake. At such time as the Counts of *Rusque* commanded, the *Duns* were fauoured and honoured, more then the other Nobles, and aduanced to great estates. And the Arms of the Counts of *Rusque*, magnificently illustrated, are yet to bee seene (outwardly) on the *Duns* Pallace at *Locarna*. Next, vnder name of the people, are reckoned all them that dwell in the Vallies and Villages, dependants on *Locarna*. The whole body of the Seignoury or Bayliwicke, is called the Comminality.

As for the Bayliffe, whom they call Commissary, hee is chosen by the twelue Cantons, and sent to *Locarna* euery yeare, by one of the said cantons; as it is then in rance, according to their lawes and alliances. This commissary is Soueraigne, and hath full power to chastise the faulty, yea, to condemne to death; if the case do lo require. His custome is to take wife & vnderstanding men, expert in the lawes and manners of the country, to bee his counsellors. Hee is not receiued into his charge, till he haue first solemnly sworn and promised, to keepe the lawes and ordinances, which the inhabitants reate municipal rights. Which being done, the people there present, do acknowledge him for their lawfull Governour; with solenne and publike acclamations, & swearing faithfully to obey him.

Now, because the commissary speaketh the Switzers language, and the people Italian; the Lords of the Leagues do allow him a Truchman, who vnderstandeth and speaketh both the languages, to whom they pay wages. By entremise of the Trucheman, the commissary the parties that plead as Attornies or Aduocates, do vnderstand each other, and so debate the causes: which the Secretary or Prognatory writeth downe in Latine. The commissary medleth not with the affaires of the common-wealth, because the people haue full power to elect Magistrates and Officers, to ordaine of all things concerning the publike estate.

Moreover, they elect an ordinary Attorney, who pursueth criminall causes, & keepeth the fines adiudged to the common purse, which they call, *The fines Chambers*. The Lords of the leagues giue order for the election of this Attorney;

who is one of the Bourgeses of *Locarna*, and continueth as long time in that Office, as please the said Lords.

They establish also the Receiuers of the taxes. For euery yeare, in Summer, when the twelue Ambassadors of the Cantons come thether: they giue the farming of the taxe (mitigating a certain summe) to one, or to many Bourgeses, who then also receiue ample power, to exact the taxe, and at the yeares end they pay it.

The Commissary chuseth (oftentimes) a Switzer Officer, who walketh daily attending on him, with an Halbert and a Sword. He is the cheefest of the Sericants, that arresteth men, and guardeth offenders. When the Ambassadors come to *Locarna*, hee is their Vther: also, they pay him his wages, as well as the Truchman.

The same Commissary electeth his Lieutenant; some one of the Bourgeses, fitt to decide suites and criminall causes. This Lieutenant giues attendance in the Commissaries absence; or when hee is withheld by sicknesse, or any other hinderance: hauing in those causes, the same power and authority, as the Commissary hath.

Moreover, the counsell (of whom we shall speake presently) makes choise of some Sericants among the people. Their charge is to serue the Common-wealth, and to execute the commands of the Commissary.

The Bourgeses and inhabitants that are of this Country and Comminality, do meete together according to their custome, which yearly is the first day of Ianuary, and then they elect the one and twenty counsellors of the Common-wealth. Twelue among them are of *Locarna*; three of the towne of *Scome*, which is neere: the other fixe are of the Vallies and Villages round about. As concerning the twelue of *Locarna*: fixe of them are Noblemen, foure Bourgeses, & two inhabitants; yet sometimes three, and fixe Nobles. The three of *Scome*, there is one of the family of Gentlemen, called *Duns*, and the two other are of the body of the people. The other fixe, whom I haue said to be of Villages and Vallies, are of such places, as acknowledge no other Gouernour, but the fore-mentioned Commissary.

The Receiuers of the taxes & tolls

The Officer waiting on the Commissary.

The Lieutenant to the Commissary.

The Sericants and Officers

Of the council their manner of meeting and orders obserued among them in their election of counsellors.

A contrary
kinde of go-
vernment &
Officers.

What charge
the council
do undertake

Of the seuen
Attorneys,
& what their
office is,

The Secre-
tary or Chan-
cellor.

A Treasurer
euery yeare
electe.

Consuls ap-
pointed, and
their office.

The sum of
one of the
least assesse-
ment.

itary. This I speake in regard of the towne of *Brissag*, the Valley of *Verzasche*, & *Gambaron*: which haue their *Podestats* or Lieutenants, and some rights apart by themselves, as we shall shew anon, and they do not elect any councillors.

The councill of the Bayliwicke of *Locarna*, hath charge to watch and waite on the affaires of the common-wealth: to conclude on needfull expences & wages; to dispose and set in order, whatsoever seemeth for the good of the weale publike fit and conuenient.

Seuen Procurators or Attornies are added to the one and twenty councillors; who giue order, that the decrees of the council may be effectually executed, and that euery man do his duty thoroughly & faithfully. They stand also in stead of *Voyers* or Surveyors: because they take charge of publike buildings. In like manner, there is a Secretary whom they call Chancellor; and he setteth downe in writing, all things whatsoever that are concluded on by the councill.

And forasmuch as the Commonalty lockes not vp any of the publike monies, there is yearly a new Treasurer elected, who exacteth and collecteth of consuls and communities, such summes of money as are imposed by the councill. For euery community or parish hath his Consull (so called, because they councill and aduise that which is necessary for the communities welfare) and is in Office as a Receiver. They leuie vpon euery Father of the Family, or on each house, the money whereat they are assessed by the council, and afterward bring all to the Treasurer. The manner of assessing these summes, is according to the estimation of goods, & the number of households in euery community.

There is not any Parish nor Family (how little soeuer it bee) but iustly knoweth, how much it is valued at in the assessment. One of their cottisations amounteth to an hundred pounds of the Empire: which make seuen and twenty Florins of gold, or thereabout. The Consuls do first collect this summe of the Families, and then deliuer it into the Treasurers hands, and he afterward paies it to the Seigneurs of the annuall accounts. Then it is payed out in wages, to the Bayliffe, to the Physicians, to Masters of Schooles, Officers,

and other persons, who are al at wages of the common-wealth: And besides, it acquitteth all other publike charges. The yeare being expired, hee receiveth vp his account to the councill, or to the Procurators. If there be more omitted then receiued; his successour disburseth it himselfe. Contrariwise, if hee receiue doe surmount the ordinary charge, the remainder is deliuered ouer vnto his successour. Moreover, the fore-named Magistrates make choise of two sufficient men, to haue a care of food and provision. And other two are elected by the councill, to see the wayes and streetes duely and decently repaired and well kept.

Now in regard that the country is environed with Mountaines and Vallies, repleated with woods of extraordinary tall trees, exquisite for their beauty and braue branching (among others the Pine, which produceth very excellent Agaricke, and the Firre-tree, notable for building, and whereof they of *Locarna* make very great benefit) the Merchant, dealing in wood, do elect a Iudge or Master of the Forests, who decideth all differences proceeding in such cases. When the taule trees are cut, they bring knowledge thereof to him, and then he ordereth their lesser cutting, for more commodious conuaying them through the narrow passages and vallies, as also the Rocky crooked windings, to the Lake *Maier*. When they are there shipt in apt Barques and Boats, they passe along the Lake, and then on the *Thecina* to *Millaine* and *Pania*, in great Trunkes; Beames, loists, and long Planks; together with great quantities of wood-coales, and other bruch-wood, for heating Ovens. Afterward, they descend with them from *Pania*, by the River *Po* (wherein *Thecina* dischargeth itselfe) so farre as *Cremona*, and *Placentia*, and may goe also to *Ferrara*, *Manua*, *Venice*, and to the Adriaticke Sea. The trunks of the trees haue their length and thickenesse iust, and the Merchants mark on them. The valley of *Verzasche*, the vale *Madia*, and other neighbouring places, doe also send away Trees very abundantly, when the Rivers swell higher then their vsuall wont.

The towne of *Brissag*, which is vpon the Lake *Maier* towards the North, and at the end of the country which the *Switzers* hold, is of the Bayliwicke of *Locarna*, and

The Treasurers account to the Council.

The government of the Forest.

The Iudge of Matter or be. Forest, & his authority.

The Merchants set their marks on the trunks

Brissag belonging to the Bayliwicke of *Locarna*.

The government of *Podestats*.

Brissag differing in authority from *Gambaron*.

The Locarnians living at *Zurich*.

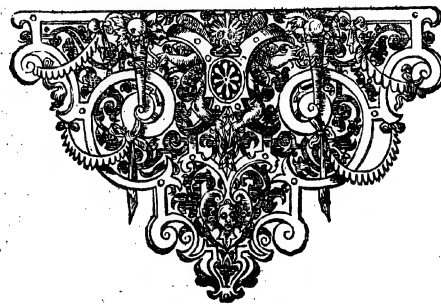
and is but foure miles distant off from *Canobio*. It hath also to the East, the Vallie of *Verzasche*, taking his name of a Riuer so called, and thence descending: Also *Gambaron* to the South, and on the Lake *Maier*. These places haue their *Podestats*, who iudge in ciuill causes: for as concerning them criminall, the knowledge of them appertaineth to the Commisary of *Locarna*. There is appeale granted from the sentence in ciuill causes, if it seeme good to the party condemned. They of the Valley of *Verzasche*, and of *Gambaron*, do chuse (among themselves) such persons as they please, to be their *Podestats*: but the people of *Brissag* haue not that authority, but yearly doe elect a Lieutenant, who is of the Family of the *Aurelles*. Gentlemen of *Locarna*. The Inhabitants of this place are not cottised or taxed, as the other Communities be: but onely pay their part of rentage due, to the Lords of the leagues, and of wages to the Commisary. Beside, they furnish towards the charges that are in their Villages and Communities.

Of this Towne of *Locarna* thus described, are defended the *Locarnians* dwelling at *Zurich*, and in other places. It is not about thirty yeares since, that some Citizens of *Locarna*, yet liuing, affected to the new Religion, tooke knowledge

thereof, by the reading of certain books, and afterward enstrusted it to many of their Townsmen. From the yeare one thousand, five hundred, forty two, vntill the yeare one thousand, five hundred, fifty foure, the zeale and number of them began to encrease, and notwithstanding the persecutions, embraced it the more earnestly. The most part of the Seigneurs and people, not willing to suffer it, expelled (in the yeare following) about thirty Families: namely all such as would not forsake that new opinion, and returne againe to the Romane Church. There were people of all kinds in this troope, Nobles, Gentles, and Yeomen; learned and vnlearned; rich and poore; great and small; husbands without their wiues, and wiues without their husbands; fathers without their children, & children without their fathers. The men of *Zurich* receiued them very louingly, and did, and yet do many kinde courtesies to them: so that diuers of the are embraced as Bourgeses, and the rest maintained at the expences of the Seigneury. At the beginning, they receiued a good sum of monie, sent by them of *Berne*, and another collected at *Basile*, and in some other Townes of *Sauoye*, where-with the poore people haue bene long time maintained.

HH THE

The End of the third Booke.



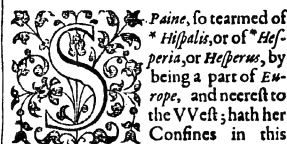
Religion the more it is persecuted, the more it profreth.

Persecution is the true Christians touch-stone.

THE FOVRTH BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Of the Kingdome and Court of Spaine; the Lawes, Customes, and manners of the people, as also the division and situation of the Country.



S Spaine, so tearmed of * *Hispalis*, or of * *Hesperia*, or *Hesperus*, by being a part of *Ewrope*, and neereft to the VVest; hath her Confines in this manner. On the East, the Mediterranean Sea: On the VVest, the Ocean: On the South, the streights of *Gibraltar*: And on the North, the Pyrenean Mountains, which make division of *France* & *Spaine*. The principall Riuer in this Prouince, are fixe in number: *Myuo*, *Duria*, *Trais*, *Guadiana*, *Guadalquivir*, and *Iberus*. This Kingdome (by our Auncients) was diuided into three parts, to wit, *Batica*, *Lusitania*, and *Tarraconia*. At this day, *Batica* containeth three Regions, namely, *Granata*, with her City Royall, which is called *Granada*; *Andalusia*, with the City of *Siuitil*; and *Etihamadura*, with the City of *Menda*. *Lusitania* hath two Regions, to wit, *Portugall*, with the City Royall, named *Lisborne*; and *Galicia*, with the city that is called *Compostella*, where the body of *S. Iames* is saide to be. *Tarraconia* hath nine Regions; as *Arragon*, with the city of * *Saragossa*; *Nauarre*, with the city of *Pampalona*; *Cathalonia*, with the city of *Barcellona*; *Biscay*, with the city of *Vilacro*; * *Castile* the elder, with the city of *Burges* or *Braga*; *Castile* the newer, with the city of *Tolledo*; *Leopufca*, with the city of *S. Sebastiano*; *Valenza*, with the city of *Valencia*; *Murgia*, with the cit-

ty so called. In the kingdome of *Granada*, ther is an Island named *Caliz*, which hath a city also called by the same name. In the Ocean Sea, and in the Mediteranean, there are three feuerall Islands, subiect to the gouernement of *Valencia*, to wit, *Ieniza*, *Maiorica*, and *Minorica*. The *Portugals* vse their navigation into the East Indies; and the *Spaniards* of *Siuitil* and *Caliz*, into the VVest. The circumference of *Spaine*, is about 1893. miles. The kingdom of *Portugall*, fro the South part, beginneth at the city of *Lepe*, and on the North it extendeth to *Baiona* of *Galicia*. The most notable Ports or Hauens of *Spaine*, on the North part, are *S. Sebastiano*; the Port *Galette*; the Port *Andrea*; the Port di *S. Vincenzo*; the Port of *Ribadeo*; the Port *Ieroll*; and the Port delle *Gragne*, or of the *Grayne*. On the VVest part, are the Port di *Monnedra*; the Port of *Portugall*; the Port of *Lisborne*; & the Port *Seeball*. On the South part are the Port di *Silua*; the Port of *Siuitil*; the Port of *Calix*; and the Port of *Caliz* in the Island; and the Port *Beger*; & the famous Port *Cartagenia*. On the East part is the Port *Calibre*, now called *Porto venero*.

Spaine hath feuen Arch-Bishoppricks, and the residence is made in *Tarraconia*, in *Saragossa*, in *Tolledo*, in *Compostella*, in *Braga*, in *Lisbona*, and in *Granata*. Vnder the aboue-named Arch-Bishoppricks, are many Cities and their Bishops; as *Barcellona*, *Girona*, *Lerida*, *Tortosa*, *Valenza*, *Maiorica*, *Ostia*, *Monnedra*, *Burges*, *Salamanca*, *Corduba*, *Legiu*, *Tariffa*, *Almaria*, *Siuitila*, and others.

This Country (in many places) is not reduced to tillage & husbandry, because the ground consists of a very stony earth, and is much squallide and filthy through desertnesse: notwithstanding, in respect of *Africa*, it is very fertile, and this enueth through the ouer-great heate which is

Of Islands in the kingdome of Spaine.

Nauigation.

The chiefest Ports and harbours in Spaine.

On the West.

On the South.

On the East.

Archbishoppricks, & Cities & Bishops vnder their command.

Not much tillage or husbandry in many places of the Country.

All things necessary for man.

So digged out of the earth.

Of Gold, Silver, & Yron.

Gold in Riuer.

Springs of hot and cold water.

Swift running founes.

Conies full of treasures.

Soile planted with Fith.

The gold Mines of *Galicia*.

The Spanish Language.

Commodities sent into France and other places yearly.

in *Africa*. It aboundeth in all those things that are necessary for man: as in *VVine*, *Corn*, *Fruites*, *Oyle*, *Cattell*, *Livestock* for all garments, yron mettals, *VVaxe*, *Hony*, *VVaters* well stored with *Fith*; and such other like things. They make no *Salt* by boyling or seething, but dig it out of the earth. And they have not so many windes as *France*; neyther are they so stored with marish and fenny grounds, wherby the ayre is much corrupted. There is not found any *Gold*, *Silver*, or *Yron*, so good and approued, or in such plenty, as in *Spaine*, and the gold is taken not only out of the Mines, but also out of the Riuer; which when they encrease by much plenty of rain; they doe produce fandes of gold; & especially the Riuer *Tagus*. There are found out in many places, diuers wells and springs of hot and cold water; maruailously good for the helpe of diuers & sundry infirmities, which happen to the bodies of men. There is likewise great abundance of Beasts, both wilde and tame; and especially of swift horses, which were supplied by our Elders, to bee conceiued by the windes. They haue no hurtfull creatures in any great sort, Conies onely excepted, who making their caues vnder the ground, doe much harme to the rootes growing in the earth. Their Riuer, glide away very gently, for hardly can their motion be discerned; and therefore they do not ouer-flow, or drowne the fields, being also well stored with *Fith*, because the Sea (by helpe of the Riuer) doth not send any plenty on land. *Galicia* is much commended for the Mines there breeding, and sometime it hapneth in this Region, that by plowing vp the ground, the people finde little graynes of gold. The language of the *Spaniards*, is not much different from the *Italians*; from whom they receiued it, whē they were subiect to the *Romane* Empire. On the Northern part, the Prouince is not so colde as in that climate of *France*; for it sendeth into *France*, *Oyle*, *Hony*, *VVaxe*, *Saffron*, *Madder*, *Barly*, dying-coulers, *Chuchinelo*, *Snger*, *Oliues*, *Lemons*, *Dates*, *Cedar*, *Pomgranats*, and other things; but especially many thousand weights of wool; & much wine, dried plums or prunings, rafines, almonds, chestnuts, bay-berries, salted salmon, and other things, which are sent into *Italy*, & first thence transported to *France*.

The temperature and complexion of the *Spaniards*, is much more hot and dry; and their coullor more dun & foggy, the that of the *French*: because they are more colde and moist, hauing their flesh more soft, and their coullor whiter, & the *French* women are more gentle, and apt to conceiue children, then the *Spanish* are. The *Spaniards* are more raw-boned men of body, the *French*, and in war they feed with counsell and arte, being silent by nature; as men that know most exquisitely, how to dissemble their owne intentions, walking very grauely, and vsing much ceremonious behaviour in their customs & qualities. They drinke wine temperately, liue with great respect, & are of acute vnderstanding & knowledge in their words. In *Spain* there are a great number of Princes, Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, & Barons, and euery one of them hath the reuenues and profits, from 50. to 60. thousand Ducates yearly. The Marquesses are 20. beside the like reuenues. The Earls are 60. with reuenues from ten to twenty thousand Ducates. Then there are Vicounts, Gouernours, and Barons, which are called *Adalantades*. There are great Masters of the Orders of knighthood; as of *S. Iames*, of *Alcantara*, of *Calatrana*, of *S. Iohn* of *Ierusalem*, of the *Rhodes*, of *Montefe*, and others; who dispend (each one) about 50. thousand Ducates in reuenues yearly. The women go pompeously apppareled, wearing rich care-rings of Pearl & Gold, hauing their garments plaited, after the manner of *Italy*. When they walk abroad out of their houses, the men-seruants goe before them, and the maids follow after. The most part of them do willingly drink water, and fo paint their faces with white and red, that it is most lothsom to behold. They are discreet in speech, yet prettily wanton and iaseuious, & deliuered with effectual gestures, especially in amorous matters. It is not many yeares since, that the people of this Prouince, hath gotten a great name of military feruice, as men that are most patient in labors, suffering most valiantly both thirst and hunger, and being matchlesse for subtilities in Soldierlike affaires, quicke and nimble of body, both for pursuit & flight. They haue conquered many countries, bringing thence very honourable victories, especially vnder *Charles* the fifth, Emperor.

The temper and coullor of the *Spaniards*, compared with the *French*.

Their disposition of body and aptnesse to war.

The Princes and Nobility of *Spaine*, & their reuenues.

The *Adalantades* of *Spaine*, Great Masters of the Orders of knighthood.

The women of *Spaine*, their attire and behauiour.

The same for Military feruices, of no long antiquity among the *Spaniards*.

Of the Maieſty Royall.

THE Kings of *Spaine*, as great in power, and valorous, in regard of Military prouision, were alwayes held in no meane reuerence among their people. For men bearing ordinarily affection to their Soueraigne, their beneuolence is so much the more encreased, by how much the King liueth uirtuously and iustly, according to the ordination of his owne lawes, for so shall hee be both loued and serued. And in conclusion, the worthy deeds of his Lords, that are enriched with vnderstanding and iudgement, doe highly support him: euen as the wicked actions of such as know not how to rule and gouerne, doth ruinate & ouerthrow him. The Kings of *Spaine* haue possessed this Prouince many yeares peaceably, though it was (a long while) distressed by the Moores; whom at length they expelled, and reduced the whole politike body to a quiet condition, and greatly deuoted to the catholique church, whereon the King attained to the title of Catholique King. The King then is the cheefe Ruler of the kingdom, and ordereth matters as best him pleaseth: but heere it shall not much differ from our purpose, to sette downe some other obseruations, concerning the original & succession of this kingdom.

Spaine in her younger daies was held by sundry petty Kings and Terrarches; & afterward became diuided into many commonwealths, six in number, as some haue written. The *Carthaginians*, a people of *Africa*, hazzarding their fortune therein, held one part thereof, and possessed themselves of many Citties, Townes, and places; until they were expelled thence by the *Romans*, in the time of the Punicke wars. Since when, it was continually subiect to the Roman commonwealth, & reduced into firme of a Prouince, & in the reigne of the Emperour *Augustus*. So it remained till the Emperour *Adrianus*, in whose dayes, the *Vandalas* (a people of the North parts) brought it vnder their command. But they (were soon after) chased thence by the *Gothes*, who established there the seat of their kingdom; which they maintained (in that kinde) for the space of about 200 yeares. Nor were they then called kings of *Spaine*, but kings of the *Gothes*. In the reigne of *Roderick*, king of the *Gothes*, the Moores entered

Spaine, in the year 715. they being brought thither by one named *Iulian*; in very desperate incignation, and to shap out a way to his bloody reienge, because king *Roderick* had dishonoured his Sister, or as others say) his Daughter, whereof heretofore we haue spoken more largely. And so did the Moores possesse themselves of all *Spaine*, seizing the city of *Toledo*, which was then the capital city. So ended the kingdom and name of the *Gothes* in *Spaine*. Nor rested they thus, but pursued on their conquest still, & there remained but *Gallicia*, the *Assuries* and *Leon*: which countries king *Pelagius*, Ynkle and Successor of *Roderick*, had fled too for refuge, & there shut up himselfe, in regard that those places were enuironed with Mountaines, and might well defend and shelter him for some time. But his Successors being hardly pressed by the *Sarracins*, could no longer resist: wherefore, vnder the reigne of *Alphonso* the second, they were forced to craue the helpe of *Charlemaigne*, king of France, by whose valour and vertue, the Moores were beaten thence a great way; and had bin quite cast out of the country, if the *Spaniards* mallice had bene no hinderance thereto. Afterward, the kings of *Leon* and *Gallicia* (for such were then their onely titles) being formerly preferred, began somewhat to encrease in power. And in regard of this expedition performed by the French, the strength of the Moores was so weakened & diminished, that many other kingdoms were established in *Spaine*, as that of *Nauarre* by *Enecho*, Count of *Biscaye*, in the year 950. which hee took away from the Moores and *Sarracins*, by a very valiant conquest of them. And afterward, in the year 1165 was *Aragon* reduced to a kingdom, by the will and testament of *Sancho* the great fourth king of *Nauarre*; for long to *Ramiro* his natural Sonne, who was the first King thereof. This was the same *Sancho*, who being Earle of *Castile* in the kingdom of *Leon*, tooke on him first the name of King of *Castile*, which he left vnto his Sonne *Ferdinand*.

The kingdom of *Portugall* was also conquered from the same Moores, by Earle *Henry*, Sonne vnto the Duke of *Lorraine*, who held it first of all vnder tytle of an Earle, in the year 1170. but quickly after, he brought it to be a kingdom: *Spaine* did

The Moores in possession of all *Spaine*.

The Moores wholly beaten out of *Spaine*.

Pelagius, Ynkle and Successor of king *Roderick*.

Charlemaigne king of France against the Moores.

The strength of the Moores much weakened.

The kingdom of *Nauarre* and *Aragon*.

The first king of *Castile*.

Portugall conquered from the Moores.

did continue so (in this kinde of state) for a long time, diuided into many kingdoms: & the Moores had also their abiding there, possessing still a great part thereof; till such time as *Ferdinand*, the fifth, king of *Aragon* (who was married to *Isabell*, the only heire of *Castile*) wholly expelled the Moores out of *Spaine*, in the year 1492. In no great distance of time after, he possessed himselfe of *Sicily* and *Naples*, invading also the East *Indies*. But fraudulently he vsturped the kingdom of *Nauarre*, against *John d'Albret*, who was (indeede) the lawfull King. And it is this *Ferdinand*, and *Isabell* his wife, in whom onely wee may truly say, that the kingdom of *Spaine* had her first beginning. They left one only daughter, named *Joane*, who was married to *Philip* the first, of *Austria*, Sonne vnto the Emperour *Maximilian*, and *Mary* of *Bourgundy*: he succeeded in this kingdom of *Spaine*, and other countries beside. He was likewise Earle of *Bourgundy*, of *Flamanders*, and Lord of the Low-countries, in the right of his Mother. In this his marriage, was borne *Charles* the first, who was afterward Emperour. He reigned nine & thirty yeares, preferring his Prouinces very happily: and hee left for succession (both in *Spaine*, and the more part of his other countries) his Sonne *Philip* the second, who reigned three and forty yeares, having ioynd to his other estates, the kingdom of *Portugall*, in the year of our Lord, 1580. and so (consequently) at that which the *Portugals* held in the East *Indies*, and elsewhere; as in *Africa* and *Brazil*, which came vnto him by the death of *Henry* the Cardinal. He died, aged seuenty yeares, the thirteenth day of September, 1598. No long time before his death, hee had made peace with the mighty and most christian King of France, *Henry* the fourth. *Philip* the third, his Sonne, succeeded him, and reigneth as yet to this day. He married *Margaret*, daughter to the Arch-Duke of *Austria*, by whom hee had a Sonne, in the Moneth of April 1666.

Now let vs returne where we left before, concerning the king of *Spaine*, who being a good king, and liuing orderly, sheweth on him doe depend the following councillors, who are special members of gouernement, both in the Court and elsewhere.

Councillors of Estate Royall.

THE supream assembly of *Spaine*, which is the very same, that (in effect) hath the gouernment of most important affaires in their power; is the Royall or Kingly Council, so termed of the vobable king, because they are (among all other councillors) as the King himselfe among his greatest Lords. These councillors doe prouide for the peoples liuing, in all things that appertaine to a well ordered state: because from them do proceed all meanes and deliberations, concerning matters of Graine, raxations, customes, prouisions, and other substantiall occasions for safe being; but euermore assisted by the Princes authority. These councillors are in number twelue, all principall men of the kingdom, & noble by blood, hauing a President as their cheefe. And from these Noble-men, being assembled together, do come all orders, whereby the whole Realme of *Spaine* is gouerned: and the appellation of three Audiences, called the Chanceries of three kingdoms, do all resort to this council.

The Council of Inquisition.

In regard of the conquests which the Moores (in former times) made of this kingdom, reformation of the people was thought most conuenient, by bringing them to holy Baptisme, and procuring by all carefull meanes, that Religion might endure no danger throughout the country: this council was first created, and called, The sacred Council of Inquisition. Whereof there is a President, and hee is alwayes an Ecclesiasticall person, as the Arch-Bishop of *Toledo*, or the Arch-Bishop of *Sinill*. He is assisted by twelue other councillors, who doe altogether deale in matters appertaining to religion. They giue chastisement to heretiques; haue care of catholique affaires; and peruse all Bookes before they be imprinted, to auoyd them of offence or corruptions. Other the like busineses are referred to their charge, for the better preservation of holy faith.

The Council of the Orders.

In *Spaine* there are three seuerall degrees of Knights, all honourable gentlemen, containing every one by themselves, one proper & peculiar Order of knighthood, introduced in former times by diuers Kings of the Land. The first and principall among all the other, is that of the knights

Th 3 of

The reason of the Kings Councillors name.

The bare and prouidence of the Court cell.

The President of the Council.

The reason of first instituting the council of Inquisition.

The Council of Inquisition onely for Religious occasions.

Three federal Orders of Knighthood in *Spaine*. Of S. James of Calatrava Of Alcantara.

The loue and beneuolence of Subjects is much encreased by the lite of the Prince according to his lawes.

Spaine subiect to the Moores for many yeares

Spaine in the gouernment of petty kings & Terrarches.

1 Tarracon.
2 Carthage.
3 Lusitania
4 Gallicia.
5 Baetica.
6 Tingitana.

The Vandales got the rule of *Spaine*.

No Kings of *Spaine*, but Kings of the *Gothes*.

The reason
for this coun-
cels first occi-
nation.

The great
Master of
these Orders.

Their Office
& authority.

Columbus the
first revealer
of the Indies.

Twelve coun-
cellers of the
Indies, and
one President

The reason of
this Councils
negotiation.

of *S. James*: the second, the Knights of *Calatrava*: and the third, the Knights of *Alcantara*. These three Orders haue (each one to it selfe) many Citties and Castles vnder their gouernment, gotten and obtained in diuers times: and because their managing is great, and as if it were a kingdom within it (else, therefore this Council of these Orders was ordained. Whereof there is a President, with foure Councillers, and these meeting all together, do prouide Magistrates of the Orders, of Lawes, and of all other things that appertaine to the foresaid Orders. The King is the great Master of these Orders, & when any expedition is to be performed by the Order of *S. James*, the King in his Letter, next vnto the ordinary stile or title that is usually given him, writeth; *And perpetual Administrator of S. James, &c.* Next vnto the King, followeth the great Commendator of *Leon*, as being Commendator of the Order of *S. James*; and after him, the Commendator of *Castile*. These altogether with the King, do dispense the commendums of spirituall livings: but for that, looke in our Booke of the originall of Knights.

The Councell of the Indies.

When it pleased God, by the means of *Don Christophero Columbus*, to open (in our time) that part of the world, which formerly was shut vp from all of vs now here dwelling, and whereof the kings of *Spaine* haue (in part) bin Patrones: for gouernment of that part (as necessity required) a Councell of the *Indies* was created, consisting of twelve Councillers, with one President. These then do attend vpon all such matters, as appertaine to the gouerning of *India*. And therefore they haue their full power, sendinge their Gouernors, Officers, and all kinde of prouision, as is fit for those kingdomes, which are vnder the Crowne of *Castile*.

The Council of Warre.

When it so belitteth out, that any matter of action is to be vnderaken, eyther for defence of themselves, or any new acquisition, the Council of Warre do meete together: among whom are the Lords of the Council Royall, the great Commendator of *Leon*, the Commendator of *Castile*, with other cheefe

Rulers.

The secret Councell.

All of all is the Councell for matters of secrecy, wherein the King is present, the great Chancellor, the great Commendator of *Leon*, and the third part of the Councell Royall, with the President. Being set together, they giue dispatch to matters of greatest secrecy, and which do most import the King, as appertaining properly to the State.

Three Judges, and the Restor.

For causes incident to ciuill and criminall iudgement, three Judges are ordained in criminall occasions, who, as being Tribunes of the common people, do dispatch all criminall occurrences. And when the ordinary *Podesta*, or cheefe Officers are there present, they attend on ciuill affaires: but if it fall out, that hee cannot be there in person, the three Judges doe then take order in ciuill matters. These are alwayes in those Citties, where the appointed Courts are kept.

The three Chanceries.

Over and beside the fore-named Councils and Offices, the King hath three Courts of audience, called three Chanceries, placed in three kingdomes, diuided the one from the other. One is in *Valadolid*, consisting of twelve Councillers, and with one President. These do sit every morning separately in foure Halls, three in each Hall. The second is in *Granada*, the principall city of the kingdom of *Granada*, as being the first and cheefe. The third and last is in *Galicia*, beinge neyther more or lesse in power, then the two former. To this Court of audience go all the causes of *Spaine*, and they may each of them (by themselves) expedite their causes, without any interuention one of another. The appeales and chalenges of the *Restor* of *Granada*, and those of *Castile*, to *Valadolid*, and so from hand to hand. But in regard that they haue superiours, and for the satisfaction of the people, such as liue themselves greued in the fore-named Audiences, or Chanceries, may appeale from them to the Councell Royall. Moreover, each of these fore-named Chanceries haue *Restors* or Commanders,

They haue
the charge of
private and
secret occa-
sions.

After the au-
gent name of
the Roman
Tribunes.

Three hundred
Counsellors
diuised in
Valadolid,
Granada, and
Galicia.

The Appelles
and Chalenges
of each
Court.

Appelles to
the Royall
Councell.

ders, with criminall iurisdiction.

Vice-Royes, or Kings Deputies.

Because *Spaine* (as formerly hath bene said) is diuided into diuers kingdomes, the cheefe or principall whereof is *Arragon*: the King hath and doth usually send into those kingdomes, Deputies, or Vice-Royes, to gouern there in his name. They are elected and made choise of by him, being first affirmed by the councell Royall, to be Princes of the country, men of vertue and valor, and deserveng advancement to so high degree. *Valencia* hath her Vice-Roy, who gouerneth the kingdom of *Valencia*, by the same authority as was receiued from the former Kings of *Arragon*, and by the ancient lawes and orders of the kingdom. In *Barcelona* likewise, the principall city of *Catalogna*, ruleth another Vice-Roy, making vic of the lawes, customes, and ordinances of the kingdom of *Barcelona*. In *Arragon* also is another Vice-Roy, who maketh his residence in *Sarragossa*. This Vice-Roy gouerneth by the ancient lawes of *Arragon* (as other Vice-Royes do by the *Castilian* lawes) because it is the head of the other kingdomes. The kingdom of *Narrarre* hath also her Vice-Roy, abiding in *Pampalona*, who ruleth this kingdom according to the lawes thereof, and those of the crowne of *Castile*, because it was last of all conquered by *Don Ferdinand*, the catholike King. All the fore-named Vice-Royes, doe acknowledge the King of *Spaine*, and his councell Royall, in all their causes.

The Treasurer of Castile.

All of all, there liueth in Court the Treasurer, a most honourable degree, and of great importance, who receiue the monies of all the kingdomes reuenues. Hee hath foure Contadores or Auditors vnder his command, who doe gather and collect the monies from the people, and bringing them vnto the Treasurer, payments are continually made forth, as command is given by the King to the Treasurer.

Arragon the
principall
kingdome of
Spaine.

The manner
and order of
the Vice-
Royes gouern-
ing in their
seuerall char-
ges.

Hispania Ci-
uitatis.

*Castar aug-
mentat Tarraco-
nem in Spaine

Pampalona
conquered by
King Ferdin-
ando.

Foure Audi-
tors of col-
lections and
accounts.

CHAP. II.

Of the Kingdom of Portugall; the beginning, continuance, and present estate thereof, with the Customes, Lawes, and administration of Iustice therein obserued.



HE kingdom of *Portugall* began in the year of Christ, one thousand, five hundred and ten, and after this manner. *Henry Earle of Lorraine* comming thither, performed many valiant deeds against the *Sarrasins*, and his high deservings moued *Alphonfus* the first king of *Castile*, to giue him a Bastard daughter of his in marriage, named *Teresa*. And in way of dowry, he assigned also vnto him that part of *Galicia*, which was then contained in *Lusitania*.

Of this marriage was *Alphonfus* borne, who was the first that ever titled himselfe king of *Portugall*: and hee was the first also, that tooke the city of *Lisbone* from the *Sarrasins*. For he hauing conquered five of their Kings in seuerall battailes, caused his Armes to be adorned with five seuerall Crownes & Coat-Armors, which ever after continued the Ensigne of the kings of *Portugall*, in perpetuall memory of his valour. But he quickly staued this faire fame, with cruelty by him to his owne Mother. For after her second marriage, he caused her to be imprisoned, and albeit the Pope laboured the matter greatly, by the means of his Legate, yet could he neuer compasse his grace and fauour for her deliuerance. Which sinne was severely punished on him afterward by his enemies, who tooke him in battaile. And then his Sonne *Santisio* succeeded him, and after *Santisio*, diuers other, to *John*, who was the tenth king in direct and naturall line.

This *John* was (at the first) expelled from his kingdom, and made a Knight of *S. Iohn of Ierusalem*: but at length hee was recalled to his kingdom, where hee made very honourable proofe of his valour, and (among diuers famous deeds) he tooke from the *Sarrasins* the city of *Seplia*. Hee had seven Sonnes, among which, *Ferdinand* (for integrity of life)

How the king-
dome had be-
gun.

*The third
part of Spaine
now called
Portugall,
parted on the
North from
Tarracon, by
the River Du-
rus on the
South, from
Barricab the
Rider Anas.

The successi-
on in the king-
dome after
Alphonfus
the first.

The King of
Portugall a
Knight of S.
Iohn of Ieru-
salem.

was

was termed a Saint.

Henry another of his sonnes, was the first that found *Nova Insula*, in the *Atlanticke* Sea. Hee being very skilfull in the Mathematickes, lived continually without a wife, and made his dayly abiding in a Promontorie, which was called the Cape of Saint *Vincent*, and there he died, in the year, 1460. But *Edward*, who was the eldest Brother, was made King; and he added to the kingdom of *Portugall*, by means of his warres, *Zelia*, *Tegaz*, and *Alcazar* in *Affrica*. Hee had two daughters, or sisters (as some say) named *Joane* and *Leonora*; the first was married to the King of *Castile*, and the other unto *Frederick* the third, Emperor, of whom was borne *Maximilian* the first, who was afterward Emperor, and Grandfather to *Charles* the fifth.

He had also a son, named *Alphonso*, who succeeded him in the kingdome, and begate *John* and *Emanuel*, that was the fourteenth King of *Portugall*. *Emanuel* had *John*, who tooke to wife the sister of the fore-named *Charles* the fifth, Emperor, called *Katherine*, and begate *Lodowicke*, that dyed an infant, and *Isabell* who was wife to the said *Charles*, and had another daughter also, which was married to *Charles* Duke of *Sauoy*. After these succeeded *Sebastian*, who (in our time) fighting against the Moors, was slain, & the King of *Morocco* with him, besides divers other great Lords of the Moors.

Henrie, Yockle to the deceased King, followed him in succession, he being then a Cardinall, and very aged, holding the kingdome some few months. But he dying, *Phillip* King of *Spain*, entered on the kingdome; withstanding the claime and title of *Don Anthonio*, being a Brothers sonne to the dead King *Henrie*, & so outweared him with troubles, that he could neuer attaine thereto in full possession, and so it remaineth still in the Spaniards power.

Concerning the gouernement of this kingdome, it hath the very same forme & obseruation as all the rest of *Spain* hath, as being a part of that Prouince. For, there is a high Constable, and a Lord Great Steward, with all other dignities elsewhere related. By the Title and name of great Lords, there is the Duke of *Braganza*, the Duke of *Colimbra*, the Duke of *Viseo*, the Duke of *Trafossa*, the Duke

of *Barcella* and the Duke of *Anaria*. There is also the Marquess of *Villa Reale*, the Marquess of *Torra Nuova*, the Marquess of *Monte Maggiore*, and the Marquess of *Ferrira*, with an infinite number of Earles. There is likewise the Order of Knight-hood, called the *Knights of Christ*, honoured and esteemed much aboute all other, and whereof the King is the Great Maister.

Among these honourable persons in this Order, as an approoued man of valour, most signale for many vertues, liberal minde and courtesie, beside speedyest intelligence in matters of Military discipline, is the Lord *Flaminio Zambeccaro*, Lord of *Castella* in *Campagna*, who liueth at this day in *Florence*, and highly affected of the Duke.

CHAP. III.

Of the Antiquity, Originall, Customs, Lawes and administration of Iustice, obserued in the kingdome of Naples.

THE Citie of Naples, being most ancient and Noble in all respects, giueth the Title of kingdome vnto all the Prouinces which it holdeth and possesseth, even by his owne proper name. Therefore wee may thence frame our argument, what the greatnesse of that Citie hath formerly bene, in regard that all the parts by it possessed, deriue from thence the Title of a Kingdome; which I do not holde to be of any great antiquity, because the Normanes tooke it from the Grecians, who possessed the Prouince in diuers partes thereof, and then it was rearm'd the County or Earledome of *Puglia*, or *Apulia*; as some do yet call it.

Robert Guiscard, a verie valiant and worthy man, having expulsed (in a manner) all the Grecians thence, & taken *Sicily* also from the Sarrazins; would needs style himselfe Duke of *Apulia* and of *Calabria*, and Earle of *Sicily*. In no long time after this, his Nephew *Ruggiero* or *Roger*, hauing conquered the Citie

Marquess.

Earles.

Order of Knight hood.

The Sicilian Euenings.

A description of the whole kingdome in length and breadth.

That part of Italy which is betweene the mouth of Tiber and the Grecians: so called of *Lacuna* in it it is called the Citie of Rome, whereof it is now called *Campagna di Roma*.

How the kingdome deriue thence by the Citie name.

A part of Italy, bordering vpon the Adriaticke Sea.

Robert Guiscard the valiant Norman.

of Naples, which till that time had bene in the Grecians gouernment) obtayned the title of King of both the *Sicillies*, by *Anacletus* the Anti-Pope, in the year 1130. which afterward was confirmed to him in good and lawfull manner. And from that time, it was called the kingdom of *Sicily*, on this side *Pharos*; vntill the reigne of *Charles* the first, when it became diuided from *Sicily*, by occasion of that famous accident, called *Fespro Siciliano*, the *Sicilian* Euening, wherein so manie of the French were slaine. I finde moreover in many good Historians, that this kingdome hath had 3. seuerall Names, to wit; the kingdome of *Naples*, the kingdome of *Apulia*, and the kingdom of *Sicily*, on this side *Pharos*, the bounds or circumference whereof, at this day is thus described.

First of all, by Land-way, measure of the Line, and the Confines of the whole Kingdome, with the Sea-shores & stronds; as also *Campagna di Roma*, sometimes called *Latum*, which (at this day) terminateth the riuier of *Ofento*, on this side *Terracina*, and from the mouth of the sayde Riuier, where it entereth into the *Terrene Sea*, proceeding on still towards the *Apennines*, with *Latum*, and part of *Sabina*: then passing the *Apennines*, with part of *Vmbria* and of *Picenum*, now called *Marca d'Ancona*, vnto the Confines thereof, is the Riuer *Truentus* or *Tromto*, where it entereth into the bosom of the *Adriaticke* maine. Which Scale or Line, because it doth not directly extend it selfe forth, but passeth on by turnings and windings, euermore from one of the forenamed Riuers to another, by the terminations of those Regions, it containeth about an hundred and fifty miles in length. Passing on thence from *Terracina*, by the confines of the kingdome, to *Ponte Corone*, and *Ceperano*; and by the confines of *Aieti*, thorow the country of *Trojano*, to *Interdoso*, and *Civita Reale*, then to *Maritima*, and thence (by the river) to *Aseoli*, till we come to the mouth of *Tromto*; the Line here being directly extended, will containe about an hundred thirty miles in length, or little lesse. By the sea-coasts along the banke and shore, the whole kingdome windeth about, like vnto an Island almost round engirt with water, as towards the middest of the *Terrhene* Sea,

and so on to the *Sicilian* sea. On the East side, from the *Adriaticke* sea, and so vnto the North, part of the *Ionian* sea, to farre as *Monte Gargano*, or *Santo Angelo*, and part of the *Adriaticke* bosome, from *Gargano* to *Tromto*, the Kingdome, extendeth it selfe, and imparteth her boundes with the faide sea: all which circumference, from *Ofento* to *Tromto*, and in length by the sea-shores, containeth in all 1418. miles, in this manner.

From *Terracina* to *Naples*, are eighty two miles. From *Naples*, to the heade of the gulf of *Policastro*, an hundred fortie seven miles. From the head of *Policastro* to *Rhegium* in *Calabria*, an hundred eighty three miles. From *Rhegium* to the head of *Spartimento*, so to *Capo della Colonne*, now called *Lacinium*, an hundred and ninety miles. From *Capo delle Colonne*, to *Taranto*, two hundred miles. From *Taranto*, to *Capo di Leuca*, now called *Salento*, thirtie miles. From *Capo di Leuca*, to *Capo d'Otranto*, sixe and twenty miles. From *Capo d'Otranto*, to *Capo S. Angelo*, now called *Gargano*, two hundred two and twentie miles. From *Capo S. Angelo*, to the uttermost confines, which is the riuier of *Tromto*, two hundred miles. All which sums in this roundure (by the sea boundles) do make one thousand, foure hundred, and eightene miles. Wherunto adioyning the foresaid hundred & fiftie miles, which is the space of the Land by measured line, wherewith if wee ioine to the other part of *Italy*, from *Ofento* to *Tromto*, it summeth vp, one thousand five hundred sixty eight miles. And this is now (at this day) the dimension or measure of the kingdomes circuit.

These following Regions and Prouinces, are contained and embraced within the whole bodie. *Latia* *Munip*, that is one part, so much as is from the Riuer of *Terracina*, reaching to *Garigliano*. For, one part of the true *Latia*, which anciently extended it selfe, so farre as to *Baker* *Lazio*, that now adays is called *Garigliano*, beginneth from *Ofento* thence to *Pharos* (the sea). And *Adriaticke* is that part, where there are three partitions made of all the Regions which lye between *Terracina*, *Sabina*, the *Apennines*, and *Terracina*, and termed by three seuerall names, to wit; *Latia*, *Campagna di Roma*, and *Marchia* *Maritima*, yet notwithstanding, in elder dayes, (so farre

d A hill in *Apulia*, now called *Mons S. Angeli*.

The full accountory, embracing of the miles from one place to another thorough the kingdome.

A Promontorie in the furthest part of *Italy*, deuiding the *Ionian* and *Adriaticke* Seas, where *Hercules* built a Temple to *Iuno*, and called it *Lacinia*.

Regions and Prouinces contained in this kingdome.

A River in *Campania*, running by the riuer *Minicure*.

The sea betwixt *Tylosa* or *Hetruscia*, called also *Mar inferum*.

* A high mountain in *Portugal*, called *Saturn Promontorium*.

The succellion of the Kings of *Portugal*, in their right line and order.

Sebastian K. of *Portugal*, slaine in the battell of *Alcazar*.

Philip the first King of *Spain*.

Of the order and gouernment of the kingdome.

Dukes.

farre as *Garigliano* was called all by one name, to wit, *Latio Nuovo*, or new *Latinum*. And in this Region the chiefe Landes and Cities, are *Formella*, *Fondi*, and *Gaeta*.

Olde *Campania*, which stretcheth from *Garigliano*, so farre as the river *Sarnus*: therein is *Naples* and *Capua*, a most noble City, as well in auncient as moderne times.

Picenum, or where the *Picentines* inhabit, holdeth on from *Sarnus*, to the River *Silarus*, and the most famous Cities therein, are *Sorrento*, *Nocera* de *Pagani*, & *Salernum*.

Lucania, called sometimes *Sao*, contains it selfe betweene the river *Silarus*, and that called *Saprio*. And therein the Cities of most note are *Pontecastro* & *Salerno* elder times also there were *Pesum* and *Buxentum*, and among the mountains are many Castles.

Where the *Brutii* do live, it confineth with *Lucania*, and runneth along the river *Saprio* vpon the *Terrhene* sea, so farre as the Promontory of *Lecopetra*, at this day called *Capo dell'Arme* in the *Sicilian* Sea, where the *Apennine* Mountains do end, which beginning at the *Alpes*, run all along through the midst of *Italy*, and the vertie poore over the saide Cape, is now adays called by *Marriners*, *Punta di Tarlo*, the point of *Tarlo*. In this part, the most principall places are *Cosenza*, and *Rhegium* on the Sea, otherwise tearmed *Iunio*, as a difference and distinction from that *Rhegium* which is in *Lombardi*, so named by *Lepidus*.

Magna Grecia, or Great *Grecia*, runneth along from *Capo dell'Arme*, turning Northerly towards the Promontorie of *Capo di Spartimento*, now called *Herculanum*, by the Seacoast so farre as *Taranto*, where it entrench into the Adriaticke sea. In it, are *Squillace*, *Taranto*, and *Cotrone*.

The countrey of the *Salentines*, is on the brest of *Taranto*, so farre as *Capo di Leuca*, now called the *Salentine* Promontorie. In it are situated *Calipolis* and *Pogento*.

Calabrie selfe, which hath so continued, runneth vnto *Capo di Leuca* Northward, so farre as *Brundisium* in the *Ionian* sea. The famous Cities therein, are *Lecci*, *Brundisium*, or *Brandisium*, and

Hydruntum, now called *Otranto*. These two Regions (I meane *Salentinum* & *Calabria*, which is that part of Land which extendeth towards the East, between the *Gulfes* of *Taranto* and the *Ionian* sea) being ioyned together with one name, now adays termed *Terra d'Otranto*, was called by our forefathers *Capigia* and *Mesapesa*. And it is an Island round engirt with waters; for from *Taranto* to *Brundisium*, which are vpon the two seas, there is not in firme land above 35 miles.

Apulia *Pucetia*, betweene *Brundisium* & *Offento*, vpon the *Ionian* Gulfe, is now adays (along the sea-coast) called *Terra di Bari*, and *Loucanazzo*, & lyeth betweene the fandy countreies.

Capitanato, of plain *Apulia*, with its extenture betweene *Offento* and the River called *Fortore*, passeth on, on the *Ionian* Gulfe, so far as *Capo S. Angelo*, & thence vpon the Adriaticke bosome to *Fortore*. The places of most note, are *Salupis*, *Silipio*, and *Manfredonia*, a new city built by King *Maufred*. It is also between *Terra Luceria*, or *Nocera* de *Saracini*, and *Canoja*.

Frentani are a people living from *Fortore* to the River *S. Agria*, or *Sagra*, now called the bloody river, on the Adriaticke Gulfe. Chiefe cities therein, are *Eliotoni*, sometime cald *Istonium*, *Larino*, & *Laciano*.

The *Peligni* dwell betweene the River *Sagra*, and that called *Pescara*, sometime *Aternus*. The fairest city, betweene *Terra Sulmana*, and *Pentina* on the seacoast, is *Ortano*.

The *Marcini* do inhabit from the river of *Pescara*, so farre as *Tronto*, the vnto ending of the kingdome, along the sea-shore on the Adriaticke gulfe. There is a Sea-Cittie, which is called *Francavilla* or *Frentana*, and a Land-city called *Chieti*.

Above the *Marcini*, betweene the land of the *Apennines*, and where they do take best rooting, beginning at the confines of the *Peligni*, so now called, and turning towards *Marca d'Ancona*, are three other people in order, to witte, the *Veitini*, whose City was named *Penna*, and now called the city of *Penna*; the *Amietini* and *Furrani*, of whose ruines the citie of *Aquila* was builded, some final distance off.

The *Veitini*, neighbor with the *Prentini*, of whom

whom it is verily credited, that the name of the *Brutii*, now tearmed *Abruzzesi*, was first deriued.

The *Marfi* dwell more inward to the Mountains, whose most famous place is *Celano*, with her Lake *Lucina*, now tearmed of the *Marfi* and *Albi*. These fixe forenamed people, are all called by one name, *Abruzzesi*; but oftentimes by writers they are vnderstood vnder the nomination of the *Samnites*.

Samnio, from the point of Land, and almost to the middest of the Kingdome, hath *Latinum* and *Campania* in length, both on this side, and beyond the *Apennines*. At this day it is called *Valle Beneuentana*, the valley of *Beneuentum*, which extendeth it selfe in length, so farre as the River *Silarus*, eighty miles. Places of greatest name heretofore, were *Esernia*, *Sepino*, *Tellio*, *Beneuentum* and *Boniano*.

The *4th Hirpini*, otherwise called *Samnites*, do confine with the *Picentines*, *Lucanes* and *Apulians*, partaking at this day with *Principato* and *Basilicata*. The most noted Cities, are now *Avellino* and *Agnone*.

I finde that all these Regions haue (by our Moderne writers) beene diuided into seuen feuerall principall partes or Provinces, if we may so tearme them, to wit, *Terra di Lauoro*, *Principato*, *Basilicata*, *Calabria*, *Terra di Otranto*, *Apulia* & *Abruzzo*. Vhich Prouinces haue (since then) according to order of later diuision, bene parted into twelue Regions, as I finde them in the Registers of *Naples*, in this manner.

Terra di Lauoro, which hath in lands, Cities, and Castles, to the number of 198.

Contado di Moniffo, hath 108.

Abruzzo the neereft, hath 155.

Abruzzo the furthest, hath 288.

Capitanata, hath 96.

Terra di Bari, hath 50.

Basilicata, hath 103.

Terra d'Otranto, hath 172.

Principato the neereft, hath 129.

Principato the furthest, hath 164.

Calabria the neereft, hath 162.

Calabria the furthest, hath 147.

All which being fully summed toge-

ther, in Cities, Lands, and Castles, as hath formerly bene sayde, and all inhabited with plenty of people, and furnished with all things commodious for the life of man, do amount to one thousand seuen hundred, seuentie foure.

There are certaine Islands also in the bodie of this kingdome, which circle, neighbour, or are opposite: as on the *Terrhene* sea, directly facing *Terracina* & *Gaeta*, are the Isles of *Ponza*, and of *Palmarola*. And ouer-against *Isola*, is the Ile of *Desfente*. At the encountering of *Pozzuolo*, is that of *Ischia*; neere to which is *Procida*, or *Prochyta*, made famous by those yong Gallants that denified & performed the *Sicilian* Evening beside *Africari* and *Capraia*, so highly beloued of the Emperor *Tiberius*, opposite to *Capo della Minerva*.

The three *Sirenusse* do front *Passitano*; one of them being called *Gale*, another *Anona*, and the third *S. Pietro*. There is likewise the Ile of *Lipara*, which titlith aboute ten miles, wherein are some Cities. On the Adriaticke maine, right against *Varino*, are those of *Rafaja* & *Cargano*; and the foure other called *Diomedea*, now adays called *Tremite*, but they are very little; and the two greater thereof are called, the one *S. Maria*, the other *S. Doimo*, and the two lesser are, the one *Gaiuzzo*, and the other *Caprara*. These are Islands of some note and name, omitting other places, which bee comprehended within the confines of the kingdome of *Naples*.

With them might bee ranked that of *Scily*, an Italian Island, great & wealthy; but that it is an Ile of it selfe, & at this day deuided from the kingdome. Notwithstanding, it did sometime partake in name with the kingdome of *Naples*. For some Kings, as *Fredericke* the eleventh, *Maufred* his sonne, *Charles* the first of *Anion*, and *Alphonfus* the first of *Arragon*, posselving both the one and other, wrote their titles both on this side, and beyond *Pharos*. Whereupon, when we find it written simply the kingdome of *Scily*; it is meant of this Ile, & not of *Scily* on this side *Pharos* in *Italy*.

In this Kingdome are twenty Archbyshoppricks, to wit, of *Naples*; which hath fise Byshoppes vnder it: Of *Capua*, which hath ten. Of *Salernum*, which hath ten.

b A River of Campania, rising out of *Sarnus*, a hill in Picenum.

i A River of Lucania, diuiding it from Picenum.

k Taking nam of *Leda* a City in *Italy*.

l People dwelling aboute the Lucani.

m A Promontory of Rhegium in Italy, against Sicily.

n That part of Italy, from *Laurentum* to *Cuma*.

o A Towne in Campania.

p People almost entoured with the sea, neere to *Apulia*.

q A city of Calabria, by the Adriaticke sea, in hath a goodly Haucn.

r The Land of the *Salentines*.

s Where higher was worshipped in this conia.

t An Ile wher narrow entrance is a whole dayes iourney.

u Called also *Sepino* & *Avellino* among the *Samnites* in *Italy*.

v A river lately, passing the *Peligni* from the *Est* tani.

y A river rising by *Ferentino* in *Italy*. x When *Cal* was burnt.

z A people in *Italy*.

aa Neer to the *Druni* and *Ph* centers.

cc People of *Italy*, neere to the *Marfi*.

dd A City in *Campania*.

ee So called for their Cowardice and base manners. ff Bordering on the *Samnites* & *Aequicani*.

gg Heree live the mountain people, between the *Samnites* and the *Marfi*.

hh Heree the river *Aufidius* in *Apulia* riseth.

ii Called also *Valturnum*.

jj Seuen principall partes or diuision, after ward made.

kk *Campania*, accounted the most fertile & pleasant in all the world.

ll The general sum collected together.

mm Is in the *Kingdome*.

nn The Cittie *Nola* in *Campania*. oo *Puteoli*, 8. miles from *Naples*.

pp Beyond *Surrenum* in *Campania*.

qq Three Isles befo. e *Lucania*.

rr Containing twen Isles betweene *Italy* and *Sicily*.

ss Isles opposite to *Garganus*.

tt A famous Ile in the *Terrhene* sea, 6.8 miles about, sometime pertaining to the kingdome of *Naples*.

uu A Gulfe of the sea by *Sicily*, cald also *Charibdis*, dangerous to passe.

vv How manie Archbyshoppricks are in the kingdome and Byshops vnder them.

ten. Of *Amalfi* foure. Of *Sorrento* three. Of *Conza* fix. Of *Cilento* fix. Of *Taranto* two. Of *Brindusum* one, and hath conioyned with it the Arch-bishoppricke of *Oria*. Of *Otranto* fix. Of *Bari* twelue. Of *Trani* fix. Of *Filipane* one, and hath vntied with it the Archbithoppricke of *Monte de S. Angelo*. Of *Beneuentum* twenty three. Of *Ciuità di Chieti* three. Of *Sanciano* four. Of *Rhegium* eleuen. Of *Cosenza* one. Of *Rossino*, which hath no Bishops See vnder it. Of *Saint Seuerina* ten. And there is the Archbithoppricke of *Matera* beside.

There are also an hundred twenty four Bishops, which are vnder the aboue named Archbithoppricks; only the bishop of *Bisignano* excepted, who is not subiect to any one.

It is also to bee noted, that the Title of Prince is greater in this kingdome, then that of Duke. And the Principalities there are ten in number, to wit, of *Ascoli di Bisignano*, of *Evoli*, of *Melfi*, of *Molfetta*, of *Monchercole*, of *Squillati*, of *Siegliano*, of *Salerno*, and of *Venosa*.

There are likewise three and twentie Dukedomes. As of *Andri*, of *Amalfi*, of *Ariano*, of *Asi*, of *Baiano*, of *Castellmarsi*, of *Noerri*, of *Popola*, of *Rocca di Mondragone*, of *S. Pietro in Galatina*, of *Seminara*, of *Sessa*, of *Somma*, of *Sora*, of *Tagliacozzo*, of *Termoli*, of *Terra noua*, and of *Traieto*, together with those of *Grauna di Martina*, of *Montalto*, of *Montelione*, and of *Nardo*.

The Marquesates are 29. of *Anna*, of *Arienza*, of *Bellata*, of *Bucchanico*, of *Campagna*, of *Capo Vesio*, of *Castel Vetere*, of *Chierchiano*, of *Ciuità S. Angelo*, of *Corigliano*, of *Lama*, of *Lauro*, of *Sicilia*, of *Misurata*, of *Oria*, of *Oriolo*, of *Padula*, of *Beruentana*, of *Pulignano*, of *Quarata*, of *Santo Lucito*, of *Terza*, of *Torre di Francisca*, of *Torre Maggiore*, of *Trinico*, of *Tursi*, of *Valle Siciliana*, of *Pasto*, and of *Pico*.

There are in like manner, 54. Earles of State, 15. Lords, and 443. entituled Barons. And it is verily supposed, that in any kingdome of the world, there are not so many great Princes and Lordes, as in this, because they are (by nature) of high and lofty courage. And nowe I call to minde, in this matter, that I haue read in some Registers, bearing date of the year 1521. that the Emperor *Charles* the fife,

fold many Titles and Lordships in the kingdom, & that many Gentlemen sold their goodes at ten in the hundred, and bought these Lordships at three in the hundred.

This kingdome so highly ennobled, full of worthy Princes, most rich and fertile, as more cannot bee wished; was for long time gouerned by diuers kings. For beside the Normans, who helde it manie years, and (as hath bene sayde) wonne it the title of a Realme; it fell at length to *Fredericke* the second, Emperour, who had it of *Henry* the sixt his Father: after whom succeeded *Corrado* Emperour, son to *Fredericke*; and after him it came (by reason) to *Corradino*, Nephew to *Corrado*. But *Manfredo* the bastard son to *Fredericke*, feigning that *Corradino* was dead vsurped the State, and made himself king. But Pope *Vrbane* the fourth (beeing enemy to *Manfredo*) excommunicated him, and deputed him of the kingdome: inuefing therein in Anno 1266. *Charles* the 1. of *Anion*, Brother to *Lewes* the eight, K. of *France*, who (first of all) slew *Manfredo*, and afterwards causing *Corradino* to be beheaded, tooke it in full possession.

Charles the second, Sonne to *Charles* Prince of *Salerno* had it next; and then succeeded him, *Robert* the excellent Philosopher; who was a very louing friend to *Petrarch*. After him, the succelsion fell to *Ioane*, the Neece of *Robert* by *Charles*; and next succeeded *Charles* the third, K. of *Durazzo*.

After his death there happened contention for the kingdome, betwene *Ladislaw* sonne to *Charles* the third, and *Lewes* of *Anion*: but *Ladislaw* remaining full Patron, held it till the year one thousand and foure hundred and foureteene: and then succeeded *Ioane* the second, his sister; in whose place (making himselfe King by force of armes) rose *Alphonso* of *Arragon* the sonne to *Ferdinando*, who left it vnto *Ferdinando* his bastard son. Next to him succeeded *Alphonso* the second, who troubled himselfe not long in the Kingdome, by the comming of *Charles* the eight, K. of *France* into Italy, for recouerie of the kingdome, and then renounced it to *Ferdinando* the second, his son; from whom it came to *Frederigo*, Vnckle to the sayde *Ferdinando*.

Afterward it fell to *Charles* the fift, Em-

The Normans gouerned Naples many years

The success of the Kings of Naples after the Normans

b Epistamum called also Durace, in that part of Macedonia lying on the Adriaticke Sea

A constitution concerning the kingdome of Naples

Emperor, who had the inuefiture from Pope *Leo* the tenth. For there was such a constitution betwene the Popes, Emperors, and Kings of *Naples*, that whosoever was Emperour, he could not bee King of *Naples*: and therefore he gaue it ouer to *Philip* the first, King of *Spain*, whose sonne *Philip* the second, now holdeth it, keeping there a Vice-roy, with most ample authority, and representeth there the Kings owne person. Whereby he is very much honoured and reuerenced of all his subordinate Gouernors, according as he causeth himselfe to be esteemed, both by his valour and authority.

The High Constable.

The Officers or Magistrates of the Kingdome, are seauen in theyr seuerall degrees; but he whom they terme *Sindico*, that representeth the whole City, and speaketh for all as chiefeft Aduocate, is the Constable, or rather high Marshall. He is the first man of the kingdome, and Captaine general for all ordinances of warre. He (as Lieutenant to the king) ordaineth and provideth all such things, as appertaine to the preparation for warre: hauing charge of the Sentinelles, encamping men, providing tents and lodgings, appointing the Ensignes Royall, and (in breefe) hee hath the care for all matters that concerne Armes. In which place, he hath authority to chaffeise, and to put to death such persons as commit Theft, Rapine, Homicides, and other misdemeanors in the Campe. And this Office continueth so long as warres lasteth.

When the King createth him in this dignity, deliuering a Truncheon to him, he vseth these words: *Take this holy Weapon, wherewith thou shalt expell the aduersaries of my people.*

The Great Iusticer.

The second Office, is that of Great Iusticer, or Lord chiefe Iustice, who hath iurisdiction as well in ciuill causes, as those that be criminal, and vnder his authority are all the Princes, Dukes, Marqueses, Lords, and Barons of the Kingdome; for to him belongeth care of offences against the Maiesty Royall. His Vicar or Lieutenant, is called Regent of the *vicaria*: who hath his Iudges both ciuill and cri-

minall, and his Tribunal is in the Court of the *vicaria*, hauing allowed him for his yearly prouision, fixe hundred Ducates.

The High Admirall.

The thirde Office, is that of Great or High Admirall, who hath the charge of Sea causes, and such things as appertaine to Nauall Art and profession. Hee looketh to the making, repairing, building, and appointing of all Shippes for Royall seruice, and keeping of all such vessels as come into the kingdome, from what parts soeuer. VVhen occasion fo requieth, and that it is imposed on him by the King, he setteth forth the Nauall Army in order. He appointeth both reall & corporeall punishments for delinquents, and hath ciuill and criminall iurisdiction ouer the Officers and others, that attend on Sea affayres.

The Great Chamberlaine.

The fourth Office, is, that of Great Chamberlaine, or the Chamberlaine of State, choofe-ye whether: whose Deputie or Lieutenant hath his iudgements Seate, in the Chamber called *sommara*. His charge is to haue care of the Kinges person, to prepare and adorne his bedde; as also his Garments, and to take order for all his vnder Chamberlaines, Guardians, and Treasurers. Hee keepeth all the customes of the kingdome, and taketh cognition of the matters belonging vnto the Royall Exchequer, the tonths, tolles, fines, reuenewes, and other things appertaining to the Kings person.

The Protonotary.

The fift Office is the Lieutenant, or rather Protonotarie. Hee standeth obliged to read before the King, and to conserue the writings and registers. He hath authority to create Notaries, Iudges, and to Legitimate Bastards. But the Catholike King hath (since then) transferred the Office of writings, and of the Registers, to the Kings Chancery.

The Great Steward.

The sixte Office, is that of Great Senef-

The High Admirall, the third Officer, & his authority.

The fourth officer, Lord Great Chamberlaine, and his authorities.

The Protonotary or chiefe Secretary, and his office

Seven feuerall places of Authority appertaining to the Kingdome.

The Office of the high Constable or Marshall.

The manner of the Constables creation.

The Lord chiefe Iustice, the second Officer of the Kingdome, and his authority.

Seneſchall or Steward, learned the *Ma-iordomo* or Maſter of the houſhold. This man hath the government of the houſehold Royall, and to provide all things neceſſary for life, as alſo garments for the Scrivants in the Kings Court, hauing like wiſe absolute power, to correct & puniſh all the familiars of the Kings houſe.

Great Chancellor.

Lord Chief Chancellor, the laſt office, & his charge.

The ſeuenth and laſt Office (of moſt importance in the kingdome) is that of Great Chancellor, who writeth the kings Letters of ſecrecie, and ſealeth al the priuiledges (graunted by the King) to any perſon. He hath alſo command ouer the walkers of Stations, the Beadles, the Studies, and ſuch like things. It is alſo to be remembered, that the high Conſtable, the Admirall, and the Protonotary, do ſit on the Kings right hand. And the Lord chief Juſtice, the Great Chamberlain, and the Great Chancellor, on the left hand. But the Great Steward, he ſitteth on a ſtoole at the Kings ſecte.

CHAP. IIII.

Of a Law obſerued amongſt the Rhodians, which enioyned and commanded Fathers (ſetting aſide all other buſineſſe and affairs) to marry their daughters with all poſſible ſpeed.

Greece the Mother of ancient Lawes.

Here are very fewe people, (in mine opinion) that are ignorant of the Romaine Lawes, which came firſt forth of Greece, and are continued to this day, ſurpaſſing al other nations whatſoeuer, in the actions of Juſtice and Policy, and among them haue many Common-weales flouriſhed, not onely in Military and warlike affaires, but alſo in good manners and policies. Among the reſt, that of the *Rhodians* is to be eſteemed; which not onely eſtabliſhed great ſtore of Lawes, to render euery man what belonged to him, & preferre the weaker ſort from oppreſſion; but alſo concerning the marriage of their daughters, becauſe no inconuenience ſhould

enſue to them, as to too many elſewhere happened. The Law then made for marriage of their daughters, was breecſely ſet downe in theſe words.

WE command, that a Father doe not torment himſelfe one onely day, for the marriage of ten ſonnes, if hee ſhould haue ſo many: but rather to labour and traugle tenne yeares, for the marriage of one onely daughter, being vertuous. That hee ſtand in water up to the mouth; That he ſweat great drops of blood, and labor in the ground, drawing like a Horſſe; That he do rather diſinherit all his Male-children, leaue all his wealth and riches to riſer abandoning, yea, and his owne proper life, onely to provide ſafeſtie for his daughters chaſtity.

This Law had bene worthy of obſeruation in the countries heereabout, where if it had liued in the like force and vertue, ſo many famous Families had neuer bin diſhonoured, by the ſhameleſſe immodities of ouer-many maidens, as haue remained to very woſull example. For, it hath bin noted, that Fathers (oſtentimes thorow greedy couetouſneſſe) would not allow Dowries to their daughters, anſwerable to their meanes and qualitie: in regard whereof, they haue cauſed them to be forſaken, and not fought vnto by any perſon. Sometimes alſo they haue giuen them greater eſtates then either was conuenient, or ſtood with their owne power, to the ruine and ouerthrow both of the one and other. Wee haue obſerued like wiſe, ſome ill aduifed fathers, who haue neglected their daughters marriages, being ouer-ſwayed with affection to their ſonnes, and bearing no reſpect at all to their daughters; yether ſuffering them to enter too farre into yeares, or elſe to bee ſhut vp in Religious houſes (by not affording them money meeſe for Marriage) where all their time they haue liued miſerably, and (many times) as vnchaſtly, and with much leſſe honour then they could haue done, if they had remained at liberty.

The common Prouerb is, that there are three things, which if men do them not, they will be done of themſelues: And the third of them is, that if men do not marry their daughters, then they will marry themſelues, and oſtentimes, to ſuch as are of bad life, or poore, or not agreeing with their owne quality, to the great diſhonor

The words of the Rhodians written Law, for the marriage of Maidens.

A verie great error and iniurie in Fathers towards their daughters.

Fathers that loue their ſonnes more then their daughters.

A great fault committed by ouer many Maidens.

The Rhodians eſtabliſh manie good Lawes.

A greivable fault to any Commonwealth.

To let them run to feede the heartes engathered.

Meete time for marriage in Maist.

The manie harmes that do enſue, by the deterring of marrying maidens.

The folly of ouer daughters in diſſolving the Religion of their wome.

where men are not to returne, as ſer of meeſe agree.

of themſelues and their parents. When this doth happen in any Commonwealth, alliances looſe themſelues, and there is nothing but reproch on the one ſide and other; whereby (too often) great quarrels do ariſe, ſuites in law, and other deſperate inconueniences.

To auyd all which dangers, Fathers ought to be aduertized, that it is not good to keep their daughters too long vnmarried; For as one ſaith very well; *It is a merchandiſe, which being kept, there is nothing gotten by it.* Prouiſion therefore (in this caſe) ſhould be made, when their daughters begin to enter into their puberty, which is, at 13. yeares of age, or (at the vttermoſt) at 16. or 18. and to make no longer delaying, if poſſibly it may be done: for then they are ripe, and ready to yeeld fruit. If they be kept any longer time, for the moſt part they loſe their beautie, and faireſt graces. They afford (according to common natural inſtinct, as well in beaſts, as in men, throwing all reaſon and reſpect behinde them) their affection to ſome ſuch, whom their Parents doe not thinke meeſe and conuenient, and (in the end) worke ſome taint or blemiſh vnto their owne modeſty. Or if they doe not, by reaſon of their frequent familiaritie with men, they ſhall be ſure talked of verie ſtrangely, which now adaies is grown ſo common and reproachfull, that euen the verie chaſteſt that liue, haue worke enough to doe, to exempt and cleare themſelues, from badde fame and ill reports.

Moreouer we daily behold, that when Parents doe provide for their daughters, ſuch as are ſomewhat entred into yeares, they will reſuſe the men that are thought meeſe for them, and made offer of to them in good diſcretion. Alledging that they haue already giuen their liking vnto another, and (as many times it comes to paſſe) to ſuch a one as is vtter enemy to their houſe; compelling their parents either to forſake them, without any choiſe at all, or elſe (with much ſorrow) to conſent thereto, onely to auoide the woort, whereby both Fathers and mothers remained diſcontented ſo long as they liue. Theſe warnings do ſpeake themſelues, as well vnto great perſons, ſuch as are not onely Emperors, Kings, Princes, and other illuſtrious bloodes, but alſo to Ple-

beians, and men of vſuall ranke, who do ſtand no more exempt from ill huſbanding their children, then the other do, but are euen as ready to faile therein, yea, and many times ſooner. Which I will approue by ſome Hiſtories, deriued from *Bandello* the Italian, and the *Annales* of France.

Adelaſia, daughter to one of the greateſt and moſt vertuous Emperors, named *Otho*, third of that name, that reigned after *Charlemaigne*, vntill his time, hauing liſtened vnto many Kings and Princes, who ſought his Daughter *Adelaſia* in Marriage, as well for her extraordinary beautie, as her other excellent graces, and Royall extraction; yet hee aſpiring (as it ſhould ſeeme) at ſome greater and more noble match, or a party of more worth (in his opinion) for his daughter, by means of theſe delays, brought incomparable miſfortune to his Imperial Houſe, which elſe had flouriſhed in manye happineſſe. *Adelaſia* grew enamored of a young youth, a ſonne to the houſe of *Saxony*, and both of them being ſecretly married, furniſhed with ſome ſmall ſtore of money, beſide a fewe Jewels and precious ſtones; beſooke themſelues to trauaile, attired and diſguiſed like Pilgrims. *Adelaſia* in the habite of a youth, with full deliberation, to make their abiding in ſome ſtrange countrey, far enough from *Allemagne*.

Thus wandering as fugitives, to ſatiſfie their owne voluptuous deſires, at the length, they were robbed on the Highway, and ſo by that meanes, were conſtrained (after long and importunate begging, traueſing manie Countreyes) to retire into a great Forreſt, ſituated betwene *Ath* and *Saxony*, in *Italy*, where (thorow great neceſſity) they began to exerciſe the labour of Colliers, enduring many ſtormes and hard afflicti- ons, for the ſpace of eighteen yeares together. In the end, it pleaſed God to be ſatiſfied with their humility & repentance, and to make them better knowne, by the meanes of one of their ſons, named *William*, who following the nature of his extraction, beſooke himſelfe to make one in the Imperial Armies in *Italy*, & greatly reſembling in fauour the Emperour *Otho*, whereby he was imagined to be iſſued of *Adelaſia*; which being found to fall

The H ſtory of *Adelaſia*, daughter to the Emperour *Otho* the 3.

Alerane, one of the young ſons to the Duke of *Saxony*.

* Called alſo *Sabana* in *Liguria*, a hilly country, reaching from *Apenninus* to the *Tuſcane Sea*, one way, and from the *River Meta*, to *Vatuna*, another way.

Natural Nobility can neuer be concealed from manieſt appearance.

Example of
great Charle-
mains daugh-
ter.

The history of
Judith, daugh-
ter to Charles
the Bald, king
of France.

Baldwin, Earl
of Flanders,
who had se-
cretly promi-
sed marriage
to Judith, be-
fore her going
to England.

Charles the
Bald, mollifi-
ed with many
warres, dyed.

our true, and the poore retreat of the
Collars (his parents) made knowne, the
Emperour pardoned them; & calling them
home into *Allemagne*, gaue them great
and liberrall meanes; but much blamed
himselfe, that he hadde not married his
daughter in such time as was fittest for
her. The like happened to that far more
puissant and great Emperour (his prede-
cessor) *Charlemaigne*; whose eldest daugh-
ter was found paillardising with one na-
med *Eginhard*, his Secretary, or (as some
say) Chanceour vnto the saide *Charle-
maigne*.

Some Kings of France haue also bene
payed with coine of the same stampe, as
well as these fore-named Emperours; wit-
nesse *Judith*, daughter to *Charles the Bald*,
second of that name. Her Father refused
to giue her in marriage to diuerse young
Allemaigne Princes, of great extraction,
as Dukes, Marquesses, and others: affe-
ction (much rather) to giue her in wed-
locke to a King of England, who had for-
merly beene an Archbyschop, a man aged
sickly, and impotent, with whome the re-
mained eight months only, and without
any hope of yssue. Repassing the sea, to
returne home into France, the sent vnto
Baldwine, Gouernor of the colliers coun-
trei, then termed *Pais Charbonnier*, but
now adayes called the countrey of *Flan-
ders*, a poore Prouince, wherto no other
Lieutenants or Gouernours were giuen
by the King, but such as were of smal and
slender renouwe. This *Baldwine* had clan-
destinely promised marriage to *Lady Ju-
dith*, before shee was sent into England,
he being a goodly person, faire and of ab-
solute forme, as many of that countrey of-
tentimes are, yet of no great discrecion,
a Gentleman in the midst of many neces-
sities, who surprized her on the seas (he be-
ing willing enough to be so taken) & car-
ried her home with him into his govern-
ment. The King was so displeased here-
with, & that iustly, that he appointed di-
uers forers to goe punish the rauisher of
his daughter, being his owne disloyal sub-
iect. But he was round engirt with so ma-
ny Vvares, as well against his Nephewes,
as his Brothers, and the Danes, that he
was sodainly enforced to defer his in-
tention for that time, dying not long af-
ter, bearing no meane greefe for this rape
(with him) to his graue. By means wherof

Baldwine & she liued a long while as pri-
uate persons, not hauing any great store
of meanes for their maintenance.

Lewes the flammerer, succesor & bro-
ther to *Charles the Bald*, as much offended
as the father of *Judith*, persisted in resolu-
tion to punish these two louers. Neuer-
theless, by the humble entreaties made
vnto him by diuers worthy Church-men,
of holy life & vntained fame, beside diuers
other great personages of his kingdom,
(who deliuered lively representation to
him of the young yeares wherein they then
were, subiect to the prouocations of na-
ture, who hath not alwayes reason for her
guide, and laying the blame on her de-
ceased father, that would not admit her to
marry, when she was so sought and sued
vnto) he pardoned them, giuing vnto his
Niece *Judith* and her heires, the countrey
and Forrest of the Colliers, wherof *Bald-
wine* had formerly bin Gouernour; yet af-
terward deprived, & thus restored. And
albeit it was a matter of small moment in
these times; yet he referred the homage
thereof to the crowne of France, which
homage the kings of France successiue-
ly enioyed, vntil the taking of *Frances*,
first of that name, who quitted the soue-
raignty thereof to *Charles the first*, and Em-
perour. At this day it is a goodly & wealthy
countrey, populous; hauing great store of
faire Cities and Towns, and greatly mer-
chandized in regard of the sea, and diuers
faire riuers which adorne the Prouince.
But let vs now see, if Gentlemen haue
slood free from this disaster, more then
Emperours and Kings haue done; it shall
not be amisse therefore to alledge some,
as well of *Italy*, as of *France*.

In *Verona*, a famous City of *Italy*, liued
a yong Gentlewoman, named *Iulietta*, of
the noble house of the *Montesches*, or
Montacutes. Her father being not willing
that she should marry, when both the de-
cency of time, and aptnesse of her yeares
made tender of themselves: therefore (in
her fairest flower) hee espoused her selfe,
vknown to her parents, to a gentlemen
son of another house and family, cald, the
Capelets, whose name was *Romeo*, and the
Capelets were mortal enemies vnto the
Montesches or *Montacutes*. This marriage
forced vnto the lamentable death of both
the louers, as you shall briefly hear in this
manner. They being secretly married, and

Lewes the
flammerer,
succesor & bro-
ther to
Charles the
Bald, as much
offended

At what time
the countrey
of Flanders
was brought
to yelde by
enuey to
France.

The great
frensch
former done
in the con-
quiste of this
date.

The mem-
orable history
of faire Iulietta,
of Verona,
Monstrous
Romeo the
Caplet.

Conference
betweene the
holy Friar &
Iulietta, what
was to be done
in such an ex-
igent necessity

The coming
of a seruant
of Romeo to
Verona, in the
interior of
diferent
affaires.

Romeo com-
meth himselfe
to Verona, &
dyed in the
grue of Iuli-
etta.

by the hand of a Cordelier or Franciscan
Friar, a man most expert in the secrets of
nature, who rooke great compassion on
their earnest reciprocal affection & dayly
torments between them indured: it hap-
pened on a certain day, that an vnkle to *Ju-
lietta*, in regard of the inuetered hatred be-
tween both the families, drew vpon *Romeo*,
who (defending his owne body) slew
the said vnkle, whereupon he was bani-
shed, or enforced (at the least) to be absent
from *Verona*. The wofull Gentlewoman
hauing made her moane vnto the honest
minded Friar, vnder the shaddow of con-
fession, concerning the irksome absence of
her best esteemed friend; he gaue her ad-
vice to receiue a little potion when shee
went to bed, which should cause her to
sleep for more then 30. houres, so that she
should be verily supposed to be dead. She
boldly aduentured on his counsell, & her
parents imagining her to be dead indeed
caused her to be buried in the Tombe or
vault belonging to the house of her pre-
decessors. From thence the Friar purpo-
sed to fetch her, at a certaine houre of the
night, & to conduct her (in the habit of a
Nouice) to banished *Romeo*, who liued in
the land of another iurisdiction, yet no far
distance from the city. All this was possi-
ble & easy to be performed, for it was and
is a common custome there, not to burie
deceased bodies in graues, as it is obser-
ued among vs, but in Grottes or vaulted
caues. Vvile these things were framing
themselves according to premeditated
purpose; it fortuned that a seruant belon-
ging to *Romeo* came to *Verona*, to bring
Letters of recommendation to *Iulietta*, &
being returned back to his master, repor-
ted the certaine tidings of her death, and
that himselfe was present at her interring.
Romeo, confounded with greefe & extre-
mity of passions, found the meanes (in a
disguised habit) before the shutting vp of
Verona gates, to enter the city. In the dead
time of night also hee compassed his in-
tent, entering the Church with a lighted
Torch in his hand, hauing opened the
doores by the help of his seruant, and also
the tombe wherein she lay inclosed. Ha-
uing commanded the absence of his ser-
uant, he entred into the vault, & after kis-
ses infinitely bestowed by him on *Iulietta*,
whom he verily conceited to be dead, he
dranke a most deadly poyson, which hee

had formerly bought of a very needie Ap-
othecary, and which immediately fel to
operation, so slept hee (for euer) by the
body of *Iulietta*. After her drinke hadde
wrought his full power, she awaked; and
by meanes of the burning Torch percei-
ued her *Romeo* to bee quite dead; wher-
enraged with greefe, and snatching a pon-
yard that hung at his girdle, she presently
there slewe her selfe. The honest Friar
came, and (as he thought) at such a con-
uenient houre, when *Iulietta* should awake
from her artificial sleepe, that truly re-
presented the shape of death: but when
he beheld that tragick wofull spectacle,
let his sorrow be censured by them of best
iudgement. On the morrow after, the
death of these two Louers was discou-
ered, and all matters rehearsed by Fryar
Lawrence, for so was the Cordelier nam'd,
All which mournfull disaster happened,
because *Iulietta*'s father would not suffer
her to marry when reason required. Now
I will declare another French Historie,
which happened within the compass of
mine owne memory.

Damoiselle Geneuefue, Daughter vnto
Monsieur Megrelin, a Gentleman in ordi-
nary in the Court of King *Frances* the 2.
espoused her selfe by word only, & with-
out knowledge of any in his fathers house,
to one that was Schoolemaster vnto her
brethren, named *Medard*, a *Piccard* by na-
tion, borne in *Laon*, a yong man of pass-
able handfomnes, and of indifferent know-
ledge for his time, being about 23. yeares
old. She found her selfe to be conceiued
with child, and fearing the displeasure of
her mother more then the frowns of her
father, because she was a very suere wo-
man, forsooke her Fathers house, and the
goodly city of *Paris*, accompanied with
none but her troth-plighted husband and
the schoolemaster. Trauailing thorow the
countrey, they made their stay in a great
Borough town of *Champaign*, where like-
wise he became schoolemaster, taking great
paines to supply their necessities. Within
som few months after their residing ther,
Medard dyed, and the fise dayes after the
death of her husband, one Euening after
supper, in a publike place, declared to all
such as gaue fauour to hear her, the whol
Historie of their fore-passed Loue, her
marriage by promise, her extraction,
want of gouernement, and the iniurie

The death of
Iulietta, after
shee found Ro-
meo dead.

Friar Laurence
related the
whole manner
of the tragedy

The history of
a yong Gen-
tlewoman of
Paris.

The Gentle-
woman de-
parture from
her Fathers
house.

The death of
Medard the
schoolemaster

The desperate
death of Da-
moclus.

The death of
her Father.

The history of
Paulo and Lu-
crecia, two
Roman Iour-
nals.

Another mar-
riage purpo-
sed for Paulo
by his Father.

Affection is
too full of too
light credulity

Lucrecia, a
Daughter of
Rome, whose
both her hus-
band and her
selfe.

done by her to her seruants, desiring (very heartily) pardon both of God and this. So, feigning as if she intended to goe to bed with her young infant, which was about six weekes old; she went and hanged her selfe that night, on a beame end of a poore Cottage, which they had taken vpon hire, of which mishap, the people of the Towne soon aduertised her parents. For mine owne part, in the same manner as I haue set it downe, it was reported to me by the forenamed *Monsieur Megrelin*, who made no small account of my friendship, and dyed with verie great griefe; often saying vnto many, that this misfortune thus fell vnto him, by refusing his daughters marriage with a yong Adocate, one of sufficient wealth, and that had requested her many times to bee his wife, which still hee denied, intending to bestow her on a Gentleman.

In the City of *Rome*, no long while since, there was a young maiden (named *Lucrecia*, daughter to a rich Marchant) secretly elpoused to a yong man, called *Paulo*, sonne also to another Merchant, the two fathers beeing vowed enemies, and both alike enuious of each others Fortune. The father of *Paulo* perceiuing how fast aged yeares came stealing on him, determined a marriage for his son, acquainting him therewith, that he hadde made choise of one meete for him, commanding him also to fashion himself to good liking thereof, because hee would haue it accomplished within very few dayes. The sonne deferred it off so long as vwell hee could; yet to declare some obedience to his father, hee craued respite to consider thereof; but in the mean while, it was generally noised thorow the City of *Rome*, that *Paulo* must be married vnto another. These newes coming vnto the eares of *Lucrecia*, she dissembled her inward conceyded displeasure, verily imagining the matter to bee already done. *Paulo* coming, as oftentimes hee did when his time favoured him, to visit his *Lucrecia* in the night time, so iocund and merry as at no time more; after accustomed kindnesse passed betwene them, *Paulo* fell into a very sound sleep. *Lucrecia* beholding him in that fearless state, with a great knife she gaue him so many stabbes and deepe wounds, both in the brest and belly; that he fell downe stark dead, and afterward

committed the like violence on her selfe. This act, so full of sorrow and sadde mischance, came to the eare of Pope *Paulus* the fourth, who would not allow them to haue Christian burial. But a learned diuine, a *Jacobine* by Religion, made fo excellent an Oration to the Pope, agaynst the unkinde parents of the deceased Lovers; that Obsequies were granted, & buriall giuen them. And an aged woman, a seruant to *Lucrecia*, who had beene the meane of their priuate marriage, was (by authority of Iustice) burned alive, because she had not aduertised the parents thereof.

If these Emperors, Kings, Gentlemen and those of meaner condition, had obserued the Law of the Rhodians, which I haue alledged in the beginning of this chapter; they neuer had fallen into those dreadfull mischeeses, which they owne wilfull folly brought vpon them. They may also serue as a good warning to Fathers at this instant, and such as shall bee hereafter, how to auoyde so enorme an error. I will giue aduice likewise to such Maidens, as hauing past the age of five and twenty yeares, if either auarice, or any other bad humor in their parents doe make them negligent of their marriages, when men of meet match and quality are offered to them, to be bold of their owne liking and choise in marriage; provided, that they first make it knowne vnto their parents. And then if they will not yeeld consent, they may proceed on further: alwayes provided, that they are equall in quality, and no way infamous. And least their Fathers should disinherite them, the Emperor ordained thus in the authenticall rule; *Sed si post. C. de inofficiosa testa*. The like ordinance is to be found in the French Code, in the chapter of clâdestine Marriages, made by king *Henry* the second. And there may be noted another inconuenience, which vnadvised fathers do incur themselves, that in due time, and vpon iust reason, will not yeelde to their daughters marriages.

CHAP.

How all these
dangers might
haue beene
auoyded in all
the alledged
histories.

Aduice giue
to maidens of
their times.

A low aged
dissembling
maiden, who
maies she
owne doyle
when their
parents will
not.

Tyrants at all
times and in
all places are
full of feares.

Tyranny is
the Nurse of
feares.
Cicero in Tuf-
cul lib. 5.

The History
of Dyonisius
the Tyrant, &
his flatterer
Damocles.

CHAP. V.

That Tyrants doe liue continually in feares:
and that their ends are most miserable.



THE life of a Tyrant is full of hatred; euery man detesteth him; all are offended at him, and he is subiect to infinite perils. What was the life of *Aristippus*, to whom the very walles were dreadfull? VVhat that of *Alexander Phareus*, who liued in an hourly suspicion of his owne wife? What that of *Dyonisius* the *Syracusane*, who neuer durst trust his Barber, for feare least in trimming his beard, hee should cutte his throat. Hee had the carnall knowledge but of two women onely. *Aristomada* and *Dorida*, and yet he would neuer let them come neere him, vntill they had put off all their garments. The Chamber wherein hee vided to sleepe, was round engirt with a wide deepe ditch, and there was no entrance to it, but onely by a draw-bridge.

All things whatsoever, are continually suspected so much by Tyrants, that it was not spoken without good aduice; That Tyranny is the Nurse of feare. For it commonly cometh so to passe, that such as liue till men feare them, doe also feare them by whom they are feared. This kinde of life, so full of care and dread, *Dyonisius* the Tyrant discouered to his Orator *Damocles*, of whom the History followeth in this manner.

Damocles defending in an Oration, which hee deliuered in the presence of king *Dyonisius*; that neuer was any man more happy then he, for his innumerable wealth & treasures, beside the abundance of all things in his kingdom. O *Damocles* (instantly said the Tyrant) seeing my life is so well liked by thee, I desire that thou wouldest presently but taste and experiment my fortune. Whereunto *Damocles* consenting, the *Syracusane* king caused him to sitte vpon a stately & sumptuous bed, richly embroidered with gold: and before him stood Tables and Stooles in magnificent manner, all couered with vessels of Gold and Silver. He was serued by many young children, endued with singular beauty, &

the seruice was extraordinarily magnificent, with all kindes of delicious and exquisite viands. The golden Hall, which glistered round about him, was perfumed with vnguents of excellent odors, beside Flowers, Chapplets, and curious Nosegayes. To be short, in this so triumphant and royall furnishment, *Damocles* helde such a proud, enflated, and swolne vp countenance, euen as if in Maiesty Royall: King *Dyonisius* called to him, and bad him lift vp his head, to behold what was instantly ouer it. There he shewed him a fayre bright Sword, which he had caused to be fastened to the plancher, directly ouer the head of *Damocles*. Hee seeing the naked Sword, which hung but by one haire of a horses mane, ready to fall on the least occasion; considering thereon with deliberation, and perceiving that death was his present companion; he began to dispraise the royalty and riches of the King, desiring to bee deliuered from that kinde of felicity.

Heereupon *Dyonisius* said vnto him, Doe'st thou not see, O *Damocles*, how greatly thou art decieued in thine owne opinion? Such is our life, which (not long since) thou heldest to be so happy: but now thou plainly perceiuest, that eminent death is alwayes attending. By which example we may easily iudge, that he can neuer be happy, that is daily afflicted with feare. To this purpose *Horace* writ these verses.

Not the fine fare of Sicily,
Will saueour sweet and daintily,
Nor the rare sound of the Lyre,
Nor the sweet Birdes in their quire:
All these afford no pleasure can,
To that wofull wretched man,
That beholds aboue his head,
A naked Sword to strike him dead.

And as *Iob* saith, The sound of feare and dreadful affrights is alwayes in his eares: and although peace be certaine, yet is hee daily doubtfull of close ambushes. Tyrants loue not any body, and therefore (vpon iust occasion) learned men rearmeth them to be cruell beasts, and plagues to mankind. In the human figure of who is so much savage cruelty, that *Salomon* saide directly; A wicked Prince is a roaring Lyon, and an hunger-starued Beare ouer poore people.

And

Damocles in
all his pompe
and price was
disarmed with
a sud. é. fight.

Dyonisius his
words to Da-
mocles.

Verbes tran-
slated out of
Horace.

Iob 19, 14.

Prouer. 17, 12.

Malach. 2.9.
Iob 11.8.
Hosea 6.10.
Esay 50.7.

And yet God hath and sometimes doth permit, that Tyrants shall reigne, for the chastifement of wicked men, saying, *I will take vengeance on mine enemies by mine enemies. God (saith Iob) maketh the hypocriticall man to reigne in regard of the peoples finnes.* And in *Hosea* God speaketh thus: *I will giue thee a king in my fury.* And in *Esay*, *Asbur is the rod and staffe of my fury, I will send thee a deceitfull people.* Neuertheless, they are not acceptable to God, who throws them at length into the fire, as a father doth the rod, when he hath there-with beaten his childe. And it hath alwaies to faile out, that all these Tyrants, or the most part of the, haue ended their liues miserably, & oftentimes by violent death, caused by their owne friends; and approoued by consent of all the people. But because the examples of tragicall endes in such Tyrants, are handled in a number of other Treatises, & experience hath made it daily manifest vnto vs; I may the sooner conclude this Chapter.

Miserable & violent deaths of Tyrants.

CHAP. VI.

A most horrible cruelty vsed by the Numantines against the Romanes; and in the end vpon themselves.

Scipio having continued sledge before the City of *Numantia* in *Spaine*, the space of a yeare and seven Moneths, and neuer ceassing: munition and victuals began to faile among the besiedged, so that very many died with famine. Whereupon they made a vow to the Gods, that the first morfell they would eate every day, should be the flesh of some Roman: and that they would drinke neyther wine nor water, till they had swallowed the blood of such as they slew.

Extremities are the occasion of desperate vowes: & promises.

The *Numantines* having all sworn to this vow, they issued forth of the City, and like men, more then desperate, chased the *Romanes*, euen as if they had bene brute beasts: and such as they flew or surprized, immediately they killed and broyled inhumanely, or being sliced in peeces, they sold the by weight in the Shambles or Butchery. So that a Roman taken by

Extremity shd waithe vpon extremity, and beggett daily worke and worke countes.

them, or slaine, was of farre greater price and estimation, then to liue and pay his ranfome. Finally, the *Numantines* perceiving, that they had no more means of suppartation, being oppressed with famine, and enclosed on euery side: they consulted among themselves to kill all their aged people; yea, all the women & children in the City; which (without any feare or respect at all) they put in execution.

When they had done thus, all the wealth and moueables of the City, the Jewels & Treasures of the Temples, were brought together in spacious places, & there consumed with fire, yea, and all parts & quarters of the City, without leauing a house standing, suffered the very same consummation; and euery man tooke a sudden & speedily dispatching poison, whereby they might the soonest dye. Thus the Temples, houses, goods, and persons of the *Numantines*, which had continued in prosperity foure hundred, sixty & six yeares, had finally conclusion all in one day. A sight most horrible it was to behold, that the *Numantines* did those things liuing, so full of gastly terror, and not be remooued from them at their houre of death. For they left not to *Scipio*, any goods as booty or pillage, nor so much as a man liuing, for a Trophee or Triumph.

Scipio seeing *Numantia* flaming, and afterward entring thereinto, beheld all the buildings demolished, and turned one vpon another, all the Inhabitants burned; he grieved very greatly, and being vnble to containe himselfe from teares, cryed out thus: *O most happy Numantia, to whom the Gods appointed, that thou shouldst rather remaine destroyed, then conquered! Numa Pompilius king of the Romanes, caused this City of Numantia to be builded, & Scipio the Roman, being aged then but two and twenty yeares, saw the ruine of it.*

The propriety of 466 yeares consumed all in one day.

The words of Scipio on ruined Numantia.

CHAP. VII.

That a valiant Generall or Captaine, ought first to embrace wisdom & prouidence, before he do make experiment of his fortune: and also that after victory he should be milde and pitifull.

To be a Captain or Generall, is an Office very honorable, but yet attended by

The dangerous Office of a Captaine or Generall.

by many dangers. For notwithstanding he shall performe but what hee may and ought, yet if misfortune be present in giuing the battaile, and returne him off with our victory; hee shall neuer satisfie the vulgar, but the people will hold him in bad reputation, although it value his life in the aduenture. Let euery man bee of what quality and wisedome hee may, or would wish to be, & vse the best carriage he can possibly denie; yet we shall neuer heare a conquered Captaine called wise, or him temerarious, that gets the victory. It is a good thing that Captaines should be wise, but yet much better to be fortunate.

The saying of Scipio Africanus.

Cicero said.

A great difference in mens natures.

Scipio Africanus vsed to say; *That all things ought to bee essayed in warre, before they lay any hand to weapons.* And (in truth) he saide well, because there is no greater victory in the world, then that which is wonne without effusion of blood. *Cicero* writing to *Attica*, saith; *That the Captaine which conquers his enemies by counsell, ought to be no lesse esteemed, then hee that did it by the sword.* *Silla*, *Tiberius*, *Caligula*, and *Nero*, they neuer knew any other course, but to command, and kill: whereas contrariwise, *Augustus*, *Titus*, and *Traiane* knew no better way, then to entreate fairly and pardon, so that by pardoning, they conquered more, then the other could do by bloody fighting. If Captaines would but consider these things, perhaps they would not be so ready, in opposing their Armies to such multiplicity of dangers: whence oftentimes ensueth, that in thinking to be reuenged on their enemies, they (in the ende) become vanquished themselves.

A noble mind in the Emperour Theodosius.

Theodosius the Emperour, when hee besiedged any City, he would not suffer his Souldiers to erect any scaling Engines, or make any battery, vntill ten daies were fully past: during which time, hee offered no offence to the Citzizens, but daily admonished them, saying, *I grant ye the terme of ten daies, wherein ye may preuaile with mee by fauour and mildeesse, rather then hazard the trial of my power.* When *great Alexander* saw the dead body of *Darius*: *Julius Caesar* the head of *Pöpey*; when *Maecellus* burned *Syracusa*, and *Scipio* beheld *Numantia* flaming; and in our later times, when that heroycall *Emanuel Philiberts*, Duke of *Sauoye*, & Prince

of *Piedmont*, beheld the illustrious & magnanimous Prince, *Frances of Bourbon*, Duke of *Anguien*, lying dead vpon the ground at the taking of *S. Quintin*: All these great persons could not refrain from teares, although the other were their deadly enemies. For albeit their generous soules were well satisfied with obeyning victory, yet notwithstanding, such great and weighty losses did much discontent them, considering their cases might haue bene the like.

Pitty and clemency neuer lost the victory in warre; but on the contrary, the Captaine bloodily minded, cruell, and reuendgefull, hath eyther bene slaine by the enemy, or betrayed by his owne followers. Therefore it was not without great reason, that *Julius Caesar* carried immortal renowne among all Princes and Captaines of the world, not for being more faire, more strong, more courageous, and fortunate; but only because far greater was the number of enemies, to whom he frankly afforded pardon, then those that hee had vanquished and slew with the sword. The famous Captaine *Narsetes*, who subdued the *Goths*, vanquished the *Bastrians*, and dominated over the *Allemaignes*, neuer vnderooke a daies fight against an enemy, but the night before, hee kneeled and wept to himselfe in the Temple. *Trogus Pompeius* recordeth, that the most signale victories of the *Romanes*, were not wonne in regard that their Armies were mighty and strong; but because their Captaines were dexterious, active, and gallant, in all seruices they vnderooke.

It is expedient also, that the Generall or Captaine (about all other things) should be vigilant; & procure, that among the Captaines of his Army affaires (concerning warre) should be kept secret: because the highest enterprizes neuer can haue good successe, when they are discovered before they can be effected. *Suetonius* declareth, that it was neuer heard said to *Julius Caesar*; Must wee do this to day, or shall we do that to morrow? Only he would answer; *Doe this instantly, & to morrow wee shall see what it then to bee done.* *Plutarch* writeth in his *Morales*, that *Lucius Metellus* being requested by one of his Captaines, to know on what day he would giue the battaile, made him this

A signe of a most honorable disposition in such Generall.

The reason why *Julius Caesar* was so highly renowned.

He was General to the Emperour *Iustinian*.

Secrecy is most necessary in martiall affaires.

Suetonius in vita. *Iulii Caesaris*.

Plut. in Morales.

For coun-
cilers in oc-
casions of warre
are fitt, and
what men are
to be thunned

this answer. *If I wist that my shirt knew the least thought of the things my hart intendeth, I would immediately burne it.* It is well done to consult on matters of war with many: but the resolution of them is not, neither ought to bee imparted but to very few; otherwise, they may bee published before they are fully concluded. And especial care is to be taken, that no consultation be had with such men, as are either obstinate in their counsels, or rash and headstrong in their actions: for in cases which happen sometime in war, it is lesse harme to retire, then run wilfully on losse.

A worthy
faying of Al-
cibiades, and
not vnderre-
te to be obser-
ued.

Alcibiades, a valiant Captaine among the Grecians, yfed to say: *Men of magnanimity and courage, should sometimes rather flye then tarry; because honour commands attendance, and wisdom wil flight.* For in greatest perils, it is better that men should submit themselves to reason; then that they should be commanded by fortune. A Captaine ought to be counselled in all things, except when he meetes with a danger not foreseene. For many Capitaines at diuers times in warre, haue lost themselves by no other occasion: but because at such time as they should haue brought to effect some notable deed, which admitted not the least minutes trifling, they stood then musing, & idely called a counsell to no purpose. It is necessary also, that a wife Captaine, after he hath obtained a victory, should vnderstand how to vfe and enioy it. For if *Hanniball*, on the day at *Cannas*, could haue told how to haue vfed his fortune, *Scipio* the Affricaine had neuer conquered him.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Salique Law the originall thereof, and who were the first Authors and Inuentors of it.

See a Tract
written by
John Perard,
and L.C. there-
on.

IN the time of Pope *Boniface*, the first of that name, and of the Emperor *Honorius*, in An. 420. the *Francia*ns hauing forsaken their Country, came to inhabit along the River of *Rhene*, which hauing passed, they remained for some time at *Treues*. Now as these people were of bar-

barous inanners, liuing vnciuilly & without law; *Pharamond* their first king, Son vnto their Duke *Marcomir*, chose foure cheefe and principal men of the *Scambrians*, who by their counsell and determination, might giue a law to the people: The names of those fourmen, were *Vencast*, *Loxodast*, *Salgaft*, and *Vissgaft*, who by authority of the king and people; set downe a Law in writing, which *Pharamond* approued and published, causing it to be called *Salique*; eyther by the name of the place *Salaham*, where it was made, as some say, or else by the name of the said *Salgaft*, who was Chawncellor to *Pharamond*, and cheefe of the foure.

This Law contained the forme of succeeding in the kingdome of *France*, & the manner of reigning; and it hath ever since bin obserued by the kings of *France*, and their people vntill this present. Among other articles therein contained, women are declared vnable to rule the kingdome, and deprived of succession to the crowne, although they are the sole & only daughters to the Kings: nor can they haue any portion of inheritance in the *Gallician* Lands, but onely vse and profites by the owners consent, implying necessarily, that after their deaths, those allowances returne to the Crowne againe. And this Law is conformable to the *Roman* Law, vnto *Voconia*, which was made at the time betwene the second & last war of the *Romans* with the *Carthaginians*, and which was pronounced by *Voconius*, Tribune of the people. And *Aulus Gellius* saith, that there is nothing more profitable to the common wealth, then the said Law, which deboueth women from successions, which *Tit. Lilius* saith, *Marius Cato* (a grame man) perswaded in an Oration made by him.

And although it may be said concerning this Law, that it containeth no equity, because it toucheth the succession of priuate persons: yet on the behalfe of the kingdome, for which it was ordayned, it is iust and reasonable, and by disposition of womens right, they ought not there to succeed in the kingdome, nor rights of the crowne, except there be some priuiledge or custome to the contrary. So noteth *John de Imola*, on the Chapter *Grande*, *de simpliciter neglegen prela* to the sixth. And for this was made the tenth chapter, *Qui secunda possit hoc autem. C. dilecti*, de arb. *Baldus*

How the Law
came to be
called Sa-
lique.

The name,
and condi-
tion of the Sa-
lique Law.

The Law Vo-
conia among the
Romans.

Aulus Gell.
in *Noct. Attic.*

Titus. Lilius.
Di. ca. 1.

This Law
containeth
no equitie for
women.

John de Imola
in cap. *Grande*.

Baldus in *Leg.*
de *Sena*.

The successi-
on in the
Crownne of
France, after
the death of
Lewes *Hutin*
is continu-
ed delect.

Baldus is of the same opinion, speaking expressly concerning the kingdome of *France*, and saying, that the king of *England*, *Sonne* to one of the daughters of *France*, in regard of this law, might not pretend any right to the Crowne, and saith, it is cleare and certaine, as hee quoteth on the first law ff. de *Sena*. And as I haue formerly saide, it hath euermore bin so obserued and held in *France*.

For example, when *Lewes* *Hutin* deceased, he left one daughter, wife to the Count *d'Euveux*: *Philip le long*, his Brother, succeeded him, (neuerthelesse) as well in the Crowne, as in all the Landes thereto belonging. And after the death of *Philip le long*, although hee left foure daughters; yet *Charles le Bel* (his brother) succeeded him, as well in the Crowne, as other inheritances. And after the decease of *Charles le Bel*, notwithstanding hee left one daughter, named *Blanche*, wife to *Philip*, Duke of *Orleance*, his cousin: yet *Philip de Valois* succeeded him. In like manner, after the death of king *Charles* the eight, *Lewes* Duke of *Orleance*, his cousin succeeded him, before *Madame Anne* of *France*, his Sister, wife vnto the Duke of *Bourbon*, and this was king *Lewes* the 12. who although (by his decease) he left two daughters, *Claude* and *Renee*; yet neuerthelesse, *Frances* Duke of *Valois* and of *Angouleme*, the very neereest in the line collateral and masculine, succeeded him as well in the Crowne, as also in the Duke-dome of *Orleance*, albeit the said *Lewes* the twelfth, *Charles* his Father, and *Lewes* Duke of *Orleance* his Grandfather, had held the Duke-dome of *Orleance*, by the gift and inheritance which *Charles* the 5. had made to the said *Lewes*, Duke of *Orleance* his Sonne.

Concerning
such lands as
are once vn-
ited and in-
corporated to
the Crowne
of *France*.

For right and iustice requireth, that all Lands which are once vnited and incorporated to the Crowne of *France*, shall be of the proper nature, quality and condition as the same Crowne is; as well in regard of successions and acquisitions, as other causes. For at all times, and as often as a Land is vnited to the Crowne, it taketh the nature of the kingdome, and must be governed in all things, according to the conditions thereof. For the kingdome is an vniuersall thing, which comprehendeth many other in particular: as it is said in the Law *Peculium ff. de Lega ij*.

And not onely the Salique Law is kept in *France*, but also it is found in many statutes in *Italy*, and elsewhere, prohibiting women to succeed, which is done, saith the Text of the Law. *Faybre agnationis conseruanda, ut dignitas familiarum aliqua sit.* And *Baldus* saith, that a woman is not the head or Prince of the Family, but the ende thereof.

Paulus de Castro, on the Law *Maritus, C. de procur.* saith, that the lineage and family beginneth in the males, and is continued by the males. And so it seemeth, that the Etimologie of the word *Soror* declareth, which *Labeo Antistius* giueth in *Aulus Gellius*. *Soror appellata est quod quasi sorsum nascitur separaturque ab ea domo in qua nata est. Et in aliam familiam transferatur.* That is to say. A sister is so called, as shee that is borne almost apart by herselfe, and is separated from the house wherein shee was borne, and changing the place, goeth to dwell in another family.

CHAP. IX.

Examples of some Letters containing Secrecy, and sent in such manner, as they might not be knowne, but onely to such whom they especially concerned.



HArpagus writing to *Cyrus*, concerning the treason of King *Astages*, hauing cunningly vnbowelled a Hare, put his Letter therein, and after hee had ingeniously sowed it vp againe, deliuered it (with the Hayes or Nets) to one of his Huntsmen, the faithfullest of all his household, and hee carried it to king *Cyrus*.

Hyllanus, desirous to write to *Aristagoras*, did shau the head of one that was his trustiest seruant, and wrote vpon the skull-skinne what hee would, containing three or foure Characters, and afterward kept him in his house, vntill the haire was growne ouer as thicke as before, and then he sent him to *Aristagoras*, willing that he should cause him to be shauen againe, so soone as he was come vnto him, and so he vnderstood the others minde.

Aulus Gellius reporteth, that *Iulius Caesar*

*Lib. ij. ad
publ. ff. de
venie. v. sup.*

Paul. de Cast.
in lib. 9.

Aul. Gellius in
lib. 13. cap. 10.

A Letter sent
in the belly of
a hare.

Writing on
the skull-skin
of the head.

How Iulius
Cæsar wrote
his Letters of
espiall in-
telligence.

Frontinus in
lib. 3. cap. 13.

Small Tablet
of wood co-
uered with
Waxe.

The cunning
of Hirtius in
conueighing
his Letters.

A Letter sent
into the ene-
mies Campe
by an arrow.

Frontinus in
lib. 3. cap. 13.

Cæsar sometimes sent him Missiues, when he had any vrgent occasion, and to some peculiar places: and in them were letters formed onely, without any sillables annexed to them. So that when they were lookt on and questioned, no word could be collected to any purpose, but by himselfe, and him to whom they were intended, being a mute and secret inuention, yet familiar to such as vnderstood them.

Many (saith Frontinus) being desirous in actions of warre, to send their letters missiue secretly, so haue their inuentions known, and yet to auoide all meanes of discovery, haue written within the Scabbards of their Swords, and sent them as acceptable presents, whereby they haue cleanly escaped.

Demetrius desiring to make knowne to the Lacedemonians, how king Xerxes was armed and prepared for his journey against Greece; did write the counsell of the king in small Tablets of wood, which he couered ouer with waxe, and in that manner sent them to the Lacedemonians, who taking off the waxe, read all the contents there written.

Hirtius the Confull sent letters written vpon Lead (but not knowne how to be read, being intercepted) to Marke Anthony, besieged at Madena; they were carried by an honest Soldiour, who wore them as bracelets about his wrists, & with them swam ouer the River Scutena. The same Hirtius likewise tyed letters about the necks of certaine Doues, which hee kept close lockt vp in a conuenient place, where no light was to bee setie, neither did hee giue them any food; that when he should let them loose neere to the walles of the City (as easily he could doe) they being greedy of light and food, might mount aloft vpon the houises, where being taken by Brutus, and by the meanes of food, purposely appointed there for the, he vnderstood what he desired.

Paradise, in his history of our times, writeth, that when as Rhodes was besieged by the Turke, a traytour named Friar Andrew de Merall, a knight of Portugall, making a shew of carefull looking to the Watch; shot a letter (bound about an Arrow) into the enemies Campe, whereby he gaue them aduertisement, in what estate the City stood.

Frontinus hath many other examples of secret Letters, in matters of loue, of

which I will relate two onely, remembred by Aeneas Sylvius Picholini Pope Pius the second. Pachorus a young man (saith he) sent a loue-letter in a Nefegay of Violets to Lucretia, whom hee dearly affected. And finding no successe, wrapt another in a peller of waxe, which he couered as a snow-ball, and so threw it in at his Mistresses Window.

CHAP. X.

A Discourse concerning the originall of the Normanes, what valiant actes haue bin performed by them: and of Robert Guiscard.

THE Normanes are anciently descended of the Gothes, and vsurped that great half-Iland; sometimes called Dacia, and since Dacia: where-

by the kings of that Prouince, were named kings of the Danes, and of the Gothes. They had a custome, that the kingdome came to the eldest Sonne, and therefore sent the other Sonnes to seeke their fortune. It came so to passe, that Lutrocu their king (who was not a Christian) hauing two Sonnes; according to the precedent custome, sent the youngest named Bieregottus out of the kingdome, albeit hee loued him very dearly, and therefore committed the care of him to a Gentleman of his Court, named Allengus, to whom he gaue in charge, that he should furnish him with a troupe of valiant men.

An indifferent Army being giuen him, they came vpon the confines of France, and entring Picardy, possessed themselves of most of the Townes and Bourroughs, burnt Saint Quintins and Noyon, and for the space of forty yeares, did infinite harmes to the Realme of France. For after that Bieregottus was dead, they elected (as their cheefe Commander & Capitaine) a very valiant and gallant Knight, called Rollo, who made three Campes, which entered France on three seuerall sides: the one mounted vp the Riuer of Seyne, the other along the Riuer of Loyre, and the third by the Riuer of Gerunda, sometime called Garona at Bourdeaux, and

The death
of Bieregottus,
the eldest
of Rollo.

A peace
made be-
tweene Rollo
and Charles
the simple.

That which
is now called
Normandie.

Rollo is bapti-
zed and na-
med Robert,
marrying with
the daughter
of king Charles.

Duke Robert
performed
his homage in
honorably man-
ner.

so scattered themselves throughout France, rauaging and burning wherefoeuer they came. Which being perceived by Charles the third of that name, and called the finishing of France, and knowing also, that he had no meanes to resist them; he treated a peace betweene Rollo and him, by the Arch-Bishop of Roane, named Francoys, which was concluded neere to the Riuer of Epte, the King being on the one side of the Riuer, and Rollo on the other. Therein was an appointment made, that Charles should giue his Daughter, named Giletta, in marriage to Rollo, to whom he assigned as her Dowry, and an inheritance for the children borne in this marriage, and not otherwise, the Prouince of *Neustria, which Rollo caused afterward to be called *Normannia*, which signifieth a Northern people. For *Nort* (in the Dacian tongue) is as much to say as *North*, and man implieth *Homo*, so interpreted of it selfe, from whence, by a corrupt kinde of speech afterward, it was called *Normandie*.

The king created that Country to be a Dukedome, and gaue his Daughter in marriage to the said Rollo, as formerly it was concluded, yet with this condition, that Rollo should become a Christian: whereto hee condescending, he was baptized in the yeare 900 and 12. & by Francoys, Arch-Bishop of Roane, being then named Robert, by Robert, Count of Poitiers, who was Godfather to him at the Font. And by the example of Rollo, all the Normans that were Pagans, caused themselves to be baptized, which caused Duke Robert to do homage to king Charles, for the Country of Neustria, then conuerted to be Normandy.

Historians doe report a pleasant and ridiculous acte, which Rollo did on the day when hee came to performe his homage to the king, for some aduised him to kisse the feete of his Maiesty, according to a custome in that case obserued. But hee disdainyng to fall on his knees, tooke the kings foot, lifting it vp to reach his mouth, and so ouer-high, that the king fell backward from off his seate. VVherat the Normanes fell into a great laughter; but the French were offended and vexed, taking this behaviour in very ill manner. Neuertheless, this deed was imputed to simplicity, because Rollo, in making his ex-

cuse, auouched, that such kinde of kissing the soore, had bene an ancient custome in his Country. About a yeare after, Rollo seeing himselfe peaceably possessed of all Normandy, repudiated his wife Giletta, & put her to a pittifull kinde of death, not hauing any child by her in which respect as well by right of forfeiture, as by other conditions contracted in the marriage, without all question, the Country and Dukedome should haue returned to the Crowne of France again, as at the first.

Long time before Rollo became a Christian, hee had carnall knowledge of the Daughter to Berengarius, Earle of Beauuais, the being named Pompeia, by whom hee had a Sonne called William, that afterward was tearmed Long-Sword. Hee being borne in vnlawfull and fuisall copulation, out of marriage, and the acte committed by a Christian with a Pagan, was consequently disabled from succeeding in the Dukedome. But howfoeuer it came to passe, the Normanes finding themselves so strong and dreadfull; possessed this William of the Dukedome, and the kings of France were enforced (by reason of hauing so slender meanes in those times) to endure and suffer all. So that the Successors of Rollo or Robert, enioyed still that Country, though by corruption of faith, and no true tytle thereunto.

Of this William came Richard, surnamed Long-shankes; and of that Richard a second Richard; and of this second Richard a third Richard; who was Father to Robert, that was Father to William the Bastard, which conquered England. Wherby it very plainly appeareth, that of the fore-named Rollo or Robert, the Dukes of Normandy, and three Kings of England receiued originall.

Now concerning Richard, the Sonne to William, Sonne to Rollo or Robert, hee had two Sonnes, the one named Robert, and the other Richard also, who being desirous of glory and fame, went into Sicily with great troopes of men, and there they made war successfully many yeares together. These two brethren being dead, the Normanes being then in pay to the Duke of Salerne; made choise of a new cheefe Commander or Capitaine named Tristram Gistello, who hauing slaine a Serpent, and being in-

K k fected

The Duke
disowned his
Wife, and
put her to
death.

William
Long-word
the bastard
sonne to Rolo,
became
his successour
in his Duke-
dome.

The line and
succession
from William
Long-word.

Three Eng-
lish Kings, of
the Normans
race.

Tristram Gistello
Capitaine of the
Normans.

Tancred and his twelve
all worthy
Warriors.

fectured with her poyson, dyed thereof. After him succeeded *Raymond*, and some other (afterward) elected for their Capitaine, *William Ferrabach*, Sonne to *Tancred*, Conte de haute uille, who had twelve Sonnes, to wit, *Sarno*, *Godfrey*, *Dragon*, *Tancred*, *William*, called *Ferrabach*, that is to say, *Arme Strong*, *Hausfrey*, *Robert*, surnamed *Guiscardo*, *Roger*, *Piccard*, *Godfrey* the second, or younger, *Frumentino*, and *Malogor*.

Tancred with his twelve Sonnes, continued among the *Normanes* in the exercise of Armes, and *Michael Catalaicus*, Emperour of *Constantinople*, held then by usurpation *Ponilla* and *Calabria*, vnder the government of *Malocco*, one of his Captaines, and Lieutenant for him in those Countries. Some other places also were invaded by the *Sarrazines*, who possessed *Sicily*, continually molesting the said kingdom. The valiant and generous *William*, being created Capitaine of the *Normanes*, made a league with the Princes of *Capua* and *Salerno*, and also with *Malocco*, Lieutenant to the Emperour. All these passed together (with their Armies) into *Sicily* against the *Sarrazines*, and hauing vanquished and expelled them thence, diuided the prize equally among them. But *Malocco* surrendered the lands of that Isle to those Governors which the Emperour had lent thither before the warre. Whereat *William* being offended, yet dissembling his anger and intentions, marched with his Army towards *Ponilla*, where hee possessed himselfe of many places, and entering *Melpher*, there strongly fortified himselfe.

Melpher surprized by William.

When *Malocco* heard these newes, he departed from *Sicily*, and suddenly went with his Army to *Melpher*; but *William* being come forth of the Towne, gaue such a valiant assault vpon *Malocco*, that killing the better part of his followers, & chasing him from the greatest iurisdiction of *Ponilla*; hee fully enjoyed it, and made himselfe Earle thereof. After the death of *William*, *Dragon* his Brother obtained the Seignury of *Ponilla*, and being a man of great valency, as also very well experienced in Arms, fought three times in one day against the *Grecians*, and ouercame them, encreasing his Countries daily more and more.

About seven yeares after, *Dragon* died,

and *Hausfrey* or *Hunfrey* his Brother succeeded; and after him, *Godfrey*, who left *Galagard* his Sonne successor in the Earldome. But *Robert* being a most valiant young man, displeased that his Brother *Godfrey* had not left the place to him after his death; expelled his Nephew by force of Armes, and so held the Counties of *Paulla* and *Calabria*; annexing also *Troy* thereto, which (till that time) had continued subiect to the *Romanes*. This is that *Robert*, who for his excellent spirit & witty prouidence, was surnamed *Guiscardo*, which in the *Norman* Language, signifieth ingenious and cunning; although some others say, that such a surname signifieth errant and wandering, because the *Normanes* went wandering thorough many Countries. Afterward in the time of Pope *Nicholas*, second of that name, hee was created the first Duke of *Calabria*, & of *Ponilla*, in the yeare one thousand and sixty.

In the ende, *Robert* hauing by his prowesse, and with his Brethrens helpe, wonne (in eightene yeares) the whole Isle of *Sicily*, and many other Regions in *Italy*; sought moreover to make himselfe Emperour of *Constantinople*, for which he leuied a mighty Army, and fought with the *Venetian* and *Imperiall* Armies twice, and vanquished them. But being retired to *Cassopolis*, a Promontory in the Isle of *Corfue*, and there surprized with a most violent Feauer, hee finished his dayes in that place, in the Moneth of Iuly, in the yeare one thousand, eighty two, hauing liued gloriously (and won many victories) for the space of threescore yeares.

This most noble Family of the *Normane Guiscardoes*, had a lamentable ending, in the yeare one thousand, one hundred, ninety five, in *William*, whom the Emperour *Henry* the sixt caused to be executed; to the ende hee should haue no ability of producing any more issue by him. And moreover, he made him to lose the fight of his eyes, by *Basons* extremely heated, which hee constrained him to looke vpon so long, vntill the reuerberation of the heat, had vtterly deprived him of sight. This impiety, and more then barbarous cruelty, did the Emperour vnto him; because none of that race (afterward) should hinder his enjoying the kingdom of *Sicily*.

CHAP.

The successfull
on of William
in the County
of Ponilla.

Robert expelled
his Nephew
Galagard.

The valiant
Robert, surnamed
Guiscardo, Duke
of Ponilla and
Calabria.

Robert fought
to make himselfe
Emperour of
Constantinople.

The final
conclusion of the
Norman
Guiscardoes.

CHAP. XI.

Of two young youtnes of Paris, that translated to the Indies, to cure themselves of the Neapolitane disease, or French Pox.



Anthony du Verdier, Lord of *Vauprinax*; in his Booke of diuers Readings; hath well described the original of the Neapolitane

disease, otherwise called the great pox, & how it was brought from the Countries of the new found world, discovered first by *Columbus*, in those Islands which the *Indians* call *Haity*, and *Quisqueia*. And as this disease is very familiar in those lands; so is the remedy thereof also found there, by the means of a wood, called *Guyaich*, whereof there are diuers Forests, and by the vse thereof it is easily healed. Many people in these parts, who haue read the fore-named Chapter, haue highly contrariet: especially such as haue had, and yet at this present, do finde no ease thereby, albeit they haue drunk euery morning and euening of that decoction, hauing afterward soundly sweated twice a yeare, in those two temperate seasons, the Spring time, and fall of the leafe, nay moreover, haue drunke no other drinke (with their meate, and without) for a whole yeare together.

For mine owne part, I dare maintaine, that the said Lord of *Vauprinax*, hath said nothing but the truth, and if the greater part of sicke persons, infected with that disease, haue found no remedy by the wood; the fault is in such as sell it, & haue not well ordered it, nor hauing knowledge what kinde of *Guyaich* should be vied, nor the place, nor the climate, nor by whom it is brought thence, being ignorantly periwaded, that there is but one kinde thereof onely, against the opinion of some that will meddle with prescriptions, not hauing bin in the country where this wood naturally groweth. Wherefore I purpose, to make good what I write, by a history of two *Parisian* youths,

who were healed by the vse of *Guyaich*; not such as is brought hither to vs, and how it hapned, I will set downe the whole discourse.

I being at *Paris*, in the yeare 1563. I had great familiarity with the two youths; being both borne in the City, of good and worthy houses; but I conceale their names, by reason of their infection with that venereal contagion, it beeing most commonly taken by dishonest dealing with leud women, and so by consequent, carrieth shame with it. This sickness they concealed so long as they could, but in the end, it made it selfe to be knowne, by losse of their haire, by red pufles appearing in the fore-head, by aches in the bones, both of their armes, legs, thighes, and shoulders, as also in the former part of their heads, from the beginning of night, till break of day the next morning, with other such like signes, as paine in the throat, being scarcely able to swallow any food. Now, albeit that all these euidences are not scene, in all such persons as are touched with that disease; yet it plainly appeared, that in both these young bodies, all the fore-named testimonies, and many more beside (which I let sleepe in silence) were apparently noted.

In regard of these rehearsed accidents, which were so manifest, the Parents to them both had intelligence, that they were touched with this disease; and yet for more certaine assurance therein, they caused them to be visited by very skilfull Physicians and Chyrurgions, who performed all that which arte could permit, and yet they were not able, neither could they cure them. A second time, other Physicians were called to this business, who applied likewise the vtmost of their knowledge; but all in vaine, and the disease it selfe grew worse and worse, rising into knots and tophies in the foremost part of the head, and in the bones of the armes, thighes, and legs, they procured insupportable nightly paines. For when night drew nere, and all the time while it continued, they cried and complained incessantly, so that the neighbors (on all sides) heard their pittifull lamentations, by means whereof, their bodies became wholly dried vp.

The Physicians alledged, that there was some great extraordinary matter in

The Author
speakeeth this
History of his
owne know-
ledge.

Outward ap-
pearances of
that wicked
disease, where-
by best note
of the sickness
is observed.

Helpe sought
for to skilfull
Physicians &
Chyrurgions.

A second at-
tempt by phy-
sicians, but pre-
sailing like the
first.

Night time a
great enemy
to the disease.

Parries of diuers complexions may haue all one disease.

The iudgement of the Physicians concerning their disease.

The young men giuen o-uer, a no way to be cured.

When the hope of man is at the weakeſt, Gods helpe is then ſtrongeſt

The Lord of Chantonny heareth one of the young men hourly complaining

the disease. For these two young men came nothing neere to one another in confanguinity, but were of diuers temperatures and complexions. For the one was delicate, soft, merry, whitish, and of tender disposition: but the other was of blackish color, strong, hardy, and many times addicted to penitence. Neither theſe, contrary to the common order of nature, and all the Apomes in the arte of Physicke; their diseases seemed conformable, which neuer hapneth to other persons, offered with the same contagion, because some haue accidents farre different and contrary to other. Hereupon the Physicians referred the cause of this disease (ſympathizing ſo directly, yet in ſuch different bodies) to the venom of some paillardizing women, that had infected them.

But to make ſhort, after these youthes had endured much extremity of paines & anguiſh, as well by Physicians and Chirurgeons, as Empericks that had charge of them: the harme had extended ſo farre in expences, and no meane heart-greeuing of the Parents, al which notwithstanding, they were giuen over as incurable, & because there was no likely-hood of their healths recovery, they daily desired the ſeizure of death. Matters ſtanding in this lamentable estate, God tooke compaſſion on them and their Parents, because they were deuout persons, & gaue almes very liberally to the poore daily, preſenting them remedy in this manner. The Lord of Chantonny, a Gentleman of Burgundy, and of the Franche Comte, was ſent (by the King of Spaine) Ambaſſador to Charles the ninth, King of France, who ordinarily made his reſiding at Paris. This Ambaſſador was lodged directly ouer againſt the houſe to one of the Fathers of the ſicke young men, and both their chambers being outward, on the ſtreets ſide; it cauſed the ſaid Lord Ambaſſador (who was none of the ſleepieſt men) to heare the greuous moanings, which the poore ſickly Neapolitan continually made, whereupon he entreated his Hoſte to inform him, whence proceeded theſe woſull lamentations, thus nightly made by the ſick young man. His Hoſte hauing tolde him nothing but the truth, the Ambaſſador wrought ſo by his Hoſte, that he might come to ſee the ſickly youth; which ac-

cordingly he did, in the company of his Mother.

The Lord of Chantonny, well vnderſtanding whence the diſeaſe proceeded, & thoſe nocturnall heauy greeuings, ſaid, that he had ſeen many in diuers Provinces, as in *Bourgundy, Germany, Flanders, Italy, & Spaine*, afflicted with the ſelfe ſame ſickeſſe; and notwithstanding all curious and carefull attending, yet they could not any way be cured, but onely by going to the *Indies*. For inſtance hereof, he called for his Secretary, who preſently came thither, and had (as well as his Lord) paſſed the voyage, therefore hee was the better able to confirme his ſpeeches, and related at large, how euery thing happened.

The Mother to the ſicke youth, after ſhe had thanked the Lord Ambaſſador for his aduice, withdrew herſelfe, and acquainted her husband (who was Maſter of the * Chamber of Accounts) with all that the Lord of Chantonny had ſaid vnto her. He being a very learned and wiſe Gentleman, conferred further (concerning this matter) with the Secretary to the ſaid Lord Ambaſſador; whom hee found to be a man of good iudgement, & one that had paſt through the Pikes, as we ſee to learne it.

The Sonne to the Maſter of the Accounts, imparted this matter vnto his ſickly Companion, who aduerted his Mother alſo therof, and ſhe her husband, who was a Merchant trading in ſilkes, and furniſhed the houſe of the Queene, *Catherine de Medicis*, then Regent in France; and hereupon both the Fathers conferred together. In breefe, they concluded to hazard their Sons in the performance of this voyage, perſwading themſelves, that ſeeing they reputed to be incurable; it might ſo fall out, that changing the ayre of the climate, and by their paſſage vnder the * Equator, vnder which, ſuch as ſayle, doe oftentimes become ſicke, and dye in the voyage, making the Sea their graue, as the moſt part doe, of them that adventure to the *Indies*, to which fortune they freely committed their Sons. But if it came to paſſe, that they might there be cured, as diuers others formerly had beene; they ſtood bound in the greater thankfullneſſe to God. For they being daily in their ſight ſo diſeaſed, to their

The Ambaſſador goes to viſite the ſicke young man.

Cure obſerued by going to the Indies

* The Exchequer or Chamber.

The matter fully related and acquired to both ſides.

* Or equinoctiall Circle, equally diſtant from the Poles.

no

A strange resolution in two Fathers.

No paſſage to the Indies, without the King of Spains permiſſion.

The arrival of the young men in Spaine

All the French ſtane by the Spaniards.

Good fortune in ſo great neceſſity.

The arrival of the two ſicke young men in India, and their courtesious entertainment there.

no little diſcontentment and ſhame, beſide the charges attending thereon; they could not determine on any eſtate for them, neyther make mention for their marriage, the reaſon of their ſickeſſe being ſo noyſed quite through the City of Paris. Thus theſe two Fathers reſolved to ſend their Sonnes to the *Indies*, eyther for their vtter loſſe, or healthfull recovery.

Now becauſe it was not lawfull for any to paſſe thither, without permiſſion from the King of Spaine; Queene Mother, vnderſtanding by her Mercer (Father to one of the ſicke youthes) the purpoſed voyage of his Sonne; wrote vnto her Daughter, then Queene of Spaine, for her aſſiſtance to the poore paſſengers, to ſauour them with Paſſe-ports, and recommendations vnto the Kings Lieutenants in the *Indian* Countries, to ſuch as were Captaines of the Seas, and other. Being aſſiſted by two men, who had formerly voyaged both by Land and Sea, and peace being accorded with the Proteſtants and Catholiques, they trauielled to Spaine, and there preſented their Letters.

The Queene immediately ſollicited their licence and diſpatch: but firſt they were viſited, to know whether they were Spyes or no. For it was no long time before, that the *Spaniards* had ſlaine all the *French*, which were to be found in that part of *Breſile*, called by the *Tononemabours*, ſaying, that all the *Indians* appertained to them, by due right granted to them by the Pope. When they were found to be diſeaſed persons, they were diſcharged, and going on to the Port of *Sinilh*, fortune was ſo ſauourable to them, that there they found a Fleet of Shippes, ready charged with men of warre & Merchandizes, bound alſo for that part of the *Indies*, whereto theſe ſicke men intended to go; which was the Iſlands of *Haity* and of *Quifqueia*, named by *Columbus*, *Hispaniola*, and afterward the Iſle of Saint *Dominico*.

They went aboard a Merchants Ship, hauing agreed for threeſcore Ducates, both for their paſſage thither, and their returne backe againe. The voyage ſucceeded ſo well, that although it contained aboute righteene hundred leagues by land; yet within two Moneths, they arri-

ued there, landing in the Iſle of *S. Dominica*, where the Vice-Roy lay. To him they preſented their Letters of ſauour and recommendations, who gaue charge to a Gentleman of his Court, to ſee that the young men and their company ſhould be kindly entreated, ſending them vnto Phyſicians, that remained there in the Country at the Kings pay. But they thought it more conuenient for them to paſſe thence to another Iſland, which was called *Saint John de Portorico*, where the women there dwelling, were very ſkilfull in curing that malady, and when they were come thither, thus it ſucceeded to them,

Fiſt, the Gouverneur of the Iſland, by commaundement giuen him from the Vice-Roy of the *Indies*, lodged the young men ſo well as hee could in that ſavage Country: which was in a Lodging made with paliſadoes, or a wall of Pales, which being but badly ioyned together, was filled vp with bundles of leaues.

The Rooſe conſiſted of leaues of Trees, ſo were their Beds alſo, and in ſtead of Feathers, they were filled with Cotton: their Sheetes being of plaine Fuſtin, and all their vtensils of wood, or of earth.

Their ordinary feeding was on Cowſteſh ſomewhat tender, of great Serpents roaſted, which ſerued highly to their healing, and alſo on ſtrong Tortuiſes, as great as an indifferent Porket.

Their bread was Biſcuit, and is much better in that Country, then elſewhere; for within the ſpace of foure and twenty houres, it will grow mouldy, and if it be eaten hot, it is indigeſtible. But howſoeuer it were, the *Spaniards* gaue them courage, not to grieue themſelves, and brought a Muſſian vnto them to delight them, whoſe Inſtrument was made of the bone of a mans thigh. They likewiſe ſent a woman to attend them, that made little or no account of them; but tolde them, ſo ſoone as they were cured, ſhe did aſſure herſelfe, that they would very well content her.

This Woman ſo affrighted our young *Parifians*, that they could verie willingly there haue dyed, as neuer hoping of any helpe by her means. For ſhe went ſtarke naked, her ſkin being of an

Their removing to the Iſle of S. Iohn de Portorico.

The manner of their lodging in S. Iohn de Portorico.

Their ordinary viands in the Iſle of S. Iohn.

The kindneſſe of the Spaniards to them.

Kk 3 Oliue

The description of the beauty of a savage woman.

Such a sight could be scarcely pleasing to sickness, and in a place so desirous and vain.

A drink made of Guyaicum, or Pockwood, by the savage woman.

* The Parisian half pint almost as big as our whole pint.

The manner of giving Phisick in the Indies.

Custome brought them to the Countries dyet.

Olive-coulour; flat nosed, like to a little dog: her breasts hung dangling downe, like to the dugs of an olde Sow. Her head was shorne close before, but behinde, the hayre hanged so low as her heeles, all frilled, and like to the tayle of some ill-favoured Cow. The nayles of her hands and feete, exceeded halfe a fingers length, and were bowing crooked. She had no haire where nature commonly affordeth, neyther in her arme-pits; and her teeth looked of a hew betwene red & yellow, long, cleare, and wide enough afflone. At each of her eares hung a Stone of violet coulour, the least of them weighing above two ounces: her upper lip was slit in the midle, in the top whereof stood another Stone of grayish coulour, and thence passed her spittle continually. All the other parts of her body were round & fat, and in indifferent fashion, sweete, faire, & affable enough for a savage creature.

This woman prepared a drinke, which she made of the little loppings of a yong Guyaicum tree, having first bruised them betwene her goodly teeth, the afterward she boyled the in an earthen vessell, without any thing to cover it, and contrary to all courtes observed in our Countries. This drinke she caused them every morning to take, each of them to the quantity of a * *Paris Chopine*, at two or three draughts. Then they must walke a while, exercise Fencing, or some other cheerefull stirring of their bodies; or else trauell to a Mine of gold, which was not far off from the Village, to so wear out the space of two houres. Then returning backe againe to the house, all sweaty, they would change onely their shirts; and going to dinner, they must drinke of no other water, but of a much-troubled standing Poole, wherein was nothing but rainewater. The *Spaniards* would offer them *Gallypands* or Cocks of *India*, which they did care foddren for the most part. But after they had bene vfed to it eight or ten dayes; they could eate Toads, Serpents, and Lizards euen as well as other, and found them very sauiory meate; beside diuers kindes of fruites, the like whereof hath neuer bene seene in these parts. About three houres in the euening, they must drinke as much of the Guyaicum, as they did in the morning, and vfe the same exercises. And without any other cere-

mony, remedy, or deuises vfed to them, they found themselves to bee thoroughly healed, just within the space of six weeks: onely their gums excepted, which were become swolne and enflamed. But they were made found, with a sharpe-pointed bone of a Fish, by pricking and piercing them therewith in many places, and they thus healed, were perfectly recovered. The knots and bumps on their bones, vanished away, all their nightly afflictions ceased wholly within fiftene daies: appetite came afresh to them both, and their haire being lost, was restored againe in more firmer manner then before. And now there remained, not so much as the print of any push or blaine, eyther in their fore-heads, or on their breasts, likewise all vicers which they had in their secret parts, dried vp and were gone.

They perceiuing themselves to be thoroughly cured, were willing to content the woman with golden coynes, as hoping they did well therein: and this they did, by the aduice of a cunning crafty *Spaniard*, relegated to that place, and to worke in the Mines. He very well knew, that the *Indians*, making no account of Gold or Monie, purposed to begge it of her, not doubting but easily the world giue it him. But it fell out farr otherwise, for shee refused the Gold, and would by no means touch it, but ran into the house, and took a Bow and Arrows, intending to kill them, but that they fledde away from her. Perceiuing this, they called another *Spaniard*, who had alwayes made signes of amity towards them, and caused him to speake to the woman, because they understood not her language. Conference by signes having past betwene them, the *Spaniard* learned of her, that shee would be payed in some small wares or trifles. They not knowing where they should fo provide themselves, the *Spaniard* tolde them, that there dwelt a man in the Village, who made profession of selling such things; and of him, for the value of two Ducates (which amount heere but to twenty Solz) they bought these following trinkets. Six very bigge Combes, six little knives, sold for a Sol a peece in *Paris*, with their sheathes, six small looking-glasse, a dozen of points, six needles, a glasse spoone, & a dozen of Ballads. Wherewith she was extraordinarily pleased, & tooke

The young men were cured in the space of five weeks, and their former strength perfectly recovered.

Their gratefulness towards the savage woman.

The danger of the cured young men, by the treachery of a Spaniard.

Trifles and matters of small value, yet pleasing to the eyes: best welcome to the Indians.

CHAP. XII.

Why there is not found so much vertue in the Guyaicum that is brought hither, as in that whereof the Indians themselves do make use, against the Neapolitane disease, and the description thereof.



S God hath benee, is, and euer more declareth himselfe to be good & mercifull, knowing the inhabitants of the whole Countrie

of *India* fore-named, to be naturally subiect to this infection of the Pox; so hath he giuen them the Tree of *Guyaicum*, by the meanes whereof they can cure themselves, which they attained vnto, onely by experience; for they haue not anie knowledge of Letters. The *Spaniards* which had conquered those countreyes, having co-habited carnally with the naturall Women there abiding; receyued from them this disease. For at certaine seasons, this malady possesseth the *Indians*; as Fellons or VWhirlawes, and Feauers do seize on vs. And hauing perceyued that they recovered themselves by *Guyaicum*, our Merchants brought some of it hither; which in the beginning, rotted of it selfe, by reason they brought thence the very youngest: which to prevent, they brought then of the oldest that in regard of his solidity could not rotte or perish. And our Physicians (by their own report) appointed the receipt of that, to such as (in these parts) were so infected; but to little effect; for beside the breuage or drinke made thereof, they sayed in annoointing (oistentimes) the diseased body, with hote Oynments, compounded with Quick-silver, whereby some of good habitude, perceiued themselves to be cured, and others not.

Now, by that which I could gather, from the discourse of these two yong *Parisians*, the olde *Guyaicum*, which is brought hither to vs, is of the grosse trunk and strong bodie of the Tree, that hath no vertue against the disease, neyther doe the *Indians* any way vfe it. And our decieued Physitians, appoint the receipt of this

The Savage woman that tolde to the two young men.

Their returning vnto the Vice-roy at S. Dominico, & their saying homeward.

Their coming to Paris, and welcoming by their parents.

Their condition on this day in their owne Countrey.

her selfe highly beholding to them. She presently sung a Song, after her countrey manner, made them a Feast, wherein were serued foure small *Gnimy* hennes boyled, two Toads very fat, vnbowelled and roasted. They dranke a Beuerage, made of Turkey wheate, passable enough. And afterward, she gaue them halfe a dozen of Bowes, and some store of Arrows, to beare away with them homeward, beside she gaue to each of them, fine Handkerchers of Cotton, properly made.

They returned thence to the Island of *Saint Dominico*, where they presented themselves vnto the Vice-roy, who was most ioyfull to see them recovered; and there they remained one moneth more, not feeling any sickness by the change of ayre, or of the climate, whereat each one greatly meruailed. In this time, the Merchants made them ready for their return, and some bands of soldiers, who went to refresh themselves in *Spain*. Being entered their ship, within two other months they arriued happily in the Port of *Stuill*. Thence they went to *Madrid*, humble to thanke the Queene, who gaue them Letters and Passe-ports, for their more secure arriuing in *France*. Being come to *Paris*, they were most louingly entertayned by their parents and friends, who did conceal their voyage and sickness, so much as in them lay.

It was my hap to finde them there, and to me they reuealed the whol aduenture, euen in such maner as I haue set it down; to the end, that such as fall into the like inconuenience, & being forsaken of Physicians heere, may trauaile for their recovery, as these two yong men did. At this day they are provided of great and honorable Offices, the one being officer for the Finances, and the other a worthie Commander in Armes, hauing performed many signal seruices, in the last wars of the vnion to his Maiesty. And because this Chapter should not seeme ouerlong: I will heereunto adde another Discourse, concerning the Tree of *Guyaicum*, which healed these two yong *Parisians*.

The great mercy of God to the naturally infected Indian people

Spaniards were the first that tooke the pox of the Indian women.

The want of knowledge in some Physicians

The Authors obseruation by report of the two Parisians.

There is but one kinde of Guyaicum only.

Trial of Guyaicum by the Parisians experience both here, and in India.

Some vertue in the olde Guyaicum, & how it is to be applied in that it disease.

Some forsaken yet found by curdy the olde Guyaicum.

this blacke *Guyaicum*, which is of those great trunks, and call it, the heart of *Guyaicum*. They also perswade these lues that there are two kinds of *Guyaicum*, to wit, one that is wholly blacke, and the other nothing blacke at all. Neither the less, they are both of one tree, inasmuch as that which hath no blacknesse, is of the branches, and euermore the oldest, albeit they take it for the yongest. These young *Parisians*, being of good and apprehensue spirits, did well perceyue, that that which men brought hither to vs, had very little power or efficacy: for they had made many diets, without receyuing the least ease thereby.

But the other of *India*, which was yong, somewhat tender, hauing hardly attained to two yeares growing, and no higher the stature of a man, did heale very easily. For in the making thereof, there would beefelte and perceiued, a very delicate and Grape-like gumme, pleasing vnto the heart, which is not to be found in that made heere among vs. And they concluded, that the drinnesse and coldnesse of the trunks of the trees, then which there is no other brought to vs, is the only cause, why such an inkefome disease cannot be cured.

Yet do I not inferre heereby, but that the aged *Guyaicum* brought hither to vs, hath some power and vertue: as in preparing the bodie (to receiue the vnguent fit for the disease) that is of a cold or melancholly nature, and hauing made vs thereof eight or ten dayes, then to take the vnguent. Or else, when one is supposed to haue that sicknesse, and there remaineth paines or aches in some parts of the body, or some Vicer is feared: some haue bene obserued, that by the vs of this old *Guyaicum*, within three weekes they haue appeared to be found. Some also haue bene fore afflicted, yea, diuers times left in deplorable condition; yet hauing made vs hereof for a year or two, as in their ordinary drink, and their bread commixed with a decoction of *Guyaicum*, and their meate boyled in like manner, they haue bene cured, and (among other) an Attorney of the Parliament at *Rouen*: but this is very rare and extremely painful.

The voyage to the *Indies* seemeth not so dolorous, nor yet so greatly chargea-

ble: for these two young *Parisians*, of whom we made mention in our precedent Chapter, it cost but three hundred Crownes betwene them, yet each had a man of honor with him, and a groomer or seruant to attend them both.

The decoction of the *Guyaicum* which is heere among vs, doth not serue only for the Pox, or those offended therewith, but likewise for all persons ouer-abounded in moysture, or that haue diseases caused by some cold humors. Also for such as haue opilations in the Liuer, Spleene, and other of the bowels, causing them to sweate after the receite. Many haue found great comfort and ease also thereby; as some touched with palsies; others that haue had swolne legs; others with vlcers subiect to certaine times; and defluxions, deafferres, catarrhes, rheumes, and other imbecillities, they haue found themselves thereby to be releafed. But people offended with hectique Feauers, must keepe themselves from any way vsing it. I will now describe the forme of this Tree.

The Tree of *Guyaicum* is great and grosse, as are the Oakes in these our countries, hauing the Barke or Rinde of blackish coullor, thicke, gummy, and fat. The wood thereof is much harder then lboyny, and the rinde separateth it selfe very easily from the trunk, when it is dry. The Leaues doe appeare like those of Plantaine, but they are much lesse, and more hard. It beareth a yellow flower, and the fruite is as big as a Nut, hauing within it stones, like to those of a Medlar: no vs hath bene made of the fruite, so farre as I can learne, and yet there must needs be some vertue in them. Thus you perceiue what I know, and haue vnderstood, concerning the Vood called *Guyaicum*, in the vertue whereof many heere among vs haue found themselves to be deceiued; by thinking that it had the selfe-same faculties, as that which is young and tender, and found in the *Indies*.

CHAP.

The Parisians charges in their voyage.

Concerning the decoction of Guyaicum, and how it is vsed for diuers other diseases besides the pox.

A Description of the tree called Guyaicum: according to the diligent obseruation of the Author.

CHAP. XIII.

From whence it proceedeth, that Graine or Corne is not so long time preserved in our Countreies, as it hath bene, and still is in Egypt. Also in what manner our Lands and Pines should be corrected and qualified, without dunging, With many remedies for the preserving of our Corn from corruption, and being eaten with diuers kinds of Vermines.

Coniectures concerning the long Keeping of Corn in Egypt.

The Grain or Corne of Egypt may be kept sound 5 years and more.

The reason why our Corn cannot be preserved for any long time.

Some haue supposed, that such seuerall kinds of corn as were kept for the space of fifteene daies, or thereabout (safe and soundly) in the royall Granaries of Egypt, by the aduice of *Ioseph*, to prouide agaynst the dearth of Graine, which should for seuen yeares after follow, according as he Prophetically foretold; came to passe as by matter of miracle, and extraordinarily. I must needs confesse, that there was both great abundance, and as great sterility of Corne, in the seuen consecutive yeares, and all thorow the extraordinary power of God. But for the conseruation of them, it is a matter ordinary to Egypt, that Corne should be kept there sicke and twenty yeares in pure goodnes, yea much longer time. Alwayes prouided, that it bee not transported from place to place, and be not made subiect to any heating: neither that it should bee eaten by anie Vermine, as many times our Corne is heere in our Countreies, and the cause thereof I will declare vnto ye.

The reason for it, is, that the Egyptians neuer vied to fatten their grounds, but contented themselves with such manurance, as the soyle it selfe, and *Nylus* ouerflowing them, onely afforded: neuer vsing any dung, as heere we do, neither Vrine, Leytals, and other excrements of beasts, which is the onely cause, why our Graine cannot be preserved; but is subiect to Wormes, VVeevles, Mites, and other small creatures, that doe great harme thereto, whereby it yeeldeth no sauourie taste, neither can bee kept in

goodnesse for any long time. *Hippocrates* seemeth to be of the same opinion; affirming, that such as vsed breade made of Corne, which any dunged ground hath yeilded, they cannot liue so healthfully, neither so long a time, as others, feeding on the cuntry.

Some one may say vnto me, the what shall we do in these countreies, where if our fieldes be not manured and dunged, the Land will yeelde nothing, or (at the best) very little? Is it not apparant euery where amongst vs? That there are euery good meanes whereby to franke and fatten grounds, with other things than dung and filth, *Hesiodus* plainly enstructeth vs; for in his Booke of Husbandry, he sayth: There is nothing better, to cherishe & fatten a leane and meager Land, then the strong straw of *Lapines*, the chaffe of *Chiches*, of *Beanes*, of *Tares*, *Lentilles*, and other (such like, utterly reiecting all vs of dung, which many haue charged with blamefull imputations.

Of this opinion also, *Liebard* appeareth to bee, in his Booke called *Maison Rustique*, or the Countrey Farme, where he saith; In stead of dung, they may vse the straw of *Lapines*, hacks or cut small. Or else to sowe the ground with *Lapines*, and other Pulses, and afterward when they beginne to grow, to labour then the land ouer and ouer, and this will serue for dung, much better then that of any beast.

There is mention also made, of another kind of manuring the ground, which is not so good as the precedent, alledged by *Hesiodus*; but approaching somewhat neere it, as thus. To cut some store of Heath, Broome, Briars, and Thorns, and all other kinds of shrubbes that haue bushy stalkes, or vnder-woods, and then to couer all those Lands therewith, which are intended to be sown: then let these seuerall matters ly drying about the space of ten or twelue dayes, or longer time if neede require it. Then in the night time, let them be set on fire, and so carefully tended, that they may be altogether reduced into ashes, by kindling the fire still where it would not fasten. Afterward, let those grounds be Tilled after one manner onely, and then sowed and couered. This kinde of Husbandry will cause great quantity of Corne, which the poore make vs of in many places, where they haue no Cattle:

Hip. lib. 1. cap. 27.

Lands that are dunged, doe not yeild such plenty of Corne, nor so saourie, as others.

Hesiod. in lib. de Agricult. cap. 5.

* A kinde of Pulis, so called.

Liebard in 1. lib. d. M. son Rustique, cap. 10.

Another manner of manuring ground, by Heath, Broome, Bryars, &c.

Cattle: and it causeth the earth to yeeld a great myltt graine, which is not subiect to corruption.

Here it is to be remembred, that where I say in Egypt, the grounds are not manured: I meane none but those that lye along the current of *Nylus*, on cyther side three or foure Leagues in largenesse, or little lesse on either side. But in other parts, as in the mountaine countreyes, they manure their Lands, though they be greatly fruitfull: yet not with dung, but with straw of diuers Pulses, according as I haue formerly sayd. Howbeit they haue great Herds of Oxen, and Flockes of Sheepe, altho their fields are almost couered with flights of Pigeons, which after their owne manner manure the grounds, and it is verie excellent good in that Nature.

As for the dungs heere in our Countreyes, they are very laborious to bee made: for some dung must lye rotting a whole yeare together, before it can bee well employed. And then it is (oftentimes) full of feedes of wilde or sauage Hearbes, which fall into the Hay, that beasts of labour eat, and so passe thorow in their excrements vndigested, or else are found among the strawe, whereof they make their litter. Vwhereby enslieth, that the earth (oftentimes) produceth more store of bad Hearbes and VVeeds, then of good Corne, because they take away his true vertue of nouiture, and do meere ly fowther it.

Beside all these things fore-named, especiall care is to be hadde, in knowing what dungs are good or bad; and for certayne groundes, and for some peculiar feedes. For Horffe dung will serue well in one place; that of Oxen and Kine in another; and likewise those of other, Cattle, Sheepe, Goates, Swine, Pigeons, and others beside. It may not be forgotten also that some grounds are to bee fattened in certayne quarters of the Moone, and others in other seasons: which is not any way to be obserued, in those other kindes of manuring, whereof I haue formerly written.

Heere I must not ouer-passe, to write somewhat concerning the husbanding of Vines, which some vse to dung, albeit to much lesse purpose, then grounds bearing Corne. As about *Paris*, in the lower Ly-

mosine; about *Lymoges*, and else-where. The dooing heereof is a great deale lesse tollerable, because it is a matter very difficult, that a ground nourished and made fat with dung; should not still retaine in it, the fauour of the layde Dung, and so (in the end) impart it to the wine. For, our people are verie ill aduised, to charge their Vines euery yeare: by reason it is the cause, that their wines (for the most part) haue an vnpleasing tast, and becoming fat and Oily, are easie to turne to themselves. Moreouer, dung maketh our Vines to waxe aged immediately, and soone to grow barren; because they are too liberal of their goodnesse in the first yeares.

Seruius hath lesse written vnto vs, in those Commentaries which he made on the ninth Booke of the *Eniades*, that the man was named *Pitunius*, who inuented this manner of manuring groundes by dung. And therefore he was called *Sterquilinium*, that is to say, a dung-hill carrier. It is to be presumed, that he was bred in the Latines countrey, in some place that was neuer fertile. These few notes I haue selected out of verie good Authors that did well vnderstand themselves in Husbandry, concerning the manuring of groundes & Vines, but they neuer approved the vse of dung.

Now, because I know verie well, that whatsoeuer *Hesiodus*, those other authors and my selfe also haue written, that our groundes and Vines should no longer bee manured in such stinking, foule, and grosse manner, but to follow those other instructions, most sweete and wholesome in excuse of their neglecting so good aduice I will say with them, that that which hath taken roote for so many thousandes of yeares, can hardly be taken away vpon the sodaine.

Therefore, I wil now set downe vnto you some certayne receipts and aduices, for the long conseruation of our Cornes safe and soundly, and that they may not bee any wayes bitten or eaten with Vermine, because it will bring exceeding great healthfulnesse vnto the people. For, without all doubt, when Corne and other nourishments of life haue any corruption whatsoeuer, they doe daile increase and augment diseases amongst the people.

First

First of all then, men ought to be very circumspect, that before they bring their Corne in sheaves into the Barn, the said sheaves be very dry, and free from all moisture.

Next, not to lay them on the earthen floor, without there bee some dry boards betweene the Corne and it. Then that there bee no muck-hill, or lakes; cyther in the Barne; or neere it: for ill fauor will soone communicate it selfe to the Corne; and about all, let the Barne bee very well ayred. If it be in such a place, where they haue no vse of Barnes, as in the most part of *Langwedocke*; then order must be taken, that the Stacks of Corne be (at least) so well couered and enclosed, that no raine may get power of entrance, for otherwise, the Corne will sproute it selfe, and afterward rot, corrupt, and putrifie.

After that the Corne is thresed, and meete to bee laide vp in the Garner or Corne-loffe, choise must be made of one that receiveth the bright splendour of the East, breathed also moderately with the North and West windes: but the Southerne blasts, and those leaning that way, by no means to enter it. The couerture ouer head, need no great coslinesse; because of the ayres easier entrance thorow the Tyles, or other sheltering, that the Corne may not be heated or chafed. The floore may bee of earth, or paving tyles; and the walles of whitened mortar. You must bee respectiue, that your Corne-heapes bee not great or thicke, to auoide ouer-heating; removing and changing them from place to place, at two Months and two Moneths. The Garner must be farre enough from moist places; especially from houses of office, which yeeld a noyfull fauour, or any such vnfit being; from Stables of Oxen, Horses, Swine, & such like.

The planchers and walles of the Garner, wherein you purpose to house your Corne, must be washed with vineger, or such water, wherein hearbes, or some bitter drugs haue bene boiled: as Wormewood, Southernwood, the leaues of wilde Cowcumbers, the pithe or graine of Coliquintida, or of Lupines, or Oxe gauls; without all question to the contrary, these haue bene truly tried, that no VVeecils, Mites, or Wormes can bite or touch the Corne, where they haue bene used. And

they that seeme to take this paines, may lay some wormwood vnderneath, also; and about their Corne-heapes, or Southernwood; or dried wilde Marierome. Or else amongst the walles and planchers of the Garner, with Lye made of the oyle of Oliues; or if it may not be had, with Sheeps vme. To salt-powder the ground vnderneath the Corne, with ashes made of Oaken wood, it is the present killing of all Mites and VVeecils.

Now to keepe the Corne from heating or wanting; ouer and beside the forenamed remedijs, let there bee layde vnder euery ten Bulbells of Corne, one of Millet; or if it be mingled therewith, it is easily separated afterward with a ramming Sine. Sale-Niter and the seum thereof, is very good for Corne-heapes, and preferueth them wonderfully, as also fro spouting: many Sea-Merchants haue made vse therof, to their no meane profit. In breefe, a good and charitable man shall neuer stand in need of so many remedies. If he keepe his Corne with intention, to helpe and lend to the poore, and without interest. For God saith by his Prophet *Isaiah*, That hee will preferue the goods of them that keepe them to helpe the poore. And contrariwise, That he will suffer them to rot, and their Corne shall bee eaten with vermine, that hoord it them vp; to get great gaine by it; and hurt the people vexed with famine.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the great difference, which both Ancient and Moderne Writers haue obserued to be betweene the Royall title of a King, and the disgracefull name of a Tyrant.



Efore I begin to describe the difference, that is betweene a King and a Tyrant; I hold it to be a matter most convenient, to set downe a definition both of the one and other, to the ende, that the deportments of them both, may the better be knowne.

A King is such a man, that yeeldeth himselfe as obedient to the lawes of Nature,

An easier way for such as can take no paines.

How to preferue the Corne from heating and chafing.

Ezek. 37. 10.

A necessary obseruation in the Author.

How the Egyptians doe manure their grounds that are not neere to Nylus.

Dungs doe engender many wilde and vnwholsome hearbes by smothering the earth, rather then nourishing it.

Knowledge in the diffinition of dungs, for their goodnesse or badnesse.

Concerning the husbanding of Vines.

Dungs may be hurtfull for Vines.

Seruius in Comment.

Where ere is to be vied for providing a good Garner, or Corne-loffe.

For the floore.

For the floor and wall.

Corne-heapes

Seasoning of the Garner.

How to auoide vermine that do great harme to Corne.

The definition of a King, is him that holdeth the estate and dignity Royall.

The note or mark of Royalty.

What things are possible in a King.

The definition of a Tyrant, & what the signification of the word Tyrant implyeth.

Who were called tyrants in elder times.

ture, as he desireth his Subjects to be towards him: forsaking naturall liberty, & a propriety in the goods of any man. I observe in this definition, that Subjects ought to be obedient to the Royall Monarch, to declare thereby, that in him consisteth Soueraine Maiesty. The King also ought to be obedient to the Lawes of nature, that is to say, to gouerne his Subjects, and to guide his owne actions by naturall iustice, which maketh it selfe to be seene as cleare and brightly, as the splendour of the Sunne. It is likewise a Royall mark or note, when the Prince sheweth himselfe as milde and pleyable to the lawes of nature; as he willeth his Subjects to be obeyant to him. Which he may easily do, if he feare God aboue all things, be pitifull to the afflicted, provident in his enterprizes, hardy in exploits, modest in prosperity, constant in aduersity, firme in his word, wise in his counsell, carefull of his Subjects, succourable to friends, terrible to enemies, courteous to good men, dreadfull to wicked persons, and iust to all.

A Tyrant is such a man, as desireth the lawes of nature with his feete, abuseth the liberties of free-borne Subjects, euen as if they were his slaves; and maketh the goods of other men to be his owne. The name or word Tyrant, is *Greeke*, in his owne propriety, and was honourable; signifying nothing else in times of antiquity, but a Prince that had possessed himselfe of the State, without the consent of his Citizens and Subjects, and of a companion, had made him his Master. Such a man was called a Tyrant, although he were a most wife and iust Prince. In like manner, *Plato* writing to *Dionysius* the Tyrant, gaue him this quality as his honour: *Plato* to *Dionysius* the tyrant, health. The returne and answer was: *Dionysius* the tyrant, to *Plato* greeting. And to declare that the word tyrant, was as well attributed to iust & good Princes, as them that were wicked, it evidently appeareth herein: because *Pittacus* and *Periander*, two of the feuen Sages of *Greece*, were called tyrants, for hauing seized the Estates of their Countries.

But such, as eyther by power, or else by cunning had invaded and obtained the Souerainty, perceiving that their liues were exposed to the mercy of their ene-

mies; were constrained (for the better security of their liues and goods) to haue Guards of strangers about their persons, & strong Garrisons in Castles, for whose payement of wages and maintenance, great tributes & impositions were leuied. And when they saw, that their liues could not be secured, hauing but poore friends, and potent enemies; they did eyther put to death, or banished some, to please and enrich others: and they that stood in desperate condition, they made rape both of their goods and wives. And this was the reason, that tyrants were extremely hated and maliced. For we reade, that *Dionysius* the elder tyrant, of one part of *Sicily*, had daily ten thousand Soldiers for his Guard, and ten thousand horsemen, and foure hundred Gallies, readily hired and armed. And when he could not make vp this account among so few Subjects as were vnder his seruice; he wrang & griped his people in so small an Island, whercof hee gouerned but in part onely, and contained no more then six hundred and sixteene Italian miles in all.

Now because euery one hath not the iudgement to distinguish a good King from a Tyrant, calling him a Tyrant, that (for great store of good reasons) maketh himselfe formidable, and stood in awe of, beside that which I haue already sette downe, I will make him some what more easily to be knowne.

The most notable difference betwene a King and a Tyrant, is, that the King conformeth himselfe to the lawes of nature, and a tyrant trampleth on them with his feete, that one maintaineth piety, iustice, and faith, the other hath neyther God, Law, nor Faith. The one maketh whatsoever he doth, serue for the weale publique, & tuition of his Subjects: the other doth not any thing, but for his owne particular profit, reuenge, or pleasure. The one enforceth himselfe to enrich his Subjects by all the best meanes he can deuise: the other will not build his owne house, but with the ruines of theirs. The one reuengeth the iniuries of the publike Estate, and pardoneth his owne: but the other reuengeth cruelly his owne iniuries, and pardoneth them that are done to others. The one spareth the honour of modest women: & the other triumpheth in their shame. The one taketh pleasure

Gripping and including Tyrants were compelled to enter into Guards for their owne safety.

The cause why Tyrants were commonly hated.

Weakness in some iudgements betwene a good King & a Tyrant.

The apparant and best noted difference betwene a Royall King & a Tyrant, in very small obseruation.

Of publike benefit.

Pardonning iniuries.

Of women's honour.

to

Of general trinity.

Of assability.

Of Loue.

Of Feare.

Of Tostation.

Of honest laud.

Of free giuing Offices.

Of Law.

Of peoples loue.

Of Warre.

Of Guards.

Of Peace.

Of happy life.

Of happy death.

to be aduised in all freedom and liberty, and will be wisely reprehended when hee faileth; but nothing is more ikelesome to the other, then the counsell of a graue and vertuous man.

The one striueth to maintain his Subjects in peace and iustice; but the other moueth dayly diuisions; to make the one part to hate the other, and then to fatten himselfe with their Confiscations. The one delighteth to be sometimes seene, and heard of his Subjects; but the other euer more hideth himselfe from them; as from his enemies. The one, maketh reckoning of his Subjects Loue, but the other of their Feare. The one, neuer feareth; but for the well-fare of his people; but the other dreadeth nothing more then them.

The one, will not charge his Subjects more then needes must, remembering alwayes the publike necessity; but the other drinketh their blood, gnaweth their bones, and sucketh the verie Marrowe of his people, onely to weaken them. The one searcheth out men of best condition, to employ in publike Offices; but the other employeth none but Theeues, and most wicked persons in his seruice, like to Spunges. The one maketh free giue of estates and offices, to auoid concussions, and crowdes of people; but the other selleth them at as deare rates as hee can, for their better meanes of enfeebling the people by Theft; and then (afterward) cuttes the Theeues throates for their vvealth, because he would be repured a good Iusticer.

A King measureth his actions and maners, by the foote of the Law; but the tyrant maketh the Law to serue his maners. The one is beloued and reuerenced of his people; and the other generally hated of them all. The one hath no other recourfe in war, but to his Subjects: but the other, will make no warre but with them. The one, hath no Guards or Garrisons but of his owne people; but the others defence is onely in strangers. The one delighteth in an assured repose and tranquility; but the other languisheth in perpetual feare. The hope & expectation of the one, is euerlasting life in blessednes; but the other cannot auoid eternall punishment. The one is honored in this life, & desired again after death: the other is infamous in this

life, and torne in peeces with shame after death: But because the continuation of this chapter might seeme ouer-redious to the Reader, if I should verily al these relations by historicall examples; I will referre such as are willing to take the paynes, to reade the histories themselves, both in *Greece*, *Latine*, & other languages, wher they shal find that to be most true, which hath bin spoken of Kings and Tyrants.

CHAP. XV.

In what high account and esteeme, Philosophers, & other men of knowledge (in what Sciences neuer) were held in elder times, by Emperors and Kings.



E need not now complaine, that in these dayes of ours, there is such want of excellent spirits, in all kinds of Arts and Sciences; but if we survey with more wary iudgment, we shal plainly perceiue, that there are learned men now, who may iustly find fault, that neither they are in such esteeme, or any way so well recompensed of Princes in these times, as many worthy men were heretofore, by Emperors, Kings, Princes, and great Lords, in those famous daies of reuerend antiquity. Instead of concluding, and acquainting yee with the iustice of their reason, I will lightly passe ouer; & instead of long speaking, onely remember ye with some histories and examples of famous Potentates in former ages, who were Friends, and Nursing fathers to Philosophers and Schollers; to the end that their actions being compared with those of these dayes, it may be knowne, whether they haue cause to complaine, or no, in a case so highly important.

And first of all, I will beginne with the excellent and renowned Captain *Pompey*, who (as we read) after he had vanquished the puissant king *Mithridates*, & obtained many other victories and adventures in war, coming to *Athens* with all his warlike furnishment, such as the *Roman* Consuls and Captaines vsed to haue borne before the; he was aduertised that *Posidonius* the

The Conclusion.

A great cause of discouragement to learned men.

Potentates & Princes of elder times.

Pompey, his victory against *Mithridates*.

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Philosopher lay sicke in his bed. Being desirous to go and see him, he would not only honor him with his personall Visitation; but when he came neere the door of the house, he caused his Standards and Imperial Ensigns to march in before him. For it was euermore his saying; *That Kingdomes and Empires ought to obey vertue and Learning.* Thus he behaued himselfe to this poore learned man, which hee would not haue done to the greatest Potentate then liuing.

Dionysius the Tyrant, king of *Syracusa*, hauing obtained of *Plato* the excellent diuine Philosopher, that he would come & see him in *Sicily*; when hee heard of his neere approaching, he went to meete him on the way, causing him to sit with him in his owne Chariot, drawne with white Horses. Such was the reputation which wife and learned men had in those times. When *Alexander* the Great, had determined the vtter ruine & subuersion of the *Thebans*, he gaue especiall charge first of all, that no man should touch the house of the Poet *Pindarus*, but to leaue it wholly standing. If I should tell yee, how highly *Virgill* was honored and esteemed by *Octavianus*, it is a matter so perfectly known, that it needeth no report of mine. According to *Pliny* in his scuenth Booke, whensoever he entered into the Theater, there to deliuer some of his Verses, all the people would stand vp on their feet, and offer as great reuerence to him, as if it had bin to the Emperor. And that which is much more, *Silius Italicus*, a Spanish Poet, did yearly solemnize the day of his Natiuitie, and with farre greater deuotion, then hee did his owne. The gifts and presents daily giuen him by *Octavian*, *Mecenas*, and many more, were so great, that *Seruius* (who writeth of him) saith, that his goods (in very short time) amounted to the value of fixe thousand *Sesterties*, which arise vnto two hundred and fiftie thousand Crownes. He had in *Rome* a very honorable Palace; in regard whereof, *Iuuenall* in his 7. Satyre saith, *That he was one of the richest men in those dayes.*

Vpon a day, in the presence of *Octavian*, and *Linus* his wife, the mother vnto *Marcellus*, *Virgill* vttered certaine Verses of his bookes *Aeneidos*, and comming to the end of the fixt Booke, where hee discouereth most elegantly of *Marcellus* late-

ly dead before; the hart of the mother became so strangely and passionately moued thereat, that she fell into a swoond, not hauing any power to heare the rest. But being reuiued to her selfe againe, she commaunded, that for each of those whereof shee had lost the hearing, *Virgill* should haue ten *Sesterties* giuen him. The remainder (which she heard not) being one and twenty verses in number; the valewation of his reward, contained the summe of 5000. Ducates, of our instant money.

It is found faithfully recorded, that the *Syracusans* had some *Athenian* prisoners, that could rehearse (by heart) a certayne verses of *Euripides* the Greeke Poet, and dayly pronounced them; by which occasion only, and in honor of the Poet, they were deliuered, & permitted freely to go home to their owne country. *Scipio the Affrican*, during his life time, had alwayes with him (in his wars) the Statue of *Ennius*; and when he died, he tooke especial order, that it might be buried in his owne Sepulcher with him. The Emperor *Domitian*, caused *Silius Italicus* (an excellent Poet, and borne in *Spain*) to be made three times Consul of *Rome*, as *Marshall* witnesseth in one of his Epigrams, beginning, *Augusto Piaethura*.

But I know not what to say, of our moderne and later times; or what our late liuing Princes haue done, either to *Politian*, *Pontanus*, or *Sannazar*; and to speak of our Modern Frenchmen, as *Ronsard*, *Belay*, and other excellent Poets. But perhaps you will answer me, their hopes may be to come heereafter, because some of them are yet liuing, young in yeares, but old in wisdom and vnderstanding, and worthy to be equaled with many of former times. But because I see so little respect, let vs goe backe againe to those renowned Ancients. King *Mithridates* held *Plato* and his learning in so high reputation, being desirous to haue his statues erected to find out a *Syllabus* to performe it, because he was a most excellent workman. For in those dayes, the greatest honour that could be, was (in publicke places) to erect Figures & Statues; yet none might be permitted, except it were of some worthy man, made famous, and knowne by some vertuous deeds, or for his dignity in learning. For this cause the men of *Athens* made one of *Demosthenes*, with a title of the

the very greatest honor that euer had bin giuen vnto any other; and these were the words of the inscription. *If the power and strength of Demosthenes had bin equal to his spirit, wisdom, and learning; the King of Macedon could neuer haue surmounted the Greekes.*

Iosephus the Jew, being one in number amongst the captiues of *Ierusalem*, was brought prisoner to *Rome*; & yet notwithstanding, in regard of the Bookes hee had made of the *Iewes* Antiquities, they repute him worthy to haue a Statue. The *Athenians* considering the wisdom of *Demetrius Phalerus*, scholler vnto *Theophrastus*, caused his statue to be erected in thirty places of this City. Now if men of merit were so highly honoured, doubles they were as well rewarded. For *Athenus* writeth in the 9. book of his *Gymnosophists* that *Aristotle* for his Booke de *Animalium* recieued of *Alexander* 800. talents: which of the current money now in *France*, valeweth foure hundred & fourescore thousand Crownes, which is verified by *Pliny* in his eight book. There hee declareth, that *Alexanders* desire was so great to haue this book performed by *Aristotle*, that he sent many thousands of men thoroughout all *Greece* and *Asia*, with letters and expresse commandement, that they should be obedient to whatsoeuer hee required, touching the manner of hunting and flying of Fowles, Fishes, and all the like exercises, because they should know & vnderstand, the nature and properties of all kinde of Beasts, Birds, and Fishes, & then to aduertise *Aristotle* thereof. Vndoubtedly if *Hommer*, the very best of Greeke Poets, had liued in the time of *Alexander*, it is to be presumed that hee wold haue bin as bountifull and beneficiall to him, as hee was to *Aristotle*. Because when a chest or Casket was presented vnto him, wherein *K. Darus* kept his most precious Vnguent, the Chest being very pleasing to him, he said; *I will make this Chest the keeper of far richer treasure*; and presently hee did put thereinto the *Workes of Hommer*, which heeuermore tooke great delight to read in continually.

The Emperor *Traiane*, in regard of his learning onely, did so especially honour the Philosopher *Dyon*, that when hee rode abroad in the fields to take the Ayre, hee would haue him to sit neere vnto him in

his owne Chariot, and so ride on along with him thorough *Rome*, making it as his triumphall entrance.

In the warre which the Emperor *Octavianus* made in *Egypt*, against *Mark Anthony*, hee sayde; *I had bee did forbeare to destroy Alexandria, for the respect hee bare to Alexander, that builded it; but much more for his loue to the Philosopher Arius.* The same Emperor also, made *Cornelius Gallus* Tribune of the people; onely because hee was a most elegant Poet.

Suetonius in the life of *Vespasian*, sheweth, what rewards were anciently giuen to the Learned. For he sayth, *Although Vespasian was taxed with conuotnesse; yet notwithstanding, he greatly fauoured exercises and Artes, and gaue as pensions to each Master of them, such quantity of golden peces, as being reduced to the summes of our monyes* (according to *Aerolais* and *Budaus*) *their stipends valewed two thousand and five hundred Ducates*, but as some say Crownes.

By the Testimony of *Pliny*, in his scuenth Booke, and the ninth Chapter, writing of *Socrates* the Greeke Orator, a man may very easily perceyue, in what account and estimation the learned were then. For hee sayeth, that this *Socrates*, hauing made an Oration for a certayne man; hee rewarded him with twelue Talents, which valew (according vnto our present computation) twelue thousand Crownes.

Wee finde it likewise written, in the life of the Emperour *Antoninus*, Some vnto *Senerus*, that hee gaue to *Appian*, 500. Ducates of Gold, as there were number of Verses in a great worke which hee had (at that time) made, concerning the Nature and property of all kinde of Fishes.

The Emperour *Gratian*, knowing that *Antoninus* composed well in Verse; gaue him (onely for his desert that way) the Consulshippe, which was the vertie greatest dignity, nay euen next to that of Emperour.

Domitian, albeit hee was a most wicked man, yet he gaue great honors & gifts to the Poet *Enitathus*. And in a solemn Feast, hee caused him to sit at his Table, Crowned with a Garland of Lawrell; where, with all our graue Elders vsed to Crowne their Poets. *Seleim Nafius*, a Ly-

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ricke

The inscription on the Statue of Demosthenes.

Iosephus wrote his history in Rome.

A notable Philosopher, that for his vertues gouerned the Athenians many yeares.

Alcibiades in Greece, lib. 9.

Rewards giuen to learned men.

In lib. 11, cap. 3.

Alexander desired of Aristotle books of creatures.

Hommer the best of all the Greeke Poets.

The words of Great Alexander, of Hommers lib. 11.

A famous Philosopher of Prusa, a towne of Bithynia by Olympus.

Dionysius the Tyrant, king of Syracuse.

Alexander the Great.

A famous poet of Thebes.

Plin. lib. 7. Virgill was the most excellent of all Latine Poets, borne to Marcellus and Maia, anethorne in Mantua.

Seruius in lib. 6. cap. 4.

Iuuen. in Sat. 7.

m Not he who had to be sure times Consul, but young Marcellus, that should haue bin heyr to Octavian.

a Whole church place was in Alexandria.

Sueton in l. 11. cap. 1. Of the Emperour Vespasian rewards to Learning.

Plin. in l. 7. cap. 9.

b A famous Orator of Greece, Scholler to Plato.

Sueton in vit. Imp. Antonini.

c Not the son of Vespasian, but a Cousin, borne in Britain Poet borne.

d Hee wrote the Histories from Eneas, to Anastasius the Emperour.

1. He is said to be very familiar with Cicero.

Honour not only during life, but after death also done to learned men.

An oblation and anivere concerning Seneca.

A true proverb.

Learned men living in ancient times.

Those of more moderate dayes.

rick Poet, was much commended by *Vespasian*, with no lesse honourable wordes then others, and also had in giftes great summes of money. *Arrianus* for the historie which he wrote in Greeke, of the actes of *Alexander* the Great, but more especially, because he was a very Learned man; was made Confull of Rome by *Adrian* and *Antoninus*. Nor were these learned men thus honoured during their life time, but also after their death. As may bee noted by *Ptolomy*, who was King of Egypt, who made a Temple and Statue to *Homer*, as he did to his other Goddes. For *Virgil* likewise, there was a Statue erected in *Mantua*, long time after he was dead. The excellent Poet *Horace*, although we are not certaine how wealthy he was; yet notwithstanding, he had great dignities of *Octavianus* in Rome.

I could produce many examples vnto this purpose, which I forbear, onely to avoide prolixity. But heere, if any man shall obiect vnto me, that wife and Learned *Seneca* dyed by the command of *Nero*; I answer, it was most bloodye *Nero* that did it, not any defect in his learning, and before his death, he attained to great dignities and honours in Rome, onely by the meanes of his Learning. It is an olde, but a true Prouerb; *That Honors and gifts, are both the makers and maintainers of Arts*. Therefore wee finde, that in those times when Emperors and Kings fauoured studies and learning; there wanted then no store of Learned men. As in the daies of *Octavianus*, *Claudius*, *Adrian*, *Vespasian*, and *Antoninus*. For our modern times, when the Emperor *Sigismund* liued; *Robert* king of *Sicily*, Pope *Nicholas* the fifth, King *Alphonse* of *Naples*, and *Matthias* King of *Hungarie*, beside those of the house of *Medicis* in *Florence*. The flower of which Stemme, yet liueth at this day crowned in *France*, imitating the most gracefull steps of his euer-famous foregoers; but especially of good King *Frances*, in whose most happy time, *France* reached vnto such a height for Learning, that it might meritoriously haue bene styled, another *Greece* or *Athens*.

CHAP. XVI.

That Learning is not onely necessary in Kings and Princes: but also for Generales, Captaines, and Commanders, that follow the Exercise and Art Military.



Could alledge manifold Histories, besides true, good, and sufficient Reasons, that Princes (in ancient times) found no better forme, or direete rule for their orderly gouernment, then Learning, and Knowledge. And because the euidence hereof remaineth so plaine and pregnant vnto vs, I will obserue some few examples, tending to this purpose. When King *Phillip* vnderstood the birth of his sonne *Alexander*, and knowing *Aristotle* to liue then in *Athens*, he sent a very notable Letter vnto him (recorded by *Plutarch*, and *Aulus Gellius*) wherein hee thanked the Goddes, not so much for the safe birth of his sonne, but because hee was borne in the life time of *Aristotle*. By which few words, may be apparently discerned, how much the King thought learning and knowledge fitte for his sonne, to the end, he might proue to be such a King and Captaine, as hee was indeede afterward. Whereupon, when hee grew vnto yeares meete for the embracing of studie; he made *Aristotle* his Mayster, sent him great gifts, and (in meere loue to his son) builded a Cittie, which he had formerly destroyed, and erected also a Schoole (admired for cost and curious workemanship, such as no time before had afforded) wherein his sonne might receiue instruction.

Antigonus, King of *Macedon*, knowing how needfull a thing Learning vvas, for his owne good gouernment; and beeing mightily prouoked by the continuall renowne of *Zeno*, a singular Philosopher, and Prince of the Stoickes; desired earnestly to enioy his company, which hee further laboured by Letters, and manie Embassies. Of which Letters, *Diogenes Laertius* reciteth one, in this manner following.

The

The manner of Princes gouernment in old times.

Plutarch in vit. Alexan. Aulus Gellius in lib. 10. cap. 1.

Some doe putte this citie to bee Alexan. dia, so called after the name of Alexander.

K A man of great account in Athens, & Author of the Stoicke sect.

The Letter of King Antigonus, to Zeno the Philosopher.

Antigonus a King, sendeth greeting to Zeno the Philosopher. I know very well, that in worldly goodes, fauours of Fortune, and the reputation of such things, I doe farre exceede thee. Nevertheless, I know withall, that in true felicitie, knowledge, discipline, studies and liberal Artes, thou reachest a higher pitch then I can doe. In regard whereof I desire, that thou wouldest come and liue with me, which I pray thee to yeelde vnto; that I may enioy thy company and conuersation. In the doing whereof, be well assured, that thou not onely shalt be master of me, but shalt also be a teacher to all my Macedonians. For he that instructeth the King, making him to become vertuous and good: teacheth those vertues likewise to all his Subiects. To proue the truth hereof, it is commonly seene, that such as the King is, such are his vsailes, and such as the Captaine, such his Souldiours.

Farwell.

These Letters being receiued by the venerable Philosopher; in regard of his deepe steppes into age, it was not possible for him to condiscend thereto, or (in person) to satisfie the Kings earnest request. But he sent him two of his Schollers, excelling the rest in knowledge & learning, by whom he was worthily taught and instructed.

The learning of *Aristotle*, vnder whom *Alexander* was tutored fure whole yeares together, tooke such roote and efficacie in the Schollers, that he became so excellent a King, as no one in the world was able to compare with him. Being in the midst of his Armies, he would not giue ouer study, but euermore layd (with his Sword) on the pillow of his bed, the *Iliaides* of *Homer*, and other bookes. And it appeared, that such was his loue to Learning, that he could as easily apprehend it, as he conquered kingdoms by force of Armes. *Plutarch*, *Aulus Gellius*, and *Theophrastus* doe asseme, that *Alexander* had published certayne bookes of naturall Philosophy, whereof he had been an Auditor vnder *Aristotle*; in regard whereof, he wrote a Letter vnto him.

The Letter of great Alexander, to his Master Aristotle.

Aristotle, thou hast done ill, in publishing those Bookes of speculative Philosophie by thee composed. For, in thine owne judgement, wherein can I possibly excell other men, when the Science wherein thou hast instructed me, cometh to be common to all men? I would haue thee to know, that I more couet to preceed all men in Learning and knowledge, then in riches, pompe, power and dominion.

Farwell.

When this was vnderstoode by *Aristotle*, to comfort and please so puissant a Prince, he commanded that his Bookes (formerly common) should be so obliuied, that it was not possible to vnderstand them, but by his owne interpretation. *Pirrus* that excellent Captaine, and king of the *Epirotes*, who maintained great warres against the *Romaines*, and diuers times ouercame them; did exercise him selfe, not onely in the reading of the Sciences: but also composed sundry bookes, among which was his precepts of warre. As the like hath bene done lately in our time, by that famous man, *Guillaume du Bellay*, Lord of *Langoy*.

What shall we say of *Julius Caesar*, the first Emperour, and (without all comparison) the very best Captaine of all them that had the managing of war? We may truly say of him, that he was no lesse inclined to Learning, then to Armes. For he made himselfe a Scholler, before hee was a Souldier: and afterward as often as he had any leysure, he frequented the Academies of the Poets, and in walking, he would both reade and write. Vpon a time, being at *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, to saue himselfe from an imminent perill, he aduentured swimming, bearing the bookes which he had written in one of his handes, declaring thereby, that he affected them as dearly, as his owne life; hauing as much care to saue the one, as the other; and what his learning was, his Commentaries (yet remaining with vs) can sufficiently witness.

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Nor

A notable testimony, of loue to learning, in so much as a potentate.

Words becomming a vertuous king.

What the philosopher himselfe could not doe, hee did by his Schollers.

Alexander was Scholler to Aristotle fure yeares together, and used Learning earnestly.

Plutarch in vita Alex. Aulus Gellius in lib. 10. cap. 3. Theophrastus in Alex.

A louing reprehension of his Master, and declaring his affection to Learning.

Pirrus being one of the best men, an excellent louer of learning, and a publisher of bookes.

Julius Caesar the first Emperour, as is famous for learning, as for armes. Iulius March. Iulius Caesar.

Caesar loved learning as dearly as his life.

The care of
the Romanes
for their chil-
dren learning

Cato Censorius

Cato Uticensis

* A Philo-
sopher and Po-
et of Sicily, a
City of Sicily,
by the sea side, not
farre from
Tyre.
Cicero in Lib.
de Finib.

Examples of
solitude affec-
ting learning.
Scipio Africanus.

Hanniball.

Plato schoole
master to Di-
onyfius the
Tyrant.

A notable an-
swer.

Notonely *Cesar*, but all the *Romanes* also, do beare witnesse of that which wee say, who (in my poore opinion) were reputed and knowne to be good Captaines and Gouernors. For, the first thing which they vndertook for their children in their infancie, was to haue them well instructed, and therefore provided good school-masters for them, which they chargeably sent for out of Greece. Both the *Catoes* were knowne to be excellent schollers, & soldiers. The great *Censor* was wonderfully addicted to learning, as the Bookes written by him do plainly testifie: hee was a worthy Orator, Historian, and endued with many vertues, and euen toward the ending of his dayes, hee learned the Greeke tongue. The other *Cato*, styled of *Utica*, though he was not of such a sharpe ingenious spirit in apprehension of Sciences; yet notwithstanding, hee kept company with most excellent Schoole-masters; among whom was the Philosopher * *Antipater*. And he gaue his minde so much to studie, that *Cicero* sayth, in his Booke *De Finibus*, he did nothing else but reade; yea, whensoever he late in the Senate house, hee alwayes had some Booke or other about him, to reade at all times when he pleased.

Scipio Africanus, the victorious triumpher ouer *Hanniball*, was extremely addicted to Learning, and euermore had the Poet *Ennius* with him. After all his Victories, he gaue himselfe againe afresh to Learning and reading. *Hanniball* his Competitor, although he was of *Africa*, had alwayes bookes with him in his Tents and Pauilions: in the time of waite, hee would not giue ouer reading, but in one place or other (howsoever it were) hee would haue *Silanus* and *Saxylus* (two learned *Lacedemonians*) with him, by whom he was well instructed in the Greeke Language. We haue formerly read, that *Dionysius* the Tyrant of *Sicily*, had *Plato* to be his Schoolemaster, and kept company also with many other learned men. Afterward, when hee was expelled out of his kingdom, one (in mocking manner) demanded of him, whereto now serueth the Philosophy which he had learned of *Plato*, to whom hee returned this answer, *It serueth mee to support my present necessities with patience.* *Themistocles*, a most excellent Captaine, declared himselfe to be no

lesse diligent in learning, when hee was in Armes: his Master was * *Anaxagoras*, the *Milesian*. *Epaminondas*, and the other Captaines of Greece, were all studious and worthy Orators. *Alcibiades*, in the warres which he had against the *Romanes*, for the space of forty years together, notwithstanding all the furious assaults, destined not from his studying, haue euermore diuers schoolemasters and Philosophers with him.

Octavius Augustus, limited to himselfe certaine houres in the day, onely for study; and when he was in warre, yet he kept his times of studying still: hauing therefore diuers worthy Masters with him, as *Apollodorus* of *Pergama*, the Philosopher *Alperarius*, *Asinius Pollio*, *Valerius Messala*, *Virgil*, *Onid*, and many other. And before this Emperour, there was a famous Captaine, named * *Lucius Lucullus*, who during the wars, gaue himselfe to study; & when the wars ceased, hee applied all his diligence, in cherishing and maintaining learned men. *Paulus Emilius*, victorious ouer the king of *Persia*, ouer & beside his being a very learned man, endeauoured also that his children might bee the like; so that at his infant request, the *Athenians* gaue him * *Metrodorus* to bee their Schoole-master. But wherfore do I take so much paines, in naming so many one after another? *Pompey*, *Quintus Fabius Maximus*, *Marcus Brutus*, *Tyrane*, *Adrian*, and *Marke Antonie*, were all learned men, and compiled Bookes, Orations, and Letters of great learning, and memorable example.

In briefe, if I erre not greatly in my judgement, it may plainly appeare, that few Captaines are found of ancient times who were excellent in nothing so much as by their learning. There are two only, of whom wee finde nothing remaining written, expressing whether they were learned, or no: the one being named *Caius Marius*, and the other *Marcus Marcellus*. And yet I reade, that *Marcellus* highly loued and fauoured men of knowledge: whereby it is to bee credited, that surely himselfe was learned, though nothing (to that effect) bee written of him. And it may the more manifestly appeare, by the prohibition he made (as we haue formerly alledged) at the surprizall of *Syracusa*, that *Archimedes* should not bee slayne. And

a Philo-
sopher of noble
bloode, but
more, more
versus and
wise come.

The booke of
Octavius Au-
gustus to let
ting.

b A Nobles
of Rome
mour for let-
ting, mutual
prowesse, and
exceeding
great riches.

c A Philo-
sopher, Scholer
to Epicurus.

No Captaine
in elder time
but they were
famous for
Learning.

Caius Marius
and Marcus
Marcellus.

And although he miscaried, notwithstanding his strict command to the contrary: yet it was not without great griefe of the said *Marcellus*.

Let then the Captaines of these our dayes, say what they list, that learning is not so expedient for them (I meane such as thrust the file of Captaines on themselves) coueting with their owne opinion, or rather oblinacy, to cloud and couer their dulnesse and ignorance. It is sufficient for vs, that wee see how highly our graue Predecessors esteemed Bookes and Learning, equall with the courage and manhood of infinite Captaines, worthily affected and addicted to learning; as we finde it vnpartially set downe, in that iudicious Booke of warre, written by *Robertus Valturinus*.

CHAP. XVII.

Of diuers secret naturall properties, being in the Viper: and how he may be sed on, and eaten, without any danger.

THE Viper is a kinde of Serpent, sufficiently knowne to many: and although it be little, yet notwithstanding it is very venomous, for with a little pricking it can kill a man. But as the Lord God made not any thing but to profitable vse: euen so this creature, with all his venome, serueth man for diuers medicines and maladies, especially for any paine in the throat. It is a thing very excellently good (by a secret property in nature) to beare the head of a Viper about a man: for lusing, it killeth, and dead, it bealeth. *Tiriacle*, or *Treacle*, as we vse to terme it, is properly good against venom: but in the making thereof, and in the confection, there is necessarily required some part of this beast, to the end it may be the more perfect, and of the greater efficacy. And it was named *Tiriacle*, because that the worde *Thirion* in Greeke, signifieth a Viper or venomous Beast. Some (and not vnfittingly) doe giue another etymology, and reason for this name. But before we report the benefits ensuing by the Viper, me-thinkes it were not amiss, to remember what is said by *Pliny*, *Isidorus*,

and *Aelianus*. They report, that when this Serpent conceiueh, the Male putteth his head in at the mouth of the Female, whereby hee receiueh such immeasurable delectation; that with her ouer-sharp teeth, she byteth off the head of the Male, becoming thereby widowed, yet violent in assaulting. The matter conceiued by her, groweth to bee Egges, which forme themselves within her body, according as the spawn of fishes doth: and of those Egges do Vipers ensue, at such time as she is to deliuer her young ones, yeelding euery day, one, till they amount to twenty. Now because they are so many in number, they which remaine behinde, haue no power to attend their fit time, do teare the belly of their Damme, so that by her death, they enter into the world, and liue. If it be so, surely it is a matter very maruailous: for it should seeme thereby, that (euen naturally) the children do reuenge the death of their father.

With this opinion of *Pliny*, do many other Authors consent; as *Plinarch* in his Treatise against Scorfers. Neuertheless, there are a great many other, who do contrary it, denying that the Viper dyeth in her teeming: with which opinion, I also rest resolu'd, because the other seemeth to me not naturall; neyther haue I seene the experience thereof, or know any person that hath seene it. In like manner, *Philostatus* is flatly against it, in the life of *Apollo Thyaneus*, introducing *Apollo* himselfe, who reporteth, that hee had seene a Viper, that after she had fully yeilded all her young ones; licked them very louingly, and liued healthfully. As much may be gathered from the words of *Aristotle*, who setteth them downe thus, *The Viper only (among all other Serpents) deliuereth her young ones, because she first formeeth them in her body of Egges, as the spawn of fishes is. Afterward, when they are formed, they remaine three daies wrapped up in a tender thinn skin, which breaketh at the limited time, and so affordeth the young ones liberty (in regard wherof, Apuleius, in his Apologie, calleth them Omperes, and not Vipers, as much to say, as engendered of Egges) and very often it happeneth, that that wrapper breaking (of it selfe) in the Dammes belly; they issue forth euery day one, to the number of twenty and more: these are the very words of Aristotle.* In another

Plinarch, a City
of Sicily, in Lib. 11.
de Eternitat.
Aelianus in Lib.
de Animal.

The concep-
tion of the
Female Viper
and deliuey
of her brood.

Plat in *Traff*.
cont. *Isidor*.

Philostatus in
vita *Apol*, *Thy*.

Arist in *Lib*.
de animal. c. 9.

His words
concerning
the Vipers de-
liuey of her
young ones.

Apuleius in
apologie.

ther place. I meane in his third Booke of Beasts, speaking of the reeming of Serpents, he saith. *Before the Viper yeeldeth her young ones, she formeth them within her body of Eggs.* And I am perswaded, that hence ensueth those speeches, of the young ones tearing the belly of their Damme. For it seemeth to them that stand in defence thereof, that when *Aristotle* speaketh of this first fawning or reeming: hee purposed to say, that they did then breake or teare the belly of their damme.

Discoeur in lib. 2. cap. 4. How the fl. of the viper may be easily eaten.

A Salt or powder made of the viper to procure a good appetite

Paulus Aeginet. in lib. 1. cap. 14

Plin. lib. 7. ca. 3.

Discoeur. in lib. 2. cap. 2.

Theophrastus in lib. 2. cap. 2.

Galen in lib. de Simp. 4. cap. 4.

reth not any thing all the time of winter: but hideth her selfe (as dead) in the earth; and whosoever then findeth, toucheth, and handleth her, she cannot bite him: but when summer cometh, she then resumeth all her forces. The like affirmeth *Plinie*, of Lizards, Snakes, and all other kinde of creeping creatures.

Aristotle saith, that they containe themselves three or foure moneths, without feeding on any thing. *Aelianus* auoucheth, that those vipers which breed in the Provinces of *Arabia*, although they doe bite, yet their biting is not venomous; because they doe feede on the Baulme tree, and sleepe vnder the shadow thereof. *Aristotle* further saith, that they are very desirous to drinke wine; and many people doe take them, by setting vessells of wine in the places where they resort: for they will become drunk by drinking, and after they take them sleeping. There are many things more to be spoken, concerning the qualities and properties of the viper, which I doe purposely omit for breuities sake.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the admirable property of a little creature, the biting whereof is healed by the sound of Musique: likewise of many other infirmities, which are onely holpen by the same Medicine.



That which we haue sayd in our precedent chapter, vnder the authority of *Theophrastus*, concerning the biting of the viper, and that it may be cured by *Musique*; will make our present report to be the better credited, because it tendeth to the same purpose. *Alexander of Alexandria*, in his booke of Veniall dayes, and *Petrus Gellius*, a moderne Authour, doe affirme and say, that in *Apulia*, a Countrey of *Italie*, there is a kinde of Spider, which the Inhabitants doe tearme *Taramula*. *P. C. Rodianus* calleth it *Phalangium*, which at the beginning of summer is so venomous, that whosoever is bitten or stung thereby, except he be very suddenly succoured, he loseth all

Alexander de Alexand. in lib. 1. de p. Gen. 14. Petrus Gellius in lib. de Rebus. cap. 3. P. C. Rodianus in lib. 4. cap. 3. A kinde of Spider that hath three toynets or knots, whole biting is perilous & deadly.

all sense and vnderstanding, and dyeth instantly. But if any one (being so bitten) chance to escape death: yet he remaineth insensible, and wholly voyd of any capacity; for which dangerous inconuenience, experience found out a remedy, and that is *Musique*.

The affirmation of good Authours as eye-witnesses.

The iudgement of Authours hereon, speaking as eye-witnesses, and hauing scene the proofe thereof, is thus. So soone (say they) as any one is bitten or enuomed, the best helpe is, to bring instantly before him, such as vse to play on Vialles, Flutes, and other Instruments, to play diuers Lessons, & sing many Songs: which Musique being heard by the party wounded, he will presently begin to daunce, deliuering variety of gestures and motions with his body, euen as if all his life time he had well inured himselfe to dancing, in which fury and power of dancing, he continueth, vntill such time as the venome be dissipated. *Alexander Alexandrinus* proceedeth farther, affirming, that he beheld one wounded by this Spider, to dance & leape about incessantly, and the Musicians (finding themselves wearied) gaue ouer playing: whereupon, the poore offended dancer, hauing vtterly lost all his forces, fell downe on the ground, as if he had bene dead. The Musicians no sooner began to play againe, but hee returned to himselfe, and mounting vp vpon his feet, danced againe as lustily as formerly hee had done, and so continued dancing still, till he found the harme asswaged, and himselfe entirely recovered. Heereunto he addeth, that when it hath happened, that a man hath not bene thorowly cured by Musique in this manner; within some short while after, hearing the sound of Instruments, hee hath recovered footing againe, and bene enforced to hold on dancing, and neuer to cease, till his perfect & absolute healing, which (questionlesse) is admirable in nature.

An excellent Physicion of Prus in Bithynia.

A Musician of Thebes.

Asclepiades writeth, that the sound of Instruments, and voyces sweetly singing to them, hath wrought extraordinary cures on Lunatics and mad men. We reade also, that *Esmene* the *Thebane*, healed many diseases and infirmities, only by his sweete and melodious playing on Flutes. *Theophrastus* and *Anlus Gellius* say; that Musique appeaseth the paine of the Sciatica, and of the Gout. We like

Theophrastus in lib. de Reliqu. 7. Anl. Gellius in lib. 4. cap. 3.

wife finde it recorded in the sacred Scripture, that *Dauid* (by Musique) cald *Saul* of the passion, which the euill spirit wrought in him: so great is this property, proceeding from the entire amity, which the nature of man beareth to Musique. And if good consideration be made hereof, wee shall not account it strange, that infinite infirmities haue bene cured by the means of Musique. For it hath evidently bene scene, that there are diuers heats and other creatures, that kill by laughing, others by weeping, and others in sleeping; according as *Plutarch* writeth of *Cleopatra*, and as diuers other good Historians haue faithfully affirmed.

Many infirmities cured by the means of Musique.

CHAP. XIX.

Of a strange medicine, whereby Faustine of Rome, wife vnto the Emperour Marcus Aurelius, was cured of an infirmity of disbonest loue: and of many other remedies against that powerfull passion.



Concerning that affection, or imprisonment of the will, as we may iustly terme it, which ordinarily is stiled by the name of Loue; whether it be a powerfull passion, working wonderful effects in the soule or no: there need no further question to be made, but examination of such mens iudgements, as (by good experience) haue knowne it, and whose examples remaine notorious to vs. More especially of very worthy and excellent persons, who haue suffered their wils to be so strangely transported thereby, that extremity of death hath ensued thereon. *Julius Capitolinus*, among diuers other examples, reporteth what happened to *Faustine*, Daughter to *Antoninus*, and Wife to the Emperour *Marcus Aurelius*, who became so excessively enamored on a Fencer or Sword-player; that by ouer-abounding in desire to enioy his company, shee fell into such a consumption, as very greatly endangered her life.

Loue is the shalldome of the will.

Julius Capitolinus in lib. 4. de Mem. cap. 3.

The Emperre excessive in affection to a Fencer.

This being vnderstood by *Marcus Aurelius*, immediately hee assembled a great number of Astrologers and Physitions, to finde some aduice and remedy for

Council given by Afflu-
gery and
Physition for
a strange re-
medy.

The concep-
tion of the
bloody Em-
perour Anto-
ninus Com-
modus.

Entrepins in
wit. Com. mod.

* A worthy
Writer of
Mileum
S. idus in lib.
3. de Colicis.
cap. 8.
Ouid in "remed.
Amor.

Remedies ad-
vised against
fond and too-
lith Loue.

Plin. in lib. 10.
cap. 14.

Cardanus in lib.
4. de nat. lib.

for this extraordinary folly. In the end, it was concluded, that the Fencer should be put to death, and some of his blood be secretly given to *Faustine* to drinke, and after she had thus ignorantly drunke thereof, the Emperour her husband should company with her in bed. This remedy wrought very wonderfully, for it quite tooke from her that fantastick affection, so that (never after) shee did so much as once remember him. And the History saith, that of this her companying with the Emperour, *Antoninus Commodus* was begotten, who became so cruell & bloody, that he resembled rather the Fencer, of whose blood his Mother had drunke before his conception; then any iote of *Marcus Aurelius*, to whom he was Sonne indeed; in regard wherof, *Commodus* was a daily companion with the *Gladiatores* or Fencers, as *Entrepins* witnesseth, in the life of the said *Commodus*.

Physitions among the *Greekes* and *A-
rabes*, do reckon this disease of Loue with the most greuous infirmities of the body, and thereupon have disputed many remedies. * *Cadmus* the *Milesian* (according as *Suidas* reporteth, in his Booke of Collections) wrote a Booke discoursing on particular remedies, whereby vterly to expell this dangerous sickness of loue: as *Ouid* also hath saide sufficiently, in his remedies against loue. Wherefore among all other remedies, which Physitions have aduised against this infirmity, this is one; that the patient endangered, should undertake some great affaires, importing highly his owne honour and profite, onely to this end, that his spirit being busie about diuersity of things; hee may the better retire his imagination, from the party by whom he is offended. They do moreover wish him, to thin and forsake all embracings, or ouer-kinde conuersation with other women. *Pliny* sayeth, that against this enflaming heate, it is very good to obserue where a Mule hath tumbled or wallowed, and to gather the dust of that ground, which must be cast vpon the amorous party, and powder his garments therewith, or else with the sweate of a well heated Mule, as *Cardanus* also auoucheth, in his Booke of Subtilties.

Physitions likewise haue taught, the meane, whereby may be obserued, which

person is beloued of the amorous party. And that is the selfe-same rule, whereby * *Erasistratus*, Physition to king *Selouchus*, vnderstande the loue that *Antiochus* did beare to Queene *Stratonica*, his step-mother. For hee beeing sicke, euen to the venemous extremity, and affecting much rather to dye, then any way to discover the cause of this disease, and that it proceeded from the loue he bare vnto his Fathers wife: Vpon a sudden shee entred into the Chamber, euen as the Physition was the feeling the pulse of his patient, which moued so strongly vpon the Queenes entrance, that *Erasistratus* evidently gathered thereby, that not onely he was enamored of her, but also, that it was the maine cause of his desperate disease. Heereupon, he practised how to acquaint the King therewith: which at length (by good and acceptable means) he did, that would require too long time here to relate, because the History is sufficiently knowne.

The case being likewise experimented by the Father himselfe, and he perceiving the danger wherein his Son was thought good (although it went quite against his Sonnes intention, who desired death, rather then to be recovered by his Fathers losse) to deprime himselfe of his Queene, and giue her vnto his sickly Sonne. And to speake vprightly, the age, beauty of the Lady, and equality for marriage, agreed much more conformably with the youthfull Sonne, then the ouer-aged Father. And this was the cause, that *Antiochus* liued healthfully and pleasantly (for many yeares after) with his best beloued *Stratonica*; as the History more at large declareth, being recorded by *Plutarch*, in the life of *Demetrius*. And this is the reason, why Physitions do aduise to raise the pulse of any amorous person, and to recount diuers names to him or her, among which, may be the name of the party affected: for so soone as that is once vnderstood, the pulse will beate apace & strongly, by which meane, the party beloued is knowne. By diuers other signes, it may be perceived, when any one is in loue, and to whom the affection tendeth: which signs I cease to speake of, because they are knowne to too many.

CHAP.

* An excellent Physition, of the floore of Antioche.

The extreme loue of Antiochus to Stratonica his Reprouid.

The King himselfe made trial of the Physitions iudgement.

Plutarch in lib. de Demet.

Why Physitions haue thought meet to feelle the Pulse.

CHAP. XX.

Of the strange and furious loue of a young Athenian: and of the ridiculous loue of King Xerxes: and how Beasts haue many times affected both men and women.



OR a man to loue a woman, and a woman a man, it is a matter conformable to nature, and worthy to be beleeued and embraced: but whee blinde-fold folly attaineth to such a head, as those things wherof I am instantly to speake; it may well appeare to be impossible, and no way deserving any credite. Very learned and good Historiographers, haue written and recorded for truth, that in the City of *Athenes* there liued a young man, descended of an honest parentage, of competent wealth, and sufficiently knowne; who hauing oftentimes earnestly obserued a Marble Statue, most curiously and ingeniously wrought, and created in a publicke place of *Athenes*, became so extremely enamored thereof, as he had no power to absent himselfe from the place where it was fixed, but would hugge and embrace it very affectionately, & alwayes when he was not by it, hee found himselfe very ill and sickly disposed. At length, this passion grew to such extremity, as hee ran to the Senate house, and there before the reuerend Senators, he made very liberrall offers of money, humbly entreating the so much to fauour him, that hee might haue the Statue in his owne possession. This seemed no way pleasing to the Senate, neither could their authority stretch so farre, as eyther to giue or sell a publicke Statue. VVhen he perceived his request to be denied, hee became much afflicted with griefe and anguish of minde, & repaying to the Statue, enriched the head thereof with a Crowne of gold, and the body with garments and iewels of vnuallable price. This being done, hee would stand amorously beholding it, and many times fall on his knees before it, offering all worship and adoration thereto: and so long he continued in this vnreprouable folly, till (being stridly commanded the

contrary by the Senate) he slew himselfe before it with rage and anger.

Doubtlesse, this was a case very admirable, and yet I must acquaint you with another, much more strange & ridiculous; yet credibly auouched by so many good Authors, concerning the loue of King *Xerxes*; as it may well be said, that hee exceeded all men of the world in folly. He grew enamored, of a Plantaney of Plane-tree a Tree sufficiently knowne, except in some few parts; and he would kiss & embrace it with like affection, as if it had bin a beautiful woman.

If these accidents haue happened among men endued with reason; what shall we say then of brute Beasts; that haue affected both men and women; and the same confirmed by great and famous Historians? As of *Glauce*, so extremely affected by a Ramme; that it would neuer be from her: and Dolphins also haue bene very admirably affectionate towards men. *Helianus* reciteth in his Booke of Beasts, a matter well deserving to be related. He saith, a Dolphin espousing young children playing on the Sea-shore; one among all the rest, which seemed to him the most lovely and beautifull, hee became so enamored of, that at every time when the Dolphin saw him, hee would draw nere to the Banke, and shew himselfe vnto the childe, who (at the first) was much affrighted, and fled away from him. But afterward, by the perturance which the Dolphin vsed from day to day, expressing manifest signes of entrie loue to the childe, he grew the lesse timorous, and by the pastimes which the Dolphin continually made before him, hee waxed bold and hardy, and would venter into the water to him, not fearing to mount vpon his back, making a signe, and commanding (as it were) the Dolphin, to swim a great way into the Sea with him, and then (vpon a contrary signe or command, and when he was weary) to returne backe againe with him to land. In this pleasure and pastime, diuers dayes were spent, for the Dolphin euermore would be ready at the Bancke, when as the childe came to make vse of this delight.

But one time, the most vnhappy of all other, the childe would needs put off his cloathes (as formerly hee had not done) because he purposed to swimme farre in-

The ridiculous loue of King Xerxes to a Tree.

Of brute Beasts enamored of men and women.

Helianus in lib. 4. de animal. cap. 10.

The strange affection of a Dolphin to a childe.

The childe seemed to haue power & command ouer the Dolphin.

There is some story of a child, but it hath some disagreeing on it.

to the Sea. And being not carefull in seeing himselfe on the Dolphines backe, or how to sit for his safetie holding on his chace, *tracens* of the shipp-pointed finnes, which riseth out of Dolphines wings (for so are they termed by *Pliny*, and others) ran fo for into the childes belly, & wounded him in such sort, that instantly he fell downe dead in the water. Which when the Dolphine perceiued, and the blood of the dead child trickling downe his sides, he took up his deare lou'd child so well as he could, and returning backe to land suddenly, euen as if hee intended to revenge this offence vpon himselfe; hee swam furiously on land out of the water, and presently dyed by the childre.

This Historie is also recorded by *Pliny*, with many other examples of Dolphines that haue declared great love and kinde to men. Particularly hee reports howe, in the time of the Emperour *Octavianus*, that a Dolphine (in the very like sort) tooke delight in an infant, on the Sea-coast, nere to *Patoli*, and when hee took this childre, being named *Simon* (for ioisfaid, that Dolphines will suddenly runne to the very sound of that name) came to the shoare: the childre would mount vpon his backe, and be carried into the Sea, passing and returning alwaies safely to land. He saith moreover, that the childre dying by sicknesse, & the Dolphine often comming to the viual meeting place, & not finding the childre there, dyed with griefe and sorrow. The younger *Pliny*, Nephew to great *Pliny*, declareth many meruailes of a Dolphine, in the 9. Booke of his Epistles: especially in that Epistle which beginneth, *Indici in mari-am verum*.

CHAP. XXI.

Of a man, that by receiving a wound at his enemies hand, was delivered from a deadly danger, wherein he had long time liued: With sundry other examples to the same purpose.

We haue formerly related, that Musique hath beene the meanes

of curing some diseases, and no way to be reputed incredible: considering, that wee finde by other stranger meanes, very great infirmities haue likewise bene holpen. *Plutarch*, in a notable Treatise by him composed, declaring how men may deuise profite or benefite from their enemies, reporteth; that a man had a certaine enemy, named *Prometheus*, who hated him extremely, and fought all the meanes he could deuise to kill him. It fortuned, that meeting with him on a day, hee gaue him diuers hurts, and among the rest, hee chance to wound an olde vicer, that had long liuen in the flesh, couered ouer with skinned, a matter of great danger to his life, and (for which) all helpe was viterly denied him. Neuerthelesse, this wound proued the onely meanes of his helpe, and safe deliuerance from the former danger: for in thinking to kill him, and to quench his malice; hee gaue him life and soundnesse of health: *Valerius* reciteth the very same history (among other noteworthy matters) in his Booke of miracles: but he affirmeth the mans name that was healed by this wound, to bee *Iason Phereus*.

Pliny writeth of another man, named *Phalerus*, who had an incurable disease, in regard of a fluxe of blood, continually flowing out at his mouth, caused by breaking a veine within his body. And finding himselfe in desperate condition of any curing, he entred suddenly into an Army, without any Armes for his defence, that being there slaine among the enemies, his hope and helpe might both finish together. It came to passe, that receiving a dangerous wound vpon the breast, there issued forth such an abundance of blood from that hurt, that the fluxe (hauing formerly his vent at the mouth only) ceased, and Chyrurgions afterward, with the aduice of skillfull Physicians, consolidating the broken veine, hee remained soundly healed of all harmes.

I finde it also recorded of *Quintus Fabius*, that he hauing had a Feauer quartane for many yeares together, giuing battaile one day to the *Allobroges*, now named *Sauoyans*, the extreme heate in desire which he had then to fight; quite expelled the Feauer, and it neuer toucht him afterward.

I my selfe can testifie, that I both saw,

Plat in studi
beneficid, cap. 7.

An enemy
may become
do a man
good as well
his will.

Valer. Max.
lib. de Mir.

Plin. lib. 11.
cap. 11.

Where helpe
in least expecte
d, there it
sconest hap-
peneth.

Marsh in lib.
2. cap. 15.

People of
Sauoye and
Dauphiny.

The childre
saue most
unhappily.

The death of
the Dolphine.
Plin. in lib. 11.
cap. 14.

Another Hi-
story of a
Dolphine
liue to a
childre.

Plin. second in
9. lib. de Epist.

A matter re-
flected on the
Authors know-
ledge.

A King of My-
ssa, Hercules
son by Auger.

Wine the pro-
fitablest of al
other liquors.

A notable
Philosopher
borne in Sey-
dia, who fold
the first Pot-
ters wheele.

and well knew the man, who had receiued a wound in his thigh, whereof he became stark lame, and voyde of all hope of any remedy, happening afterward into an vnexpected quarrell, hee receiued an other wound vpon the same thigh, and in the place where the former chaunced. The Chirurgions in dressing this latter harme, did very well perceiue that the nerues which had bene cut before, beganne to stretch and restore themselves in such sort, that being cured of this second hurt, his thigh was soundly recouered, and hee went as vpight as euer hee did, and without the least limping. So did it happen to *Telephus*, one of the sonnes to *Hercules*, and King of *Myssa*, who being wounded in his owne Countrey by *Achilles*, could not any way be cured, till eight yeres after, he was wounded agayne by the same *Achilles*, and in the selfe same part of his body, before *Troy*, then besieged, and the rust of the same Speare that formerly had hurt him, proued to be his onely help.

CHAP. XXII.

Who was the first that planted the Vine: And who beganne to put vnder into wine. To what, and in what manner the Romaines did prohibite Wine: With many other notable things tending to the same purpose.



F all the fruites which the earth yeeldeth (I mean those whereof liquor is made) there is none (in my iudgement) more profitable then good wine; provided, that it be temperately taken. For this cause was it that *Anacharsis* sayd, *The vine produceth three Grapes: The first of Pleasure: The second of Drunkenesse: And the third of Teares and Sadnesse*. So that hee which passeth the first Cuppe, that is to say, a little, and moderately receiued, proceedeth on to shame and danger.

Prophane Authours, that neuer had any vnderstanding of the sacred Scriptures, doe name vs diuerse inueners of

wine. *Diodorus Siculus*, in his fourth booke attributeth the inuention of wine, and first planting of the Vine, to *Diomysius* the sonne of *Iupiter*, named *Nacchus*; and *Zib-pater*, so styled, for the liberty of wine. For this inuention a Temple was erected to him, vnderneath the Capitoll at Rome: where they celebrated his Feastes, which were called *Diomysians*, or *Bacchanalians*, very dishonest, and full of great lubricity. That the inuention came from these *Diomysians*, *Virgil* giueth assurance, at the entrance into his second booke of *Georgicks*. Howbeit, *Martianus Capellus* saith, that *Diomysius* only instructed the Greeks, in the manner of making wine. Others say, that *Icarus* father to *Erigone*, first taught the industry of making wine to the *Athenians*: and becoming afterwards drunke thereby, the people slew him. In *Italy*, they say, that *Sauus* did first plant the Vine there, and brought the young suckers and plants from the life of *Candide* thither. And *Plutarch* writeth, that *Drusus Helvius* brought Vines first into France. But the truth of historie is, that the first inuenter of wine, was *Noah*, and the first that made himselfe drunke therewith: whereof are Authours (besides that which is recorded in the ninth chapter of *Genesis*) *Lactantius*, *Firminus*, and *Iosephus*. *Noah*, at his coming forth of the Arke, planted the Vine with his owne proper hand, and drunke the iuyce of the raisin, whereby he became drunken: and discouering his nakednesse in sleeping, it happened to him by his sonnes, according as we read in the same chapter of *Genesis*.

Afterwards, men attayning to know the fauour of wine, did drinke it, at the first, wholly pure of it selfe, and without the commixtion of any water: for as *Pliny* auoucheth, one named *Sauus* was the first that did put water into wine, to temperate and qualifie it. By the meanes of which aduice, great good and healthfulness ensued to the world: because, wine being so made moderate, procured verie good and excellent effects. In like manner *Plato*, alleadged by *Macrobius*, in his second booke, sayth: *Wine moderately taken, strengtheneth the vnderstanding of a man, augmenteth his force and vigour, maketh the heart cheerefull and deliberate, and taketh away irkesome thoughts, and all offen-*

Diodorus Siculus
lib. 4. c. 1.
Of the first in-
uenter of wine.

Vir. in Geor. 1.
Museum. Cap. 1.
lib. 4.
Translated by
the Gods into
the figure in
heauen, called
Pegasus.

*Plutarch. in Ma-
r. lib. 2. cap. 7.*

Gene. 9. 21. 22.
*Lactant. Firmi-
nus in 1. lib. de
Instit. diuin.*
*Iosephus in 1.
lib. de Antiq.*

Wine drunke
at the first
pure of it selfe.
Plin. lib. 14. cap. 6.
Who first mixt
good water
with wine.

*Macrobius in
lib. 2. cap. 16.*

At in
fine

fine perturbations. Plinie sayth, The use of Wine, receiving is temperately, multiplieth our forces, encreaseth blond and colour in the face: The nerves are fortified by wine, fight strengthened, the stomacke made vigorous, and appetite awaked: It promoueth urine, impeacheth vomiting, expelleth melancholie, maketh the heart sprightly, and serueth for many other good things. Alcibiades the Physition, wrote a booke by it selfe, wholly concerning the vertues of wine. And saint Paul writing to Timothy? counselleth him to drinke a little wine tempered, to strengthen his stomacke.

Physitions doe make vfe of wine in many medicines, because wine restoreth all the humours, re-enforceth blood where it fayleth, gladdeth a melancholy disposition, dissipeth and dryeth vp flegme, humecteth and helpeth to purge chollier. Plato, introducing Socrates, sayth thus in commending wine, *Like as moderate rains doe encrease our hearbs, and tempests and inundations of waters doe rent them up and destroy them: Even so, wine temperately taken, cheareth the spirites, and fortifieth the vertues of the body, whereas comararive, over-much, and immoderately received, destroyeth all.* Not so much as the very odour and smell of wine, but it is highly commended (beyond all other odours) by our naturall Philosophers: because it is very comfortatiue, giueth great vigour to the spirites, and is exceeding liuely and piercing. But yet wee must consider withall, that the chiefe vertue of wine is euermore vnderstood, when it is qualified and made temperate.

The ancient *Romans* did wholly take away the vfe of wine from women and children: as *Valerius* sayth, speaking of the customes and lawes of the *Romans*. So that, as *Plinie* affirmeth, at such time as *Romulus* reigned in *Rome*, a husband slew his wife, because shee had drunke wine; and in regard that the murder followed vpon this occasion, *Romulus* pardoned it. The vice of drinking wine, was held to be so odious in women, that *Fabius Pictor* reporteth, because a *Romane* woman had deceiued the *Clarke* of a celler, onely to drinke wine which was kept therein; her parents caused her to be starued to death. And hereupon grew the custome of fathers and mothers kissing their children on the mouthes; onely to

perceiue thereby, whether they had drunke wine or no. We finde it in good record, that *N. Domitius* being Iudge of *Rome*, hee depriued a woman of her Dowry, because shee had drunke more wine, then was allowed her for her health. *Salomon* in his *Proverbs* sayth, *It is not for Kings to drinke wine, or Princes strong drinke, lest he drinke and forget the Decree, and change the iudgement of all the children of affliction.* And yet we reade, that the *Kings of Egypt* were permitted to drinke wine, so it were moderately, and in a certayne measure.

Vpon a time, *Romulus* being then King of *Rome*, and invited to a bountifull banquet, he would drinke but very little wine, saying, *To morrow I am to determine a matter of great importance.* *Auicenn* sayth, *In giuing children wine to drinke, it is an addition of fire to fire.* *Aristotle* exprefly forbade the giuing of wine to children, and likewise to the Nurseries that gaue them sucke. *Plato* by the laws which he made in his Booke, for the common-wealth, although he seemes in the first booke, to admit a tollerage of wines, yet in the second he sayth, *A man ought to drinke a little, and well qualified.* This allowance stretch not to any one, till he had attained to 18. yeares of age, and so to continue till hee were forty: but it must be alwayes doone in the presence of olde men, to the end that he might be reprooued, when in the least manner hee exceeded. From forty yeares vpward, hee permitted that a little more then hee had formerly demanded, should be giuen him; to make the colde and melancholy disposition (of that age) the more temperate; and yet it must be doone in a certayne measure too. It was his charge also, that seruants should drinke no wine, neyther Iudges, Magistrates, or any that held any publique iurisdiction: and as for yong men that studied, he aduised them, not to drinke any. *Auicenn* alloweth *Platoes* law, in this poynt, as a rule for Physicke: And thereto likewise *Galen* consenteth. *Alexander Aphrodisiens* sayth in his Problems, *Hee which drinketh nothing but water onely, hath his sight and other senses more liuely, then he that drinketh wine.*

Now, as concerning in what fashion and manner, wine should be tempered and qualified; there are many rules, and diuersities

Concerning the mingling of water with wine. *Hesiodus* in li. 1. aduersus 36. l. 7.

Plato in li. 1.

Theophrastus in li. 1. tra. 8. cap. 5.

The words of *Romulus* in li. 1. aduersus 36. l. 7.

Wine giuen for three feustall purposes.

Auicenn in li. 1. aduersus 36. l. 7.

Apuleius in li. 1. aduersus 36. l. 7.

Platoes alloweth a little wine to be drunke with water, as a rule for Physicke.

Sextus in li. 1. aduersus 36. l. 7.

Temperance commended in Christian religion.

Iudges and Magistrates forbidden wine.

Not to be drunke in li. 1. aduersus 36. l. 7.

Auicenn in li. 1. aduersus 36. l. 7.

Galen in li. 1. aduersus 36. l. 7.

Alexander in li. 1. aduersus 36. l. 7.

Theriac in li. 1. aduersus 36. l. 7.

sities of opinions. *Hesiodus* the Greek Poet saith, That in one quart of wine there should be three quarts of water mingled. *Athenens* sayth, that the ancient *Greekes* vfe to put fure partes of water into two partes of wine, and most times three partes of water, into one of wine, which is the rule of *Hesiodus*. Heere also is to be observed, that the *Greekes* did not put water into their wine, but wine into water, and *Theophrastus* assureth vs, that by this way, both the one and the other are much the better mingled. *Morauer*, ancient men did not onely moderate wine in this manner, but albeit it was thus tempered, they would drinke very little thereof. *Eubulus* the *Greece* Poet doth asseme, introducing *Bacchus*, to speake thus vnto the Sages: *I will neuer make more then three gifies of wine: The first, for health: The second, for taste: And the third, for sleep; the rest I auoweth of disorder and drunkenness.* *Apuleius* *Panastus*, who wrote of meates, deliuereth the like Iudgement, attributing this manner to three seuerall daughters. The first, to the *Graces*: The second, to *Venus*: And the third, to *shame and danger*. *Julius Caesar* was very temperate in drinking wine: as *Suetonius* witnesseth by the testimonie of *Cato*, who was vter enemy to *Cesar*. *Demosthenes*, the excellent Oratour, was the like. And *Apollonius* *Thyanens* of whom so many famous things are written, did neuer drinke any Wine, or feede vpon flesh.

In our Christian Religion, temperance (in drinking) is much commended. *Saint James* the lesler, did neuer drinke wine, or strong drinke, nor did euer cate any flesh; imitating *Saint Iohn* the Baptist. Wee finde the like affirmed of *Saint Stephen*, King of *Portugall*. *Iosephus* in his Antiquities commending the holiness of the *Essens*, (who helde one of the three Sects amongst the *Iewes*, whereof the other two were *Pharises* and *Saducees*) sayth: That the *Essens* did neuer drinke wine. In an Epistle *Saint Hierome* reprooued Priests, that addicted themselves to drinke wine, telling them, That *Saint Paul* the Apostle did forbid it, and that in the ancient Law, such as serued in the Temple, did not drinke wine, or any other drinke that might procure drunkenness.

Such as are teamed good drinkers, vfe to say, that good wine ought to haue foure properties, to answer foure senses or vnderstandings of the body: To the taste, by fauour: To the smell, by a perfect odour: To the sight, by a neat and cleare colour: And to the care, by a good report of the Countrey where it was made. Of this good wine men vfe to make vineger, which hath many good properties and inconueniences likewise: wherein I will be silent, because they are matters too vulgar and common.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of many damages and dangers, which ensue by the immoderate drinking of wine. And how it hath bene held as a healthfull thing (by some Physitions) to be drunke sometimes.



Although the liquor called Wine, be apt and whole some for diuers infirmities: yet notwithstanding, so many harmes and annoyances do arise, from the excessive immoderate taking thereof, that the euills doe surpass bound all the goods ensuing thereby. So that it appeareth, that it were better not to know it, but rather to content our felues with water, which God hath giuen vs for our drinke; because hee thought nothing meet for vs, and all other creatures doe well content themselves therewith. Heere also may be added, that wine hath bene the onely occasion, by which many haue become distracted in their senses; some haue lost their liues, and others not meanly endangered the saluation of their soules.

Now, although the harmes ensuing to men (by Wine) are too apparently knowne: yet notwithstanding, they are so far from shunning & auoyding them, that they daily seeke after new occasions, and strange deuised appetites for drinking. And in our best *French* language, these new appetites are titled by some;

Foure seuerall properties necessarily required to be in good wine.

All creatures but man onely doe well content themselves with the drinking of water.

New deuised daily invented to procure newes for drinking.

Plin. in lib. 6.
cap. 13.

The property
of wine a-
mong all o-
ther drinks.
Plin. in lib.
vi. supra.

The benefit
of immod-
erate drink-
ing

The words of
Cato.
Plin. in lib. 6.
cap. 11.
Seneca in epist.
ad Lucil.

Dionys. Areopag.
in lib. 5.
cap. 9.

Ephes. 5. 18.

Prov. 30. 1, 10

A pur or prouocation to a cup of wine; by others, A thooing horne, to draw on a quart or two of good wine, so that a slice of a Gambone of Bacon, is held (in this case) for a precious relique, and few hours in the day or night doth passe ouer them, but the cups kilt with sound deuotion in drinking; sometimes taking siue or fixe cups more then are necessary. Pliny saith, there are some men, who will drinke before they be thirstly, and wine onely (among all other drinks) hath this property, to cause it selfe to be drunke, before a man haue any need of it. He saith moreover, that some do drinke in such sort as they iustly deserue; for it giues them (immediately) the due punishment to such sinne: for the vapour mounting vp into the braine, bereaueth them of all vnderstanding, so that they remaine as men senselesse. And hauing plaid it off lustily (as they vse to teame it) for some quantity of time; it plaith with them as the Cat doth with the Mouſe, either kills them outright, or (at least) engendereth so many harmes and infirmities, as are much worse then death it selfe; as Gouts, Palfies in the head, hands and feete, imbrodering the eyes with a scarlet coulour, burning vp the Liuer, and fiering the face, beside diuers other such vndecent and scarce-gracefull qualities, no way fit to be vsed among men indeed.

Cato said, *Drunkennesse is a voluntary folly.* And Pliny saith, *it confoundeth the memory, and procureth dreadfull dreames.* Seneca, writing to Lucullus, saith: *Wine maketh the legges and armes impotent, and causeth men to become luxurious.* Dionysius Areopagita, alleading Plato to haue spoken the words, saith: *Drunkennesse is a lively and merry Minitrill, and yet it makes our legges to sile vnder vs, giuing (as wee vse to say in France) a ripp to our heeles, and laying vs along on the ground.* Saint Paul writing unto the Ephesians, aduised them to thunne wine, because therein is luxury. And Solomon in his Proverbs, among the imperfections of wine, saith: *It is a deceiver, and whoseuer drinketh excessively thereof, cannot conceale a secret faithfully.* Heereupon then arose the ancient Proverbe; *That wine walketh without any shoes;* that is to say, It treadeth feerely, softly, and without any noyse, because no one should perceiue the power thereof,

nor how it discouereth our secret and vicious qualities. To this purpose the Poet *Aeschylus* saide: *A Glasse or Mirrour maketh knowne the gestures of the body, and wine serueth as a Glasse to the soule & heart of a man.* Plato likewise said: *Wine principally laith open the manner and conditions of eueryman.* We haue example thereof in *Noah* and *Lot*, for *Noah* being drunk with wine, discouered his parts of shame, whereby he became mocked and scorned. And against *Lot*, *Sodom* could haue no power; but wine ouercame him, & made him to lye with his owne Daughters: these are the benefits ensuing by wine.

Among the Lawes which *Solon* (one of the seuen graue Sages of Greece) gaue to the *Athenians*; it was especially ordayned, that the Prince, when hee became drunke, should be slaine. *Pittacus*, another of those wise men, ordayned, that a drunken man committing any delict or great offence, should bee doubly punished: once for the fafte it selfe, and next for drunkennesse, which caused him to do it.

Aristotle in his Problems, yeeldeth areason, why such men as are ouer-much addicted to wine, are greatly disabled in the begetting of children: and likewise, why some drunkards are very pleasant in their drinke; and others terrible, some sad and weeping, others iocund and dancing.

Neuerthelesse, some Physitions (among who are *Auicene* and *Rasis*) haue helde opinion, that it is a wholsome thing to be drunke sometimes: but the reasons which they giue in this case, doth not content me any way, neither doe I allow of their opinion. And yet I must needs confesse, that very great personages haue bene subiect to wine; whereas on the contrary, if they had stood cleare and free from it, their glory and renowne had bin farre greater.

Alexander the Great, was as greatly taxed with this vice, so that (as diuers good Historians do affirme) being overcome with this tury; he slew one of his most intimate friends; and comming (afterward) to acknowledgement of his fault, he would haue slaine himselfe. Beside, it is further alledged, that the cheefest cause of his murders and slaughters, was onely this poyson to all goodnesse.

The words of
the Poet
Aeschylus.

Plato in lib. 4.
Leg.

Gen. 9. 21.

Gen. 19. 33.

Solon's law to
the Atheni-
ans.

The law of
Pittacus
against drun-
kennesse.

Aristotle in
Prob.

Alexander
being over-
come with
wine, slew his
dearest friend
Clitus.

Marke

Marke An-
thonny one of
the Romanes
Tramitris

Tiberius the
great drinker
called also
Bibacius.

Dionysius the
younger.

Cleomedes
King of Spar-
ta.

Archebius the
philosop-
her.

Anacron the
Poet.

The Emperor
Bonifolius, a
great drinker,
yet neuer
drunke.

King Antio-
chus the great
drinker and
sleeper.

Marke Anthony, who was one of the three cheefe Commanders in Rome, and married with the Sister to *Octanius* the Emperour being addicted to wine, and (consequently) to lasciuiousnesse, with *Cleopatra* Queene of Egypt; lost at length both his state and life, and was vanquished by *Octanius*, because hee suffered himselfe to be conquered by wine. The Emperour *Tiberius* was defectiue in many things; but in regard hee was a great drinker, it was the sole cause of all his other imperfections: and whereas his name was *Tiberius*, as a nick-name, they would often call him *Biberius*, and his ende was miserable.

Dionysius the younger, a Tyrant of *Sicily* was so extremely affected to wine; that it did eate his eyes, and made him to become starke blinde. *Cleomedes*, King of the *Spartans*, would needs pursue and imitate the *Scythians*, in excessiue drinking of wine: but in the end, he became a foole, quite insensate, and without iudgement. It is saide, that the Philosopher *Archebius* died in notorious drunkennesse.

The Poet *Anacron* was a very great drinker, and as he was drinking, he strangled or choked himselfe, with the stone of a Grape or Raisin, which entred into his throat vnauidedly.

Flauius the Bishop, an Historian of worthy credite, writeth, that the Emperour *Bonifolius* was so addicted to wine, that *Aurelianus* said of him: *Hee was not borne to lye, but to drinke.* And heerein hee had an admirable quality, for notwithstanding the immeasurable quantity of wine, which he dranke daily, yet hee was neuer drunke. I guesse that this ensued, by his continuall auoydance of vrine, which went from him as fast, as hee tooke in his wine. Neuerthelesse, his ende was answerable to his deservings, for being vanquished by the Emperour *Probus*, he was hanged or strangled. It is recorded, that King *Antiochus*, who was conquered by the Romanes, vsed to drinke so much wine, that he slept the most part of his time. In regard whereof, he gaue the cheefest authority of his kingdomes government, to two of his choysest fauourites, and because himselfe was addicted to banquets, and the amorous embracings of a young Gentlewoman; when he came to fight a-

gainst the Romanes, his Army became broken, and vtterly vanquished. *Athenius* writeth, that *Aeschylus* the Greeke Poet, would diuers times be drunk, whereupon *Sophocles* said vnto him. *Aeschylus, those things which thou diuinest or writest, are done by chance, or as aduenture: and not by any knowledge remaining in thee, or that thou dost rightly vnderstand them.*

CHAP. XXIII.

Certaine aduices and enstruitions, against such forward affection to Wine. And some reasons deliuered, why two things doe appere to bee three, to such as bee drunke.



Some haue said (how certainly I know not) that there are diuers receipts, whereby Wine, in how great a quantity soeuer it be taken and drunke, shall not procure those ykesome effects, which are related in the former Chapter.

Pliny and *Solinus* do both of them affirme, that there is a blacke Stone, hauing Vermillion colouored weynes in it, and named *Dionisse*, which hath such a property, as if it bee layde in water, it yeeldeth the perfect fauour and relisht of wine; and whoseuer drinketh of that water, euen so much as himselfe pleaseth, shall neuer be drunke therewith. Physitions say, that if a man will preuent drunkennesse; he must first eate Honye, or some other sweete things: And hee that is drunke, must be vrged to vomite, and then giue him a morzell of bread steeped in Honye, which will immediately recouer him, because Honye hindereth all vapours from ascending vpp into the Head.

Dionysius, Sonne to the Emperour *Tiberius*, had a Physition, who gaue him very

The proofe
of Sophocles
to Aeschylus
the Greeke
Poet.

Plin. in lib. 9.
cap. 11.
Iul. Solinus in
lib. 4. cap. 2.

The iudge-
ment of Phy-
sitions for the
preuention of
drunkennesse.

M m 3 admi-

Drunk, his
Physi-
on, whole
physick
kepe him
drunker melle

Bitter Al-
monds an e-
speciall helpe
against dunc-
kenesse.

Pow in lib. 11.
cap. 14.
The Raddish
roote.

Saffron.

Plinia lib. 11.
supra cap. 10.

Arifin Pro-
blems, p. 1.
Aucenne in lib.
Animal. 2.
cap. 9.

*The flicwes
which con-
duct the ver-
tue of seeing
to the eyes.

admirable physick, to preferre him from being drunke, albeit he daily drank more wine then any other one man of his time: for he could out-drinke all commers, yet neuer be drunke, or bereft of his iudgement. But in the ende it was knowne, that (visually) before hee entred drinking, he would cate flic or fawer bitter almonds, whose power and naturall property was such, as it impeached the wine from alienating his spirits. And experience thereof was afterward made, for when they abridged him from the meanes of eating bitter Almonds, and he vsing to drinke as formerly he did he became as soon drunk as any other man. That these Almonds haue this peculiar property, *Pliny* affirmeth it, adding further; that eating a Rad-dish roote before hard drinking, auoideth drunkenesse. He saith also, that Cole-wortes eaten before hand, keepeth a man from being distempred with wine: and being eaten after drunkenesse, they remove instantly the distemperature, as Saffron also hath the selfe-same power. There are many other remedies for this imperfection, wherein I will be silent; speaking onely of one, recited by *Pliny*. He saith, that taking a quantity of wine, mingled with the egges of a Chough, and being drunke two or three mornings together, he that drinketh it, will hate wine in such sort, as he will neuer after drinke thereof. Heere to he addeth, that a Swallow being taken and burned to ashes, then beaten into powder and mingled with a little Myrrhe in the wine; whofoever recey-ueth a draught of this potion, shall neuer be drunke, for this was experimented by *Horus*, King of *Affrya*.

Aristotle, in the third part of his Problems, and *Aucenne*, in his sixt Booke of Beasts, do yeld a reason, why in drunkenesse, when a man looketh vpon any one thing, it appeares to him as if it were two, and abeit they doe both produce diuers reasons, yet will I alledge but one from each of them. The first shall be *Aristotles*, who saith, that thorow exceffue heat of vapours in the wine, ascending vp into the braine; the little nerues, called *Optic nerui*, which go on directly to the eyes, do worke and mooue with such power, that the visall vertue, and the spirits of sight (altering in their motion) do cause what-foever drunken men gaze on, to shewe ve-

ry strongly and quicke; because the Organe of sight moueth it selfe in that manner, and maketh the common sense to receiue the Images of things, in a multiplyed quality to the eye. For such kinde of motion, maketh single things to seeme double, and because this motion is so sudden and insensible, it causeth two things to seeme as one to the sight. As any man may easily make tryall of, by laying his finger vpon his eye-lid, and then removing it thence, it will appeare to him, that it is the thing remoueth it selfe, which he beholdeth. *Aucenne* deliuereth another reason, saying: *The vapours of wine, which ascend up into the head of him that is drunke, are moist, and because the little nerues and muscles which reach to the eyes, doe engrosse or swell themselves by this humidity, so much more the one (then the other) doe thereby mount themselves, the one higher, and the other lower. From hence ensueth, that the visible rayes do not equally diuide themselves forth-right from both the eyes, neither by a direct or right line: which is the cause, that the Images of things visible, doe extend to eithr eye by themselves.* In this respect only, things simple and single, appeare to be double, the common sense receyuing & apprehending two Images for one: and for the maintenance of this opinion, *Aucenne* yeldeth the selfe-same example, as *Aristotle* did.

CHAP. XXV.

In what manner a man may know and measure the rotundity or round compass of the whole earth: and how much it is reputed to containe, in the circumference or circkling round about.



Es well I know, that the subiect of this Chapter, will hardly seeme pleasing vnto all Readers; in regarde, that for the better vnderstanding thereof, some of the principles of the Mathematicks, are necessarily requi-

A prodes-
sio to be made
by any one.

Aucenne in lib.
Animal. cap. 10.
Of the vapors
of wine ascen-
ding vpon the
head of a
drunken man.

Principles of
the Mathema-
tical Sciences

The chief E-
lements of the
Mathematicks

Genesis 1. 9.

A Riont at-
tributed to the
earth.

Eclipses,
heights, and
breadthes,
mountaines,
valleys,
woods, and
Forrests.

How the ro-
tundity of Land
and sea is lea-
sed.

The Starre
betweene our fir-
mament.

Helpe of a
Quadrant or
Astrolabe to
a man in di-
cal.

Chap. 25. Of the worlds round compass.

required to be well apprehended. Neuerthelesse, I am the more willing to speake somewhat of the argument, onely for the delight and contentment of such mindes, as are enclined to the Science whereof it discourseth. Wherefore concerning our present purpose, it is needfull to presuppose, the first and cheefe Elements of such a Science: which because they are common, shall require the lesse labor to proue them. The first is that whereof wee are now treating, the greatnesse of the earth, carrying with it both Land and Sea: because God did dispose them in such manner, when he said; *Let the dry Land appeare*, for they both being vniued together, made one body perfectly round. So likewise it is to bee vnderstood in all those actions which are giuen to the earth, the Sea is also therein comprized: For, when a man sayth, the earth hath so many degrees in roundnesse, or it containeth so many degrees from one place to another; the sea is therein as well vnderstood as the land. So in like manner are considered the Ecclypses, heights and breadths, to hold one and the same certitude: and yet notwithstanding, Mountaines, and Valleys are not comprehended in this roundure, nor Woodes or Forrests likewise, which the earth containeth in it selfe; because such things are not woorthie of any account, with the greatnesse of this wonderful bodie.

This rotundity of Land and Water, is seated in the midde of the circuite of Heauen, in such manner, as the point & center of that round body, composed of Sea and Land, is likewise the center and number of the whole world, as well of heauen, as of the Elements.ouer and beside this definition, there is another, true and absolute, to wit, that the land and water (in regard of the starry heauen, which we call the Firmament) are so litle; that all these two Elements serue thereto but for a center, and is euen but as a small point, in respect of his circumference. So that in whatsoeuer part thereof a man best liketh to helpe himselfe, by meanes of a Quadrant or an Astrolabe; his labour forthet to the like effect, as if hee made the same for the center of the earth. For in whatsoeuer place of the earth we are (provided that it be not in any deepe or hollow bottom) we shall discouer the moity of hea-

uen; which proceedeth by reason of the incomprehensible distance, that is from hence beneath vp to the Firmament, with his incompareable greatnesse. That this muft needs be true, it is most euident, that the verie least Starre which we discern in heauen, is much more greater then the whole earth; and yet neuerthelesse, it appeareth to vs but as a small point, in regard of the heauens large spaciousnesse; by the least of which things, a man may make proue in sufficient demonstration, but it sufficeth that experience hath apparently shewne the same.

Protony approacheth it, in the 10. chapter of his first booke of Geography, *Alphraganus*, in his fourth Difference, *Alcomedes*, in his first Booke; *Geber*, in his second Booke; and *Iohn de Sacrobosco*, on the like do all other that haue written on the Sphære.

This then being thus presupposed, let vs imagine in our mindes, that the vwater and Land do make one round circle, and that heauen is another, but much more great, as indeede it is; and that these two circles haue no other, but one common center within them. Which being so imagined, let vs lay two lines of equall greatnesse, which may extend themselves (in common) to the circumferences of al the two circles, according as *Euclides* entrueth, cutting and diuiding the two Circles by equall portions, each portion being iustly equalled, in regard of each one of them: that is to say, that if those two lines passe on right in such manner, they will make eight parts of a great circle, and so shall make as much of the lesser, I vnderstand and meane each eight part, in respect of each ones greatnesse.

Our elders in former times, in their manner of measuring the world, gaue aduice to diuide the heauen into three hundred and threescore equal partes, which we do now cal degrees, & by consequent, the roundnesse of the earth into as manie parts, by imaginations of lines, passing from the center, and making the diuision in such manner, that the like quantitie which each one of the degrees hath, in respect of the whole heauen; the verie like shall be that of each one of the degrees for the earth, having regard to the roundure and circuite thereof. And as these portions or degrees, if you please so to terme them,

The least Star
is greater the
all the earth,
by euident
Prooue.

Protony in his 10.
chapter of his
first booke of
Geography.
Alphraganus in
his fourth
Difference.
Alcomedes in
his first Booke.
Geber in his
second Booke.
Iohn de Sacrobosco
on the like do
all other that
haue written on
the Sphære.

How this mat-
ter may bee
easily imagi-
ned in the
minde of man

Euclides in lib.
4. de Element.

The aduice
of our Fore-
fathers, for
measuring of
the world, by
diuision of
heauen.

Concerning
the nature of
a degree, and
how our El-
ders obserued
the knowledg
thereof, ac-
cording vnto
the height of the
Pole.

them, are equal among themselves, so that some one may appear to containe the scope of miles; the like may be easily gathered, by multiplying what distance is contained in all the rest. To know then the nature of a degree, they made this obseruation. The Pole is a fixed point in heauen, whereon the whole heauen maketh his mouing, yet it remaineth firme & stable. Therefore with an Astrolabe, or any other instrument proper thereto, being in some apt vncovered place, they would take the height which the Pole contained about the Horizon, within the limite of the selfesame sight, and noting the place which appeared conuenable to the eleuation or height of the foresaide Pole: they went directly on thereto, without wandering to the Meridian, vntill such time (as with the selfesame instrument) they found it in one degree more higher, then in the first place, and thereby they knew, that they had gone one degree of the earth fro that place whence they first parted, iust to that ground where they were arrived, considering, that they had paced by the respect of heauen, in regarde of the fore-named rules of both the circles. Then they would measure that which this degree contained, either by Stades, or thousands of paces; and this being thus knowne by them, they would make their account after this manner. If one degree contained so many miles, the whole roundnes of the earth did containe as many: considering, that therein was to be obserued three hundred and threecore degrees, such and as great as the same were. This was the forme and manner by them obserued, and it may wel bee continued to these times, for measuring of the whole earth, as being the most certaine and infallible.

An infallible
rule for mea-
suring by de-
grees.

The greatest
of each de-
gree within it
self, how much
it containeth.

And yet neuertheless we are to know, what greatnesse each degree of the earth containeth in it selfe, and so (by consequent) how much it tendeth to in the roundity, measuring it according vnto the whole greatnesse, answerable to the experience of both ancient and modern men, skillfull, and well studied therein. The most common opinion of all other, is; that each degree or portion of three hundred and threecore, containeth fise hundred Stades of ground, and every Stade is valewed to fix score and fise paces by our Geometricians, and according to they

Geometrical paces, each pace containing as much as two of our common paces. So that the degree containes sixty two thousand and an halfe, which amount to fixtie two thousand Geometrical paces. *Ptolemy* auoucheth the same; as the like doeth *Martianus Capellus*, and the most part of the wisest ancient Cosmographers: beside, this is the opinion in common, of the greater part of our moderne men.

Orontius Phineus holdeth the same iudgment, and sayeth, that this may easily bee experimented by traauailing from *Paris* to *Tholouse*, *Glareanus*, & *Anthonie de Lebriz*, being both of them learned men, and diligent searchers into these matters: they do both affirme, that they haue made the like experience, holding the same for most certaine. *Albeir Erastosthenes*, and some other *Gracians* hold opinion, that all degrees had seauen hundred Stades: wheerein (it may seeme) they were abused, by measuring their places ouerthorow. I say then, that each of their degrees, consisting of three hundred and sixty, far off from fise hundred Stades: the whol three hundred and sixty, wil containe together, twenty two thousand, and fise hundred thousand paces, which do make an hundred and eighty thousand Stades. By the which account, the round compas of the whole earth, comprehending therein the whole machine of water, being reduced to a thousand paces, will containe twentie two millions, and fise hundred thousand paces. And if you would know how many French leagues or miles the whole Earth containeth, we must then allow vnto each League, the length of two Italian miles. Then, if we diuide twenty two thousand, fise hundred paces in twaine, we shal find that the circuite of the earth, containeth eleuen thousand, two hundred and fiftie Leagues of *France*. And if we diuide the by foure; all the enuironing of the Earth, will containe fise thousand, sixe hundred, and twentie fise miles of *Germanie*; for four Italian miles, do make but one *Germanie* mile. Thus haue we discoursed on the earths dimension, according vnto the most common opinion receiued among men.

The know-
ledge of a
trade by Ge-
ometrical pa-
ces.

Ptolemy in his
de Geogr. l. 1.
Mar. Cap. 1.
lib. 1. cap. 1.

Oront. Phineus
lib. 1. de Cosm.

Glare. in lib. 1.

The opinion
of some Gra-
cians concern-
ing degrees.

An estimate
of the whole
compasse of
the earth by
paces, and by
French miles.

Diuision ac-
cording to
Germanie
miles.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of the reason, why Snow (being covered with straw) doth preserve it selfe in his entire coldnesse, and warme water in his heate: considering, that two contrary effects are wrought by one and the selfesame thing: with some other secrets beside.

The works of
Nature yeild
great benefite
by their know-
ledge.



Men of spirit, such as affect the contemplation of Natures works, nothing can so lightly present it self, or appeare to bee of so slender esteeme; but some one notable matter or other may be found therein, to yeild contentment to their mindes, after they haue attained to the knowledge thereof. No doubt but there are many men, of whom if it were demanded, vpon what occasion, Snow (being covered with straw) conserueth it selfe (for long time) in his true coldnesse, and without melting, they hardly knew how to make anie answer. Whereunto *Alexander Aphrodisiense*, that excellent Peripatetic, maketh this reply. *Straw hath no manifest or known quality at all, for it is neither hot nor colde; therefore diuers haue reputed and termed it, to be a thing without any quality.* For this cause, being a matter so singularly temperate and delicate, euen as reaching to such a degree, that it may well be saide to be neither hot nor colde; it easily conuerteth it selfe into the quality of anie such thing, as is thereto annexed. So that conuering or laying Snow therein, which is colde, the straw apprehendeth the colde quality thereof, and by that means is holpen and assisted, in the true coldnesse of Snow: euen as a thing of one qualitie aydeth another, without yielding any heate thereto, because it is not in it selfe. Therefore, snow being accompanied with his owne coldnesse, & defended against heat, which straw preferueth against the least entrance; it is thus conserued in his entyre condition for long time, euen as if it were not covered with straw at all.

A contrary
effect wrought
by the same
means to hot
water, keep-
ing it in his
entire heat.

By the selfesame reason, a contrarie effect happeneth in warme or hotte water; defending the ayre that it cannot coole it,

for it being likewise couered with Strawe, the strawe immediately entertaineth the quality of the warme water; and being so sodainly heated, it helpeth & conserueth the water in his warmth, and keepeth the ayre off, that else would coole it. The same reason guides vs to understand other doubts and difficulties, which some curious questionists may impose vpon vs, like vnto those before alledged. I am sure wee are not to learn, that ouer and beside our inward naturall heate, that which occasi-oneth our warmnesse in Summer time, is the ayre onely, which (in that season) is much more hot then in any other time of the yeare; so that the warmer the ayre is, so much the more are we sensible of heat. If it be so then, how commeth it to passe, that we feele more freshnesse and coole-nesse, and lesse heate, when wee take the ayre in Sommer, and in mouing and walking to receiue it; considering, that (according to *Aristotles* Motion, or mouing, causeth our heate to be the greater? For the ayre, by reason of this agitation, must needs cause the more warmnesse both in it selfe and vs, then if wee rested and sate in quiet.

The reason enlieth thus: VVee haue then more warmth in our bodies, then there is in the ayre; as well in regard of our owne naturall heat, as also that which the ayre worketh in vs. For the ayre coming with a fresh and coole gale (I speake this because it is more temperate then we ate) it maketh vs some-what the more temperate: but being still and neere vs, it warmeth it selfe in our heate. Euen in the like manner as we haue spoken of straw; for so it conserueth (yea augmenteth) our heate in vs; albeit, when it is stirred, and freshly moued, in comming more temperately vpon vs, then we our selues are; that temperature and difference which wee then feele of lesse heate, doth in the like manner qualifie and moderate ours in vs. This is the answer of the fore-named *Alexander*, but especially of *Aristotle*; vnto this question.

Neuertheless, it is to bee noted, that if we find an ayre more hot then that wherein we dwell; agitation or stirring in such an ayre will not proue so good as our owne, because wee shall there feele farre greater heate, as in diuers places often-times we do. An argument in this case,

The Ayre is
more hote in
Sommer, the
all the yeare
else beside.

*Arist. in lib. 1.
de anim. cap. 7.*

More heat in
our bodies in
Sommer time
then is in the
Ayre.

How the qua-
lity in straw is
altered to our
bodies.

Difference of
the Ayre in
heat, shalme
easily collu-
ing.

may

The persecu-
tion of the
Cardinals
with Arnold
against the
Arch-bishop.

They were no sooner arrived in *Germany*, but they summoned the Arch-Bishop to come before them, wher his hearing was admitted in such sort, that sentence was given against him, whereby he was deprived of his See and dignities, and *Arnold* advanced into his place, who had sold his Master, even as *Indas* did our blessed Saviour. In pronouncing the iudgement, the Arch-Bishop *Henry* then present, delivered these wordes. *God knoweth, that I am most uniuersally condemned: nevertheless, I care not for making any appeale to the further confuſion of men: because I am assured, that lyes shall bee better beleued among you, then truth can be in mee. Therefore I receive this sentence, as fomes iust punishment for my finnes, and yet doe appeale from your indirecte doome, to the eternal iust iudge Iesus Christ: before whom I adourn you there to appeare.*

These wordes were no sooner heard by the Iudges, but they fell into extremity of laughter, saying, That if he pleased to go on thither before, they would follow him at their leysure. This sentence was given in the yeare one thousand, five hundred, fifty six, which the deprived Arch-bishop endured with admirable patience: & being retired into his Monastery, he there remained the rest of his life, yet without acceptance of the habite. To conclude, God would not permit this wickednes to passe unpunished, to the end, that innocence might the better bee knowne: but about a yeare and an halfe after, this *Henry* dyed in his Monastery in great holiness, and doubtlesse attained the glorie long time desired.

Newes of his death being brought to *Rome*, the two Cardinals being very merrily met together, one of them, said: The Arch-Bishoppe *Henry* is gone, and must not we in halt follow him? Indeed (quoth the other) lo wee made him promise; & let him tarry (wherefoeuer he is) till wee come to him. Not many dayes after, one of them, being sodainly smitten by one of his seruants vpon the shoulder, fell downe so greuously afflicted with paine, that his bowels and entrailes issued out at his fundament, and instantly died. The other falling into phrensie and madnesse, did eate off his owne hand, and dyed very strangely. Now as concerning false *Arnold*, hee exercised such cruelties and seditions a-

mong the people, that he became so hated and despised of them all, as being one day besiedged in a Monastery; hee was there slayne, and afterward left lying naked in the common ditch of the Citie; whereall the people, both men, women, and children, performed all cruelties vpon his body, that possibly could be deuised by them.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of the cruelty which *Albounie*, King of Lombardie, used to his Queene *Paradine*: And by what meanes she reuenged her selfe on him at length.

AMong those warlike people, which yssued out of *Germany*, and the Northerne partes, to descend into *Italy*; the *Longobards* are named, who for the space of two hundred yeares & more, seized all those Lands, which (till this day) is called *Lombardie*, and vntill such time as *Charlemaine* expelled them thence, according as in the History is amply related, written by *Paulus Diaconus*, in the particular Booke which he made for that purpose. He saith, that when they left *Hungary* (where they had for sometime dwelt) to passe into *Italy*, they had one named *Albounie* their King: a man of great spirit, and verie valiant in actions of warre. For he conquered in battayle *Cusmod*, King of the *Girpides*, and afterwards, causing his head to bee smitten off, made a drinking Cuppe thereof, wherein hee vsed to drinke, and in triumph of his conquest and victorie. At which time, he detained (as his prisoner) a verie beautiful daughter to the fore-named King, called *Rosamond*, whom he made his wife, and then afterwards hee went to subdue *Italy*, carrying his Queene along with him, in the yeare, eight hundred, sixty two.

When he had conquered many towne and Cities, he came (at length) to the City of *Pausia*: where (since that time) the succeeding Kinges vied to keepe their seate and continuall residing, as the very principall City of their Kingdome. Hauing reig-

The Longobards now named Lombards.

Paulus Diaconus saith of this *Albounie*.

Cusmod King of the *Girpides* conquered by *Albounie*, and his head made a drinking cup.

Paulus the ancient seate of King.

The Queene forced to drinke in the Cuppe made of her fathers head, whereupon she concludes the Kings death.

reigned three yeares and three moneths, and being then at *Vrona*; he appoynted a solemne feast, where hee drunke to his Queene in the Cuppe made of her fathers head, and forced her to pledge him: whereat shee conceiued such grieffe and displeasure, that the intire loue which shee had formerly borne him, was conuerted into deadly hatred, with an absolute resolute and conclusion to kill him, in iust reuenge of her fathers death, & cruelty extended to her. And to assist her in this determination, she conferred with a gentleman named *Hermigilde*: who presently tolde her, that to the execution of such an important busines, she should require the ayde of a valiant knight in the Court, called *Paradine*. Which instantly shee did, but he would not yeeld thereto, because hee tooke it to be too horrid a treason. Finding her hope frustrated, and fearing lest his intent would be discovered, yet desiring nothing more in the world, then to compasse the height and pitch of her enterprize: shee set aside all care of honour and honesty, & being aduertised by *Hermigilde*, that *Paradine* earnestly affected one of her attending Ladies, shee deuised thereby to effect her purpose. Being acquainted with the secreet resort where *Paradine* & his louer alwaies met together; shee found some other employment for the Lady, & made vse of her place for the time, *Paradine* keeping her there company a long time, imagining no other, but that it was the mistresse of his affections.

The Queene, who had spent all this while in soft whispers and dalliance, not vying any one word whereby shee might be discovered; perceiving opportunity to apply to fit her, spake thus vnto him. Knowest thou *Paradine*, who it is that keepeth thee company? Full well (quoth he) with my Mistresse, and then named her. Thou iycst (saith traytour), replied the Queene, I am *Rosamond* thy Soueraignes wife, whom thou hast dared to abuse in this manner, and dye thou must by the iust wrath of *Albounie*, except thou saue thy life by killing him: aduise thee therefore, whether his life or thine owne is dearest to thee. When *Paradine* considered his dangerous estate, without any meanes of helpe or escape; hee resolved to kill the King: and for his better further-

rance therein, both hee, the Queene, and *Hermigilde* tooke counsell together, plotting the proiect in this manner.

The King vsed to sleepe in the heate of the day, and all else auoyded the chamber, the Queene onely excepted, and hee being a king of courage and high resolute, euerslepe like a Souldier, with his Sword girded about him: which at this intended time of treason, the Queene had tyed so fast in the scabbard, as hee could by no meanes helpe himselfe therewith. *Paradine* and *Hermigilde* waiting the houre, which was vpon the Queenes issuing forth: they entred, and for all their soitt treading, the King heard them, and started from his bed. VVhen he beheld two men armed with weapons, and at such a time of no suspition: fury not feare made him take no knowledge of them, but sought to defend himselfe with his weapon. VVhich failing him, by the meanes of so false a Queene, and they with their weapons euery where wounding him: hee caught vp a stoole, and therewith made his defence so long as hee could, till in the end they deprived him of life, yet neither noise heard, or any suspition of murder.

The king being thus dead, and all well carryed with a smooth countenance; *Hermigilde* possessed himselfe of the Palace, intending to make the Queene his wife, as immediately hee did. But notwithstanding all their close packing; the *Lombardes* (not long after) came to the knowledge of their Kings death, and in what manner hee was murdered, which they purposed to reuenge with all possible speed. Wherein they were prevented, for *Rosamond* and her complices hauing packed vp most of her Jewells & treasure Royall, fled away thence, carrying with them *Aluifinda* Daughter to King *Albounie*, by his first wife. And for their security, they went to *Ranenna*, where then gouerned a Lieutenant of the Empire, named *Longinus*, who kept that place for *Tiberius*, Sonne to the Emperour *Constantine* of *Constantinople*, by whom they were curiously entertained.

Not long after, *Longinus* becomming enamored of *Rosamond*, & desirous to enioy her in marriage, whereto hee found her very tractable, counselled her to procure the death of *Hermigilde*, & then hee would marry her. Shee that had lost all loue and

The manner of the Kings death determined by the Queene, *Paradine* and *Hermigilde*.

The valour of *Albounie* against his murdres, even in his death.

Hermigilde marries with *Rosamond* the Queene.

The flight of *Rosamond* & the murder of *Albounie*.

Rosamond desirous to aduance her selfe by marrying with the Lieutenant, concluded the death of *Hermigilde*.

N n feare

The words of the Arch-bishop at his deposition before Arnold and the Cardinals.

The from all answer of the offenders.

The death of the wronged Henry.

Scolding iesty by the two Cardinals, at deceased Henry.

The iustice of God on the two wicked Cardinals.

Nothing can be compared to the inward conceited image of a woman, when she will needs compass her will.

The Queene discouers herself to *Paradine*, and persuades him to doe the King murder.

What choice which an excellent.

fear of God, respect of womanhood, and dreadlesse of the shame of men, counteing withal, to aduance her downefalne estate, by marrying with the Emperours Lieutenant; gaue to *Hermigilde* an paysoned potion at his comming forth of his Bath, perswading him, that it was most foueraigne for his health; by which perswasion he dranke a good part thereof. But when hee found it afterward to afflicke his body, so as he plainly perceiued himselfe to be paysoned; drawing forth his sword in extremity of rage, he compelled *Rosamond* to drinke vp all the rest that remayned in the Cup, so that at one instant time they both were iustly requited for the death of *Albounie*. Tydings hereof being brought to the Lieutenant *Longinus*, he caused the young Lady *Almifinda* to be seized on, and sent her (with all her jewels and treasure) to the Emperour *Tiberius*, at *Constantinople*, with *Paradise* also as a prisoner: where hauing his eyes pulled forth, he liued a while, and then died most miserably.

CHAP. XXIX.

Of a pleasant, witty, and honest deceit, which a famous and vertuous Queene vsed to her owne husband; whereby Iames, King of Arragon was begotten, with other remembrances both of his birth and death.



IVVell remember, that in reading the Chronicle of the Kings of *Arragon*; I finde, that *Don Peter*, Count of *Barcelona*, who was the seventh King of *Arragon*, had Madam *Mary* in marriage, daughter to the Earle of Mount *Resulin*. Nephew to the Emperour of *Constantinople*, the being a very beautiful and vertuous Lady. All which notwithstanding, the King was much addicted vnto other women, and vsed such slender testimony of lowe towards his Queene, that hee refused to keep her company, as (in the duty of an husband) he stood obliged to doe. This strange

behaviour in the King, did much afflicke and greeue the Queene, because they had no childe to succeed in the Kingdome, the greatest misery (of all other) that can happen to a well seled Estate. Hereupon, by aduice of one of the Kings Pages of his Chamber, who (it may be) had formerly done seruice in the like affaires; shee compassed the meanes (vnder title of some one of the Kings cheefest fauourites) to bee brought that night to lodge with the King. Such familiar entercourses hauing passed betwene them, as in such wanton seasons are commonly required, the King perceiuing the day-light neere approaching, in regard both of his owne honours safety and hers, made meanes to her for her speedy departure, but she taking hold of so good an occasion, spake thus vnto him.

My gracious Lord and husband, I am none such as (perhaps) you take mee to be, but be well assured, that this night you haue slept with your true Queene and VVife. Vse what violence you shall please to mee, for I purpose not to leaue your bed, vntill some man, well deserving faith and credite, may be witness of my this nights keeping you company. To the ende, that if the fauour of heauen hath bin so gracious to me, that fruite (long desired) may ensue by this aduventure, the world shall take true notice, that it is your owne. The King perceiuing this honest deceit of his Queene, appeared to bee well pleased therewith, and called two Gentlemen of his Chamber, to testifie the truth, according to her desire, and as (indeed) stood best with his honour. It so pleased God, that at sit and convenient time, the Queene hauing at that instant time conceived with childe; at such due season as the custome of women alloweth them for traualle, shee was delivered of a goodly Sonne, euen on the first day of February, in the yeare one thousand, one hundred, ninety sixe. Soone after it was borne, the Mother caused it to bee carried to the Church, and (which is a thing deserving memory) as they which carried the childe entred into the Church, the Priests began to sing, *Te Deum laudamus, Wee praise thee O God*. Passing from thence vnto another Church, as they were entring likewise thereinto, the Priests began to sing the

Want of a full office the greatest misery & any kingdome.

Shame due, fildome be seen in bright day-light.

The words of the Queene to the King, before she would depart from his bed.

Harboring the life of *Monica*, and the City of *Carthage*.

The issue descending to the King of *Arragon*, & the King of *Aragon*, & the King of *Aragon*.

The carping of the child to two lowe churches.

Chap. 33. The Custome of Carinthia.

Psalme of Benedicimus Dominus Deus Israel; Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, which gaue a great prognosticating & vndoubted hope, of some excellent vertues to succeed in the childe.

The Father and Mother, not knowing what name to giue him, caused twelue Torches (of equal length and making) to be all lighted in one instant, the twelue Torches bearing the feuerall names of the twelue Apostles. With this conclusion, that the name of the Torch which first sayled, or became extinguished; the selfe same name should bee giuen to the childe, which happened to be that of *S. Iames*. Hereupon he was named *Iames*, because it was the name, which the men of *Arragon* gaue to that Apostle. Hee proued to be an excellent Prince, and of admirable gouernement, both in peace and warre, for hee made a cruell inuasion vpon the *Moors*, being euen more very liberal to his Souldiers. Among other most notable matters, hee leuied a great Army, which he conducted into the Isle of *Maioica*, that then was in the *Moors* possession, where hee fought many stout batailles. But after he had a long while besieged the City, he won it in the ende, and likewise other neighbouring Islands beside. Then comming into hiskingdome of the *Moors*, especially to the City of *Carthage*, hee proued still the Conqueror, and neuer sayled in any of his attempts.

He had many children, as well sonnes as daughters, on whom (during his life time) he bestowed great gifts and goodly estates. *Don Peter*, that afterward was King of *Arragon*, was his Sonne. Likewise *Don Iames*, King of *Maioica* and *Minorica*. He had another that was Archbishop of *Toledo*. Madame *Tollant*, who was Queene of *Castile*; and Madame *Isabel*, that was Queene of *France*; and Madame *Pyrraque*, who was married to *Don Emmanuell*, Prince of *Castile*; and *Don Peter*, who espoused the daughter vnto the King of *Nauarre*. He liued seuen and two yeares, and dyed religiously, taking on him (before his death) the habite of a Monke. For he had a greuous disease, which made him renounce his royall Scepter, with deliberate purpose, that if he might recover his health againe, hee would employ the rest of his dayes in the

seruice of God. But weaknesse encreasing more and more vpon him, he dyed in the City of *Valencia*, Anno 1266. and at the beginning of the Moneth of August.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Of an ancient and memorable Custome, obserued by the Inhabitants of the Province of Carinthia, at the Coronation of their Prince: and how cruell their punishment is to Theeues.



POpe *Pius* the second of that name, who was a man of great learning, & a diligent inquisitor for the truth of Histories, as wee haue in many places formerly alledged, saith in his description of the world; that the Province of *Carinthia*, is encloded within the territory, and vnder the gouernment of *Austria*. Hee likewise relateth a custome, which the Inhabitants of that Province haue anciently obserued, at the election and Coronation of their Princes; appearing some what strange, yet honest and very commendable. VVhich custome is also confirmed by *A. Sabellius*, in his tenth Decade; and by *Sebastian Munster*, in his composed Cosmography, which is after this manner.

In this Province of *Carinthia*, there is a very great and spacious plaine of olden ruined buildings, which seeme to bee the foundation of some former ancient City.

In which place also there is a great stone, and when obeylance is to be giuen at the new creation of a Prince; there is a day appointed, and a country labourer, or meane husbandman (allowed to this prehemine in regard of his lineage) hath order to leate himselfe vpon that same stone. On his right hand

N 2 standeth

Aeneas Silvius in Cosmograph. lib. 10. cap. 7.

A. Sabellius in Decad. Hist. Sept. Mart. in Cosmograph.

Preparation to the Prince's election.

A treacherous woman's wickedness met withal, by her owne deuise against her husband.

The Authors inducition to the ensuing History.

standeth a poore Cow, that hath lately calued, which hee holdeth fastened by a corde, on his left hand standeth a very leane and wretched Mare, yed in like manner, and round about him is no meane crowd of labourers and country Boores. In this place, and at this Stone, the Prince that is to be enstalled, must make his apparance, attended with a great number of men on horse-backe, ryding in very formal order, with twelve Banners borne before him: among which there is one more large and slightly then all the rest, carried by an Earle, thereto admitted by especiall priuiledge.

The Arch-Duke, Prince or great Lord howeuer ye meane to tearme him, clothed in a Shepheards habite, cometh to the Stone wheron the poore man sitteth, & as he perceiueh him to approach somewhat neere, hee demandeth with a loud voyce, what he is, that cometh towards him with such glory and felicity? Answer is instantly made him, that it is the man, who cometh to bee created Prince of the Country. Then as it were with a voyce like thunder, the labourer cryeth out. Is hee a iust Iudge? Will hee wel maintaine iustice? Will hee preferue the defence and safety of this Country? Is hee a man franke, and free-borne? Is hee valiant, vertuous, and worthy of honour and reuerence? Is hee a Christian? Is hee a Defender of the faith of Iesus Christ? And all the company maketh answer, that he is such a man, and will so continue. Then hee beginneth againe, and maketh another demand. By what right or reason cometh he to dispossesse me of this place, which belongeth only to me? To which question, the Earle that beareth the cheefest Standard, replieth thus. If thou wilt quit and forsake this place, three score Ducates of gold shall bee frankly giuen thee, & this Cow, as also this Mare shall both be thine owne, beside the rich Robe, which our King did last of all put off, shall also be thine: moreover, thou and thy family shall bee free, from paying any manner of tribute. After these words, the Prince approacheth neere to the Stone, & the poore man giueth him a gentle blow on the cheek, commanding him (in any case) to be a good Iusticer: & so descending from the Stone, he leadeh along with him the Cow and Mare, and departeth.

Then the Prince dismounting from his horse, ascendeth vp, and sitteth vpon the stone, where drawing forth his Sword, and turning to each side of the stone, still flourishing the weapon round about him; hee maketh a solemne promise before all the people, uttering the words as loud as he can speake, that he will be a iust Iudge, and a good Prince. This done, one bringeth him (in a Shepheards bonnet) a small quantity of water to drinke: and so descending from the stone, hee re-mounteth on horsebacke, and rydeth on to a Church with all his company, there to heare Mas. Which being finished, hee changeth his former plaine and rurall garments, to very Royall and Princely habites: and after a pompeous Dinner with his whole train, he returneth againe into the open field, where hee heareth all the Officers of Iustice speake vnto him, to enstruēt him in the lawes of the Country: and these are the vsuall ceremonies, obserued at the creation of euery Prince.

There is another custome in vse among these people, for the punishment of thefts and robberies; which I hold to be vnjust, and ouer-cruell, especially to bee vfed among Christians. For hauing but some note or apprehension only, that such a man standeth in repute to be a thief, they forthwith send him to execution, without any other proceeding against him. Then three dayes after his death, they examine the witnesses with all care and diligence; when if it shall appeare by solemne inquisition, that hee proueth to be guilty of the crimes alledged; they suffer him to hang vpon the Gibbet, vntill his limbes fall peece-meale from him. But if he be found to be innocent, they take him thence, and giue him honourable obsequies and funeral, with many prayers and almes-deeds, for the saluation of his soule.

With this feuerity do they chastise theeves and robbers, neuertheless, I read of some other Nations, that greatly haue supported and countenanced them therein. As the *Egyptians*, of whom *Aulus Gellius* writeth in his Attick nights. And the *Lacedaemonians* likewise, who permitted their children to bee theeves, and learne climbing in at windowes, and wandering abroad in the night season, that they might be the more bolde and hardy for warre. Notwithstanding, *Draco*, hee that gaue Lawes

The Prince mounteth on the Stone.

The Prince's promise before all the people.

The Prince changeth his humble garments.

A cruell ceremony, for the punishment of thefts and robberies, among Christians.

A poore recompence for the loss of a mans life and reputation.

Aulus Gellius in *Noct. Attic.* lib. 11.

Lawes

The manner of the Princes coming to his election.

The Princes being at the Stone before him that must elect him.

The several questions of the poore husbandman.

The Earle that carrieth the cheefest Standard, his answer to the poore man.

The Prince created with a blow on the cheek.

Lawes vnto the *Athenians*, made one among the rest; wherein hee commanded; that euery kinde of theft should be punished with the penalty of death. In regard whereof, *Salon* saide, that hee had writtten that Law with blood, which made him (afterward) to allay and mitigate it. The custome which yet to this day is obserued for hanging of theeves, was first of all appointed by the Emperour *Fredericke*, the third of that name; according as *Ladonius Pines*, that learned man in all Artes and Sciences, writeth in the third Booke of his Disciplines.

CHAP. XXXIII.

What part of the Zodiacke the Sunne and Moone, and likewise the other Planets were, as their first creating. Also of the beginning of yeares, and the course of times.



HE learned Philosophers say, that men are naturally curious & couetous of knowledge. Moreover, such is the zeale of their affection in this case, and

the bent of humane vnderstanding so full of strange questionings, as they cannot content themselves to know such things as they may with some ease comprehend only; but ouer and beside, they are scrupulous and searching (through bold presumption) to know such causes as are very hard, and almost impossible. Nor hath this painefull desire bene altogether fruitlesse and vaine, though many times it sayled, and came farre short of expectation: because by contemplation and continuall study, they haue found out such matters, as seemed before vterly impossible and supernaturall, or that they should any way be attained vnto by the capacity of men. As namely, the motions of the Heauens, the course of the Planets and other Starres, with their severall influences and power, and the like things beside: a-

mong which is comprized my present intended argument, and what in this Chapter I purposed to discourse on; to wit, how to know the beginning of times & yeares, and on what day the world began, or to speake better; when, or in what season God created the world; when began the year and times; and where was the Sun, or where God placed it at first, when hee began his course; & likewise the Moone, with the other Starres and Planets.

Aristotle did little care for these questions, and insinuate other Philosophers beside, who thorow defect of the light of faith, did verily beleene, that the world was eternall, without any beginning or ending. But such as haue declared themselves not to be ignorant in these things, but verily beleued the beginning of times, came to stand diuided betweene two opinions. There are some among them, who say, that in the instant when the world was created, the Sunne was found to be in the first point of *Aries*, or the Ramme, which is in the Equinoctiall of Summer, the time coming then to the eleventh day of March. Others say, that the world began, the Sunne then being in the first point of *Libra*, or the Balances, which is the other Equinoctiall of Winter, commonly happening in these our dayes, on the thirteenth or fourteenth day of September. Of this opinion were diuers *Egyptians*, *Arabs*, and *Greekes* likewise; according as *Lincolnius* reporteth, in a Treatise of the world, which he wrote to Pope *Clement*; & *Plinius* in his historical Mirrour.

Such as haue followed this opinion, alledge a reason for it, which (in my judgment) is very weak, and of no force. For they say, that then the principall fruites of the earth were fully ripe, and in the very best of their floure; because it was most requisite, that (at the beginning) the earth should present it selfe in the height of perfection. To this purpose, they produce authority out of *Deuteronomy*, where it is said; *That God made all things perfect and compleate*. There are some others, who affirme, that the entrance of times, and of yeares, was on the very greatest day of all other; which was then, when the Sunne entered into the signe of *Cancer*, as now it is the eleventh or twelfth day of Iune. *Julius Firmicus*, an

N 3 ancient

The Authors purpose in his Chapter.

Curious questions, &c. required to be knowne.

Aristotle and the other Philosophers opinion of the world.

Two opinions concerning the Sun and Moone at the worlds creation.

Equin. Aries *Libra* *Ans.*

A. Lived in *Truth* *Mind* *a* *poore* *about* *the* *beginning*.

A reason alledged for the opinion about the beginning.

Deut. 32.

The entrance of times and yeares.

Infirmities
in the
great world.

The signe Leo
the house of
the Sunne.

The most pro-
batic opinion
of all other.

Saturne.
S. Ambrose.
S. Basil.

The full agree-
ment of all
together.

On what day
was the passi-
on of our ble-
sed Saviour.

Concerning
the first Mo-
neth of the
year.

*Containing
part of March
and part of
April.

Vincen in
Mistil. cap.

Alpacin Tract.
Astrol.

ancient Author, and of great authority in Astrologie, in the beginning of his third Booke, which he wrote of the worlds creation, saith: *That when the world began, the Sunne was in the fifth degree of the signe Leo; which is the signe wherein hee hath most dominion, because it is called the house of the Sunne: the like he saith, in discouering the other Planets, by their order and degrees.*

But that which relisteth of most reason in all these opinions, and appeareth most conformable to truth, is; that when both time and the heauens began to be moued; the Sun was in the first point of Aries, which is (with vs) in March, and at which time is the entrance of Summer. This is affirmed (beside all other reasons that we can alledge) by the greater part of Historians, as well Christians as Heathens; among whom are S. Hierome, S. Ambrose, S. Basil, and others, who doe all maintaine, that the beginning of the world, and likewise of the year, was in the Equinoctiall of our Summer. And although there may appear some difference among them, because some will haue the worlds beginning to be in March, and others in April: it may well be endured, for they all agree together, that it was in the Equinoctiall, which now is in March. Notwithstanding, as wee haue formerly affirmed, the Equinoctiall is not alwaies firme or constant for Iesus Christ suffered his passion on the five and twentieth day of March, which was then the Equinoctiall, and now it is the eleuenth day of the same Moneth, whereby may well be presumed, that heretofore it was in April.

For this cause, some would haue April to be the first Moneth, and others March, yet notwithstanding, they all say, that when the Sun enters into the first point or degree of Aries, then is the Equinoctiall. This opinion is grounded on the Scripture, especially on the twelfth Chapter of Exodus, where it is said: *The Moneth Nisan (which is March with vs) is the entrance to your year.* Vincentius in the beginning of his historical Mirrour, saith: *The Hebrewes began their year in March, because in the like Moneth was the Equinoctiall, when as the world began.* This opinion was likewise held by some of the Gentiles; as *Elpacin* in his Astrological

Treatise, where he saith: *The Chaldeans being very great Astrologers, beleued likewise, that on the first day when the world was made, the Sunne entered into the first point or degree of Aries; and this is also confidently maintained, by the most part of Astrologers, both ancient and moderne.* Therefore when the Sunne came in his course thither, or to that Signe; then was the beginning of the year, and thence ensued the principall or beginning day. For it is a matter most manifest, that the first day wherein the world began to be made, was also made the first day of the year, considering, that till then, there was neither time nor year. And therefore the signe of Aries is reckoned (about all the rest) to be the first in order among the twelve signes.

Now, as when we come to iudge of the reuolution of yeares, and things to happen therein, as of necessity we must equal the figures, by the beginning of the world, euen so it is as easie to proue, that God placed the Sunne in the first degree of this signe, at the beginning and creation of the world. And this may be coniectured without any great labor, by our profe made in the sixt Chapter of the seuenth Booke, in our first Volume, where discoufing on the time and day, when as our blessed Lord and Saviour suffered; it is affirmed, that the Sunne was in the selfe-same at the creation, as it was when the great Sunne of righteousness made the regeneration of the world, suffering death and passion in humane flesh, and that happened (as is formerly saide) in the Equinoctiall of Summer, which is an argument and presupposition, that euen so hee placed it, when as he created it.

Moreover, it appeareth very credible, that it was so made, because such as know any thing in Astrologie, and in the Sphere, do well perceiue, that the Sunne entering into the degree of this signe, and making his reuolution by the space of a whole day: there is not any part of the world, which he leaueth vnlouk on with his bright splendour. And this he doth not in any other place of the Zodiaque, because in what place else soeuer hee is; there are some parts of the earth where he is not seene that day; but being in this first degree, as we haue saide, there is no place where he is vnseene, as hee walketh along

Concerning
the beginning
of the year,
what Moneth
and on what
day.

Aries the first
in order among
the twelve
signes.

Of the time
and day when
as Christ suf-
fered his pas-
sion, compar-
ed with the
day of the
worlds crea-
tion.

At what time
the Sunne
luminated
the world
together,
with the
clear re-
sidence of
his beames.

Reason al-
leged of
sufficient
evidence for
the Sunnes
first appea-
ring.

Against such
maintaine
beginning in
the Equinoctiall
of winter.

At what time
the worlds
beginning of
the Spring.

Of the Ro-
mane year,
beginning the
first day of
Ianuary.

Mar. Varro in
lib. 1.
Mistil. in lib.
1. Unit in pag.

The first sea-
son that Arie
and Ene saw
in the world
was the
Spring time.

along in his diurnal course, or dayes iourney. And it standeth with good reason and conueniency, that the first day of the Sunnes setting forth on progrece, hee should begin in such a place, where hee may best visite the whole world with his beames. And that it should be in the signe Aries, rather then in that of Libra, appeareth plainly by our former relation, that on the day of our Lords passion, the Sunne was in the selfe-same place, therefore there is some particular power in this signe.

Holding this opinion then for the most certaine, I say, that the reason alledged, by such as would haue the beginning of the world, to be in the Equinoctiall of September, is very weak. For it is not sufficient to say, that all the fruites were ripe and mellow; in regard it is no vniuersall rule: for when the fruites are ripe ned towards the Northerne latitude, they are not so in the South, but wholly quite contrary. And therefore I craue no helpe of their reason, who say, that the Equinoctiall of March (already proued) is the beginning of the Spring-time, & of flowers ouer all the earth, all things being then in procreation; for if with vs it be the beginning of Spring-time, it is then winter in the Southerne parts. Let our reasons then suffice, & the authority of such worthy men, to clear all other doubt or scruple; although the Romane year, now in vse, seemeth to begin the first day of Ianuary: for this matter came so to passe, onely through the superstitious deuotion, which the Gentiles had to their God *Iannus*, coueting to haue their year beginne with his name, as the Christians began theirs with the Natiuity of Iesus Christ, albeit the year doth not then begin.

The Romanes (in like manner) began their year in March, according as *Marcius Varro* writeth, and *Macrobius* in his first Booke, and in his *Fasts*, and many more beside. Also God shewed his immense goodnesse, in placing our first Parents *Adam* and *Eue*, in the Northerne parts of the earth, when he banished them out of the terrestrial Paradise; & that the first season which they saw in this world, was the Spring-time, finding the earth to be Greene & flowry, with the ayre milde, sweete and temperate, which was done for the consolation of their misery and

nakednesse, and so they could not seeke found it, if it had not bene Spring-time.

This matter being sufficiently proued, wee must know that there are other Planets, and especially the Moone, as being one of the principall, whom some do maintaine, to be set by God in conjunction with the Sunne, on the first day of her creation. Others say, that she was in opposition, and at the full. Saint *Augustine* reporteth these two opinions, in his booke vpon Genesis, the fifth Chapter, saying further, that such as maintaine her to be in opposition, and at the full; do alledge for their reason; that it was very inuenient, that at her beginning, God should create her any way defectuous. Others vidge the contrary, and say it is more credible; that she began her first day in conjunction, encreasing in her age answerable to our account. But to quiet this controuersie, I say (in mine opinion) that God at such time as he created her, made her at full, and in opposition of the Sun. And it seemeth, that this iudgement is the most receiued, as of *S. Augustine*, in the place before alledged, and *Rabanus* on the twelfth Chapter of Exodus, saith the very same. This appeareth conformable to holy Scripture, where it is saide: *God made two great lights, the greater light to gouerne the day, and the lesser light to illuminate the night.* Now in the very same instant as the Sunne began his light, hee gaue splendour to the moity of the world, because in that moity or halfe part, hee made day. But the other moity could haue no light of the Sunne, by reason of the earths shadow; therefore it seemeth consonant to reason, that in the other moity of the earth, where it was night, the Moone should extend her office of shining. For like as they were both created at one instant; so should they both fulfill their offices in one and the same instant, and the one to gouerne the day, as the other the night, according to the words of the Text, verified apparently, that the world was wholly lightened at one & the same time.

Contrariwise, if the Moone had bene in conjunction, the light common and vniuersall could not haue come till fifteene dayes after; and beside, three or foure dayes must needs haue passed, before she could lend any light to the earth, and that

Of the Moon
said to be in
conjunction
with the Sun
at her creati-
on.

Aug. in Gen.
cap. 5.

Others ho'd
hereto be in
opposition.

The Authors
iudgements in
this case.

Rabanus in Ex-
od. cap. 12.

Gen. 1. 6.

The severall
Offices of the
Sunne and
Moone for
night & day,
to be both
done at one
instant.

Against the
conjunction
of the Moone
with the Sun
at that time.

Of her then
being in op-
position with
the Sunne.

mult be but very little too, euen as when we see her to be but four or five daies old.

Therefore it was very conuenable, that these two famous lights shold illuminate the earth at one instant. I say moreover, that the Moone then being in opposition with the Sunne, shee must needs haue her being on the other side of the signe *Libra*, for in her so being, she performd the same day the effects as the Sunne did, illuminating all the world, by her measurable pace of that dayes iourney; which else she could not haue done, if she had bin in any other place of the Zodiacke. Hereby it appeareth, that this opinion is the most likely; although *Iulius Firmicus* will needs say, that the Moone (at the time of her creation) had her first seating in the fiftenth degree of the signe *Cancer*, where shee affected most to be; & of this opinion is *Macrobius* in his first Booke of *Scipios* dreame.

Macrobius in
lib. 1. de Somn. Scip.

As for the other Planets, it is very difficult to certifie them, and lesse profitable to know them: in which respect, I am willing to bestow the lesse paines on them. Neuertheless, *Iulius Firmicus*, in his second Booke before alledged, is so bold as to name the places where each of them is seated, saying: *Saturne* should bee in the signe *Capricorne*; *Iupiter* in *Sagittarius*; *Mars* in *Scorpio*; *Venus* in *Libra*; & *Mars* in *Virgo*; which are the signes whereto they haue most power, and being signes likewise appointed to these Planets. *Elpacus* himselfe maintayneth as much, according as *Ioannes Agricola* declareth in his Summay, entitled *Agricola*; with *Macrobius* in his fore-named Booke of *Somno Scipionis*; and thereunto consenteth *Iulius Firmicus*, naming expressly the same signes; yet there are others, who haue thought, that in the recited instant, all the Planets were found to be in conjunction with the Sunne. *Gualtierus* the Monke, in his Booke of the Ages of the world, saith, that the ancient *Indians* held firmly this opinion. As for my selfe, I am of the minde, that God did then set the Planets in such distant places, one from another, especially from the Sunne; that on such a chosen day, each one of them might illuminate the earth with his beames. VVhich could not be, they being in conjunction with the Sunne, because his presence, within any certaine space or proportion, so hindereth the greatest light of their light, that

Iul. Firmic. in
lib. 2. de creat.
Mund.

Elpacus in
7. de Astrolog.
Iou. Agricola
in Sum. Agr.
Macrobius lib.
de Somn. Scip.

Gualt. in lib.
de Mund. cap. 5.

The Planets
not then in
conjunction
with the Sun.

they cannot bee discerned on the earth. Notwithstanding, being created according to the will of God; it *Iustitius* (saith *Augustine*) that they were made, in being perfected by the hand of God, whose workes (in what kinde soener they be) are perfect.

Aug. in
Gen. cap. 5.

CHAP. XXXV.

That men may learne examples by Birds, Flies, Wormes, and other Creatures; to leade the course of a vertuous life.

WE haue already declared in our first Volume, how Beasts & Birds haue entrusted men in a great part of the properties appertaining to Physicke, by purging and preserving themselves from harmes: now I am briefly to entreate, how their example may bee profitable to vs, both in body and soule. And vndoubtedly, whosoever will consider & contemplate, on the nature & properties abiding in beasts; shall not only thence deriue good enstruitions for life and safety of our humane bodies; but rules and examples beside, of good, commendable, and vertuous manners. VVhy do not men strite to purchase peace with their neighbours; seeing what concord and amity is among Beasts of all kindes, and how they keepe company, vnite themselves together in each kinde, and stand defensive one for another? VVhy shame they not to bee slothfull and negligent, percelling & obscuring the care and sollicitude of the Ant, and after what manner she maketh her prouision in Summer for VVinter? VVhat vassals and subiects are they, that will not serue and honor their good Princes, noting with what loue and obedience poore little Bees serue and honour their King, and that which they doe for him beside? In which respect, such Common-weales as haue no Prince, may not enjoy all things in common; may not they learne an example of liuing in peace and concord, by imitation of the poore Ants, who are so great in multitude, and yet preferre an order of peace & iustice among themselves? And why do not great Lords and Princes consider, what manifestation and clemency all of them are obliged vnto; when

In the 7. of the
Chap. 33.

when they but behold the King of Bees, who doth no offence, neyther worketh any displeasure to the very meanest and filiest of his Subiects?

Our great Seigniors and high-minded men, may learne humility of the Camell, who falleth on his knees, to accept a heauy and ouer-chargeable burden. True and loyall married couples, may take example by the good custome among some Birds: especially Pigeons and Turtle-Doues, noting both in the Male and Female, that nothing but death can impeach their continuall companying, or hinder eyther from their first choyce. I finde written moreover, concerning Turtle-Doues, that the one dying, the other remaineth in the condition of a widow, & finisheth the remainder of her life in widowhood. Saint *Ambrose* writeth, that widowed women may learne chastity of the Turtle-Doue. As touching continency, all beasts (well neere) do lesse vs therein: for after the Female hath conceiued, (she neuer seeketh, or hath any appetite to the Male, till her full time be determined. They are likewise examples of temperance in all vices; because they cate no more then sufficient to maintaine life, neyther sleepe they any more then necessity requireth.

To keepe our selues well and discreetly governed, the Peacoke may be our direction. For defence and maintenance of our houses, as also to liue liberally among our people; what better enstruiter can we haue then the Cock? For he will part with the food out of his owne Beake, to giue it to his Hens, and when need requirerh, he will expose himselfe to all perils in their defence. The great obligation, wherein children standeth bound to their Parents, and how they ought to serue and assit them, the Storke plainly witnesseth; by nourishing their aged Parents in their owne nests, as they fedde and maintayned them in their youth. Why should not men blush and be ashamed, to commit the inuincible courage of the Lyon? Faithfullnesse, friendship, and acknowledgement of receiued benefites, wee are notably taught by the meere behauiour of Dogs; that neuer forget the Masters they haue serued, but continually loue them, neuer ceasing to bee thankfull for

the poorest bread they cate. If a man would benefit himselfe by the vse of another mans goods, yet without any harme or injury done him; let him so carry himself in that case, as doth the little laboring Bee, who draweth hony out of the fairest flowers, and yet no wrong at all done to them.

VVhat meanes and order we should daily obserue, for healthfull conseruation of our liues, we are not to learne it of any one beast onely, but of many, that know what food doth soonest offend them, as also in with-drawing from one place to another, according to the mutation of times. Moreover, they will liue in such soyles, as are answerable to their complexions and natures; excellen men herein as well as in all other things beside. VVhy should not men be absolutely learned, and ignorance in any thing quick removed from them, being endued with hearing and vnderstanding: considering that an Elephant learneth whatsoever is shewne and taught him; a Dog attaineth to many familiar qualities; and Birds can speake, being thereto entrusted? He that heareth the Nightingales sweet Songs, and some other melodious Birds; how can he but desire to sing musically? VVhy couer not men to be excellent builders, beholding the Swallows skillfull enstruition; what arte theee declareth for her owne dwelling, and with what diuersity of matter it is composed? VVhat better Geometry, then that of the Spider? What better Astrologie, then that of the Ant, & likewise of a Fish (according to *Galen*) called *Pranoscopus*, that hauing but one eye, yet looks continually vp to heauen? Haue men reason and iudgement, and yet are meere ignorant in these Artes?

How many other industrious and excellent perfections are in brute Beasts, which men either haue, or else may learne of them? Passages vnder ground, making of Caves in the earth, and knowledge how to dwell in them; came they not first from the Mole and Fox? There are certaine little VVormes, in Latine called *Veres*, that entrusted the meanes and manner to spin and make Silke. Next, the Spider taught how to spin thred for cloth, & so to make Nets, whereby to catch Birds. Men learned of Beasts to swim in the water, for there is no one of them but can do it;

Benefit receiued
without
p. clude.

Healthfull
preservation
of life.

Absolute lear-
ning and vnder-
standing.

Skill in Ma-
sique.

Arte in building.

Geometry.

Astrologie.

Galen on lib. 4.

A Fish
whose eye
is alwayes
directed vp-
ward.

Dwelling vn-
der ground.

Making of
Silke.

Making of
cloth.
Catching of
Birds
swimming in
the water.

Humility and
lowliness of
hale

Healthfull
loue
nourished by
peace and
little Doues

Written in
very high
style.

Continency
ought (al-
most) by all
kinde of
Beasts

Examples of
Temperance

For good or-
der in beha-
uour

For good and
liberal house
keeping

Slothfullnesse
and negligent
reproued by
the Ant.

Loue & duty
to 1. sinces
taught by
Bees.

Against com-
mon weales
that haue no
Prince.

Peacefullnesse,
friendship, &
good turnes
receiued.

Of clemency
and manli-
tude.

Rules for phisicall, & knowledge in weather.

Our wearing garments and foods.

The cheefest support of our liues.

Examples concerning the soules.

All morall Parables grounded on beasts.

Beasts commended to vs in holy Scripture, for our imitation.

Reasonable: men instructed by example of brute beasts.

Angels in lib. 1. of Iohn. 1.

it; yet men cannot attaine thereto, but by practise and learning. What Physicall rules they haue taught men, and knowledge in the changes of weather, hath else where bene handled; and yet notwithstanding we make such prouision of them, for supply of hunger and other necessities, as I know not how wee could liue without their helpe. Our garments are made of theirs, and their flesh is our best Foode: both being brought home to vs from far remote countreys, and whatsoever is needfull for vs, or else we send abroad to seeke after them. They labour, and make the earth playable for our vse; whence we get our bread, and the best fruites of sustentation, so that they are the principall maintenance of our liues. And although they are sore laboured, pursued, and euill entreated by the spleenes of men: yet are they still obedient, both knowing, following, and euermore dooing them seruice.

Come wee now to examples concerning the soule, as a matter of higher Argument, and much greater importance. Whence can a man deriue more worthie examples, both for vertues and good manners meete to bee in men, then from beasts? All those Vertues which naturall Philosophers hath perswaded vnto vs, are grounded on the similitudes and parables of Beasts: Oratours serued their turnes with them; and all that haue spoken or written elegantly.

God and his Saints haue oftentimes in sacred Scripture, instructed and perswaded vs, by the properties & conditions of beasts, for the perfection of our liues: And the rules of vertue and ciuil manners do tell vs, that we should be wise like Serpents, and simple as Doves; milde, like Lambes, and strong and constant as Lyons. In like sort, by the example of brute beasts, and void of reason, we are taught to become men reasonable, and spirituall affected. We finde many Offices & estates in the Church, applyed and figured by beasts, and according vnto their properties. By Oxen (according to S. Augustine, writing on the second Chapter of S. Iohn) such men are signified, as doe publish and preach the holy Scriptures: for they till and plough vnto the knotted furrowes of our soules, sowing therein the seedes of Gods most glorious

word.

Saint Paule, and Solomon in his Proverbs doeth say; *Thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the Oxe that laboureth*, Rom. 9. verse 7. Prouerb. 12. chap. 14. The holy Doctors and Preachers of the Church, that with Doctrine and good Lawes doe gouerne and defend it, are termed Doves. Saint Gregorie speaks it on the words of Iob: *Quorum non dignaber patres ponere cum canibus gregis mei*. The same Saint Gregorie, inuith men vnto a contemplatiue kinde of life, by the imitation of Goates, that alwayes climbe vp to high places, spending there their time in contemplation as it were: the wordes in *Leuiticus* seem his motiue thereto, *Leuitic. chap. 14. verse 12. Out of the Herd let the Goate be offered*.

Moreouer hee sayth, that Preachers should imitate the Cocke; as grounded on the words of Iob, who sayde; *Who hath giuen vnderstanding to the Cock?* Adding withall, that (like vnto the Cocke) they proclaime (in the dimme darkenesse of this life) the glorious light that is to come, and awakes vs with their shrill voyces, out of sleepe finnes, saying with S. Paule, *The night is past, and day approacheth*. And againe, *It is time for vs to arise from sleepe*, abroad yete iust, and sinne not. Phil. 1. 12.

The Church her selfe, pure, holy, and immaculate, is compared to a Dove, as Solomon declareth in his Canticles, saying: *Beholde, thou art faire my Loue, thine eyes are like the Doves*. And againe in another place: *O my Loue, O my Dove*. We see likewise, that of the foure Euangelists three are figured by three beasts. If I would continue longer on this argument, I could finde matter enough to discourse on. But aboute all other, that of our Saviour and Redeemer Iesus Christ, is the most notable, who would bee figured by a Beast, as Saint Iohn speaketh in his Apocalypse, chap. 7. verse 14. *The Lyon of the Tribe of Iudah hath bene victorious*. And David sayeth in his Psalmes, *Roar like a Lyon*: and so in many other places, which were too long to rehearse. Beside in S. Mathew, he tearmeth himselfe a Hen, saying; *O Ierusalem, Ierusalem how often would I haue gathered thee & thy children together, as the Hen gathereth hir Chickens vnder her wings, and ye would not*.

Seeing

Gregorie in lib. 1. de Moral.

Contemplatiue kinde of life.

Gregorie in lib. vii. de Reg.

Preachers compared to the Cocke.

Ephes. 3. 9.

The Church resembled to a Dove.

Cant. 2. 14.

Iesus Christ figured by a beast.

Palace 140. 4

Math. 23. 37.

Christe words compared to the properties in beasts.

Man more of-fessive vnto God then all his other creatures.

Some men do giue worse examples vnto vs, then brute beasts can do.

In the eight Chap. of the 1. booke in the 1. volume.

Cinginguy the second Cite in the Kingdom of Maugy.

Seeing then, that Christ compareth his workes to the properties of Beastes; men may doe well to receiue instruction from them, in leading a good and holie life. And contrarywise, what shame and confusion is it to vs, to see and know, that all kinde of Beasts do follow their nature perfectly, and men (onely made reasonable) vse their owne so badly, abusing that super-excellent gift very vilely. For, he that ought most to honor God, doth most of all offend him, and farre beyonde all other creatures, dayly perverting and adulterating his workes. So that there are some beasts, of whome men may learne much better examples, then from some kind of men among whom they liue. For they haue more apprehension of iustice, and offend farre lesse, then men that knowe what is their dutie, and yet do it not. And therefore, God deliuereth it by the mouth of the Prophet Esay: *The Oxe knoweth his Master, and the Ass his Cribbe; but Israel knoweth him not, neither will his people vnderstand him*.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Of neglect in Martiall Discipline: and of an Army of Christians, that lost all their liues thorow drunkennesse, and want of following such courses, as are to be obserued in Military assayes.

WE haue already declared, how Bayan Chinsan, Lieutenant to the Tartarian Emperor Cublay, and director of his Military forces, tooke 12 Cities and Townes (by assault) at his first annuall, for conquering the great Province of Maugy, before all the rest would yeeld themselves tributary. One of them was vterly ruined to the very foundation and worse vfed then any other known to be, during the Empire of the said Cublay, which was about fixe and thirtie yeares. This City being called Cinginguy, was the second in wealth, greatnesse, and multitude of inhabitants, in all the rich Kingdom of Maugy, and the reason why it was wholly ruined, followeth thus.

Bayan Chinsan, pursuing his Conquests, was much whitened by a strong Castle, builded vpon a small mountaine, very potent by naturall situation, and artificiall construction. For therein continued a powerfull Garrison, that prevaileth with great advantages on his Army, passing along the foote of that Mountaine; and this was the reason that he would proceed on no further, till hee had deriued some better correspondencie from the people of this Garrison. And yet he durst promise to himselfe, that (within some small distance of time) he should preuaile against them, as afterwarde it proued true indeed.

In the meane while, and at the selfsame instant, the explorators or scouts were come backe againe, which he had sent to surueigh the estate of Cinginguy, who made knowne vnto him, that the people of the City appeared, to knowe nothing of his coming, neyther stood vpon any guard, or preparation to expect a besieging. This was the cause (to the end he might the better preuent them) that hee forthwith dispatched a squadron of thirty thousand men, armed at the lightest, and very good foldiers, all of them being christians (which came among the Tartarian Idolaters in open liberty, as the Iews haue done from all times of antiquity, and daily yete do) to possesse themselves of the Cite, and hinder the entrance of any succour, either by way of power or victuals, assuring them likewise, that he would follow them with all convenient speede that might be.

This warlike band of Christians, made such speedy diligence, that (within three dayes) they arrived before the City, and lodged themselves on the Ditches side, before any in the City took notice thereof. They made the escalado in so many severall places, and disposed their Archers so conveniently, as no one durst peep out at any of the battlements, or else be scene vpon the walls. At length, the besieged (imagining the army that had thus engirt the, was of far greater strength then it was indeed) being overcome with feare, rendered themselves to the discretion & mercy of the assaillants, to the end, they might finde the more humanity at their handes. The gates being fer open, the Christians entred, taking vp their lodgings in severall

A strong Castle builded vpon a small mountaine.

Return of his scouts from Cinginguy.

The command that Bayan gave to his squadron of Christians.

The Christians arrivall before Cinginguy.

The men of Cinginguy yeeld to the Christians.

all houses. And these indiscreete conquerors, without any other care of military discipline, finding the City well furnished with victuals of all kinds, & whatsoever was needfull for the life of man, but (about all) plenty of rich wines; fell to making themselves good cheere, and drinking hard, after the German manner, till they fell asleepe with the pots in their hands.

Heereupon the Inhabitants finding themselves deceived, in yielding to so final a number of people, that had no better understanding in actions of warre, neither knew how to vse the fortune so fauorably befall them; began to consult heereon with themselves, and how to worke their deliuerance with as much speed, as they were ouer-hasty in losing their liberty. The Christians continuing in this drunken behauiour, without any feare at all of the Inhabitants, that lodged the Soldiers in their houses, though not halfe so many as they were able to receiue: in one night it was fully concluded, that euery host should kill his guest, and so it was accordingly performed. Afterward, they threw their bodies into the great Riuer, which runneth through the midst of the City, saying: These are the renegades and faith-breakers, men of Christian Religion, of whom the Emperour *Cublay* made no great account, but suffered them to carry crosses in their Ensigns, to shame them the more in their least ill demeanour.

Bayan Chinlan hauing surprized the foresaid castle, commanded the Captains to be hanged, and the castle quite ruined; but pardoned all the Soldiours, journeying afterward on to *Cingunguy*; but within lesse then two dayes journey, hee heard how all his men were slaine, therefore hee brought a strong siege before the City. The Inhabitants were not a little amazed, beholding so powerfull an Army to beset them, and conducted by a man so highly renowned: and therefore desired to haue a Parlee before any farther proceeding, which accordingly was granted. The summe of the Oration propounded by the Deputies, was thus. That they could not deny a manifest truth, but that they had slaine a number of runnagates, matterlesse men, seeming to haue no faith or honesty, neither shewing any open ap-

parance of their power; but suddenly surprized their City. Moreover, that they were all Christians, more addicted vnto wine and gourmandizing, then any respect of valour or manhood: in which regard, his losse was little or none at all, by the deserued ouerthrow of such carelesse people, and they humbly desired pardon, if in this case they had transgressed.

Bayan returned his answer brauely and fuccinctly, saying. His men were warriors, that had no other direction in this businesse, but command from his mouth onely, and he had beene well informed, that they tooke the City by faire order of warre; without offending any one in their goods, or violence offered to wiues or mayes, or disarming any Inhabitant, but suffering them to continue in their wanted liberty. And in being Christians, they did not therefore deserue death, because he could as well tolerate them, as his Master the Emperour, who not onely suffered them to liue in all his Countries, without the least iniury done vnto them; but hauing conquered kingdomes, wholly Christian, he neuer innouated any matter touching their Religion. Moreover, the greater part of Officers in his Court, and the very worthiest of his warriors, were all Christians, being men more faithful, and of better conuerfation, then any other Religion whatsoever.

As for their neglect in martiall discipline, he did not allow it in them, but confessed, that they deserued death therein, which (doublelesse) himselfe would haue insisted on them; condemning them for beeing so forward, in executing any authority belonging onely to him. For which boldnesse (with an absolute deniall of pardon or fauour) he vowed to be reuenged on the men of *Cingunguy*; because (against all fidelity) they had slaine his men, and declared monstrous ingratitude, and thence hee pretended to deriue his reason.

Hauing thus spoken, hee would see them no more, but in this rough manner dismissed them. About an houre after, he caused his Rammes and other Engines of battery, to be mounted, for destruction of the walles and houses, and within few dayes after, tooke the City,

Wine and gourmandizing more speeded their manhood.

Bayan reply to the men of Cingunguy.

The Christians defended in their profession, and whole kingdomes conquered, permitted to continue in their liberty.

Bayan denied pardon or fauour, vowing death and bloody reuenge.

In what manner Bayan destroyed the City of Cingunguy.

Children sold into slavery to the great multitude.

The destruction of the City of Cingunguy, and the calamities made therein.

Cingunguy the second time destroyed in the third year.

A view of some of the soldiers of the French Army.

without any great resistance, putting all the men to the sword, that were about 14 yeares of age. Women and maidens went whither themselves pleased; but for their children, they were sold at the Out-cry, to such as would giue the most money for them: for there were certaine merchants of *Beazala*, which followed the army that did traffike onely in such kinde of merchandise, and so do yet to this day. Afterward, vittails beginning to faile, & the warlike enemy, hauing emptied the citie of all the wealth, he commanded it to be set on fire, and that the Army should not boudge thence, until it were intirely consumed.

This City was seated on a goodly river, large and nauigable, whereby, the commerce which it made with other countries, returned infinite profit and wealth. In it was made the richest & fairest works wrought with the needle, both in cloth of golde and silver, as no other City in the world beside had the like. There were also made sumptuous vessels (for all vses) both of golde and silver, by most admirable cunning, and in great plenty: besides costly clothes of fine Cotten, gold, silver and silk. In briefe, it was the second or third City (as then) in all those parts: which was thus destroyed, thorow the drunkenness of *Nestorian* Christians, and by the perfidy of the Inhabitants, euen as *Troyan Itham* by luxury & whoredome, since when it was neuer rebuilded, or inhabited. The ruines thereof may be seene to this day, whereat still many haue stonde amazed, it being situated in so potent a territory: but it was thought to proceed from the iust displeasure of God, and for the bloody massacre of so many Christians.

We may now come homeward, and nearer to our selues, and speake of the like faults, as were among these *Tartarian* Christians, thorow lacke of knowledge, how to make vse of victorie: As not long since was scene in *France*, in the first battaile giuen neere to *Dreux*, betweene the *French* Protestants and the Catholics, in the yeare of our Lord God, 1562. vnder *Charles* the ninth. The Prince of *Conte*, being chief of those Protestants, ouerthrew with his horsemen (wherein he was strongest) a great part of the royall Catholique Armie,

whereof *Anne de Montmorancy*, Constable, was commanded, putting the 20000 to flight, and the sayde Constable taken prisoner. Heereupon the Protestants becomming insolent, and vterly vnmindfull of Militarie Discipline: left their ranks, brake their order, gaue the chase, pursuing after certayne runaways, and before they had fully conquered all their enemies; they beganne to gape after pillage with the *Swart-rutiers* and *Launce-knights*. During this disorder, *Monfieur de Gussy*, a most wife and valiant Capitaine, hauing yet left him a band of braue men, beganne to set vpon those negligent fellows with his troups, and running on the Protestants (who imagined they had the whole victorie, which they knew not how to holde) got the better of them, and tooke their Leader the Prince of *Conte*, becoming sole master of the field. Thus, not knowing how to vse Militarie Discipline, by breaking their ranks, following the chase, and scrapping for pillage, when they had gotten the better of their enemies safe and soundly, yet not hauing wholly overcome them: did they not declare themselves very vnadvised, becoming guilty and well worthie of death? I am perswaded, that all good warriors are of that opinion. And so it happened, for thus the Protestant Armie was vterly foyled, which was (wellneare) equal in great Capitaines and good men to the Royall. But such losse doth almost daily happen, where Military discipline is not obserued.

They that (at so cheape a rate) tooke the City of *Cingunguy*, should haue disarmed the Citizens, seized the strongest places into their owne power, planted Courts of guard in all the most frequented parts of the City, imprisoned the chiefe persons, expelled out of the City, a greater part of the youthfull and most forward men, if they would not kill them, without vsing such courtesie after conquest. In so doing, they had kept Martiall discipline on foote, and auoyded the losse of their owne liues, besides the reproach, to their great infamie. But ouer and aboue all the rest, they should (as much as in them lay) haue abstained from wine: For there is not anie thing, that sooner bereaue a

The fault of the Protestants in the batt. of Dreux.

The Duke of Guise a very worthy and used warrior, counsellor to the Protestants, and took the Prince of Conte prisoner.

The Protestant Army vterly foyled.

What the Christians ought to haue done, vpon their victorie at Cingunguy.

Wine most hurtfull to any good Soldier.

Chap. 37. Of Great mens downefall.

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that these things happened in the year, one thousand foure hundred fifty three, about the Moneth of May.

Of Charles the eight, K. of France.

King George one of the Husines religion.

His conquest of Naples, Calabria and Apulia.

Charles duke of Burgoyne, son to Philip.

What fate hath ordain'd to a man, cannot be auoyd'd.

1000000. thousand crowns lent to King Charles the seventh.

Little care had of to famous a King, & in to great an extremity, to let him die in so stinking a place.

The greatnes and riches of Charles duke of Burgoyne, with the leuerall lands that he was Lord of.

I am sure few people are ignorant, in what Beds of state, the noble Kings of France vsed to take their rest, and vnder what rich Pauillions; yet the iniquity of our times hath bene such, that a Kings lodging hath bene more vile then a lax. I speake of King *Charles* the eight of that name, who returning home to his kingdom, hauing bene in *Italy*, where hee conquered the kingdom of *Naples*, and the great Dukedomes of *Calabria* and *Apulia*, and wonne two famous battailes in those countries: vpon a Palme Sunday Eue, being the seuenth of Aprill, one thousand foure hundred ninety eight, leading his Queene by the hand, *Anne* of *Bretaigne*, to see certaine Gentlemen play at the Tennis, in a Ditch belonging to the Castle of *Amboise*, entred into an olde, broken, vncouered Gallery, where he gaue his head a great blow against the vpper part of the doore, albeit himselfe was but of lowe stature. Taking hold vpon some staves for his recovery, neere vnto a noysome place, where euery one that would (by custome) vsed to let passe their vrine, and other vncleannesse of the body; he was contented to endure it, and stood there merrily discoursing with the Queene, and other noble persons there present, iudging who deserued best of them that played. Suddenly hee was overcome with a rheume or catarre, which taking from him all his strength and motion in euery part of his body, he was depriv'd likewise of his speech. This was perceiued by all there-about him, and how he lay vpon the ground, in such a foule, stinking, and vnseemely place; yet no one had the care, or subiect-like affection, to beare him thence to his royall bed, which was not aboue twenty paces off.

Hee languished in this manner, for the space of nine houres, and dyed there in that noysome place. Is it not a matter deseruing admiration, that so worthy a King should dye in so vile a place, being in his owne house, among his Officers, and many of the Nobility? Hee that was King of the sweete smelling *Floure-de-Luce*, to expire and ende his dayes, not among hearbs or flowers of pleasing sa-

uour: but in a place full of filth, then which, the whole world could yeelde no worfe?

And to shew yee, that great Princes are as subiect to dye in battailes, as the simplest Souldiours: *James*, King of *Scottes*, may serue as an example, for hee was slayne in the field, with twoo Bishoppes, a great part of his Nobility, and many men of warre, that happened in the yeare of our Lord, one thousand five hundred and thirteene. And the yeare following, *John d'Albret* king of *Nauarre*, lost his Kingdom, which was seized by *Ferdinand* King of *Spaine*, because hee stood accused by Pope *Iulius*, for assisting King *Lewes* the twelfth, in warre against him; and aboue all, in the bataille of *Rauenna*, which vntill this present his Successours neuer enjoyed.

James the fourth, King of Scots, slain in bataille.

John d'Albret King of Naurre lost his kingdom.

And *Lewes sforza*, Duke of that rich and goodly Countrey of *Millaine*, was led prisoner into *Fraunce*, lying before the *French* to *Nauarra*, a City of his Dukedome; hee was confined to imprisonment, within the great Tower of *Bourge*, where (in great want and pouertie) hee finished his dayes.

Lewes Sforza, Duke of Millaine, continued in prison, where he dyed.

What shall wee say of King *Frances*, first of that name, the Father of Learning, whose wisdom and magnanimitie, could not warrant him against the Ambuscadoes of Fortune, no more then any of them before remembered? Hee fell into the hands of *Charles* the fifth, Emperour, enuious of his greatnesse, and had bene his competitor in the Empire, opposing himselfe against many of his designs. Hee dayned him prisoner aboue a yeare; during which time, hee had a most yrkesome disease, which compelled him (for enioying of his liberty, to yeeld to many hard and grienous conditions. As, to renounce and disclayme a multitude of rights, which hee pretended to many Dukedomes, Earledomes, and Kingdomes. Beside, he gaue so great a quantity of money, as well for his expences, as discharge of martiall affaires, and his ransom withall, that his kingdom (for euer after) felt the smart thereof.

Frances the first, King of France, the patron of learning.

The hardenforcements of King Frances.

And not onely haue temporall Princes felt the rigour of inconstant Fortune; but Ecclesiasticall persons also,

The Author
speakesh now
of spirituall
persons.

Pope Iohn
deposited and
imprisoned.

The bishop of
Liege, Brother
vnto the
Duke of Bour-
gogne, a Lord
both spirituall
& temporal.

The butcher-
ing of an arch-
bishop, and
Cardinals.

Pope Clement
taken priso-
ner, & Rome
rauced or
pilld by gre-
dy Soldiours.

howsoever high and great degree they haue carried in the world. For in the year 1410. Pope Iohn was put in prison, flying from the Councell of *Constance*, and was giuen in guard to *Lewis*, Count *Palatine*, depofed from his Office, and one called *Martine*, fife of that name, feated in his place, being likewise very inhumanly entreated, for the space of three yeares. Afterwards, by the humanity of the sayde *Martine*, he was fet at liberty, and created Cardinall: whereby euery man may perceiue, how farre this Iohn was falne from his former degree.

In the year 1466. the byshop of *Liege* brother to the fore-named Duke of *Bourgogne*, by his wife, who was of the house of *Bourbon*: befide his Office, hee was a Prince of the Empire, a Lord both spirituall and temporal, and holding fo great and rich a cuntry, as that of *Liege*. He was taken prisoner for his subiectes, and a great sort of his friends and officers (among whom were ten Abbots and Protectors, or Canons, al of worthy houses) massacred in his prefence, & himselfe kept prisoner for long time, and in great misery. At length hee got safely away, hauing (by money) won his Guards consent thereto.

At *Florence*, in the year 1448. the arch-Bishop of the faide place, being clothed in his habiliments of Priest-hood, and faying Masse, was suddenly surprized, and hanged or strangled at a Window, by the hands of the hangman: befide foure Cardinalls massacred by the people, and many other Ecclesiasticall persons beheaded.

And although Popes (as hath bene held) by their great and spirituall authority, might impose silence vpon Christian Princes, from vnder-taking warres, but to keepe themselves in quiet, and likewise to take armes at his command, for the affairs of the Christian world; yet it came fo to passe, that Pope *Clement* was taken prisoner, and locked vp fuen months space in his castle of *S. Angelo*, kept by a guard of *Spaniards* and *Germanes*, and all of them Heretikes (wel-neere) about him. The City of *Rome* was greuously pilld, the Temples ransacked and prophaned; all which happened by the Souldiers of *Charles* the fift, a Catholike Emperour, in the year 1547.

After these men of Ecclesiasticall profession, it shall not differ much from our purpose, to conclude this chapter with the death of three potent Kings, that died all three in one day: to the end, wee may obserue how vnhappy it is for Princes, to thinke that they can well manage their affaires, in meddling amongst the quarrels of other Princes, as pusiant euery way as themselves.

It came to passe, that two Princes contended for the kingdom of *Fez* and *Marracco*, situated in *Barbarie* of *Africa*: the one of them being named *Muley Mahumet*, Nephew to the other that demanded these Realmes, called *Abdelmelec*. This *Mahumet*, who enioyed those Kingdomes ten or twelue yeares, was assailed three or foure times by *Abdelmelec*, hauing gotten assistance of the Turke, and wonne fil the best in foure fought batailles. So that in the end, the inhabitants of *Fez* and *Marracco* receyued *Abdelmelec*: because *Mahumet* was a Tyrant, had very few friends, contempting euery one, and trusting altogether in his strength and Treasures, after all his losses in those former Batailles.

Sebastian, King of *Portugall*, made offer to him of his ayde and friendship, but hee refused it, vntill such time as hee had neyther place or person to retire vnto, nor any to follow him. Moreover, he had spent the great heapes of money which hee had gotten together during his reigne, & now withdrew himselfe into the Mountaines, which are fixe Leagues off from the City of *Marracco*. There hee liued about feauen or eight months, like a theefe or robber, with some few companies of needie persons, which yet againe were cut off by the troopes of *Abdelmelec*; and *Mahumet* constrained to wander in the most vnaccessable places of the Mountaines, where he endured a million of miseries, for the space of a whole year, liuing in continual feare and distrust, onely thorough his conceyued opinion, that hee should bee taken, or betrayed in his secret walkes.

In breefe, necessity compelled him to repent his former denials, and to require the friendly succour offered him, by that braue King of *Portugall*, *Sebastian*: vnto whom he sent an expresse Messenger, and (afterward) two of his Captaines. In the meane while, he found the means to defend

The death of
three Kings,
all in one day

The memor-
able history of
Muley Mahu-
met, & Abdel-
melec, King
in *Barbarie*.

Abdelmelec
expelled Muley
Mahumet out
of *Fez* &
Marracco.

Sebastian, King
of *Portugall*,
offered his ayde
to *Mahumet*,
& is denied.

The misera-
ble estate and
condition of
Muley Ma-
humet.

Mahumet is
entranced to
request the
ayd which he
had formerly
denied.

* An olde Ci-
ty of Mauri-
tanie heere-
before called
Tingi.

King *Sebasti-
an* alwayes
seeking opor-
tunity to
enter *Africa*,
and his pre-
sence, for the
advancement
of Christian
Religion.

King *Sebasti-
an* anpuffed
into
Africa, &
spall the o-
pinion of all
his friends.

The Army in
full prepara-
tion for the
field from
Portugall.

The care of
Abdelmelec,
to encounter
with his ene-
mie.

ceed from the Mountaines, by wayes of little or no resort, and fought for his safety in * *Tanger*, a Towne which the *Portugals* held in *Africa*: where hee was well entertained by the Gouverneur, who knew some part of *Sebastians* minde towards them, and therefore furnished the two Captaines with well armed horsemen, for the dispatch of their Embasie in *Portugall*.

King *Sebastian* was very ioyfull to see these Ambassadors, because he was naturally addit to Armes, and the disposition of his person (ioyned with his height of courage) incessantly spurred him on to this businesse. And in this respect, hee did but awaite some apt ouerture, for making his passage into *Africa*, forming his pretext, vpon an earnest desire (as hee would alwayes say) which hee had to aduance Christian Religion, and to extirpate that of the Mahumetists. Wherevpon he suddenly promised (without any better consideration of the businesse) to succour *Muley Mahumet*, and to re-seate him in his kingdomes againe: hee made promise (I say) to such a one, as himselfe had before sought vnto, for this effect, by so large a passage ouer the Seas, and two feuerall times had bene misprized by him. The Pope, the King of *Spain*, and many other great personages, could not dissuade him from this enterprize, but still he persisted in treading the path vnto his owne death, death that followed him so hard at the heeles. So did hee set on into *Africa*, with thirteene hundred sayle, as well of great as small Vesselles in that Fleet, the very fayrest and goodliest that had bene seene in those times. His Army was composed of Lance-knight, *Spaniards*, *Italians*, *Portugals*, and some small number of *Africane Moores*, which took part with the *Portugals*, and thirty fixe Pieces of Ordnance for the field, well fitted and furnished. In all, there was not aboute sixteene thousand men of warre; setting aside the Soldiours boyes, Waggoners, Strumpets, Castadours, and other such like people very vnprofitable for the field.

Abdelmelec (wee may well perswade our selves) slept not all this while carelessly, for hee brought threecore thousand men to the field, as well Pykes as Harquebuziers, and twenty fixe Peeeces of Orde-

nance for the field, well appointed & gouerned by most expert men. *Abdelmelec* was very sorry, that hee should haue any conquest against Christians, in regard hee bare them much affection; not because he feared the *Portugals*, but as fore-seeing, that *Barbary* would proue the graue to the King of *Portugall*, who (indeede) was too weake to encounter with him, that went so farre beyond him in power. And in due consideration of the case, hee would oftentimes thus say to himselfe. *King Sebastian should bee more respectiue, then so vnaduisedly to runne vpon his owne ruine: for he would take two kingdomes from me, which in right and iustice are appertaine to me, and giue them vnto a Negro, wherein Christ endome can no way bee eased or accommodated, neyther is it a thing which God (being iust) will permit.*

The report and rumors spread abroad, of *Abdelmelec*s valiant carriage, was the cause that euery one came to offer him seruice and obeyfance, and from euery Prouince they brought him goodly presents and gifts of incalimable value. Many Christian Kings tooke pleasure in his friendship, and embraced him as their kinde well-willer, esteeming themselves happy in his acquaintance. So that from diuers places, great store of Christians traualled into his countries, where they receiued gracious entertainment, and hee shewed them much better countenance, then to any other men that resorted thither, helping them liberally in their necessities. On the contrary part, *Muley Mahumet* oppressed the Christians all the time of his reigne, or else permitted, that all grecfes and molestations should bee done vnto them: wherefore King *Sebastian* (in this respect) did greatly forget himselfe.

Now to deteine the Reader no longer in suspence, the two Armies disposed themselves for the encounter, and mette in a field, which contained aboute two miles in spaciousnesse, so euene and plaine, that there was not any tree, grasse, brambles, or stones, to offer the least hinderance. The Army of *Sebastian*, had the Riuer of *Arache* behinde it, and that of *Abdelmelec*, the Riuer of *Alcaffar*. *Muley Mahumet*, for whom this Tragedy was to bee acted, contrary to his oath and promise, did not bring with him any ayde for *Sebastian*; hauing

How *Abdelmelec* did
outwume & con-
quer the
King
Sebastian.

The loue, ri-
ches, and ser-
uice voluntar-
ily offered to
Abdelmelec
by Christians
and others.

*Muley Ma-
humet* oppres-
sing the Chri-
stians.

How the two
Armies came
to encounter
in the field.

The treachery
of *Mahumet*
with King
Sebastian.

Muley Mahumet flying from the fight was drowned in the River of Arache.

Kine Sebastian slaine among his own Soldiers, but hardly known

Abdelmelec fell deadly sicke some 8 dayes before the battaile, and dyed in his Litter in the midst of the fight.

Three Kings ended their liues in one day duertly.

The death & buriall of three Kings bodies very strange as thidome the like hath beene heard of.

having formerly made him beleue, that more then halfe the Army of *Abdelmelec*, would come and ioyne with him: which came not so to passe, for both the Armies meeting together, each side fought valiantly for it selfe, and the Christians sustained the worke. *Muley Mahumet* was one of the first that fled, shaping his course towards the river of *Arache*, where thinking to passe the foord, & it being choked with mud and slime, and his horse sticking fast therein, he gaue him the spur so furiously, that losing his stirrups, and not knowing how to helpe himselfe by swimming, hee fell into the water, and so was both drowned and suffocated in the myre. As for *K. Sebastian*, after that all his men were slaine, or (at least) put to flight; he was assailed on all sides (having but 7 or 8 knights with him) among whom also he was slaine, & lay on the ground among his owne people, that fought for their liues as much as men could do.

Now concerning *Abdelmelec*, some 8 or 10 dayes before the battaile, he fell into a greuous sicknesse, by eating a messe of milke in a neere adioyning Village, which so curdled on his stomacke, as hee could not compasse any auoydance of it. Neuerthelesse, on the day of battaile, hee would needs mount on horse-backe, and presse into the thickest of the fight, where finding himselfe more weake then euer, he was conuayed into his Litter, wherein he died immediately. But his death was very closely concealed, vntill the battaile was finished, and won on his side.

Thus we may see, that (in one day) three Kings died by three seuerall meanes: for *Muley Mahumet* was drowned; *Sebastian* finished his life in fight; & *Abdelmelec* dyed by sicknesse. Their bodies also received diversity of handling or vltage: for the body of *Mahumet* was flayed, & the skinn stuffed with haire, was carried thorow all the Cities in the kingdomes of *Fes* & *Marocco*, in signe of open infamy. The body of the king of *Portugall*, *Sebastian*, was buried in the Town of *Alcassarguier*, without any Priest for the funerall obsequies, or any sheete to couer his body; but stark naked, according as it was found, when acknowledgement was taken of it among the other dead bodies: yet one of the groomes of his chamber, despoiling himselfe thereof, gaue him a poore paire of

linnen breeches, & a most wretched doublet, which was no way disliked by the *Mahometanes*. The fore-said groome flayed himselfe miraculously, for of the whole Christian Army, either Soldiers or other, there did not escape 2000. *Abdelmelec* was carried away dead in his Litter, royally apparelled, and more then twenty miles off from that place, hee was buried in a costly Sepulcher, among his Predecessors, and there was granted rents and reuenues, to diuers Priests of the *Mahometane* Religion, to pray to God (after their manner) for his soule.

Their successors also were as strange and diuers; for to *Muley Mahumet*, succeeded his mortall enemy, *Hamed*. To *Abdelmelec*, not his owne children, albeit he had diuers; but his bastard Brother, the said *Hamed*, for the father would haue it so. To king *Sebastian*, Philip King of Spain, who was (a farre off) a kinsman to him, yet then the nearest that could be found, because the other was neuer married. Here we may apparently perceiue, how fortune playeth with miserable life, or vnsuccessfull ending in the very greatest, or of highest advancement in this world, as well as those of much meane condition, & that thorow some secret iudgement of God, who can & will dispose of all things, according to his owne good will and pleasure. These matters happened in *Africa*, in the kingdomes of *Marocco* and *Fes*, on Monday, being the fourth day in the Month of August, and in the year 1578.

I could here alledge many other examples of Christian Kings and Princes, whose endes haue bin scarcely honorable or happy, and that within thirty year of this instant: but because I know, that these times do afford some passionate spirits, who take no delight in such sad relations, and others are of a fierer temper, but as void of pity, as the other are too forward in compassion, not carrying any meane betweene such two extremities; I will forebore to proceede any further in this argument, & enter into some other more apt discourse.

CHAP.

Not two hundred faced all the Christian Army. The royall buriall of Abdelmelec.

Of the funeral for to the several Kings in their dominions after their death.

God disposeth of all things, as himselfe best liketh.

The Author rambling on made in tedious relations.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

That Princes are commonly such in their affections, manners, & pietie, as they perceyue their Kings, Princes, and Rulers to bee.



Here neede no doubt to be made, but that it was verie true which *Theodorick*, King of the Gothes (writing to the Romaine Senate) alledged: That the course of Nature should sooner faile, then people bee any other then their Princes. This is not only to be understood of their vertues and vices; but likewise of the gesture of their bodies, yea euen so farre as to their wearing garments. This may easily be prooued; for *Alexander* the Great but bending his Neck a little towards his right shoulder, al his yong Princes, and other cheefe followers in his Court, did bend theirs also in the very same manner.

Alphonfus King of *Arragon* and *Sicilie*, hauing a wry necke, all such as followed and affected him, enforced to wry their neckes like his; as being perswaded, that it was most commendable in them, because their King and Maister carried his necke so: as wee finde it recorded in the Booke of the Courtier, and in the life of *Pyrrhus*.

King *Frances*, the first of that name, vndersong continually to weare his haire verie long, and (as it was said) looking out at a Window, he receiued a wounde on the head; by meanes whereof hee was enforced to cut his lockes, and weare them a great deale shorter then formerly hee had done. Many of his Courtiers, especially such as wore their haire as he was wont to do, caused their long lockes to be cut likewise, and ware them in the same manner as he did. Heereupon afterwarde, diuers Noble and high descended French-men, left off from longer wearing false Lockes and Periwigs, or *Gregorians*, which they reputed as a signe of Nobility and comeliness, for holding some place of eminence in the Commonwealth, & thence-

forward esteemed it as a ridiculous fashion.

Charles the fift, Emperour, wore his beard long, but cut round below in shape of a pouch or purse. In imitation of him, the Noblemen of *Spaine*, *Italy*, *Flanders*, *Germany*, and *Bourgonne*, with some other that were his subiects, hadde their beards after the selfesame fashion, which they teamed to bee an Imperiall Beard. King *Charles* the ninth, King of *Fraunce*, being at *Metz*, where the Count of *Manfeld*, and *Marquesse of Baden* came to see him, because he should shew them a gracious countenance, he tooke off the *Marquesses* Bonnet from his head, and put on (instead thereof) his owne, which he commonly vied to weare, that was a German cap, great, thicke, thrummy, and flat, in forme of a Cheefe. In regard whereof, all the attendants in his Court (which was a great company at that time) would needs weare Bonnets after the same fashion. And it grew to such an extremity in affection, that such Cappes and Bonnets, as were usually sold in *Metz* for "thirty Sols", within three dayes after, could not bee bought vnder three French Crowns; and yet (at so deare a rate) they were not to be had, albeit the Bonnet-makers laboured night and day in making them, the crowd and presse for them was so great, without any other profite or commoditie ensuing by them, but only that they would be in the Kings fashion.

King *Henrie* the third, by reason hee had some Vicers in the fore-part of his head, was subiect to a continuall paine & greefe: therefore he wore thicke gummy haire, bound vp behinde (like womens) to couer that defect. The Noblemen and Gentlemen of his Court, had their hayre gummed and bound vp in like manner, although no paine thereto prouoked them: whereupon some were verily perswaded, that men would fall likewise to weare womens garments, they were so forward in the fashion of their haire. If I would insert all the courtes and behaviour of the people, in imitating their Princes fond fashions and habits, I must needs be too troublesome to the Reader: therefore I will now discourse on their vertues and vices, with as much breuitie as I can.

The onely cause why men traualled into Egypt, froo many parts of the world, and

Charles the 9 and his manner of beard.

Beards Imperiall or after the Imperiall fashion

The K. changed Bonnets with the Marquesse.

"Ten French Sols, make an English shilling.

The kings fashion is a great matter,

Henrie the 3. King of France whole Courtiers imitated his gummed haire, like vnto Womens.

Theodorick, K. of Gothes, writing to the Senate of Rome.

The Courtiers of Alexander, and of K. Alphonfus.

Plutarch viij. cxx.

Frances, King of France did weare long haire, and cutting it, his Courtiers fell into his fashion

False lockes & Periwigs introduced.

The cause why so manie men trauailed into Egypt.

The example of a Learned King, is no mean motiue to his subiects to affect learning.

The words of Plato the great Philosopher.

Manfor, Emperour of Affrica, and all the Spaines.

Great vertues in Manfor a louer of Learning, & a famous example to his successe.

Leo African, in Hist de Temp. Of the women of Lybia.

and from Greece more then any other country (as did many great and excellent Philosophers, amongst whom were *Plato*, *Democritus*, and others) was for no other end; but in regard of a King of that Countrey, named *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, the onely loue of Learning, and seeker after such men as were learned. And in imitation of him, the Egyptians his subiects addicted themselves so studiously, to ground their vnderstanding in the most laudable Sciences, and that for such long continuance of time, as a man was reputed to haue scene nothing, if he had not trauayled into Egypt. Whereupon, it is sayde, that *Plato* (admiring their wonderfull erudition) cryed out by way of exclamation: *The Greekes are no better then Children in knowledge, beeing compared with the Egyptians*. Heere we may obserue, what honour this good King *Philadelphus* won to his subiects, because by his imitation they made themselves vertuous, and giuen to all commendable qualities.

The like happened vnder the reigne of *Manfor*, Emperour of *Affrica*, and all the *Spaines*, who gouerned in the yeare of our Lord, one thousand, one hundred, & foue. This King was such a loue of learning, that he caused all Bookes written in Greeke, cyther concerning Philosophie, Physicke, or Historie, to be translated into the *Arabian* tongue. He founded many Colledges, wherto he gaue very great rents, for the maintenance of poore Students, and professors of learning, whereof a great many are at this day to be seen, in the Citties of *Fez* and *Marocco* in *Affrica*, in *Trenissen*, *Tunis*, *Argiere*, *Hippoma*, and else-where, although he was a Mahometane in Religion, yet many other of his successeurs, that afterwards followed him, and the people themselves (to this day) in those *Affricane* countries, doe relish of the good conditions, maners, and vertues abiding in that King, adding themselves to Learning. Nor appeared this in men onely, but likewise in Women, according as *Leo Africanus* testifieth, saying; *The Women of Lybia, in these our dayes, are very Learned and Studious, and aboue all things else, they are sooner busied in good Bookes: then medling with cloathes, Garments, or other Vtensels belonging to household*. And I dare boldly main-

taine (with many other Learned men, well read in Histories) that but for this King *Manfor*, and his *Arabian* successeurs: Physicke had neuer beene halfe so fertile in remedies, as we finde it now to bee in these our dayes.

Garcias d'Horta, Physitian to the Viceroy of the *Indias*, who liued within lesse then thirty yeares, sayeth, that hee had conferred with many Kings both of the *Arabes* and *Affricanes*; and found them to bee learned, as also notably skilfull in the *Mathematikes*. The like is affirmed by him that hath written the generall historie of *India*, that *Almanfor*, King of *Tidora*, one of the verie greatest Ilandes of the *Moluccaes*; was one of the greatest Astrologers in our times, and that the people are not so rude and barbarous, as heere among vs they are reputed to bee. Before *Manfor*, none of them had euer scene the Bookes of *Aristotle*, *Plato*, *Hippocrates*, *Galen*, and other Greeke Authours, in any other Language then the *Grecian*.

In the time of this King *Manfor*, flourished great store of Learned men and Philosophers: such as were *Auerroes*, *Mesius*, *Rafis*, *Rabbie Moses*, and diuers others, whose workes (at this very day) are reade in our Vniuersities, and Commented vpon, by diuerse and sundrie great Schoolemen, and it is not to be doubted, but posteritie (for euer) will rest behold- ing to them.

The manner of founding Colledges, wherein to instruct poore youths in good Letters; Hospitalles, for the lodging of maymed, sickely, and needie persons; Conuents and Abbeyes, for the dwelling of godly and religious men, wherein to pray for the augmentation of the Church, and prosperity of Christian Princes; beganne first by Kinges and Emperours, and in their imitation, Dukes, Earles, Barons, Popes, Cardinales, and Byshoppes, besides other rich men (among the common people did the like. As *Charlemaigne*, *Lewes* the ninth, *Philip* Duke of *Bourgonne*, and diuers other: which is a most plaine and manifest Reason, that all Christendome remaineth yet to this day, embellished with so manie faire and rich Arch-byshoppricks, Byshoppricks, Abbeyes, Priories, Colledges, and Hospitalles.

Physick plentifully increased.

Garcias d'Horta in lib de diuers. Gest.

Affrican and Arabian kings learned nowe in these daies

What learned and worthy men flourished in the daies of King Manfor.

Christian Kings & Emperours first founded Colledges, Hospitalles, & Monasteries.

All Christendom beautified with religious houses.

King

Lewes the eleuenth imprisoned by duke of barles.

The bold presumption of Charles duke of Burgogne.

Peter de Heigenbach Count of Thierstein, Deputie to Duke Charles in Austria, degraded and beheaded.

The beginning of the Dukes downfall and misfortunes.

wealth, he became so proude, that hee durst vnder take the boldnesse (vpon some small suspition conceiued, that *Lewes* the eleuenth King of *Fraunce*, had intelligence with them of *Liege*, beeing then his enemies) to imprison the sayd King in the great Tower of *Peronne*, where they met both together, vnder the colour of friendly conference. And there he made him condescend to follow him (like a water Spaniell) in the warres, which hee had against the Inhabitants of *Liege*, euen vntill hee had ruined theyr Townes, and all the Countrey: Heere seated *Edward* king of *England*, beeing expelled from his Kingdome; giuing him mony, and an armie by Sea, to bring it to passe.

Afterward, hee would needes coape in Armes with the Emperour, and (almost) all the Princes of *Germanie*: besieging the Towne of *Nuz* (which is not farre from *Coloigne*) for the space of a yeare, but all in vaine. Euery one reputed him to be great, happy, and inuincible: but we shal soone perceiue the contrary, and how (by little and little) hee trode the path to his owne ruine, as briefly I purpose to relate. It fortuneth, that this *Charles* had instituted as *Gouernour* ouer those Lands, which he held mortgaged by the Arch-Duke of *Austria*: a thiefe and tyrant, named *Peter de Hagenbach*, Counte of *Thierstein*, who (so much as in him lay) tormented both them of *Mulhuse*, and the *Switzers*: whereupon, they took him prisoner, and hauing proceeded against him by due forme of Lawe: they degraded him of his order of Knight-hood, and afterwards beheaded him in the open Market place.

Next, the seauenty thousand florins were assigned ouer to a Banquer of *Basile*, and to the Duke it was signified by an Herald, that hee held no more right ouer the Countrey, then what the Arch-Duke had mortgaged vnto him. Hereat hee grew verie highly offended, and sought all meanes how to be reuenged; especially for the death of *Peter de Hagenbach*. Then hee assembled an Armie, being assisted by the Duke of *Milaine*, and the Dutchesse of *Sauoy*; taking *Laufanna*, which was confedered with the *Switzers*.

Thence hee went and besieged the

Towne and Castle of *Granson*, solliciting them to yeeld themselves. They hauing humbly submitted themselves, the Duke commaunded foure score of them to be hanged, and an hundred more to bee drowned, in the nearest Lake adioyning to the Cittie. This inhumane act did not onely moue the *Switzers*; but likewise them of high *Germanie*, who with an Army belonging to the Arch-Duke of *Austria* (whereof *Harman d'Extingen* was the conductor) expelled the Duke from *Granson*, and slew a great part of his Army; taking beside, his Artillerie and furniture for warre, which was, great and rich. Afterward, taking downe all their friends, which the Duke had caused to bee hanged; in their places they hung vp as many *Bourgoignons*.

The moueables of his house, which hee would alwayes haue carryed along with him, were of extraordinary valew: for among them were so many rich tents, all of costly silkes, and vessells both of golde and siluer, embellished with store of precious stones, that it would require too long time to recount them. There were some *Switzers*, that sold great store of siluer plates, for two great blankes a peece, not knowing their valw and estimation. A Diamond, thought to bee the greatest and clearest that those times afforded; and, esteemed more worth then fiftie thousand crownes, was solde for twelue Sols. A faire bathing tubbe of siluer, richly gilded, wherein he vsed to bathe himselfe, was solde for foure pounds. I cannot here set downe, the rich clothes of Tapistrie, wrought with vn-ualuable workes of silke and golde, for him to treade on wheresoeuer hee went. To be brieft, the Reader would be wearied in rehearfall of the incredible wealth and riches, which this vnfortunate prince lost, and whereof his greatest enemies made their triumph.

Then falling into a long and grieuous sicknesse, at the length hee recouered, and taking courage to himselfe againe, hee returned the second time against the power and force of the *Switzers*. Hee had formerly taken *Nancie* from *René*, Duke of *Lorraine*; wherefore the sayde Duke of *Lorraine* forthwith ioyned his forces with the *Switzers*.

An Armie assembled by the Duke.

A most inhumane deed of the Duke.

The Duke chased from *Granson*, and his furniture for warre taken.

The Dukes moueables carried away with him in warre.

The great simplicitie of the *Switzers*, in making sale of the Dukes treasure.

Lewes the eleuenth imprisoned by duke Charles.

The bold presumption of Charles duke of Burgoyne.

Peter de Hagenbach Count of Thierstein, Deputie to Duke Charles in Austria, degraded and beheaded.

The beginning of the Dukes downfall and misfortunes.

Physick plentifully increased.

Garcia d'Har-ta in lib de di-uis. Gest.

African and Arabian kings learned nowe in these daies

What learned and worthy men flourish in the daies of King Manfor.

Christian Kings & Emperours first founded Colledges, Hospitals, Abbeyes & Monasteries.

All Christendom beautified with religious houses.

Frances, King
of France,
first of that
name, the fa-
ther of learn-
ing.

Of honorable
and learned
Ladies, beside
two famous
Queenes of
Navarre.

Learned La-
dies in Italy.

Elizabeth the
famous and
learned
Queene of
England.

King Henry the
fourth, be-
cause the first
man in all
Batailles, &c.

King Mithri-
dates a noto-
rious drunk-
ard, and his
people follow-
ed his exam-
ple.

Constantine
Paleologus,
Emperour of
the East.

The power of
Mahomet be-
fore Constanti-
nople.

The Empe-
rours body tro-
dden vnder
foote, and his
head cut off.

The shame
done vnto the
Empresse, and
her daughters

The Treason
of Iohn Iustinian, and his
just requitall,
being a King
of three daies
standing.

Fasciculus Temp.
Major Histor.

Rene Duke
of Lorraine.

A third battel
yndertaken
by the Duke
of Bourgogne
and lost also.

The vanity of
the Bourguig-
nons concer-
ning the
Dukes death.

Naclerus in lib.
7. cap. 10.

The vnfortu-
nate end of
so great a
Duke.

Vladislaus K.
of Poland and
Hungaria, &
howe little a
while hee en-
joyed both
his kingdoms,
thorough his
owne folly.

The Duke of *Bourgogne* being before *Moras*, the people of the Towne yssued forth, and so beset the army of the *Bourguignons*, that twenty thousand (according to *Fasciculus Temporum*) or twentie two thousand, and seven hundred (according to the *Mother of Histories*) were ther slain. The spoyle was left to the Duke of *Lorraine*, who likewise recouered *Nancy* againe afterward.

A third time likewise, the Duke of *Bourgogne*, being not a little offended, that he should be vanquished by so mean a Prince as the Duke of *Lorraine*, and hee recouering the Towne of *Nancy*; returned with fresh forces, and besiedged it againe with fourteene thousand able fighting men, beside some other bandes in expectation. The Duke of *Bourgogne* was discomfited, and all his army; but by no meanes could his body be found. The *Bourguignons* could not be perswaded that hee was slaine: but hauing escaped from the field, hee had retyred himselfe into Germanie, where he had vowed to liue in seven years penitence.

There were some *Bourguignons*, that made sale of precious Stones, Horses, and such like things, to be paide againe vpon his returne, and namely to *Brachelles*, in the Diocesse of *Spire*. There was a poore Begger, imagined to bee the Duke of *Bourgogne*, because he liued in the like estate of penance; which made verie many trauaile to see him, and bestow very liberall almes on him. *Naclerus* reporteth, that he saw the poore man begging in the same place. The King of *France*, hearing the Duke was dead, seized on *Montdidier*, *Roye*, *Peronne*, *Abbenille*, *Monstreul*, *Arvas*, *Hesdin*, and the two *Bourgognes*, to wit, the Dutchy and Countie. The men of *Gaunt* tooke his Daughter, that gouerned his estates very poorely, and married her as themselves pleased; she hauing put to death the Chancellor, and other of his best officers. Thus you see how this great Prince ended his life, accompanied vvith many misfortunes.

Vladislaus, King of *Poland*, a young and gallant Prince, was called by the *Hungarians* to be their King, in the yeare 1440. He conceiued such glory by seeing himselfe King of two such mighty Kingdoms, that he thought himselfe to be inuincible. Whereuppon, being desirous to imploy

his valour in warre against some enemy, that might take notice of his courage and power; he brake faith and Truce, which the *Hungares* had made with the Turk the yeare before. In the first battayle hee gaue, he was quickly slayne, and hadde but a short enioying of his two Kingdomes; for, thorow the inconstancie of Fortune, his pretended felicity was soon cut off, and all his supposed power vterly quailed.

The Emperour of the East, *Constantine Paleologus*, some fifteen yeares after, went to keepe company with this young King *Vladislaus*, in the other world. For *Constantinople*, the Metropolitane Cittie of his Empire, was besiedged and taken by *Mahomet* the second, sir-named the Great, thorow the negligence and treacherie of *Iohn Iustinian* of *Geneway*, *Mahomet* hauing 300000. able fighting men, and foure hundred Cannons, and the siedge continued threescore dayes. The Emperour (in flight) was met withall, and murdered neere vnto the Gate: his head being carryed vpon a Launces point, and so conueighed quite thorow the Cittie, while his bodye was trodden vnto dirt with their feete. *Mahomet* also caused a Crucifixe to bee erected, and wrote vpon it (in scornefull derision) these words: *This is the GOD of the Christians*: commanding likewise, that every one should cast dung and filthe vpon the fayre Image.

The wife to the Emperour, with her daughters, and the very Noblest Ladies attending on them, were brought before *Mahomet*; and after all reproach was done vnto them, euen the verie greatest Villanies in the world, their bodies were hacked and hewne in peeces.

Some few dayes after, there was another King (but of three dayes standing) put to death likewise. VVhich I may by no meanes omit, because it was the forenamed *Iohn Iustinian* the *Genouese*, a trayterous Villaine. For hee had concluded with *Mahomet*, that if he would make him King, he would yeelde vp *Constantinople*, or be the meanes whereby hee shoulde surprize it. *Mahomet* kept promise with him; for hee constituted him a King for three dayes space: and on the fourth day, hee commanded his head to bee smitten off. So sayeth *Fasciculus Temporum*; and that

King *Frances*, first of that name, because himselfe was learned, and cherished men of learning and knowledge; beheld his reigne furnished with a great number of learned and vertuous Schollers, more then any other that went before him. In the same minde continued his Sonne, successor to his Crowne, and all the children of his successour; not meanelly cherished and enriched by king *Henry* the fourth.

Margret, Grandmother to the King now reigning, was a most learned Lady, of whose excellent & most elegant Poems, we haue great store remaining among vs. As also of *Jane* her Mother, both of them being Queenes of *Nauarre*, (and in their imitation) many other great Ladyes of honour, gaue their mindes to the reading of graue Authors, as well Greeke as Latine. Nor is it any matter of meruayle, if in these dayes, wee behold so many Ladyes well seene in good Sciences, and among the rest, that *Italy* affoordeth such plenty of studious women: the custome of the countrey prohibiting, that women should be any great walkers, or so much seene as they are in *France*. And because that famous Queene of *England*, *Elizabeth*, was very skilfull in many Languages, and deeply read in the fayrest and most commended Sciences, as in the *Mathematicks*, & diuers others: it was also credibly reported, that her house and Court, was bounteously stored with learned and most vertuous Ladies. And that which filled *France* with such plenty of bold and hardy spirits, was by the meanes of king *Henry* the fourth, then reigning: who in all battailes, encounters, and charging of the enemy, was alwayes the formost man himselfe; which taught his Captaines & Souldiours to do the like, onely by imitation of his vnparaled exploits.

Of honorable and learned Ladies, besides two famous Queenes of *Nauarre*.

Learned Ladies in *Italy*.

Elizabeth the famous and learned Queene of *England*.

King *Henry* the fourth, neuer the first man in all Battailles, &c.

King *Mithridates* a notorious drunkard, and his people followed his example.

The Treason of *Iohn* *Lutian*, and his just requitall, being a King of three daies standing.

degenerated quite from the vertues of their former King *Philadelphus*) and became so affected to drinking & drunkenness, intermixing rich flowers and precious stones among the wine they dranke; that he gaue such example to his men of warre, and to the people thorow the East, to drinke and gourmandize after the same manner, that they would be drunke euery day, and held it as an admirable vertue: forgetting the honest policy of the *Romans*, who would drinke no wine while they were in Armes. And so *Marke Anthony* (albeit hee was a great and worthy Captaine) and all his followers, by hauing discontinued the vertuous exercise of Armes; when hee should come to cope with *Octavius Augustus*, was (with small labour) surmounted. And the best generous acte, that *Anthony* could then deuise to do, and for his latest piece of seruice, was to kill himselfe, like another brutish *Sardanapalus*.

Darius also, the great Monarch and King of the East, about three hundred yeares before *Marke Anthony*, euen like to him, had (beside his married wife) a multitude of concubines, bardaching boyes, fiddlers, vaulters, dancers, fooles, players, and other people of as small account in his Army, eating and drinking, before eyther hunger or thirst vrged any necessity. His Captaines and men of command, with all the rest of his Army, he licenced to the like liberty: for each of his Souldiours might haue his two concubines, beside as many *Ganymedes*, and cheefer men tripled, or (at least) doubled them. In the ende, his Army, thought to consist of eight hundred thousand able fighting men; there could not bee found twenty thousand among them all. For according to the example of their king, they were altogether addicted to luxury and drunkenness, and became as people utterly vnmeet for warre. Therefore both he and they were ouercome by *Alexanders* forces, with small trauaile, or losse on his side; because his men were sober, continent, and stout fighting Souldiours, as the king himselfe was. So the *Perfian* Empire, and the *Babylonian* also, was lost and dissipated in a moment; in regard that their king was lasciuious and of soft temper, which caused his subiects to imitate his example.

Marke Anthony thorow his drunkenness ouerthrew all the East.

A wordes full neglect into famous a Souldiour.

Darius the great Monarch of the East.

Where no president of goodnesse appeared, vice the sooner preuaileth.

The cause of the downfall of *Darius*.

The Authors
advertiseth
to Kings and
Princes in
these our
times.

Princes then, and others, that are advanced to gouerne our people, may be aduised by these examples and reasons formerly alledged, to addit their mindes and bodies to vertuous exercises, to speak discretely, to be no blasphemers, to liue in all sobriety, and to declare modestie in their actions and apparrell: but aboue all the rest, not to swerue from vertue and true piety. For therein (doubtlesse) their people will follow them, and make their time of rule the more seited and assured: for where vice reigneth, rebellion (often-times) the sooner ensueth.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Of the Originall of Triumphs: why they were first granted and used in Rome. How many they were that triumphed: What a Triumph is: and that there are two sortes of Triumphes.

Two things
that moue
men to high
matters.



Of speake morally, & as men should doe, there are principally two causes, which incite men to vnder take great matters, as well in peace as warre. The first is Honor and renowne; the second is profite and commoditie, Magnanimous, Noble and Heroicke spirits do chiefly couet the first; & bafe and vnworthy soules seeke for salary and hire. Cicero saith in his Oration which he made for Archias the Poet: *We all are drawne to desire commendation, and they of greatest place and expectation, faine with full gale after honour and fame: coueting no other recompence, or greater guardon for their Vertue, then glory onely.* The same Cicero, in another Oration made for the defence of Milo, saith: *Wise and valiant men do not so much labour in exercise of their vertue, for the receipt of wages, as for the honor that ensueth thereby.*

A Poet of Antioch, much loued of Tully and Lucullus.

A Romaine, much honoured by Tully.

This being well considered by the Romaines, they (more then any other Nation) sought how to honour and illustrate (beside due recompence) such as stroue to do any notable or vertuous acte. So that in short time after, and proceeding on with the same determination; Rome

afforded the resort (more then any place beside) of no meane number of worthie men, excelling both in Armes and Government, that by them shew attained to sway the Empire of the whole world. In regard whereof, for example and instruction to these instant times, as also to delight such as enquire after Antiquities: I thought it very conuenient, to supplye this place with some breefe declaration, of the manner obserued amongst the Romaines, in yeelding honour and renowne to such men, as had obtayned any victory for them.

Now because among all honors whatsoever, Triumph was reputed to bee the very greatest; we will discourse thereon, according as we finde it set downe for our instruction. Triumph was a forme of entrance, or (as we may well say) a kinde of Welcome, which they vsed in Rome, to their Captaines and Generalles, with the verie greatest pompe and solemnitie that could bee expressed vnto men. And albeit Triumphs were much vsed among the Romaines, yet were they not the first inuenters of them. For *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Pliny*, doth both say, that *Demus*, called *Dionysus* in Antiquitie, and named also *Pater Liber*, was the first that euer Triumphed in the world. It appeareth likewise, that the *Carthaginians* vsed to Triumph: for *Iustinus* (among the other honours of *Hasturbalus*) saith, that he Triumphed foure times.

Moreouer, wee reade of Triumphs among the Kings of Egypt, and especially of King *Sesestris*. Neuerthelesse, to speake truly, Triumphs were neuer so solemnized in any other Nation, as they were among the Romaines: for vpon the day that any Captaine triumphed, the people of Rome ceased from all kinde of Workes whatsoever, and not any matter (concerning profite) was permitted to be done.

And to make this solemne Triumph the more compleate, the people of al places neere neighbouring thereto, came thicke and threefold thither to behold it. And all the Citie, Temples, Streetes, Gates, and Windowes, were enriched & hung with clothes made of Gold, Silver, Silke, Leases and Flowers of sweete smelling fauour, beside all other magnificencies & costs that might expresse any signe

Triumph, the greatest among all Honours, & what was signified by the word Triumph.

Did. Sic. in lib. 2. cap. 10. Plinius. lib. 7.

Iustinus lib. 19.

No Nation comparable to the Romaines for Triumphs.

The accesse of people from all neighbouring parts to behold the Triumph.

The Senate, Priests, and Romaine Nobilitie.

The manner of the Triumphs entering any Rome. Prisoners.

His owne Souldiours.

Chariots of amour.

Chariots of riches.

Cities and provinces.

Conquered cities and towns exactly pictured.

The triumphs lasted three daies sometimes.

Triumph not allowed, but according to lawes for the people.

A hill whereon St. Peters Church now standeth.

Such men as might lawfully triumph.

of ioy. The Senate and all the Priests, with the whole Nobilitie of Rome, and generally the better sort of people, went forth into the fields very honourably apperelled, to enterayne the Triumpher: who entred Rome, clothed in purple, crowned with Laurell, and mounted on a golden charriot, drawne by foure milke white horses. All his prisoners went before him, attired like slaues or seruants, hauing their heads close shorne or shaven: and the Captayne or King of the prisoners by him vanquished, went nearest to the Charriot before anie other. The Souldiours of his owne Armie entred in due order, bearing branches of Laurell in their hands. Then followed before him, Chariots and Waggonss filled full of amour, which hee had taken from the enemy: beside other waggons laden in like manner, with Plate of golde and silver, money, iewells and other rich shapcs or trophies, with such gifts and presents, as hee had receiued of Kings, or any other friends to Rome. Great Castles, Towers, and other Edifices of wood, made artificially, representing conquered Citties and Fortresses, were likewise carried before him: making liuely representation, as they marched along, of such battailes as had happened in the last warre, and so exactly to the life; that they were very dreadful to the beholders. These things were so many in number, so mighty, and of such rare diuersitie, that the Triumph (sometimes) required the vse of three severall dayes, because all the representations might be the more amply noted and conceiued. The Triumph consisted of various inuentions, with many rare deuices, too long to be reported.

Nor was this honour of Triumph, allowed and granted to euerie Captaine or Victor: but there were Lawes set downe, and notable occasions to be considered, before such fauour could be obtained. The Captaine that meant to demand it, came not at all into Rome: but abode at the *Vaticane*, and thither the Senate returned him answer, whether such grace might bee permitted him, or no. First of all, no chiefe, or commander of an Army might triumph: except hee had bene Consul, Proconsul, or Dictator; for Triumph was neuer granted

to any of meaner condition. In regard whereof, *Marcus Marcellus* had triumph denied him, albeit hee had worthily conquered *Syracusas*; and *Scipio* also, although hee had subdued *Spain*. For, it was necessarily required, that the battell must be great and notable against the enemy, and aboue fise thousand men at the least slayne therein. Of these matters, *Valerius Maximus* is Author. We likewise reade, that *Cato*, and *L. Marius*, being Tribunes, made a Law, whereby they ordained seuer punishment for any Captayne, that deliuered a false report of the number slayne in fight. Nor was it enough for a man to win the battell, how doubtfull & bloody fouer it were; but hee must subdue the whole Prouince or Country, & leaue it peaceably to his successor, bringing home his army braue & victoriously, which was the cause (sayth *Titus Livius*) that Triumph was denied to *Titus Manlius*, notwithstanding all his great victories in *Spain*: for hee should haue compassed the acquisition of som new country, or entred into a new warre, & not defend that only which was formerly won. Vpon the same occasio also, great *Quintus Fabius* triumphed not, though hee had conquered them of *Campania*.

It was obserued as a custome also, that on the day of Triumph, the Triumpher should invite the Consuls to suppe with him; which they would refuse to doe, because (at this feast) no person should bee present, to whom greater honour might be done, then to the Triumpher. The Triumph alwayes ended in the Temple of *Iupiter* in the Capitoll, where the spoiles (won from the enemy) were altogether offered, and deliuered up to public vse. And because the triumpher shold not ouer-glory himselfe in these high honors and fauours done him: some say, that a slaue or bond-man was seated by him with permission, to cast and scoffe at him all the day long, & to reproach him with such injuries as seemed best to himselfe, as a plaine apparance, that such dignities depended but on transitory graces.

Now, to make this triumphall honor the more intelligible; we will make rehearsal of some one or two, especially that of *Paulus Aemilius*, that worthy and famous Captayne of Rome, who obtayned his triumph iustly; for vanquishing & taking

Pp *Perseus*.

Marcus Marcellus and Scipio denied triumph.

Valer. Max. l. 2.

Cato and L. Marius Tribunes.

Prouinces conquered and left in peace. Titus Livius in lib. 3. dec. 2.

Valer. Max. l. 2.

A custome obserued on the triumph day.

The spoiles deliuered to generall vse.

Triall of the Triumphers patience.

The honorable triumph of Paulus Aemilius.

Plot, in vit.
Paul dem.

Concourse of
people to be-
hold the Tri-
umph.

Temples set
open and per-
tained.

Whiskers or
Sticks to
make way
for passage of
the Triumph.

The order for
the first dayes
passage.

The second
dayes, honour
in larger man-
ner.

Money carried
on Plates and
chargers.

Fountain
Port, Ewres,
Laours, and
Basons of
gold and sil-
uer.

Perseus, the powerfull king of *Macedon*, conquering and ruining his kingdom, and therefore made his Triumph, according as it is remembered by *Plutarch*, in this manner. Our first remembrance, concerneth the people of *Rome* in general, with them of all the neighbouring parts round about, attired after their very best ability of performance, and contending for places in houses and windows, where best they might take view of the triumph. All the Temples and Churches in *Rome* were set wide open, deckt and richly hung with Tapistry, Greene boughes of Trees, beside plenty of incense and sweet smelling perfumes, and so were all the streetes in like manner. Now because in the City the concourse of people was infinite, resorting from so many severall places, in earnest desire to behold such a solemne spectacle, there were certain men appointed with staves in their hands, who had charge to make way for the Triumphs passage, and looke to the peoples safe seating, because the matters prepared for this triumph grew so great, as they were enforced to diuide them into three severall dayes.

The first day was scarcely sufficient for entrance of all the Banners, Standards, & vanquished Ensignes; as also for passage of the Statues, Colosses, Tables, and Images, for all these were conveyed along in order, in rich and well appointed Chariots, Vvaggons, and Thrones. On the second day, the Armour and munition of the conquered king, and what else belonged to the *Macedonians*, was brought into the city: which Armours being rich and gloriously glittering, were conveniently placed on best sighted carriages, meetest for their full and ample beholding. After these chariots and waggons, entred three thousand men, carrying silver money (open to be seene) on great Plates and Vessels of silver, each one weighing three talents, of which Plates and Vessels there were 350 in number, and foure men allowed to carry each piece of Plate. The rest that served to make up the full number of three thousand men, carried Fountaine Pots, Ewres, Basons, Laours, very curiously wrought in gold and silver, beside other vessels of the same mettals, most rich and magnificent to behold: and the passage of these companies continued so long, that

it required the second dayes whole employment, marching along in due and comely order.

The third day being come, the break of day no sooner began, but in the first band, & beginning of the Triumph, went Drums, Pipes, Clarions, and Trumpets sounding, not sweet and delicately, but in such steame and vigorous manner, as if they were instantly to enter battail. After them were led six score kine, all white, having their hornes richly gilded, and their bodies covered with costly cloathes: all these were helde as sacred to the Gods, crowned and decked with garlands, and chaplets of faire flowers, & they that guided the, were brave gallant youths, sumptuously apparelled for this service, and for the sacrificing of them; and by these kine went as many comely children, carrying Plates of gold and silver for the sacrifice. Next unto the kine, were ranked such as carried gold money in chargers of gold, being twenty seven in number. And behinde them, followed they that holpe to beare the great Bolle or Cuppe of golde, weighing ten Talents, which *Paulus Aemilius* had caused to be made, enriched with many sumptuous and vnuallable precious stones. They which carried the chargers of money, were such as had bin neereft in fauour, about the Kings *Antigonus*, *Seleucus*, and other Kings of *Macedon*, especially the forenamed *Perseus*. Next followed the chariot of the conquered King, with the Armes and Weapons which he vsed to wear, his Crown, Scepter royal and rich Robe laid upon the Armour. Behinde the chariot, were the children to the poore king led as prisoners, with a great number of his chiefeft Officers; as the Masters or Gouernours of his household, his Treasurers, Chancellors, Secretaries, and others of high employment in his affaires. They all wept, & expressed extraordinary signes of griefe, beholding themselves brought into such a seruitude; which moued all the beholders to much compassion.

Of the children belonging to this king, there were 2 males and 2 females, but so young in yeares, as they were not capable of vnderstanding their misfortunes; whereby the people were so much the more incited to pity their condition, & thought it vnbecoming, that affliction should be seene

The third & last dayes performance of the remainder of the Triumph.

Six score white kine appointed for sacrifice.

Children with Plates for the sacrifice.

A Bolle or Cuppe of gold weighing ten Talents.

The conquered kings chariot and his Armes.

The kings children prisoners.

Children as weak vnderstanders of calamities.

The kings would goe in triumph.

The golden Crowne of the Cities of Greece borne before him, and he following in triumphall manner.

No great difference in the Roman Triumphs.

A Law for the order of triumphing, and by merit.

Sports and Feasts were by free permission.

The manner how diuers were drawe in their triumph.

seene in such tender yeares. In this Triumph, the Father followed his children, attired after his Countries manner; but yet in blacke habites, pacing on troubled and fearfully, as indeed he had good reason, considering his present estate, and whence he was false.

After the King, followed his friends & fauourites, with a great number of his familiars, who all looking on their King, confounded themselves with sorrow, to see his reuerend cheques furrowed with teares, and many of the *Romans* bemoaned his misery. Then after were brought the crownes of gold, which the ancient Cities of *Greece* had presented to *Paulus Aemilius*, who followed the triumphant, mounted vpon a goodly Chariot, cloathed in purple tissue of golde, bearing a Lawrell branch in his hand, and a crowne of the same vpon his head. Behinde him followed the people both on foote and horseback, some hauing branches of Lawrell and Palme in their hands, and some with Banners and Pennons, singing in honour of their Captaine, triumphing thus after his victories, with other most delectable sights to behold; and in this order *Paulus Aemilius* triumphed through *Rome*. Others also did the like, with some things added or diminished, and so they went to offer their spoiles, in the Temple of *Iupiter* within the Capitoll; and there, according to the forme and manner, as their blinded religion then required, they gaue thanks to their Gods for the victory obtained. And notwithstanding that in this fashion they obserued & performed their customary triumphs; yet they had a Law for it, according to which Law, they gaue triumph by desert, making a distinction of the gates & streetes, whereat they were to enter, and whereby they should passe along, the times also being ordered and appointed. But concerning other things, as sports, playes, & Feasts of diuers kinds, it was permitted, that euery man might augment and enrich his triumph, and his chariot also: for it is found recorded, that they had a custome, to be drawne by four white horses, and yet notwithstanding, some haue bin drawne by as many Buls.

Great *Pompey*, when hee triumphed for *Africa*, he entred in a Chariot drawne by Elephants. *Suetonius* saith, that *Julius Caesar* when hee made his triumphall entrance,

had his chariot drawn by forty elephants. VVith the like Beasts triumphed the Emperour *Gordianus*. And *Flavius* writeth, that the Emperour *Aurelianus*, who was king of the *Goths*, triumphed in a chariot drawne by Harts. VVe reade also, that *Mark Anthony* in his triumph, had his chariot drawne by Lyons. The Roman Captains had a custome beside when they triumphed, to haue a young child, or many in their chariots: whereof *Cicero* maketh mention in his Oration *pro Munera*. Others caused to be led in their triumphs, an infinite number of wilde and sauage Beasts, as Lyons, Ounces, Beares, Tygers, Rhinoceros, Panthers, Dromedaries, & other kinds of beasts, as did *Titus Vespasian*, according to the relation of *Iosephus*. Some other also would haue their entrance with diuersity of Musique, as well by instruments as voyces, with infinite other like delectations. Among all which triumphs, some were more singular then the rest; as those of *Pompey* & *Caesar*; of the two Brethren *Scipios*; and likewise of the Emperors, whereof *Iondus* speaks in his Book of *Rome* triumphing, & according as *Paulus Orosius* saith, that there were 320 triumphs in *Rome*; the last whereof was the emperor *Probus*, from whose time since, *Rome* ran to her decadence.

In *Rome* there was yet another kinde of solemne welcom, which was somewhat lesse then triumphing, being called *Obatio*, and giuen for victories when as something wanted of such necessary conditions as required triumph. As for example, if the Captaine had not bin Confull or Proconfull, or had made war without great resistance, or little bloodshed in battle, or had conquered people of slender esteeme; or if the war had bin done without expresse authority from the Senate, & such like other conditions; then in stead of triumphing, this *Obatio* was granted to him, & it was performed in this manner.

The Captaine entred *Rome* on horsebacke, in stead of a chariot, and some of them (in elder times) entered on foote, crown'd with the leaues of Myrtle, which were offerings to *Venus*, because such triumphing was not reputed Martiall, but (as it were) veniall, according as *Aulus Gellius* saith. The people attending on this Captaine, were not armed, neyther

Whence the forme of our Pageants were at first devised.

Some triumphs more singular then the rest.

* A small triumph of a Captaine, for a victory without slaughter of men, or very few.

Aul. Gellius in Noct. Attic. lib. 6. cap. 6.

sounded Trumpets, Drums, or any other instruments of warre; but Flutes & sweet musickall instruments, soft and delicate. Nevertheless, they entred in order, and with their booty, and the Senate went forth of the City to meete and receiue him, making a great feast for him, as also highly praying & commending him.

I finde that many excellent Captains haue requested & accepted of this honor, and the first was *Posthumus Liberius*, hauing vanquished the *Sabines*; and *Marcus Marcellus* for his victory at *Syracusa*. *Suetonius* affirmeth, that *Octavius Caesar* entred thus, after the *Phillippick* battailes, & the warre of *Sicily*. The cause why this small triumph was so named, is described by *Pliny*, for in declaring that diuers Captaines were denied this kinde of triumph, and could by no means obayne it: hee proceedeth to yelde a reason, why this Quatio was to be reamed. *The sacrifice (sayeth he) which the Captaine then offered, was a Sheepe, but in the Latine tongue is called Ouis: but the other Triumpheers offered a Bull, and therefore vpon the word Ouis, the reception and entertainment made vnto the, was called Quatio, or Oualis.* Some other say, that it took name by a certaine found in the peoples voyce, of *Oe*, or else *Oue*: but because this is a matter of small importance, it shall suffice to say, that such a thing was named *Oualis*, eyther of the word *Ouis*, or of the other voyce of *Oe* or *Oue*.

It was also permitted to the Triumpheers, to erect their Statues in Temples, & common places of resort: also to build Arches and Collombs, named Triumphaill, framed of Marble, and in or on the, to insculpe (most excellently) their battels and victories, for their owne perpetual memory. The vestiges or footings of the are (at this day) to be seene in Rome: and these things wer thus done, in imitation of Trophées, anciently vsed among the *Grecians*, helping themselves thereby in manner following. In the same place, where the Captaine had obtaigned any victory, a great tree was prepared, the branches whereof were all cut off; and then vpon the trunk was fastened all the coat-armours of the vanquished, as a victorious and honourable memory, and it was called *Trophæum* or *Trophæum*, after the greek word *Trophis*,

which signifieth a fleeting conuersion, or retreated, because (in that place) the enemy was put to flight, or disgracefull retreat, and so the *Romanes* afterward were glad to follow their fashion.

Salust writeth, that *Pompey* hauing overcome the *Spaniards*, planted his Trophées on the top of the *Pyrenean* Mountaines: and this course (by tract of time) was in such esteeme, that they grew to be made of stone. But this matter can approue it selfe to be much more ancient, & that other Nations haue made vse thereof: for we reade, that *Saul* hauing vanquished *Agag*, king of the *Amalekites*, and beeing come to Mount *Carmell*, he erected there a triumphall Arch, as a memory of his victory. In breefe, the honour of triumph was esteemed and affected, more then any other honour in *Rome*, so that for obayning it, the Captaines would expose their liues to all traualle and perill. Beside, the Triumpheers grew to great wealth, both by the enemies spoyle, and the gifts of their friends, and so much the rather haue I reported these things, because Princes may thereby receiue example, how to honour and remunerate their Captaines and Soldiers to their merits. But in these decaying dayes, luggards, and such as doe nothing at all, are as well, if not better respected, then they that adventure their liues and goods, both for seruice of their Prince, & profite of their native country.

CHAP. XLI.

Of such names of immortal honour and renowne, which the *Romane* Captaines haue granted and giuen them, according to their severall victories.

Ver and beside this high dignity of Triumphs, the *Romane* Captains had farre greater honours giuen them, by names & surnames, which were imposed on them by the people and Prouinces, that had bin conquered and overcome by them. And as it was a notable forme of exaltation to honour; so did they immortalize their houses of descent, by contrary names of glory

The first Ovation Triumpheers, and that accepted thereof very gladly.

Plin. lib. 9. cap. 11.

How this kinde of triumph took name at the first, by variety of opinion

A further permission granted to Triumpheers of erecting Statues, Pillars, &c.

Trophées among the *Grecians*, and in what manner.

Pompey's Trophæum on the top of the Pyrenean Mountaines.

1 Reg. 15. 11.

Triumph was more counted then any other honour in Rome.

A further addition of honour to the *Romane* Generals.

glory and fame, onely through their memorable adions, which procured so many worthy and illustrious Families in the City of *Rome*.

For our first entrance into this discourse, we may take an example by the three *Metelli*, whereof one (according as *Salust* and some others write) because he had overcome King *Jugurthe*, conquering also his lands and kingdome of *Numidia*; was surnamed *Numidicus*. The second being *Quintus Metellus*, for the victory he obtaigned against the king of *Macedon*, was surnamed *Macedonicus*. And the third, *Creticus*, because he conquered the Isle of *Creete*. But much more ancient then these, were *Martius Coriolanus*, and *Sergius Fidenatus*. The first was named *Coriolanus*, after the Towne *Coriola* in *Lati*, by him conquered. And the other by the like acte on *Fidena*, a Towne in *Italy*. Another *Metellus* also was surnamed *Balearicus*, because he had conquered to the *Romane* Empire, the Islands called *Balearie*, now termed *Maiorque* and *Minorque*.

Lucius Mummius was surnamed *Achaicus*, because hee had subdued *Achaia* and *Corinthe*. So the other *Brutus*, in regard he brought the *Gauls* in subiection, was surnamed *Gallus*. The two *Scipioes*, being brethren, were honoured by the names of the people whom they had vanquished; the one in *Africa* and *Carthage*, and the other in *Asia*, because he conquered also in *Antioche* and in *Asia*: for hee was the first that displayed the *Romane* Coullors or Ensignes in *Asia*. Another *Scipio* afterward, (sonne to *Paulus Emilius*) (of whose triumph we haue already spoken) & *Nepheue* adoptiue to great *Scipio*, was likewise surnamed *Africanus*; because hee at last and won the great and puissant city of *Carthage*. Nevertheless, hee receiued a greater honor and guerdon, to be surnamed *Numantinus*, and he himselfe held it in farre higher respect; because in *Spain* he destroyed *Numantia*, and utterly ouerthrew the *Numantines*.

I finde in like manner, that Emperours attributed vnto themselves the surnames of conquered places, speaking them expressly in their Letters misliue and other influents; namely *Seuerus*, and his successors after him; as for *Arabia*, *Parthia*, *Armenia*, *Germania*, and other Prouinces by them subdued. So one named himselfe

Arabicus, another *Parthicus*, another *Armenicus*, so *Germanicus*, and *Asiaticus*: each man according to such victories as he had obtaigned, so did hee magnifie himselfe.

Moreover, for other matters and reasons, the *Romane* Captaines were illustrated by especial names, for their greater magnificence and splendour. As we reade of *Marcus Manlius*, who for defending the Capitoll from the forces of the *French*, was surnamed *Capitolinus*. The family of the *Torquatus* receiued that surname, for taking a Chaine or Coller from the necke of an enemy, for a Coller or Chaine in latine is called *Torquis*, and so were diuers of them therefore named, *Quintus Fabius Maximus*, because by long delays & dissimulations, hee had held out *Hanniball* in warre, only for the defence of *Rome*; they surnamed him *Cunctator*, which is as much to say, as a temporizer or delayer. And for the same reason also, they termed him (beside) the Shield or Buckler of *Rome*, which redounded to his greater advantage and honour.

Marcus Marcellus, who liued also in those times, in regard of his great power and valiancy, the continuall battels which (without ceasing) he gaue to the enemy, was called, *The sword of Hanniball*. And that excellent Captain *Sylla*, though somewhat cruel, was surnamed *Happy*, in regard of his prosperous victories. *Pompey* likewise was so renowned by his successe in warre, that he had the surname of Great giuen him, then which title, I know not what could more haue raised and exalted him. So farre extended the dignity of surnames, granted to Captaines in those dayes, especially to such as were vertuous Commanders and Generals, as they were also called Emperours, which in these moderne times, is the title of supremest dignity, and which could not then be giuen, but to a Captaine, Prator, Consul, or Proconsull, that had bin victorious in some notable battaile, and had desolated the enemies country, by the death of a great number of enemies: As if two thousand of his men were slaine, there must then ten thousand perish on the enemies side, and not otherwise it was granted.

With this fo gracious and happy a surname, was *Iulius Caesar*, the Father of *Iulius Caesar* honored, for the victory which

Marcus Manlius Capitolinus.

Novellus Torquatus & Manlius Torquatus. Quintus Fabius Cunctator.

Marcus Marcellus, The sword of Hanniball.

Sylla the Happy.

Pompey the Great.

Captains called Emperours and vpon what respect or desert.

* Called alſo Savell, a people of the Mountains betwixt the Subinet and the Marſius Italy.

Mark Anthony was offended at Cæſar.

The name of King ſhould in Rome.

Well deſerving ſtrangers as much reſpected and rewarded as the native ſonnes of Rome.

Atalus King of Aſia.

Eumenes brother to Atalus.

Deiotarus king of Galatia.

Maſiniſſa king of Numidia.

he had againſt the * *Samnites* & *Lucanes*, in the time of *Sylla*. *Pompey* alſo was called Emperour, for the memorable victory he wonne in *Africa*, againſt *Domitius Marcus Tullius Cicero*, being Proconſull in the warre againſt the *Parthians*, was by them of the Army named Emperour, for the victory there obtained. *Julius Cæſar*, before he was called to the Empire, was ſtyled Emperour, by reaſon of his many victories. But if this Capitaine had not ſuffered great reſiſtances in his battailes, he had not beene worthy of that name, & yet notwithstanding he was reſprehended, ſo that *Marke Anthony* murmured againſt him, and yet becauſe he had taken a great City, on the further ſide of the River *Enphrates*, he was content that they ſhould call him Emperour. After *Julius Cæſar* and his ſuccellours, inueſting themſelves with the full Seigneury of *Rome*, & knowing well, that the name of King was in horror and deſtation among the people, they would be named Emperours, which title hath continued ever ſince, & is the very greateſt of all.

So then we ſee, that for ſuch honours, the *Romans* ſayled not in their gratification, as well to their ſtrange friends abroad, being vnder their reward, as to the home-borne ſonnes of *Rome*. Becauſe like as they were powerfull and rigorous, in fighting againſt enemies; ſo were they as gracious and liberall to ſuch as aſſiſted them. So that in the ſame kinde of bounty they gaue to king *Atalus* the Province of *Aſia*, with the title of king: for which (afterward) he was ingratefull, becauſe (by his teſtament) hee returned all his profits to *Rome*. To *Eumenes* the brother of this *Atalus*, becauſe he had well ſerued and aſſiſted the *Romanes*, in the warre againſt *Antiochus*: the Senate gaue him all the Cities and Townes, which hee had conquered from *Antiochus* in *Aſia*. To king *Deiotarus* of *Galatia*, becauſe hee had ayded *Pompey*, in the warre againſt *Mithridates*, the *Romans* gaue him the Province of the leſſer *Armenia*. In the like manner was king *Maſiniſſa* of *Numidia* gerdoned, hauing bene embraced by *Scipio*, as his companion and friend to the people of *Rome*: to him was giuen all whatſoeuer he had conquered in the kingdome of *Syphax*, who had aſſiſted the *Carthaginians*.

Nor were theſe gifts and preſents al-

lowed to Capitaines, and men of apparancie onely; but likewiſe to them of the meanest condition, they gaue gifts, prerogatiues, and great honours. The Conſull *Marius*, knowing the well deſerving of two companies, that had fought valiantly againſt the *Cimbrians*, a people among the *Allemaignes*, and were come into *Italy* with him, he receiued them as Citizens of *Rome*. When being reprov'd for doing ſuch a thing contrary to their *Lawes*, he made answer: *In the noiſe and clattering blowes of weapons, there is no voice of the Law heard.*

CHAP. XLII.

Of ſuch Crownes, with other recompences and ſalaries, which the *Romans* gaue to Soldiers. Alſo of puniſhing offenders, comprehending (in this caſe) an excellent form for warre, and good government of a common-wealth.



HE *Romans* were not careful onely for honouring & gratifying their Capitaines, but offered them (beſide) infinite other graces & fauours, rewarding them honourably in diuers and ſundry kindes, with Crownes & Jewels; as holding them in particular eſteeme and reputation, and according to the merit of their actions in Armes, in the ſame ſort were they reſpected and requited.

When a Capitaine had obtained a victory in ſome notable battaile, were it vpon the Sea or Land, and had therein taken ſome Towne by force, or done any other ſingular enterprize; immediately after, they had a cuſtome to make diligent inqueſtion, concerning the valour of the particular bandes and ſquadrons. Then mounting vpon the Theater, after they had giuen thanks to the Gods for the victory obayned: in generally they commended the whole Army, and eſpecially extolled the band or ſquadron, that had fought with moſt man-hood. Afterward they reuealed particular men in the companies by their names, publiſhing the worth

Meane men reſpected by the *Romans* as well as great. A wee thy example of the Conſull *Marius*.

Diuerſe kind of recompences vied among the *Romans*.

The manner of publiſhing the merit of their Armes vpon their open Theater

of their vertue and courage, in no leſſe meaſure then they had deſerued: terming them friends and louers of their country, ſaying alſo, that the Common-wealth ſtood highly obliged to them. And this being done, they gaue then preſents of Gold and Silver, of Crownes, Girdles, Bracelets, Jewels, as alſo very excellent armour for horſes, made ſo curiouſly, & deliuered with ſuch defences and prohibitions, as no man was ſuffered to weare or haue the like, without he had deſerued it in the ſame manner. Hiſtories are full of theſe things, and particularly *Titus Livius*, ſpeaking of the Conſull *Papyrius Censor*, ſaith; that he gaue Bracelets of Gold to fourteene Centurions; and afterward to a ſquadron, he gaue very rich & coſtly Ornaments. As much hee ſaith of *Scipio*, being in *Spain*, and other places.

Now, concerning the Crowns which they gaue, they had diuers names, and were according to the degrees of merite. They had the Crowne *Obſidionalis*, the crowne *Triumphalis*, the crowne *Oualis*, the *Corona Ciuiſis*, *Corona Muralis*, *Corona Navalis*, and *Corona Caſtrenſis*. *Pliny* ſpeaketh of them all, and ſo doeth *Aulus Gellius*.

But that Crowne of greateſt excellencie, and more eſteemed then all the reſt, was *Corona Obſidionalis*, which extended to the circled or ſiege of the Campe, and it was giuen onely, for hauing deliuered an army enſloved and beſieged within a Towne or Citie, or when a camp was ſtrictly enuirowed. So that by ſuch a worthy deede of armes, the place or people accounted themſelves to bee deliuered from death, or mercileſſe imprifonment: for no other action whatſoeuer, was this honor & reſpect to be giuen. The crown was made of greene leaues, for they cared not to haue it made of Golde, or other mettall, but of the graſſe and hearbes of the ſame field, where the enemich had bin ouerthrowne or forced to flight. With this Crown was crowned the Great *Quintus Fabius*, becauſe when *Hannibal* was before *Rome*, hee defended and deliuered it from his beſieging. *Emilius Scipio*, was alſo crowned therewith in *Africa*, for hauing deliuered the Conſull *Manlius*, with certaine bands. *Calpurnius* obtrayned it alſo in *Sicily*; and ſo did the valiant *L. Cincinatus Dentatus*, and ſome other.

Corona Ciuiſis, or the Citizen crowne, was made of Oaken leaues and branches, with the fruite or Acornes hanging on it. This was giuen to him that had ſaued a Citizen, when his life was in extreame perill, killing his enemy, & making good the place where the danger hapned. This crown was ſo much made account of, that ſometimes it fell to ſuch a mans Honour, who for ſauing one *Roman* citizen, at his deliuerance ſlew two of his enemies. But becauſe he defended not and made good the place from ſuture perill, doubt was made, whether he had defended this Citizen Crowne, or no. Neuertheleſſe, Law was diſpenſed withall, and it was concluded to be giuen him, ſeeing hee had deliuered the Citizen, and ſlaine two of his enemies in a place ſo perillous, which was not in his power ſtill to protect, although the Law imported ſo much. And albeit a man had deliuered a King, or a Capitaine of confederates and friends, yet could hee not haue his crowne to reward him, except hee had deliuered a *Roman*. I find that *Pliny* recordeth, that this very ſame crown had bene giuen to one, who ſlew the firſt enemy that mounted on the wals of a City or Fortreſſe, being defended by or for the *Romans*.

This *Corona Ciuiſis*, was the moſt excellent, next vnto the *Obſidionalis*, and might dayly be worne, and in all places. Likewiſe, he that deſerued this Crowne, was of ſuch account and eſteeme, as hee might ſit in the Theater, or at Feaſtes, where hee had alwayes his place neereſt vnto the Senate. And when hee entered, the Senate would riſe vpon their ſeate, to do him honor.

He ſtood alſo free and exempt from any Office or charge whatſoeuer, except his pleaſure was to accept it: and moreover, for his ſake, and in regard of him, his Father and Grandfather (if they were living) ſtood exempted alſo. Many *Romans* obtained to weare this Crowne, & eſpecially the moſt valiant *Cincinatus Dentatus* named before, who wonne fourteene of them. The ſecond *Capitolinus* had fixe; and to *Cicero*, by particular diſpenſation, one of them was granted, becauſe he had defended *Rome* from the conſpiracy of *Catiline*. Theſe Crownes, whereof wee haue made relation, although they were made but of Hearbes and Leaues, and might

Corona Ciuiſis, the Citizens Crowne, giuen for ſauing a citizen's life.

Law may ſometimes be diſpenſed withall on needs full occasions.

Pliny lib. 1. c. 2.

The reputation and eſteeme of this citizen Crowne.

What *Romans* had the honor to weare this Crowne.

might more properly be called Garlands, or like to the French chapters of flowers: yet were they (notwithstanding) much more esteemed and renowned, then if they had beene of the finest gold.

As for the Murall Crowne, called *Corona Muralis*, it was of golde, and given to him that had assaulted and ascended the walls of a city, or a castle, mounting first vp the scaling Ladder, and both freeing and defending the walles, which caused, that the Crowne was made in forme of an imbatelled wall. The first (according to *Pliny*) that obtained this crowne, was *Manlius Capitolinus*. *Scipio* also gaue it to *Quintus Trebellius*, and *Sextus Diguitus*; because that they (both together) wonne first the enemies wall, before any other.

Corona Castrensis, sine *Vallaris*, was giuen to him that (in the fight) entred first into the Barriers, Railes, or Listes of the enemies Campe, comming off againe with credite and reputation: this Crowne also was made of gold, and shaped according to Bastions and Rampires of a field for warre.

Of the like mettall was the Nauall Crowne, *Corona Naualis*, which was bestowed on the man, that first (in fight at Sea) boarded and entred an enemies shippe: and it was in the shape of the prow or poynt of a ship. *Marcius Varro* made no disdaine of this Crowne, when it was offered vnto him by great *Pompey*, in the war against the Pirates. *Octavianus* presented it also to *Marcus Agrippa*, and to *Sylla*: many other likewise had the honor thereof, wherof now I omit to speak.

When any Souldier of Rome, were noble or ignoble, had made any proefe of his bodie, were it at the course of Launce, or in single combat: the *Romaine* Captaines or Generals were wont to giue him or them collers or chaines of gold and silver, or bracelets, or girdles, accordingly as they had deserued, with other priuileges and preheminences. And such prizes they might giue to his friends, that had assisted them in the war: but as for the Crownes, they were reserued only for *Romaines*. Of all which things wee finde many notable examples in the *Romaine* histories.

Suetonius writeth, that *Octavius* permitted to *Marcus Agrippa*: that he might

bear a Banner of Azure colour: in regard of a victory which hee had obtaigned at Sea, against *Sexsus Pompeius*. He further affirmeth, that it was he who deuised first the gifts of Collers and Flagon chaines, with other particular presents beside, allowed only in such affaires, which would require too long a space heere to report.

And heere it is well worth the remembering, that the *Romaines* were so valiant, that some one man hath wonne the honour of all these rewards, or the greater part of them. For *Pliny* and *Solinus* doe name such men, amongst other *Marcus Sergius*, who obtained the most part of them. And in the warre at *Thrasymenus* and *Trobia*, where the *Romaines* were vanquished by *Hanniball*, he wonne the crown called *Corona Ciuias*, as also in the overthrow at *Cannas*. This man was so valiant, that hauing lost his right hand in the battell, he shewed great valor with the left, and by meanes of a Steele hand made him, in steed of the other lost, he foyled and slew 4. men in one day in the field of *Batell* each after other: in which braue day of fight, and others beside, he receiued 23 wounds, & al in the fore part of his body.

Yet notwithstanding, neither this *Marcus Sergius*, nor any other beside, did ever deserue and attaine to so much as *Lucius Cincinnatus Dentatus*, Tribune of the people, of whom we spake alittle before. Of him write *Plinie*, *Solinus*, *Valerius Maximus*, and *Aulus Gellius*, affirming, that in jewells and presents of price, some greater then other, he obtained only by actions of Armes, 320. and more. Beside, that he entred *Rome* with 9. seuerall Generals, when they performed their solemne triumphs, & whom he had assisted in their victories. He had a great number of Brooke Spears, shiuerd Lances, shafts of Laurelins, pikes without heads of Steele, giuen to him as signalls of honour. He had 18. collers and gold chaines; 83. of silver: Of armors and furnitures for horses fitting war seruice, and thereunto particularly appoynted, hee had five and twenty: an hundred and fortie bracelets; eight Castrenses; three Murales, one Elidionale, and I know not how many Nauall. In seuerall fought battailes, hee had taken five and fourtie wounds, all of them before vpon his bodie; and no more then one only behind, and thirty foure times

The first deuices of Collers, Chaines and other gifts

Plin in lib. 10. cap. 1. Sol in lib. 1. cap. 9. lib. 1.

* A lode in Hicoria.

Marcus Sergius a valiant Roman.

45. wounds all before on his body and but one only behind.

Corona Muralis giuen for first scaling the walles of a Citie or Castle.

Corona Castrensis, sine Vallaris, being the Campe and Barriers ther of.

Corona Naualis for boarding shippes at Sea.

Other worthy rewards for merit.

Suet. in vita C. Caesar.

hee had disarmed and dispoyled the enemy, hauing personally bin present in fixe score encamped battells. Nay, he was so valiant and fortunate in Armes, that hee was surnamed the *Romaine Achilles*: and although his performances may seeme to the world incredible; yet notwithstanding the multitude and conformitie of histories doe aouuch them.

The *Romaines*, for famous actions in Armes, conceded (beside) other honours and preheminences, as power of publique iudgements, and sitting in the chaire of *Curules*, which was the seate of the *Adies* and *Prator*, and which was permitted to *Scipio*. Sometimes also there they gaue consent, for the greatest authorities of Souldiers, according as they were suffered by the people to doe: concerning a degree or state, submitted to the libertie of the *Patriotes* and people.

Captaines likewise were permitted to erect triumphall Statues, and to decke and cloathe themselves, euen as if they had bene Consuls. The Senate granted (by forme of salary and congratulation) that they might place in Temples, the armes and spoiles of enemies conquered by the in battels: and such things were rearmd *Mannibz*, as much to say, as spoyles and booties taken from an enemy.

Furthermore, the *Romaines* had a commendable custome, concerning such as had bene slayne in their warres; that their children should haue and enioy the like wages, as they gaue vnto their fathers liuing. And to olde Souldiers, that had long time followed the wars; such good allowance of land, as they might well and easily liue thereon. Suffering them also to dwell in Cities, Townes, and Provinces conquered and subiected, where themselves pleased to make election. In this manner the Citie of *Smill* was made a Colony for Rome by *Caesar*: which Colonies (according to the common French saying) may be rearmd a new dwelling, or transmigration of people. In briefe, the *Romaines* neuer left a good action vnrequited, nor without some great priuiledge: for the which cause, more valiant men were found among them, then in all other nations beside.

I spare to speake of many other requittals, which the *Romaines* vsed in respect of Armes, thinking already I haue sayde

enough. Notwithstanding, it is a matter most certaine, that as they excelled all Nations, in both acknowledging and rewarding honest seruices: so they came not a iote behinde vs, in teaching and correcting where occasion required. For when men were not to bee moued by rewarding honest seruices: or by necessity and gaine, to doe what was good; yet they were compell'd to doe no vile thing, both in respect of shame, and feare of punishment. For the paines were great and rigorous against such as shewed themselves to be slothfull and negligent: because when they lost honour, being called thereto, and might by their owne indeuour haue had it; they were well and soundly whipt, till the blood followed. Some were manacled with yrons like slaues; and if they fled away, and forsooke their Captaines in battaile, they were impaled or spitted on stakes, or else crucified: for, answerable to the delict, so was their punishment.

Titus Livius writeth, that the Souldiours of a Squadron, belonging to *Appian Claudius*, to whom the keeping of a place was giuen in charge; forsooke and lost it. He being desirous to inflict punishment, and yet to mixe it with mercie: they were selected by numbers of tenne, and then to cast lottes, and they on whom the lot fell, were put to death for all the rest. *Iulius Frontinus* sayth, that *Marke Anthony* did the very like to a band, which had not defended the rampires, but suffered the enemies to set fire on them. Other inflictions also he imposed vpon Souldiours, for disobedience and other offences, requiring more time then I am permitted. Wherefore I will shap my conclusion thus onlie, that as those times wanted not remunerations and honours for well doing; so, they were as forward in correcting wicked and bad actions.

CHAP.

No want of discipline and punishment among the Romaines.

Corruption and punishment for idle and negligent persons.

Tit. Livius in Dec. lib. 4. c. 7.

Iul. Frontinus in lib. 7. cap. 3.

The Romaine Achilles Lucius Cincinnatus Venustus.

* The chiefe chaire in the Councell-house.

Statues allowed to be erected by Captaines and Generalls, & their enemies Armes in Temples.

Mannibz, the spoile of enemies.

Respect of slaine Souldiers children, and men of long seruice, for their dwelling and abiding.

No good & let vs remember the Romaines.

CHAP. XLIII.

¶ *Of the reason wherefore Sleep was granted and giuen to man: And likewise, that too much sleep is vicious and hurtfull.*



Sleepe was naturally giuen to man for his conseruation; because there is not any naturall worke, but it hath neede of rest and repose. Aristotle sayth, *Every creature that hath blood, sleepe*: and there he proneth by good reason, and likewise by experience, that fishes doe sleepe. Sleepe is a repose of all the senses, and proceedeth from the fumes and euaporations, which (in regarde of foode receiued) arise from the stomacke to the braine, by the coldnesse whereof, the hot vapours are tempered, and make the exteriour motions and senses sleepey: then retryng the vitall spirits to the heart, all the members become drowlie, and rest from their trauaile, vntill such time as the vitall spirit (which is the instrument whereby the soule frameth her operations, gouerning and commanding the whole body) both recouer new forces, and ceassing ordiminishing those vapours, man awaketh from sleepe, and then the senses and powers returne more freshly, with farre greater power to their operations.

Concerning the occasions of sleepe, Aristotle discoumeth at large in his Booke of Sleepe and Vigilance: and Plutarke declareth diuers opinions of the Philosophers, beside sundry naturalists. But although it is for the rest and health of the body, yet it must be taken moderately; because long sleepe (saith Aristotle) weakeneth the naturall and animall spirit, euen as the moderation thereof doth giue them vigour: for many things are necessarie, which neuertheless are hurtfull, if they be receiued excessively. Foode is both needefull and sauourie, and yet notwithstanding, if it exceede measure, it harmeth, and hath no rellish at all. In like manner, moderate trauaile is wholesome; but

Too much sleepe is very dangerous.

All things are to be vied with in moderation and correction.

vied with extremity nothing is more damageable. And so I say of sleepe, that it should not be taken but vpon necessitie, for recreation and repose of the senses, the spirits and members of the body.

ouer-much Sleepe (as it ouer-lodeth the members and senses, making them slouthfull, and enfeebling them by idleness) so it ingendreth so many humidities in the bodie, that they make it sicke, and killeth it, because in the time of sleepe, all the moistures of the bodie (with the naturall heate) retire themselves to the exteriour partes, and then they make no euacuation of the superfluities and humidities thereof. Also, sleepe immeasurably vied, not onely is prohibited by naturall Philosophers and Phisitions; but likewise it is reprooued by all wise men of vnderstanding. Aristotle sayth, *During the time of sleepe, there is no difference betweene the wise man and the foole*. And questionlesse, although a wife man had not any other occasion to make little vied of sleepe, but for equalling himselfe with a forthright Idiot; yet hee should auoyd and shunne the excesse (though sleepe maintaineth life, and is very wholesome) in considering with his best cogitations, that he which sleepe, is not liuing. And as Plutarke sayth in his Booke of the contention betweene fire & water: *The man that sleepe hath no more strength or knowledge in his sleeping, then if hee were dead*. Pliny is of the same opinion, saying; *Sleepe taketh from vs the halfe part of our life, considering, while we are in sleepe, we neither know nor feele, whether wee are liuing or no*. Ouid, and other Poets beside, with men of no mean learning, do call sleepe, *The similitude of death*.

Saint Paul, in the fourth chapter of his first Epistle to the Thessalonians sayth, *Brethren, I would not haue you ignorant, concerning them that are asleepe: in speaking these words, hee plainly meaneth death*. Then it followeth thus: *Such as sleepe in Iesus Christ, will God bring with him*. Sleepe likewise is the resemblance of negligence and slouthfulness, according to Saint Gregorie, who saith; *For a man to sleepe, is to keep himselfe and persecute in his finnes*. If sleepe thus had not bene vnderstood to sinne, Saint Paul would neuer haue sayd so many times: *Awake ye now, and sinne no more*. A man then may very

Excellencie of sleepe both killeth and liueth the body.

As if a man should lie in his bed.

Sleepe equalleth a wife man with a foole.

Plutarke, in his booke of the contention of fire & water.

Pliny li. 3. c. 19

1. Theff. 4. 14

S. Gregorie in his 8. de Moralibus.

2. Corinthus 13

very well shame, to spend the most part of his life sleeping in his bed; for therein he sinneth no lesse then he that sitteth all day at a Table feeding: in regarde, that these things ought not to be taken, but for the sustentation of life, and not the hurt thereof, and of the soule also; wherefore sleepe is allowed for sustentance, and not for voluptuousnesse.

Seeing then it should bee employed onely for the health of the bodie; let vs now vnderstand, after what maner a man should lie in his bed for Sleep, to the end it may be profitable to him. I reade, that the most profitable kinde of sleeping for any well disposed person, is first to beginne sleepe vpon his right side; and afterward (for the most part of the night) to turne and rest vpon his left side; and in the ending of his sleepe, to turne a while on the right side againe. The reason is, because the stomacke of a man is seated in such sort, that the mouth thereof leaneth somewhat more to the right side then to the left; but the hollow heart or botome thereof, declineth a little toward the left side. So that by lying down to sleepe (for an houre or two) on the right side, the stomacke extendeth it selfe and resteth vpon the liuer. And hence ensueth two especiall commodities; the first, that the stomacke ordereth it selfe, and in that preparation, the foode descendeth downe the more easily: the second, that the humidity of the meate receiued, refresheth the liuer, and by that refreshing, naturall heate taketh strength in the stomacke, to beginne and cause digestion.

After that these two good effects haue followed one another, then it shall be fitting to turne vpon the other side, because by being so turned, the liuer cometh and couereth the stomacke, and embraceth it euen with wings, (as it were) so that his foode retaineth more to the liuer, and thereby perfecteth digestion. Neuertheless, it is good in the morning, for a final consummation of that times sleepe, to turne againe vpon the right side, to the end that the stomacke may beginne to eate and discharge the liuer, and likewise to expell the ayre or superfluitie of the passed digestion. This rule is good, and will bee well acknowledged by him that hath a qualified liuer,

and his stomacke not cold, but that at these two members are found and temperate in him. But he that hath an ouer-hot liuer, and a cold stomacke, as many times it cometh so to passe: it is not good for him to sleepe vpon the right side, because the stomacke falling vpon the liuer, straineth and pretheth it in every part, heating and enflaming it excessively, so that the vpper part of the stomacke continueth vncouered by the superiour part, cooling and weakening it more and more; whereby the very greatest heate of the liuer carrieth and beareth vpon it, all the little left in the stomacke before, whence ensueth bad digestion, and consequently a sickly disposition. Wherefore the man that hath a cold stomacke, and a hote liuer, it is not wholesome for him to sleep on his left side; because the stomacke being wholly couered with the liuer, it maketh digestion; and as for the liuer, lying so aloft vpon the superior part, it is both discoloured and discharged, and by that meanes refresheth it selfe, and is not enflamed at all.

There are some also, that make a custome of sleeping on their belly, which helpeth and comforteth digestion, because it assembleth and retaineth naturall heate in the stomackall part, which is in the better disposition for euacuating superfluities. The contrary cometh to such as sleepe on their backe, with the face openly discouered: in regarde that naturall heate extendeth it selfe abroad, by which meanes digestion is weakened, and the superfluities can not be purged by the mouth, nor by the ordinarie conduites and passages: but remaine in the breast and in the throat, which oftentimes causeth stuffings and suffocations, with Epilepsies and other infirmities.

The wife therefore doe also counsell and aduise, that a man should not sleepe too much stretch out in his bed, because thereby digestion is greatly weakened and impaired: for according to the Philosophers rule; when the vertues and forces are vnited together, the operation is so much the better. But being moderately and indifferently heaped or doubled, the carnositie which couereth the stomacke, ioyne the more closely to it, heating and strengthening it better then before. These rules whereof I haue spoken, are necessa-

Of an over-heated liuer, and a colde stomacke, and what infirmities do attend thereon.

Of a cold stomacke and inflamed liuer.

Of such as do sleepe vpon their face and belly.

Of such as sleepe vpon their backe, and what ensueth thereof.

Of sleeping too much stretch out in bed.

necessary for such as bee dainty and delicate, and those of weaker disposition, but that be healthfull, lusty, and able, the best rule that they can observe, is to keepe the custome which they haue bene most vsed to.

CHAP. XLIII.

Of an ancient use and custome in Spaine, in making their account of times, by these words Here de Cæsar: What that Here is, and wherefore, and when the use thereof was left.



In ancient times they had a custome in Castile, when-soeuer they dated writings & instruments of reckoning or worth; they wrote downe the

words of *Here de Cæsar*, in such sort as we set downe the yeare of Grace, or of our Lord God, and the same stile was obserued in Chronicles and Histories, as hath bene obserued by many diligent Readers. And although this matter hath bin seene and discoursed by many, yet few people haue vnderstood the occasion and originall of this vie, neyther wherefore the word is termed *Here*.

In mine opinion, there may bee two good reasons rendred. The first, that this word *Here* was written with an aspiration, and so haue I found it in some places of the Spanish History; although in some other it is not so. But being so, we say, that it cometh of the Latine word *Herus*, which is as much to say, as Lord: and thereby it followeth, that *Here* may be vnderstood for Lordship, Soueraignty, Monarchy, or Reigne and Dominion: and that *Here de Cæsar*, implyeth the Monarchy of *Cæsar*, that is to say, the beginning of Monarchy, which is vnderstood of *Octavius*. Of this opinion is *Antonius Neriensis*, for in his vocabulary for the Spanish Language, he saith; *Here de Cæsar*, is namely the Monarchy of *Cæsar*.

Altrelogers in their accounts, and especially king *Alphonso* in his Tablets, nameth the beginning of reignes by the

word *Here*: as that of *Philip*, that of *Alexander*, that of *Nabuchodonosor*, that of *Cæsar*, and many other. And yet notwithstanding, although this may seeme to bee a case cleare and euident, yet there is a kinde of difficulty wherein it is expedient to yeeld satisfaction. To wit, that as *Ensebius*, *Paulus Orosius*, and diuers other writ, Christ was borne in the 42 yeare of the Empire of *Octavius*: if it be so, it appeareth that *Here* should anticipate the 42 yeares of Christs Natiuity, in regard that it hath respect to the beginning of *Cæsars* Empire, according to due consideration. Neurtherlesse, it anticipateth but of thirty eight yeares, according to king *Alphonso* his setting downe: wherefore the Text hath not sayed, for euermore *Here de Cæsar*, preceded the birth of Christ thirty eight yeares.

I vnderstand this to ensue from *Ensebius*, *Orosius*, and all the rest, who naming the birth of Christ, to bee in the two and fortieth yeare of the Empire of *Octavius*, begin their account of his Empire, at the first day of his entring Rome, soone after the death of his vnkle *Julius Cæsar*, where he arriuing, was made Capitaine with the Consuls *Hirtius* & *Pompeius*, against *Mark Anthony*.

In setting downe the account of time so, and not otherwise, the birth of Christ cometh iustly to bee in the two and fortieth yeare of his Empire: notwithstanding, they that make their account by *Here*, leave out foure yeares at the beginning. And it seemeth they had good reason so to doe, because in those 4 first yeares, *Octavius* held no command in Rome, neyther had the gouernment without resistance: for at the entring of those foure yeares, he had warre against *Marke Anthony*. Then going afterward to Rome with his troopes, he had the Consulship perforce, in the place of *Hirtius*, he being dead at his coming.

When these things were done, hee made an accord & conuention with *Mark Anthony* and *Lepidus*, where they became all three (one after another) to gouerne for a certaine time, and made the cruell proscription, whereby they did put to death diuers of the principall men in Rome. Moreover, he and *Marke Anthony* passed into *Greece*, in persecution of the murderers of *Cæsar*, where they fought a battaile against *Brutus* and *Cassius*: after whose death

A question concerning the Natiuity of Christ.

The difference of Writ in the listing downe their account.

The four first yeares Octavius had no command in Rome.

The Triumvirate of Octavius, Marke Anthony and Lepidus, and their bloody proscriptions.

The City of Rome in the time of the Emperors.

When the account of Here and Monarchy iustly began, according to the practice of historians.

The death of Cæsar, according to Ensebius.

Account made according to the Olympiades.

Lucius Florus in Epitaph.

death and discomfiture, he left *Mark Anthony* in those Easterne parts, and returned into Italy, where he opposed himselfe against *Lucius Antonius*, the brother vnto *Marke Anthony*, and besiedged him in *Perusia*, confining him to yeelde to his mercy. Thus hauing vanquished and expelled all his enemies, hee came (without any contradiction) to Rome, to gouerne Italy, France, Spaine, and Germany: for *Lepidus* was in Africa, and *Marke Anthony* in Asia; therefore his entrance and Seignury, was foure yeares after his coming from *Greece*.

In regard whereof, the account of *Here* and Monarchy, beginneth (by good reason) there, which is thirty eight yeares before the birth of Christ: so that *Ensebius*, *Orosius*, and all the rest, who set downe the birth to bee in the two and fortieth yeare of *Octavius* his Empire, doe begin their reckoning, from the day that *Julius Cæsar* was slaine, he being his Vnkle. And this is prooued apparantly, because it appeareth by all histories, that *Julius Cæsar* was slaine in the yeare seuen hundred and ten, from the foundation of Rome: & our Lord was borne in the yeare seuen hundred and fifty two, whereby there is a distance of two and forty yeares, all which are granted to the empire of *Octavius*. In like manner, according to *Ensebius*, *Julius Cæsar* was slaine in the yeare of the worlds creation, five thousand, one hundred, fifty seven: and our Lord (after the same *Ensebius*) was borne in the yeare five thousand, one hundred, ninety nine, wherein there is a difference each from other, of the same two and forty yeares.

If we come to account by Olympiades, *Julius Cæsar* was slaine in the second yeare of the 164 Olympiades; and Christ was borne in the third yeare of the 194. Inclusive; which is also the same difference of two and forty yeares: in which respect, they set the empire of *Octavius*, two and forty yeares before the Natiuity.

Albeit his true empire began four yeares after the time when his *Here* had originall, and thirty eight yeares before the Natiuity: for during those foure yeares, hee was no Lord nor Commander, as all the Roman Histories do approve. *Plutarch*, *Appian*, *Dion*, *Suetonius*, and more then all the rest, *Titus Linius*, or to speake better, *Lucius Florus* saith, That *Octavius* com-

ing to Rome, when his Vnkle was slaine, was but eigheteene yeares of age, and was Consul at nineteene. Then the warres being past, and all his enemies vanquished, he returned victoriously to Rome, & *Antonius* confined him to the three and twenty of his age. So that by this account, and likewise that of *Titus Linius*, the empire of *Octavius* began foure yeares after the death of his Vnkle *Julius Cæsar*, which agreeeth with the account of *Here*, thirty eight yeares before the Natiuity.

Some others doe allow of another reason or opinion, concerning this *Here*, by writing it with a diphthong *E*, without aspiration, and they say it is deniued of the Latine word *Aera*, for come or money, *Aera constata*, and that it had originall, from the beginning of taxes or tribute money, which was payed to *Octavius*, and called *Aere*, or the tribute of *Cæsar*, and not the empire of *Cæsar*, and that it was termed *Aera Aere*. It is further affirmed, that it was the name of a coyne or money, which was reckoned at a certaine value, and that from the time that was ordered and imposed, so they numbred and counted the *Aere*. *Saint Isidore* is of this opinion, speaking thus. *Aera singulorum annorum constituta est a Cæsare Augusto, quando primo censu excogitabo Romanorum orbem descripsit. Dicta autem Aera, quod omnis orbis as reddere professus est reipublice*. Therefore it appeareth plainly, that this manner of account, came and receiued name of his money and tribute then payed. So hee auoucheth in the chapter following, in speaking of the Quinquenniall yeares, where hee saith: *Ad hoc enim Consules, ad hoc Aera narrant*. In like manner it seemeth, that *Ambrosius Calepinus*, in his Dictionary gaue this diction such originall, saying. *Astrologia quoque initium, a quo supputationes incipiunt, Aeram vocant: dicta Aera ex eo, quod omnis orbis as reddere professus est reipublice*.

Fryer *Alphonso*, of the Order of *S. Dominick*, in his Eucheridion of times, hath these very words, *Another beginning came of accounting by the Aere of the same Octavius, who hauing the whole world in his hand, would know what people he had vnder his Empire: and therefore commanded by Edict, that every one should be registered in the towne of his birth, to the end they might giue him*

Qq

The Empire of Octavius began foure yeares after his Vnkle's death.

The second reason touching money, that is to say, the Aera, is to come from the money.

Isidore in li. 5. de Etymologia.

An account made from five yeares to five yeares.

Ambrosius Calepinus in Dictionary.

Alphonso Fryer, in Eucheridion Temp.

Here de Cæsar obtained a we do the word of our Lord God.

The first reason concerning the word Here.

Here de Cæsar, the Monarchy of Cæsar.

Anton Neriensis, in his vocabulary.

The account of Astralogers.

The name of Aera deuised from the tribute payed by them.

A question concerning the beginning of Cæsar's Edict of taxation.

An answer to the former question.

The Edict could not so soon be knowne in remote parts as neerer home.

him (in signe of Seignury or dominion) a kinde of money: and because this money was of metall, the description thereof was named *Aera*. So that (according to these Authors) this manner of numbring the years by *Here*, came from the tribute which they payed, and it was so written in Latine, *Aera*.

Notwithstanding, there remaineth yet another difficulty, of no meane importance, to wit, it seemeth that the Edict of *Cæsar* began not so long time before the Natiuity, as the thirty eight yeares which they count of the *Here*. Also it appeareth by the second chapter of *S. Luke*, that it began in the yeare when our Lord was borne, because he saith *Exst. Edictum à Cæsare*: There came out a decree from *Augustus Cæsar*, and therefore the beginning accordeth not with that of *Here*. VVherevnto (in mine opinion) answer may be made, that on the hither side of the East parts, to wit, those of *Italy*, *France*, and *Spaine*, this Edict might be begun by the commandment of *Octavius*, when hee had bene entailed Lord and Emperor peaceably in *Rome*, which was thirty eight yeares before Iesus Christ was borne: but in *Assyria* and *Iudea* it was not then made knowne, because the Prouinces remained vnder the gouernment of *Mark Anthony*, vntill they came vnder the Monarchy of *Cæsar*, nd there is no contradiction to be found, but that eight and thirty yeares (before) he gouerned *France* and *Spaine*, and measurably impatronizing himselfe to be accordingly published. VVherefore it might so come to passe, that the first which was made knowne in those Countries, was that whereof *S. Luke* speaketh, and yet neuertheless, there were other Countries and Prouinces, where that *Here* had receiued beginning before.

Venerable *Beda* sheweth this clearly, writing vpon the same chapter of *S. Luke*, expounding the words, *Et describetur vniuersus orbis*, he saith thus. *Signant hanc descriptionem, vel primam esse harum, quia totum orbem concluderint, quia perque iam parte terrarum leguntur fuisse descripta*. It seemeth this description, to bee the first that was vniuersall to the whole world; because before it, many Citties and Townes in particular, had bene described or set downe. *S. Ambrose* affirmeth as much vpon the saide chapter of *Luke*, saying: There were found many other Lands and Prouinces, which had bene registred downe. *Lucius Florus*, in his abreuiation of 133. Bookes of *Titus Linius*, writeth: That *Cæsar*, some after hee had vanquished *Marke Anthony*, imposed a tribute vpon all *France*, which was little lesse then thirty yeares before *Christ* was borne.

But whether the cause arose by the first reason, of tearming it by the name of *Here*, or by the last; it is sufficient that it began eight and thirty yeares before the Natiuity. This custome of accounting by *Here* is very ancient, especially in *Spaine*, as also among the *Arabes* and *Sarracenes*, and I think that the *Gothes* afterward vsed it, and it was not left so long as the *Romans* reigne endured. *Isidore*, in writing of the *Gothes*, and of this *Here*, approueth it to be ancient. And although I cannot directly say, when it began, yet I know well enough, that it hath bene long time vsed in *Spaine*, as appeareth by the *Spanish* Chronicles, euen vntill *John* the first, King of *Spaine* (who lost the battaile of *Aluabarata* in the fift yeare of his reigne) commanded, that from thence forward, the *Here de Cæsar* should no more be vsed in writings and histories, but the birth of *Christ*, which was in the yeare 1385; and in the *Here de Cæsar*, 3421.

THE.

The End of the Fourth Booke.



OF NOBILITY POLITICALL AND CIVILL.

THE FIFTH BOOKE.



Nobility, which many of the greater sorts of wits, with great prooffe of vn-corrupted verity, & much flowing Eloquence, haue gone about to deriue out of diuers foundations, is of three sorts: and is diuided into Nobility *Cæstially*, which consisteth in Religion: Nobility *Philosophicall*, which is got by Morall vertues: and Nobility *politically*, whereof this present Treatise is. Out of the two first sorts of Nobility, no man can come Noble, except that he the same, be a good man also. But out of this third sort, a man, although he bee neuer so wicked and vngracious, may yet excell the rest of men, euen in the highest degree of Nobility: so as did *Caligula*, *Nero*, and such others like.

The matter of Nobility, was in ancient time accounted of two sorts, viz. *Theological* and *Morall*: For why, Nobility is a thing honourable, and of it selfe laudable: But without vertue, nothing (according to the opinion of *Cicero*) can be commendable, or praise-worthy. Of which thing, the feate and situation of the Temple of Honour among the *Romans*, was a notable example: whereunto there was no entrance or way, but by the Temple of vertue.

But by the preposterous innouation and change of things, that Nobility which was proper onely to the good, gaue place, and in stead thereof, that Nobility which is alike common vnto the bad and to the

good, slept to the helme: yea, euen the word *Nobilis* (or Noble) it selfe, which some will haue to haue bene so called, as who should say, *Nobilitas*, or remarkable, or for some vertue notable, began to be indifferently taken into both parts, good & bad: as *nobile Scortum*, a noble harlot: *nobile Scelus*, a noble villaine. Neyther in question of Political Nobility, are we any more to haue recourse vnto the Diuines or Philosophers, and much lesse to the ancient *Romane* Constitutions (for the most part) discerning all things by Magistracies, Charges, and Offices, but onely vnto the dispositions of the Princes and Monarchs of the world: who hauing the power of the gouernement of the world (as it were in a sort common together with God) after their manner, gouerne Nobility according to their owne pleasure and good liking, and so haue made the same hereditary. And hereof is it, that a stranger, made a Nobleman at *Rome*, or else where, is not at home accounted in the number of the Nobility, his Prince being thereto vnwilling, and so contrariwise also. VVherefore, they which examine Politicall Nobility, according to any other rule, then the custome of euery Nation, are vtterly out of the way. Yet in this so great diuerty of manners and customes of Nations in all places, the same Definition of Civill Nobility agreeth vnto them all, viz. *Quod sit qualitas, siue Dignitas qua quis legitime à Plebeia conditione eximitur* &

Politically Nobility could not be bad as to the good.

In question of Political Nobility, we are not to haue recourse vnto Diuines, or Philosophers.

Political Nobility is not to be taken for a quality, but for a condition, as the *Romans* called it.

The definition
of nobility
Two kinds
of Nobility,
viz. *Dative*
and *Nature*.

per gradus erigitur. That it is a quality or dignity, whereby a man is lawfully exempt and by degrees promoted out of, and above the estate of the vulgar & common sort of people. Of this Nobility, there be two kinds, viz. Nobility *Nature*; that is to say, by birth: and *Dative*, which is by the Princes gift. For as for violent Nobility, such as was that of *Nemrods*, I utterly reject it.

But that these things may be made more manifest, we will by certain of the better Common-weales, even vnto these our times, derive the beginning of this dignity, and the manner of obtaining the same, as it were euen from the first infancy thereof, taking both the matter & the examples we therein vse, out of most authentical and approved Authors, the sentences almost nothing, and much lesse the words, much changed, so that the well affected Reader, cannot of right, lay any thing thereof to our charge.

CHAP. II.

Of the Nobility of the first Age.

Nobility
which in *Adam*
was first *Dative*
in him
began to be
Nature.

IDare contrary vnto the common received opinion affirme, nobility *Dative* to haue bin before, & more excellent then Nobility *Nature*, exaple being taken frō *Adam* himselfe, whom all men know to haue bene made, and not borne: and verily to haue bene a Noble-man (if any other) as formed by God to the Image of himselfe, endowed with all good gifts, and made Lord and Soueraigne Ruler of all creatures; yea, euen of the whole world. But that celestiall Nobility he soone (alas, too soone) lost, by hearkning vnto his wife: and that worldly Nobility which he yet retained, being vnto his children deriued, began first in them to be *Nature*, or Nobility by birth. If any man therefore consider *Adam* his owne race and Progeny, he must needs confesse all the men of that age, to haue bene together Noble. But as in mans body for the preseruatiō of the whole, diuers functions, and offices of members, are required; euen so, in that first sociey

of men (as in all others) a distinction of persons was necessary: wherefore the first Common-weale, which was of the family of *Adam*, and of his children, consisted wholly of Noblemen (to wit) of the children of one Father, and he the same, being a King, a Prophet, and a Priest; but yet not all of them to be with like honour reuerenced. For he, that first Housholder as it were by the decree of Nature, gaue the preheminance and cheefe place vnto his first begotten Sonne, so long as hee kept the right of his Birth-right, which order other families. Afterward following, constantly obserued: so that he which was first by Nature, should be accounted also first in honour. Yet neuerthelesse, was it altogether lawfull for the Father of the family, to make choise of his own children, that so according to euey one of their desarts, he might bestow vpon them honours, or take them from them.

Of the great number of *Adams* Progeny, & the discord of the Brethren among themselves, at length arose the diuision of Families, and so consequently, the vncertainty and forgetfulness of kindreds, and deadly hatreds and fallings out withall. By warre, the change of mens estates and conditions, and seruitudes are brought in. The vanquished, of Noble become base and vnnoble: & contrariwise, the victors, of base persons, became Noble. Men for the preseruatiō of themselves, haue out of families assembled together into Villages; out of Villages, into Cities; and out of Cities haue growne together into Prouinces, and so into most great kingdoms. In dangers and distresses, according to the rule of reason, wise men are called vpon for their counsel, valiant men for their aide and defence, vnto whom, as vnto men most worthy, the government is committed; whereas the rest are enforced without difference, to obey without any respect of their stocke or kindred.

These things to haue thus bene in the *Iewes State* and Common-weale, is vnto all men knowne, which are but easily read in the old Testament. First, that Principality and prerogatiue, was giuen vnto the first begotten, you shall easily vnderstand, if you shall diligently consider, that when *Adam* by reason of his great yeares, was not able longer to attend to the government of the church, and of the common-
weale,

A distinction
of persons
in the
first society
of men.

The primogeniture
right obserued.

The diuision
of Families.

Families
to haue growne
into Villages.

Villages into
Cities.
Cities into
Prouinces, &
Prouinces into
Kingdoms.

weale, *Seth* was made Governor, who then held the place of the first begotten. Vnto *Seth* euen for the same cause succeeded *Eben*: vnto *Enoch*, *Conan*: vnto *Conan*, *Mahabel*: vnto *Mahabel*, *Iered*: vnto *Iered*, *Canoe*: vnto *Canoe*, *Metubusel*, vnto *Metubusel*, *Lamech*: vnto *Lamech*, *Noah*: who ruled ouer his Progeny an hundred & ten yeares after the Deluge; at which time, the dispersing of his posterity happened. Which dispersiō being made, euey one of them bare himselfe as Prince of his owne family, which preheminance passed still vnto the first borne of that stocke and family: so that the first begotten of the principall family, still held the same. Neither ought any man to doubt euey one of the Patriarkes to haue ruled as cheefe men ouer their owne Tribes and Families vntill that the government of the whole people was deliuered ouer to *Moses*. But concerning *Moses* himselfe, we reade in the fourth of Exodus, him and *Aaron* to haue gathered together all the Elders of the children of *Israel*, which was the first Assembly. In the 24. of Exodus, the Lord commandeth seauenty of the Elders of the children of *Israel*, to come vnto him, together with *Moses*: which seauenty (in the same chapter) are as it were by a knowne name called Nobles or cheefe Persons of the children of *Israel*. *Moses* beside, oppressed with the multitude of sutes, following the counsel, of *Iethro*, chose out of the people certain Captains of thousands which should beare rule ouer a thousand families: others of hundreds, who commanded ouer an hundred: others of fifties who had the command ouer fifty: and others of ten, who bare rule ouer ten, & determined of their lesser sutes and controversies. Now that there were many Captains of thousands, euen in one and the selfe-same Tribe, it is out of holy Scripture manifest; and these men, *Moses* here & there calleth, *The Heads of the Fathers*, *the Heads of the Tribes*, *Princes*, and *Heads of the Soldiers*; and amongst them were 12 cheefe Princes, especially chosen of the 12 Tribes, who sometimes were alone by themselves chosen out for some especial commission. But what manner of men *Moses* made Rulers ouer the *Israelites*, and what manner of companions he chose forth as assistants vnto himselfe in the government of the common-weale, he himselfe in the

first chapter of Deuteronomy thus plainly witnesseth. And I spake vnto you the same season, saying, I am not able to beare the burden of you my selfe alone. For the Lord your God hath multiplied you: and behold, you are this day as the starres of heauen in number. &c. Bring (from among you) men of wisdom and of vnderstanding, & men knowne in your Tribes, that I may make them Rulers ouer you. And you answered me and said, that which thou hast said, it is good for vs to do. And so out of the Tribes I tooke the Captains (men of wisdom and experience) & made them Rulers ouer you. Captaines ouer thousands, and ouer hundreds, ouer fifties, & ouer tens, & Officers among your Tribes, &c. But wee ended both by the weight of the words, and by reason, are enforced to cōiecture, *Moses* being a wise man, in this election and choise, to haue preferred men for their wisdom & experience famous and well knowne, both for the gaining of the fauour and obedience of the people, and also for the better government of the common-weale: neyther to haue any thing regarded such, as boasted only of the prerogatiue of their birth; for otherwise, instead of helpers, he should rather haue associated vnto himselfe, the perturbours of the publike peace. Wherefore we set downe those seauenty Iudges by the commandment of God, appointed by *Moses* to haue bin of the dignity of Senators, vnto who some men adde two moe, viz. *Moses* himselfe, and the High-Priest, as if that six had bin appointed out of euey one of the twelue Tribes.

Wherefore, by those things which we haue now already spoken, it is euident, as well *Dative* as *Nature* Nobility, to haue bin in vse amongst the *Israelites*, & sometime euen in one and the same family, to haue passed vnto the first begotten alone, or to some other graced with some publike Office in some family, whilst the rest borne of the same stock, in the mean time stucke fast within the bounds of them of the vulgar state and condition. And concerning the kings of the *Israelites*, it is to be thought also, as it is of the kings of other nations, that they according to their pleasure, ennobled many, euey by reason, or by affection moued and induced so to do. But let vs now from the *Iewes*, passe ouer vnto the *Gentiles*.

Princes.

The Heads
of the
tribes.

The first begotten
were
the
Princes
of
their
owne
Families.

The Nobles
or cheefe
Persons of
Israel.

Captains
of
thousands.

Centurions.

Captains
of
fifty.
Decurions,
or
Captains
of
ten.

The Heads
of the
Fathers.
The Heads
of the
Tribes.

CHAP. III.

¶ Of the first Greeke Nobility.

Nothing was euer more vnconſtant the Greeke Common-weale, with perpetuall changes ſtill floating vp & down. The beginning of their Monarchy, I (as moſt are wont) will no further fetch, then from *Cecrops*. He firſt called the rude *Athenians* out of the fields, into a ciuill ſociety, built twelue Townes, and diuided the Citizens of them into Souldiers, Artiſcers, Huſbandmen, and Shepheards. Every City had Magiſtrates of it owne, neyther did they but in times of great danger reſort vnto the King: yea many of them at times tooke vp Armes againſt their Kings. They which inhabite the *Champaîne* Country, were commanded by ſome few. The Mountiniers were governed by a popular eſtate, and they which dwelt by the Sea-coaſt, had a mixt gouernement, in a meane betwixt both. And they which out of the whole body of the people, were called vnto the gouernement of the Common-weale, were honored for Princes, Senators and Noblemen. *Plutarch* writeth, ſuch men as were of greateſt power in the Cities, to haue bene thruſt out by *Theſeus*, that hee himſelfe might ſo alone raigne, yet diuided he the people into *Senatours*, Huſbandmen, and Artiſcers: of whom hee would haue them of the firſt ranke, to excell the reſt in dignity: them of the ſecond fort, to excell the reſt for neceſſary uſe; & them of the third, to exceede the reſt in multitude and number. But in the choiſe of the Senators, he had reſpect vnto their wealth, their learning, and eſpecially their vertue, which things were required alſo in the perſon of the King. For *Demosthenes* in his Oration againſt *Nearſheweth*, after the Common-weale ſet in order by *Theſeus*, neuertheleſſe by his hands ſtretched out, to haue appointed a King out of the number of the which were thought to excell in vertue. Vpon the Senators he impoſed the charge of bearing of Office, to conſider and determine of matters of Religion, to interpret and expound the

Law and ſacred rights: and when he was deſirous more to encreaſe the City, hee called all men indifferently vnto an equal part of the Common-weale. Wherefore, in *Theſeus* his Gouernment, Nobility was gotten by riches, knowledge, and vertue. After the Kings, there was in the City a double *Democratie*, one which conſiſted in the power and gouernment of the richer ſort of the Citizens; and another, which reſted in them all in generall which were free-men. *Solon* (the diſcord betwixt the common ſort, and them of the richer ſort of the people being appeaſed) after the ſlaughter of the *Cylonians*, reſtored vnto his country, the Democratically or Popular gouernment, the Oligarchy or gouernment of ſome few, being quite taken away. He deuifed foure orders or degrees of Citizens: Them, which could of their dry & wet commodities, fill five hundred of their meaſures (called *Medij*) hee placed in the firſt order or degree. Them which could fill foure hundred of thoſe meaſures, hee placed in the ſecond ranke. Them which could fill three hundred, in the third, and al the reſt in the fourth. And called the firſt of theſe *Modides*, the ſecond *Eguites*, the third *Zengia*, and the fourth *Leioi*. All publicke Offices, he appointed to be committed to them, which were placed in the three firſt degrees, and they ſo hauing borne Office, were accouſted in the number of the Nobility, but vnto the fourth ranke was no publicke Office or Magiſtracy communicated; & therefore that ranke was altogether baſe and vnable. But after *Solon*, *Aristides*, and *Pericles* participated the Magiſtracies, euen vnto the baſeſt and loweſt ſort of the people alſo, as *Xenophon* in his Booke concerning the *Athenian Commonweale*, ſetteth it down for right and reaſon, that they, euen of the meaneſt and pooreſt ſort, ſhould indifferently be called & admitted vnto all preferments in euery part of the Common-weale, for that they more profited for the enriching of the City, then did they of the Nobility. Euen plaine Citizens, hauing well deſerued of the Commonweale, were therefore among the *Athenians* ennobled. So *Leo*, for that he for the welfare of the commonweale, had ſolemnly vowed his daughters to death, was accounted & regiſtered amongſt the ten Worthies. And Nobility once by the Father obtained, enno-

After Theſeus a double Democracy the Athenian Commonweale.

Four hundred or degrees of Citizens ordained by Solon.

1. Modides.
2. Eguites.
3. Zengia.
4. Leioi.

The firſt diuiſion of the Greecan common-weale by Cecrops.

Who were Princes, Senators, and Nobles, among the Greekes.

A new diuiſion of the Athenian people by Theſeus.

ennobled his Children alſo.

But the *Athenian* commonweale was not ſo lauiſh & prodigall in the communicating of Nobility, as was in auncient time the Romaine Common-weale ſparing and curious in the beſtowing thereof. Wherefore this the Romaine State and Common-weale ſhall afford vnto vs greater ſtore and plenty of matter of this kinde and nature.

CHAP. IIII.

¶ Of the first Romaine Nobility.

Romulus to draw ſtrength vnto the city of *Rome*, but lately before by him built, ordaind an *Aſylum* or *Sanctuary*, where vnto the poore and baſe people out of Countries and places thereby by ſtockes reſorting, gaue the firſt encreaſe vnto ſo great a city. And out of this rabblement of people *Romulus* choſe an hundred *Senatours*, which by *Inuencall* the Sarycical Poet is in theſe verſes noted.

*Nil tam vni longi repetita, longis regulas
Nom n. ab infans gentem deduxit Aſylor
Maurum primus quiſuis ſuiſt ille tuorum,
Aut Poſtor ſuit, aut illud quod dicere nolo.*

(name,
And though from far thou doſt repeat thy pedigree &
Yce fro the baſe *Aſylum* thou canſt but deriue the fame:
For he that was firſt Author of thy ſtockes and pedigree,
A Shepheard was, or elſe ſuch one, I liſt not name to
(thee.)

Then *Romulus* for their honor, would haue to be created, *Fathers*: and for their age, *Senators*, and both them and their progeny he appointed to be of the ranke of them that were of the *Senatours* diſcended. But afterward, the Common-weale being communicated alſo with the *Sabines*, he choſe out another hundred. *Tarquinius Priſcus* (or as ſome other rather would haue it) *Brutus* added vnto them another C. called the *Senatours* of the meaneſt ſort of the People. *Valerius Publicola*, after the Kings were driuen out, choſe threeſcore and foure more then an hundred, of the order of Gentlemen (in ſtead of ſo many *Senators* ſlaine by *Tarquinius Superbus*) which were called *Adlecti*, or men choſen: for after the

kings drine out, ſuch as he ſaw to be wife, ancient, and of approved honeſty, he alcribed into the *Senate*, as into the moſt graue & reuerend Counſell. After thoſe firſt foundations of the Romaine Common-weale thus layd. Citizens of *Rome* diſcended of the ſtockes of *Senators* (who before had borne the chiefe and greateſt Honors) were by the *Dictators*, *Cenſors*, or *Triumvirs*, created *Senators*, and afterward alſo of the Order of Gentlemen were called into the *Senate*.

Wherefore, the Order of *Patricij*, and of the *Senatours*, to haue ennobled ſuch as were thereof, there was neuer any doubt; but concerning the order of Gentlemen, ſome there be, which make queſtion. *Tiraquellus* thinketh the Romaine Gentlemen to haue holden the middle place betwixt the *Patricij* (or them which were diſcended from *Senatours*) and the *Plebeij* or Common People: for that *Tacitus* calleth them *Illuſtres*, or men of marke. *Martiall* alſo calleth the Order of Gentlemen, the Leſſer Order and the Order of *Senators*; and of them that were diſcended of *Senatours*, the Greateſt Order.

Many are alſo of opinion, Nobilitie to haue beene giuen amongſt the Romaines, by the beſtowing vpon them Rings of Golde: and moſt certayne it is, ſuch gift of Rings to tranſfere the ſtate and condition of a Free-borne man vnto them to whom they were ſo giuen, without which free eſtate no Romaine was deemed capable of Nobility. But when the vie of rings of Golde began in *Rome*, it is not manifeſt. *Pliny* waiteth it of long to haue beene the Badge or Cogniſance of them which were about to goe Ambaſſadours vnto forraigne Nations, and the reſt of the *Senators*, to haue beene without them: neyther was it the manner and faſhion for any other to vie them, then ſuch as had for that cauſe publickly receyued them. And ſuch Golde rings they vſed onely abroad, and iron rings at home in their houſes.

But afterward, the cuſtome of wearing of Gold rings beganne to be vſed of all the Nobility, as it is written in *Titus Livius* in his ninth booke, in theſe words; The *Senate* to haue burnt with ſuch rage, and diſſaynce, becauſe *Cneius Flautus* a late freed man was made *Adlectus*, that many

Adlecti.

Ordo Equeſter, or the order of gentlemen.

The golde ring.

Fathers, Senators, Patricij.

The right of
wearing of a
Ring, to who
it belonged.

The dignitie
of a Senator.

my of the Nobility thereupon, laid aside their gold Rings, and Trappings of their Horses: wherein *Plinie* witnesseth many to haue bene deceived, which thinke them of the order of Gentlemen to haue then done the same. For that (sayth hee) is also added: but the Trappings were also layde aside, for which the name of Gentlemen is put too. It is also recorded in the *Annales*, Rings to haue bene then layde aside by the Nobilitie, but nor by the whole *Senate* in generall. Whereby it is manifest, that the Gentlemen as then had no right to weare a Ring, and that it belonged but vnto the Nobilitie onlie; that is to say, vnto the *Patricij*, and the *Senators*, although they were not themselves *Patricij*; that is to say, descended of *Senators*, for that the dignity of a *Senator* gaue beginning to Nobilitie.

But after that Iudiciall causes were translated from the *Senate* vnto the *Gentlemen*, the vse of Rings together withall, passed vnto them also; which was not then so much the cognifiance of *Gentlemen*, as it was of *Judges*, and yet not of all them, but of them which were of greatest dignitie and honour. Rings (sayth *Plinie*) diuided the other Order from the vulgar People, as soone as they once beganne to be men of marke and fame, and afterward, But Rings verily put a middle and a third Order or Degree of men, betwixt the Common-people, and the *Senators* or *Fathers*: and that name which horses of seruice before gaue vnto men, this name (I say) the *Judges* now giue vnto money: neyther was that long agoe done: for *Augustus* the Emperour, disposing of the *Courts*, the greater part of the *Judges* wore Iron Rings, and they were not called *Equites* (or *Gentlemen*) but *Iudices* (or *Judges*.) The name of *Equites* (or *Gentlemen*) rested in the troops of publike horses. But afterward, in the ninth year of the reigne of *Tiberius*, when the Order of *Gentlemen* was come into an vnion (for so he termeth it) order was taken for the credite of the wearing of Rings, as that they should be vnto all *Gentlemen* common. And at length (sayth hee) when as *Caius Sulpitius Galba* going about to gaine the credite of a youthfull good name with his Prince, by the fines of *Tauernes* and *Viſtalling* (houses) had complained in the *Senate*,

euē Chapman and Pedlers to be defended from the penalty of such their misdemeanor, by the wearing of Rings; it was for this cause by the *Senate* decreed, that it should not bee lawfull for any man to wear a Ring, but vnto him who being free borne, both by his father and grand-father by the *Fathers* side, was valued at 40. *Sesterces*. And by the Law *Fulvia* concerning the *Theater*, to such as had place and did sit in one of the foureteen orders or degrees. Heereby it came to passe, that they seemed to be of the Order of *Gentlemen*, which did weare golde Rings, for that it was not lawfull for any so to doe, but such as had a *Gentlemans* substance. And therefore *Suetonius* writeth, *Julius Caesar* when as in exhorting of his Souldiers, he oftentimes shewed the finger of his left hand, and said, that he could willingly, for their sakes, be content to pluck off his owne Ring; to haue bene thought in so doing, contently to haue promised vnto euerie one of them, the right to weare a Golde Ring, and the substance of a Gentleman. But after that it was permitted to all *Gentlemen* indifferently to weare them, that marke (sayth *Plinie*) beganne to bee indifferently of all men desired: For before, *Gentlemen* and *Judges* were knowne by their Iron Rings; but at length, whilest the Order of *Gentlemen* is separated from the Free-borne-men, the wearing of Rings was communicated with them that were bond-men, and of seruile condition: that is to say, with such as were of bondmen and slaues, become free. Howbeit this right of wearing of gold Rings, was not wont in ancient time to be giuen to any other, but to such as had right manfully and valiantly behaved themselves in the wars; neither was the right of wearing of a gold Ring, euer giuen to such, as were of bond-men made free, except they were also made free-men borne, (which was in ancient time a Priuledge not to be granted but by the Prince.) And it was alwaies in ancient time, accounted a greater matter to be a freeman borne, then to be rewarded with the right to weare a gold Ring: For that sheweth vs euē from our birth to be freemen borne, whereas this right of wearing of a gold Ring, indeed, either blottes out, or as much as it can, washeth away the stains of seruitude; yet so as that the

figure

Ingeniuit
freecelle of
birth.

figure thereof for euer remaineth. But the creating or restoring of a man vnto *Gen- tury*, commeth nearer vnto Nature, which bringeth with it all the commodities of naturall Gentry, and that belonged onely vnto the Prince, to restore agayne a man banished or cast into exile, vnto his former estate and place: who being so restored vnto their bloud or birth-right, were not onely ingrafted into the number of the citizens of *Rome*, but also inrolled among the *Quirites*; that so, they might be partakers of all the honours and offices of the Common-weale. Therefore it is of *Plinie* called *iux Quirium*; that is to say, *The right and Priuledge of the Quirites*.

There was also among the Ancients, a certaine right of hauing of Images or Statues, which was by the *Senate* giuen vnto such, as had notably borne some great Office, or worthily deferred some great honours, which was not so much for the marke and signe of Nobilitie, as of the stocke and Family whereunto they were giuen. For, they which obtayned *Statues* for their stocke and family, there was no doubt, but that they thereunto brought Nobilitie also. And I know not what greater or more excellent thing there was, then to haue the right and power to vse *Statues* and Images.

Plinie in his nine and thirtie Booke thus writeth; *Apud Maiores, Imagines in atrijs erant, qua spectarentur, expressis vultus singulis disponebantur armarijs, ut essent imagines qua comitarentur gentilijs funera, semperq; defuncto aliquo, totus aderat Familia eius qui vnuquam fuerat populis. Stemmata vero lineis discurrebant ad Imagines pictas. Tabula vero codicibus implebantur, & monumentis rerum & magistratuum gestorum.* In the time of our Ancestours, Images and Statues were in their Courts to be seene, liuely counter-faits and portraictures were in all their Studies and Closets placed, to the end that there might bee still Images, to attend and set forth the Funerals of such as were to be buried of that stocke and Family. And alwayes, when any Gentleman of note and marke dyed, all the whole race of them that were then liuing of that house and Stocke, accompanied the dead corpse; and from their Armes, lines were drawne along vnto the painted Images of them whose Armes they

were. As for their Studies and Closets, they were full of Bookes and Records, testifying the Noble acts by them worthily performed, and the honourable Offices by them in the State & Common-weale borne and discharged, whilest they yet liued. Whereby it is declared, *Statues* and Images to haue bin rather the signes of some great Office well discharged, then of any Nobilitie. Neyther, that all the Images, of all that were of the stocke and race of them, to whom the right of Images belonged, were wont to be carried at the Funerall solemnities of their kinsmen, but onely the Images of them, who with great praye and glorie, had borne and discharged some honourable Office, and who had of the *Senate* obtayned that right and priuledge.

Wherefore *Cicero* reckoneth vp this right of hauing Images, amongst the ornaments of Magistrates. Such as are, the *Gowne*, the *Senators Robe*, the *Chaire of Estate*, and, to haue the preheminance to deliver his munde and opinion first: All which things passed not vnto their posteritie, so that they might vse the same in such sort as did the Nobility, of such as had bene *Consuls*, *Praetors*, and such like: which the *Roman Lawes* would haue to descend vnto their Nephewes in these degrees; that as well the women, as the men, vnto the Nephewes sonne, should be accounted of the same dignitie that their Ancestors were of. In briefe, he that had brought the right of hauing of Images into his Family, is to be thought to haue done no more, but that his owne Image might be carried forth at his owne Funerall, and the Funerals of them of his owne stocke and Kindred; and not, that the Images of his posteritie, should also in such Funerall solemnity be carried; but onelic the Images of them who had gotten the like right. And these Images were kept at home in their houses, and were carried forth at the Funerals of them of their house and stocke, for an example of their Noble acts by them done. But concerning Images and Statues, many thus doe thinke, That they which had the Images of their Ancestours, were accounted and called *Ancient Noblemen*, and those which had but onely their owne Images, were reputed and called *New Noblemen*: but such, as had neither Image of their owne,

nor

Fig. 4.
Pro-texta.
Sella curulis.

nor of their Aunccestours, they were reputed as base and vnnoble. And yet they of the common sort of the people, having obtained the Offices (called *Curules*, or of the *Irony Chayre of Estate*) had also their *Images*. And thus much concerning the right of Images and Statues: Now will I againe retorne vnto *Romulus*.

As *Romulus* had diuided the people into two degrees or orders (*viz.*) the order of the *Senators*, and of the *Common persons*, calling their Progeny *Patricios* and *Optimates* (or the Progeny of the *Fathers*, and of the *Nobility*) and the Progeny of the other *Plebeios* (or a Progeny descended from the vulgar and common sort of people) so diuided he their Offices and vocations also. Vnto the *Patricii* or such as descended of the *Senators*, hee left the liberal professions (*viz.*) the bearing of Armes and Offices, the making of Sacrifices, the deciding of controversies in Lawe, and the administration of all busineses belonging in publique vnto the citie and Commonweale: But to the *Common people* he left the bearing of Armes, also the tilling of the ground & the feeding of cattle: other base trades and occupations (not becoming free-men borne) he assigned vnto strangers, Marchandize, and seruile ministries, he wholly committed vnto them.

The Romans themselves, he would not haue to exercise any base trade, or laborious and painefull businesse; vnto whom hee forbade all vnhonest maner of gaine, for all such manner of gaining was thought vnseemly vnto such as were *Fathers* in the Common-weale: neyther in ancient time could one be chosen *Senator*, or one of the *Patricii*, but by an expresse Law, to that end and purpose propounded to the people, which was the greatest office belonging vnto a *King*, a *Consul*, or a *Dictator*. But in what things the *Patricii* were discerned from the common sort of the *People*, is by many examples tried: for the *Patricii* which excelled in Nobility, and which were honestly begotten and well brought vp, had a *Tablet* or *Tewell* on their breasts, and little Moones on their feet, for they vsed Irony Buckles, crooking horned wile, like vnto the *Moone*, which they say was ordained by *Numa*, that *Senators* and their posterity, should vnto their black shoes

tie Moones, as if by the Character of the *Moone*, the number of an hundred had beene designed and figured, in which number the *Senators* were then contained. But the *Tablet* they wore was of Gold, made in forme of an heart, where-with they of auncient time, are reported to haue also sealed their Letters: which *Tablet* free-borne boyes, and the sonnes of such as had serued on horse-backe, vfed to weare, together with the imbrodered Gowne called *Prætexta*, vntill they were seuteene yeares olde, which time expired, they then in a solemne feast hangd it vp vnto their household, or harth-gods, whom they called *Lares*. Euerie honourable and noble youth wore this *Prætexta* or imbrodered Gowne about his coat, but after child-hoode past, this *Prætexta* being left off in the seuteenth year, and sometime in the sixteenth, and fifteenth also, they put on the gowne (called *Toga virilis*) or *Mans Gowne*: that which was imbrodered with Purple, was wont to be giuen only to them whose fathers had borne the great Offices (called *Curules*) or some other great honors. The order of *Gentlemen*, and the *Common sort of People*, in auncient time did weare no Purple: The garment of the *Tribune of the People*, and of them of the *Comminaltie*, was a cloake, such as they called *Sagæ*, *Endromides*, and *Cuculli*, *Casocks*, *Maniles*, and *Cloakes with hoodes*. But in succeeding times, the *Commoners* indeede did weare Purple, but yet different from that which the *Senators* wore (*viz.*) of a darke colour, and died with the iuyce of hearbs, and not with the right *Tyrian purple die*. Beside that, the *Patricii*, by the institution of *Romulus* had the *Auspicia* or offices of *Divination* belonging vnto them, and the *Senate* the offices of Priesthood. But this ordinance (saith *Dionysius*) continued not long, for that al things were made common with them of the *Comminalty*.

And lest any man should thinke the dignitie of the *Patricii*, and of the *Senators* to be the same; *Tacitus* reporteth, the Emperour *Claudius* to haue selected out of the *Senate*, euery one of the most auncient sort of the *Senators* into the number of the *Patricii*, there being now but a few left of those families which *Romulus* called *Atiurum*, and *Lucius Brutus*, *Ma-turum Gentium*. But there is another thing where-

The vice of the
Prætexta
imbrodered
Gowne.

Signe
Endromides
Cucullus.

whereat thou wilt happily more maruell, which is, that the *Comminaltie* growing strong (as there was a passing ouer from the Rate of a *Commoner* vnto the degree of one of the *Patricii*) so diuerse of the *Patricii* also went ouer vnto the *Comminaltie*, and so became of their numbers. The election of the *Senators*, according to the alterations and changes of times, belonged sometimes vnto the *Kings*, afterward to the *Consuls*, and to the *Dictators*. After the *Kings* driuen out, we reade, the *Consuls* to haue chosen such of the *Patricii* as were dearest vnto them, and afterward some of the *Commoners* also to bee *Tribunes* of the *Souldiers* with *Consular* power, vntill that it was by the Law provided, that the *Censors* should Warde by Warde make choice of them in the *Senate*. By and by after a substance was required for the creating of a *Senator*, and if he that was so chosen, did afterward waste and weaken his said substance, he lost also his order and degree.

Wherefore it is manifest, the *Romain Nobilitie* to haue beene established in the dignitie of the *Patricii*, and of the *Senators*, which not to haue beene denied vnto the Order of *Gentlemen*, we gather of that which followeth, although some others be of other opinion. *Dionysius* affirmeth, three hundred *Gentlemen* to haue beene chosen by *Romulus*, out of the most honourable Families, tenne out of euery Warde. Some of the *Gentlemen* were such as serued vpon a publique horse, altogether in the Citie; other some of them were such as serued vpon a priuate horse in the Armie abroad. The publique horse the *Censor* appoynted, and publique Horse-men, or *Gentlemen*, he created, as well out of them that were descended from the *Senators*, as out of the *Comminaltie*, who at length were for their substance created also, as were the *Senators*. But a *Gentleman*s substance was foure hundred thousand *Seiterices*, which being consumed and spent, the reputation and dignitie of a *Gentleman*, therewith took end also. *Isidore* writeth, That although a man were by birth a *Senator*s sonne, yet vntill he came to lawfull yerres, he was but a *Romain Gentleman*, & so afterward came into the order of the *Senators*. *Lucy* bringeth in *Perseus* King of *Macedon*, thus speaking. *Equites Romani*

principis inuentis, Equites Seminarium Senatus, inde lectos in patrum numerum Consules, inde imperatores creant. The *Romaine Gentlemen* (saith he) are the Princes of the youth, the *Gentlemen* are the *Seminarie* of the *Senate*, out of them being chosen into the number of the *Fathers*, they create their *Consuls*, out of them they create their *Generals*. The *Romaine Gentlemen* did weare the *Robe of Estate*, neither could any man be of the order of the *Gentlemen* of Rome, but that hee must be free-borne. Wherefore, to be a *Romain Gentleman*, was somewhat a greater matter, then simply to be a free man borne. Yet *Pliny* hath written, the wearing of Rings, to haue inferred and put a middle and third Order into the People; and them to haue begunne to be euerie where renowned, and to haue diuided the other Order from the vulgar sort of People, or the *Comminaltie*; as if hee should haue saide, The *Gentlemen* at the first to haue beene *Commoners*, but afterward to haue been men of better note & make: which according to the words of *Isidore* before recited, may seeme to be compared vnto the *Senators* children, who were accounted among the *Equites* or *Gentlemen*, vntill they came vnto the *Senators* age.

In the question of *Nobilitie*, not onely the ignorant, but euen the learned also, much erre, whilst they agree not vpon the proper signification of these words, *Eugenia*, *Nobilitas*, *Generosus*, *Nobilis*, *Ingenius*, *Gentilis*; that is, Honour of birth, *Nobility*, a *Gentleman*, a *Nobleman*, a man free borne, a *Gentleman*, For while they interpret *Eugenia* the Greeke word, *Nobilitas* in Latine (and with vs *Nobility*) the more generall word is brought in place and steed of the more particular: or as the *Logicians* vse to say, *Genus pro Specie*. For why, *Eugenia* or honour of birth, is but the one kinde of *Nobilitie*, called *Natine*, (and not all kinde of *Nobilitie*) requiring a certaine antiquitie of stocke, of riches, and of vertues as *Aristotle* would haue it) whose words are these: *Non diuites, neque boni, sed qui à virtutibus, diuitijs, vel antiquis bonis descenderunt Eugenes sunt habendi*: Not the rich men onely, neyther the good men alone, but they which haue descended from Vertues, Riches, and good Aunccestors, are

to

A Senators
substance.

A publique
horse.

A Senators
sonne, vntill he
came to be of
lawfull yerres
accounted but
a Gentleman
of Rome.

A Tablet
A little Moone

Why the Ro-
mans vsed Irony
Buckles, Crook-
ing horned wile,
like vnto the Moone,
which they say was
ordained by Numa,
that Senators and
their posterity, should
vnto their black shoes

Eueriatur
Nobilitate
bath.

to be accounted *Noblemen borne*.

Nobility of birth, which is called *Eugenia*, is of *Oforus* defined: *Splendor vel dignitas generis in quo maxime virtutes extiterunt vitæ & Communi salutare & commodum*. The latter or dignity of stocke, wherein most great vertues haue flourished, wholesome and commodious for the common vse of mans life. Which *Oforus* is affirmeth, to be as it were subject to rottenesse, and with olde age to be able to be consumed and ended. But this rule is not in our Court receiued. *Symon Symonius* in these words reprooueth *Oforus*, his name being concealed, or else some other man of the same opinion with him. *Supine loquuntur qui aunt quendammodum summa Senectus mentis vni & consilium debilitat, sic etiam Nobilitas splendorem mediocri vetustate augeri, extrema vero Senectus confici*. They speake ydly (saith he) which say, that as great old age doth weaken the force & iudgement of the minde, so also, the glory and lustre of *Nobility* to be with moderate antiquitie increased, but yet to be with extreme olde age extinguished. For as the similitude (saith he) agreeth not, so neyther doth it well conclude: For the more ancient that a Stocke or Familie is, by so much the credit and reputation thereof is greater. And yet hee the sayde *Symon* forgetting himselfe in another place stumbleth at the same stone, by setting bounds and limites vnto the same *Engenia*, or *Natine Nobility*, and by decreeing that a long and continue race of Noble Progenitours, in whom great vertues haue oftentimes shined vnto the number of three discens, doth make a true Noble Stocke, or *Eugenia*. And that the beginning of a Stocke or Familie, is no further to be deriued, then from the fourth Predecessor, left in searching further, euen *Kings* themselves (as *Isayth Plato*) should be deriued from *Slaves*, or *Slaves from Kings*.

Of this *Eugenia* or *Natine Nobility*, all ages haue best thought, but yet so, as that all the right of *Nobility* should vpon it be ground: for a man may be Noble, although he be no *Eugenes*, or from *Nobles* descended; yea, he may be more honourable then he which is so descended, although not so ancient a *Gentleman*. As a new made Earle, compared with an

Esquire of a most auncient Familie. As *Agathocles*, of a Potter made a King. What was *Romulus*? VVhat was *Tullius Hostilius*? And what was *Tarquinius Priscus*?

But let vs now come to search out the signification of the aforesaid words: The *Romaines* diuided their People into *Free-men* and *Slaves*; of *Free-men*, some were of Bond-slaves made *Free-men* (whom they called *Libertini*) other-some, were *Free-men borne*, (whom they called *Ingeniti*.) The *Libertini* were Citizens of *Rome*, who were three wayes manumitted or made free; that is to say, by Will or Testament, or in the open Congregation or assembly of the people, or before some publique *Magistrate* which had power so to doe. And hereupon happily in auncient time, when as this our Kingdome was much oppressed with seruite state and condition, the word *Franklin*, for a man made free, or enfranchised, was in vse, except you had rather it to haue beene vse, for a *Free-borne-man*.

But they were called *Ingeniti*, or *Free-borne-men*, who neyther themselves, neyther their Aunccestors had euer serued as *Slaves*. And their Aunccestors they reckoned vp, euen from their Grand-father, which is euident by these words of *Linie*. *An nunquam fundo audistis Patricios primos esse factos non è Calo dimissos, sed qui patrem Cicere Auamque possint*? Did you euer heare it spoken, the *Fathers* to haue beene first made, and not sent downe from Heauen, but such as could reckon vp their Father and Grand-father: that is to say, nothing but *Free-borne-men*.

Freedom of birth, opened a way vnto all degrees of Honours, which (euen as *Politick Nobility*) was cyther *Natine*, or *Datiue*; that is to say, by birth, or by gift. *Natine Freedom* was by certayne *Magistrates* giuen, and as length or else by Princes themselves, and that two manner of wayes, the one secretly and not so plainly, by the gift of a *Ring*, the other more expressely by name and perfectly, by restoring of men to their birth or blood. And whereas men of seruile condition were but by one name called and knowne, *Free-borne-men*, and *Men of free estate* and condition, had two or more names. And the name which they tooke from their Stocke or Familie, is called

Gentile.

Of Free-men
some were
Free-men, of
some were
Free men
borne.

A Familie,

Ingeniti or
freedom of
Birth.

The name
Gentiles
is
from the
Gentilis
which
is
a
Latin
word.

Who are
to be
accounted
Gentiles,
or
gentile
and
family.

Gentile, or proper to them of that race or kindred. And yet it is to be noted, names giuen by chance, sometime to become proper to a stocke or family. As *Tullius* was a name proper & peculiar to a Familie, but *Cicero* was a name gotten by chance, and fained of the Pulle called *Cicer*, (or the *Cichpe(e)*) the forme whereof one of that family had vpon the end of his nose, who thereof was first so surnamed: but that same name of *Cicero* began to be *Gentile* or proper to that Familie, as to *Cicero the Orator*, to his Brother, and to their posterity. Truly in his *Tropicks* defineth, *Gentiles esse qui eodem inter se sunt nomine, qui ab Ingeniis oriundi sunt, quorum Maiorum nomen seruitutem seruierit: qui Capite non sunt dimittunt*, them to be *Gentiles* (or of the same stocke and family) which are among themselves of the same name descended of *Free-borne-men*, none of whose Aunccestors had serued as *slaves*, or had beene condemned to loose their liberty, state, or Country.

They which were called *Gentiles* (or of the same stocke or family) were of necessity to be descended from *Ingeniti* or *Free-borne-men*; for that of *Slaves*, and of them whom they called *Libertini* or men of *slaves* made free, there is not stock or family. Wherefore, the right of *Gentility*, or of hauing of a Stocke and Familie, although it was different from *Nobility*, yet is it not to be doubted, but that it was in great esteeme & reuerence among the *Romaines*, and to them, to haue aboue all things desired to be called *Gentiles*, as men that had beene descended from some good stocke or kindred. And that desire hath euen yet vnto this day possessed all Italy.

For among the *Venetians* they are called *Gentilhomini*, who deriue their stock from the first Inhabitants of that Island; and which are themselves *Patricii*, or descended from the *Senators*. And that word *Gentilhomini*, as it were by hand deliuered from the *Italians* to the *Frenchmen*; from the *Frenchmen* removed to vs; and at the length, together with the new place of dwelling, hath begunne to put a new signification, differing from that which *Gentilis* or *Gentilitas* was of, amongst the auncient *Romaines*.

For it is false which some, & they learned also, haue deliuered, *Gentilitie* to haue

been proper onely vnto the *Patricii*: for why, it was common vnto the vulgar sort of the people (as was *Ingenuitas* it selfe) which appeareth by this one place of *Suetonius*. *Patricia gens Claudia* (but etiam & alia plebeia nec potentia minor nec aequitate) orta est in Regibus. The *Clauian* stocke and family, of the order of the *Patricii*, (for there was another house of them also of the Comminalty, neither in power nor in dignity inferior to the other) rise vp at *Regills*. But they seeme to haue beene deceived, by that which *Livy* writeth, *Romulus* to haue created an hundred *Senators*, which he called *Minorum gentium* (or of the greater families) and *Brutus* another hundred also, called *Minorum gentium* (or of the lesser families). But this proueth not, that we must therefore grant, only them of the order of the *Patricii*, to haue had a stocke and family; neither did this so calling of them, *Minorum* and *Minorum gentium*, diuide them from the common people, but theselves among themselves only; for that, where as they were all chosen of *Free-borne-Citizens* (and which had their stocke and family) yet such of the as *Romulus* had created, brought the honour of the order of the *Patricii* sooner into their stocke and family, then did they whom *Brutus* had freed vnto them. They are also called *Gentiles*, who in likenes of name agree among themselves (although there be no kindred amongst them at all.)

Among the *Athenians* they were called *Gentile*, that is to say, *Gentiles*, not they which were ioyned among themselves in stocke or blood, but were of those sort of people, who diuided into Wardes, grew into a certaine society and fellowship among themselves. For among the *Athenians* there were foure Tribes, and euery Tribe was diuided into three Wardes, which made twelue Wardes. And euery Warde was diuided into thirty parts, which they called *Gentes* or Kindreds. But againe to the purpose.

VVhy a Stock or family among the *Romaines* is so be deriued from the *Grandfather*, neyther could consist but in two at the least (viz) the *Grandfather* and the *Father*. Some thinke the reason thereof to be, for that the *Latine* word *Gens* significeth a multitude, which requireth mo then one; and yet *Gens* seemeth to be called, as

R r it

it were *Gense*: (that is to say a stock or kindred) the Letter V. being taken away. Howbeit these two words differ, the one of them from the other, for that *Gens* signifies a stocke and beginning; but *Gens* importeth as it were a certain multitude of Stockes, and of beginnings of Families and Houses.

Ingeniuty, or freedom of birth, had the Ornaments thereof from nature, and had respect vnto liberty, which it still deriued from the Grand-fathers. But *Gentility* was a matter of the ciuill Law, and was referred vnto the ancientnesse of *Agnation* (or kindred by the fathers side) differing from the other onely in antiquity of stocke: for it is not needfull to deriue or take *Agnation* farther then from the Father.

Which if it bee so, then *Gentility* and *Nobility* are all one and the same thing. And they confound *Gentility* (whereof the common people no lesse want and boast, then doe the *Noblemen*) with *Nobility*: which deny him to bee a Noble-man by birth, but he whose Grandfather was *Noble*; neither agree they with themselves, when they dare to affirme (but by what authority I knowe not) *Nobility* together with the seed of the Parents to bee passed ouer vnto their posterity, according vnto that saying of *Mantuan*:

Qui virt in folijs venit à radicibus humor:
Et patrum in natos abeunt cū semine mores.

The beauty of the fairest branch,
doth from the roote proceede:
And so the Fathers manners do
in their off-spring abide.

And otherwise out of *Horace*:

Est in Inuencis, est in equis patrum
Virtus: neq; imbellem feroces
Progenient Aquila Columbam.

In Bullockes, and in Horses eke,
the Syres worth we proue:
Nor doth the hardy Eagle hatch,
the weak and fearefull Dove.

By which Analogies, the learned Poets very well about to stirre vp Noble and courageous youths, to the imitating of their Fathers vertues, being otherwise not ignorant *Nobility* whereof we intreat to be a thing ciuill or *Politically*, & not naturall. And indeed of vnreasonable creatures, there be diuers kindes, but of men there is but one fort. VVherefore, as an

Eagle bringeth not forth a Dove, so neither doth a man beget a Hare. But admit that good men are begotten of good Parents, and valiant men, of valiant fathers. But if this be vnto mankind proper, why are not good and valiant children begotten by good and valiant common persons also? For why, they are men alwe as the other, but nothing is then this rule more deceitfull. For through the corruption of mans nature, we see it oftentimes to happen, an vnthrifty sonne to be borne of a thrifty Father: a foole, to be begotten of a wise man; a Coward, of a valiant man. Neither is this now any noueltie or new matter, but such as tooke roote euen in the first corruption of our Nature. For accursed *Caine* was the first begotten sonne of *Adam*, a most good father, and of him the same was good *Abel* begottē. *Jacob* also and *Esau*, were the twines of a most blessed father: of which two, God loued the one, and hated the other. And if there be any thing of great operation, which is passed ouer together with mans seede, it is altogether vice; so farre off is it from being of any vertue, which is cuer with labour and study begotten, but born neuer. An Emperour (as *Ferretus* writeth) for his bodily substance is no better then other men; and yet for the highnes of his dignity, is most like vnto God. *Demosthenes* saith also, wicked Sonnes (as it were by a certaine fatall destinie) to bee borne of good Parents. It is also commonly laide in the Greeke Prouerbe, *The misfortunes of the Worthies Sonnes*. VVhat should I produce the *Mathematicians* and *Astrologers*, which affirme *Nobilitie* and *Ignobility* much more certainly to depend of the force and influence of the starres, then of the constitution of parents.

And yet the vulgar sort, and not without cause, vse to expect some greater thing in Princes children, then in poore mens; of which their hope and expectation, there are many causes alledged, as the great means Noblemen haue, for the best bringing vp and instructing of their children (for it is a shame vnto the sonne if he should degenerate from his Father, being a Nobleman.) In briefe, the plenty of Kinsmen and Friends giuing the good Counsell. Neither was the Poets minde any other, if you marke his conclusion.

De

*Ubi quid in
genus diffusi
dilectio uis:
Nobilitas uisus
est per se
ipsa.*

*Doctrina sed vim premoens infirmam
Religio: cū uisus pectora roborant.*

*Instruction, helps Dame Natures power,
And teaching, strength those mindes of ours.*

By *Natures ingrafted or hidden power*, hee vnderstandeth certayne seedes of vertues, which by the goodnesse of God alone, are yet in mans Nature, which become not otherwise fruitfull then do the seeds of Hearbs, according vnto the manner and fashion that they are manured & ordered with; so that a man well brought vp, may much more easily obtayne Philosophicall Nobilitie, then can a man that hath bene well borne.

Wherefore poore Country-mens Children, who know nothing more then their beafts and cattell, seeme rather to be rude *Silvans* then men. Whereas others, borne in better place, euen in the same Schooles, and in the same Studies, strue with Noble-mens Children, and would to God they did not so do, both with greater profit and praise.

Other reasons yet remaine, which proue *Politically Nobilitie* not to bee a thing substantiall, but meer accidentall: for why, it may be both present and absent, without the corruption of the subject whereof it dependeth; so that the passage thereof may be letted by some heynous offence committed. It is also lost by voluntary departing or relinquishing of the same (when as Nature in the meane while cannot be thrust away with a forcke) which wee reade to haue bene done, of many of the Romaine *Patricijs*, who refusing their *Patrician* dignity, took on them the state and condition of the vulgar sort, or Commoners. Now many, through the Lawyers termes, are in this matter deceived, who call the extinguishing of Nobility for some offence committed, *The corruption of blood*: which manner of phrase and speech, they vse not, for that *Nature Nobility* is naturally and essentially in the humour of blood, more than other hereditarie facultie, but because the right of inheritance, which is by the degrees of the communication of blood directed, is by that meanes determined or ended, & in hatred of the crime, it is called *Corruption*, with the infection whereof, all their children are polluted and defiled.

Neither can a stronger argument be

devised, to proue *Nobility* not to be mingled with the blood, then that the *Nobility* of the Grandfather ennobleth not his nephue by his son, condemned to lose his liberty, late, or country. Of which this ciuill institution, a naturall reason is giuen; to wit, for that an vnable man leteeth & hindereth the extreame to be ioyned together. But yet it was wont to be demanded with vs, no otherwise the it was long agoe with the ancient Romans, whether the nobility of the father being a *Senator*, do profit his son, being borne before his father had obtained that dignity? And whether such Nobility in the son, be *Nature* or *Dative*? Whereunto I answer, The child by our custom, to be immediately by his fathers nobility ennobled, & their children, like the boughes of a tree, removed into a richer ground, are green & flourish with the same new moisture that the bodie of the tree doth. And such Nobility hath deserved to be called *Nature*, for that it extendeth not but to them, which are borne of such a father. As for example: A Baron, being honored with the title of an Earle, his first begotten son forthwith taketh vnto him the title of some *Barony*, and all his daughters are saluted *Ladies* and *Adames*.

Wherefore we conclude *Nature nobility* to be drawne from the father, & not to be needfull for vs to seek for it further: for it may be, that sometime it cannot be deriued from the grandfather, as in case that some great offence of the father come betwixt: for a man borne of a noble father is without all doubt by descent noble. But if anie man wil contend him, not properly to be *Eugenes* or nobly descended; I answer, the common sort of people most of all, do respect the same, but the *Iudiciall Court* to haue thereof no care at all. For otherwise some new Princes should be of lesse *Nobility*, then some meane Noblemen, if the priuileges of Nobility should be bestowed, after the ballance of proper and true *Eugenia*. Adde moreouer, that if true *Eugenia* should be vrged, it requirerh not only our great grandfathers grandfather, but euen all the rest of our ancestours in continuall order, after them to be *Noble*, *Rich*, profitable for the Common-weale, good mē, & without spot or imputation.

An hard speech indeed, but an harder rule, and a consequence, of all most hardest.

Rr 2

hardest

Nature Nobility is not necessary to be deriued from the father.

*Ingeniuty hath
the grace
thereof from
Nature.*

hardest: Such a noble descended person, is a rare Bird, and yet some such there be: but concerning that matter, heare *Aristotles* opinion. *Eugenius*, verily (saith he) I haue found but in few, and no where an hundred good *Eugenies*. Wherefore the Athenians called their Noblemen by more vñall words, *Eupaterios* and *Eupatrides*, as who should say, *Men borne of Noble fathers*: although I do know these words to be oftentimes confounded with the word *Eugenies*.

I haue frankly affirmed Nobilitie to descend from the father to the children; and what if I should say the same force to be in the Mothers nobilitie also? Surely, both reason and the opinions of Doctors, and ancient customes also, will be present for the defence of this cause. If Nobility draw any thing naturall at all from the Parents, almost the whole constitution of the Child, is to be giuen vnto the Mother. It hath also such shape (if we may beleue Philosophers) as the Mother conceiue, together with the seede. For first, it taketh life from the Mother, it taketh likewise nourishment of and from the Mother, encreasing from the Mother; and in briefe, by the consent of all men, it, together with spirit and vitall humour draweth from the mother, aff. ctions, Vertues and vices. And that such power is in the Mother, it is manifest by the precepts of Physicians, who command Parents to be most careful to what Nurses they put their children to be nursed. In briefe, if the vertue of the Father be in the children to be reuerenced, why should not the Mothers be so also? The manner of the Sex, doth neither diminish nor encrease Nobilitie, which is for it selfe to be desired. Nay, in tender women it seemeth to haue both more admiration and grace.

It is of a certayne Lawyer well written; That amongst the causes for which the honour and dignitie of persons, is encreased or diminished, that is of others the lightest, which is drawne from the difference of the Sex: *Ispanius* reporteth, the fūnes of the women of the *Illyries*, of *Delphos*, and of *Pontus*, to haue bene assigned vnto the houses of their Mothers, and not of their Fathers. *Plutarch* writeth, that amongst the *Ximthij*, the Sons were ingrafted into the stocke

and family of their Mothers, and from them the name of the stocke and kindred to be deriued, and not from their Fathers. The same thing *Herodotus* reporteth of them of *Licia*: as that they should take the name and credite of their stocke and kindred from their Mothers, and that he was with them a free-borne-man, and Noble, that was borne of a free-born-woman, and Noble; although his Father were a Slaue or base common person; yea, and by the Lawes of the *Romaines*, the Sonnes in some cases follow the beginning of their Mothers. Neyther is it a thing vñheard of with vs, nor with other Nations, Sonnes to haue taken vnto themselves, names from their Mother, which were of greater nobility then their Fathers; as *Kainatus de Clara*. *Spartianus* and *Trebellius Pollio*, haue written, *Marcianus* or *Macrinus*, to haue bene by his Mother noble, his Father being but one-ly a valiant and martiall man. You may also with *Cornelius Tacitus* reade this sentence: *Iam depulso Nerone, quisnam eligeretur inquirebant, ex omnibus Rubellius Plancus, cui Nobilitas per matrem ex Julia familia. Nero* being now deposed, great inquiry was made, who should be chosen, and *Rubellius Plancus* was in euery mans mouth, who was nobly borne by the mothers side of the *Julian* Family. And from these, *Virgil*, *Ouid*, and *Statius* *Papinius* disagree not, whose verses I haue thought good heere to set downe.

VIRG.

*Genus huic materna superbum
Nobilitas dabit: incertum de Patre serbat.
His Mothers noble birth, to him did giue a noble race,
For by his fathers side he was, born but obscure & base.*

OVID.

*Nil quoque per matrem Cylonenon addita nobis
Altera Nobilitas.*

*And by my Mother Cylonis,
Is doubled my Nobilitie.*

IDEM.

*Hinc sibi Evander, qui quancumq; clarus vitæque,
Nobilior sine, sanguine matris erat. (were
From hence did old Evander come, who though he noble
By both sides, yet by Mothers blood, more noble did
appear)*

PAPINIVS.

*Sed quicquid patrii celsatū est sanguine, mater
Reddidit, obsequiumq; lotus clarissime vidit
e oculis genitrix domus.
Stemmate materno solus, virtute paterna.*

What

What wanted in the Fathers blood, the Mothers did requite the same; And the base house reioyced much, by such a match to grow to fame. By Mothers Stocke accounted blest. And Fathers vertues with the best.

Now the Reason which many Doctors bring, to proue the Sonne to be partaker of his Fathers Nobilitie, is this; *Eucritie* thing compound, partaketh of the forme and matter which agreeth to both the parents. Wherefore, where the Law repugneth not with reason, this rule is to be helden for true.

And now concerning *Nobilitie Datine* (or by birth) I haue thus much spoken: and from hence I will directly proceede vnto *Nobility Datine*, or to *Nobility* which cometh by gift.

CHAP. V.

¶ The diuers beginnings of Nobilitie Datine.



Being about to search out the other kinde of *Political* or *Ciuill Nobilitie* (viz.) *Nobilitie Datine*, and that even from the first beginning thereof, certayne things before sayde, seeme heere necessarily to be againe called vnto remembrance. Their argument is first to be refused, which say: That seeing *Adam* was a common Father vnto all men, whereof cometh it, that one man should be better then another? It is thereunto answered out of the same *Olde Testament*, out of which the question is risen, beeing of the like Authoritie and credite both with the Christians and the Iewes. *Noah* when he had planted a Vineyard, and had tasted of his planting, hauing drunke of the wine, lay drunken and bare in his Tent. And *Cham* seeing the priuities of his father, tolde it to his brethren, who vpon a naturall honestie and vertue, with a Claske cast vpon their shoulders covered their sleeping father with their eyes turned from him, and not

seeing their Fathers nakednesse. But *Noah* awaked, and knowing what his younger sonne had done vnto him, he cursed *Cham*, commanding him to be a slave of all finnes. By this shamefull and vnworthie fact, *Cham* with all his generation, carryed away his Fathers curse, seruitude, and the Title of obscure and base persons; whereas contrary-wise, *Sem* and *Iaphet* found all the Names and Titles of Honestie, Nobilitie, and Vertue, and their Fathers blessing withall.

The *Datine Nobilitie*, whereof our present speech is, was for many causes rayfed and inuented. And first of all, vpon vrgent necessitie. For when as euill and wicked men preuayled, and good and honest men were oppressed: it was necessarie the good to be distinguished from the badde, and for the preservation of the publique tranquillity, to be seperated and diuided from them: wherefore, wise, iust, and vertuous men, and the lights, as it were, of the world, shining before others, were set ouer the rest, that they might bee vnto all men an example of godlie and honest life, that they might decide and determine all things. And at that time such wise men and prouiders for the Common-weale seemed by vertue to procure vnto themselves *Nobilitie*. For the olde Proverbe prevailed with them: *Vertue*, and not blood to ennoble men. Such men were by the People called, chosen, & appointed Counsellors and Iudges, who by their subiects were elected and created *Kings* and *Princes*. And they, which for their worthy deeds had obtained such honourable Titles and Offices, ennobled both themselves and their posterity.

Another cause also why *Nobility* began to be honoured, was the Ignorance & vnskillfullnesse of the vulgar and Common sort of people, who haue their sence, reason and vnderstanding so dispersed and scattered, as that they cannot gather, discern, or iudge any thing certaine, firme, or sound. Wherefore, for the maintenance of the publique peace and tranquillity, it was necessarie to make choice of *Princes* (that is to say, of *Gouernours*) men, for their vertue and wisdom, famous and Noble, who might compose and set in order the troubled estates, for lacke of knowledge disordered, and

Rr 3

with

Nobilitie is the
cause of Nobilitie.

The ignorance
of the vulgar
and common
sort.

It is to be
hard thing to
affirme that
Nobility may
be deriued
from this mo-
ther.

with singular wisdom, and action, as it were by a certaine cunning, drawe the rude people vnto a more ciuill kinde of life, and courtesie of behaviour: such as were *Iupiter, Pallas, Ceres, Bacchus, Apollo*, and many others. And these men, by their wisdom, vertue, and skill, obtayned not onely the Titles of Nobilitie and Dignity, but were of the vnskilfull multitude, accounted for gods also, and receiued from them euen diuine honors.

We see *Nobilitie* to haue risen also, of the abundance of wealth and riches: for many pinched with extreame pouer- tie, enforced to hang vpon the richer sort, and giuing themselves altogether ouer into their power, reputed them for *Noblemen*, and for such, both esteemed of them, and honoured them.

Nobilitie also beganne of Noble and worthy acts done; for in auncient time, when as Nations were by their enemies oppressed, if any valiant and courageous man had from such oppression deliuered his Country, he therefore was aboute o- ther men worthily honoured. Many also in auncient time by Martiall prowesse obtained *Nobilitie*, and therefore of the peo- ple accounted Noble: as was *Dauid* for the death of *Goliath* the *Philistine*. Some, immediately from God were elected and called vnto Nobilitie, as *Iosua, Gedeon, Iephtha*, and the rest of the *Iudges of Israel*, who were Generalls ouer great Armies: other some, were againe by God chosen euen from the Plough, to be rulers ouer the people, as the Princes of the twelue Tribes of *Israel*. King *Saul* called out of the field; *Dauid* from feeding of his flock, who thought themselves vterly unwor- thy of such a princely calling. But such as God hath ennobled, are of vs aboute all others to be accounted most noble.

Yea, no small part, but euen the great- est part of *Datiue Nobilitie*, gained vnto themselves honor and glory by their skill in martiall affaires, carrying home with them victory and triumph ouer their ene- mies; so as did *Horatius Cocles, Titus Manlius, Scipio Africanus*, and his brother *L. Scipio Asiaticus*: I speake not of great Emperours, such as were *Vespatian, Domitian, Nerva, Traian, Antonius, Seuerus, Theodosius*, and many others, who were part of them accounted *Fathers of their Country*; part of them *Benefactors*, but

all of them best *Princes*, whose Images are vpon their Coines, euen yet carried about; and publique Statues were in the honour of them, with certaine soleinne Ceremonies erected, to the intent that all others with their valour and vertue, should with their decedes, as it were, in struing-wise, aspire and grow vnto the like glory.

Others also, borne of most base and low condition, who by Armes in time of warres, for their wisdom and courage, haue bene promoted to be great *Empe- rours, Casars, Dukes, Princes and Earles*: as were *Tullius Hostilius, Numa Pompi- lius, Tarquinus Priscus, Iulius Cesar, Oc- tavianus Augustus*, and such other like, from hence, tooke the beginning of the Titles of their vertues. For certaine it is, at the first vnder the *Roman Empire*, when as they had subdued the *Germanes, Itali- ans, the Spaniards, the Britains, the Gauls*, and other most mighty kingdoms, *Dukes, Earles, and Barons*, not then to haue bin in such fort, as now they be, but from thence to haue afterward sprung vp and risen. All their Offices were executed by *Tribunes and Lieutenants*. There was a greater *Tribune*, who was next vnto the Emperour and his successour. There was also a great Officer called *Tribunus Celerum*, Lieutenant of the Armie, of the light armed and most readie Souldiers. Those which with a *Cohort*, or band of men, were the Keepers, and had the guarding of the Emperours person, and they among the *Romanes*, which were of the first Order, next after the Emperour, were called *Tribuni Celerum*, as they were long agoe in the time of *Romulus*, and of the other fixe kings succeeding him.

The great Officers, called *Magistri Equitum*, or *Maisters of the Horsemen*, had like power with the *Dictators*, and with the Emperours, as *Lucius Peneftellus, Pomponius Latius de Magistratibus Roma- norum*; and also *Flavius Vegetius*, and *Marcus Cicero* do; intreating of Mar- tiall affaires, describe. But *Pomponius La- tius* writeth *Romulus* to haue called the Generall of an army, whom the *Germanes* call *Hertzogen* *Tribunū Celerum*. *Salust* in his Treatise concerning the Conspiracie of *Catiline*, hath called them *Dictatores, & Imperatores*; that is, *Dictators & Emperors*. Beside that, Great Magistrates called

Magnanimity
and wisdom

praefecti

Praefecti Pratorio, were of so great credit and authority, as if appeale had bin made from their sentence, they might againe appeale from the Emperour, vnto the *Praefecti Pratorio*. For most wise, good, and iust men, by the Emperours chosen out, were created *Praefecti Pratorio*, vnto who they were wont to commit almost the whole estate of the Common weale. The Emperour *Seuerus* granted many things vnto the Great Officers called *Praefecti urbis*, and *Praefecti Pratorio*, of all which, heere to speake, were but needlesse. For heere we speake onely of the authority of the *Praefectus Pratorio* (or Captain of the Guard) which the Emperour onely gaue vnto him, who is the chiefe, liuely, and ver- ry essentiall Law it selfe; who were of po- wer to thrust Citizens into exile, and to restore them vnto their estate againe. Vwhereby it is most euident, Princes and Governours of People to haue had the power and authority of the sword, to pu- nish the offenders, and to administer Ius- tice: whereby they were afterward thought to procure and get a great name of No- bility, both vnto themselves, and to their posterity: and right probable it is, the au- thority of Princes and Dukes to haue first risen of the *Tribuni* and *Praefecti*: which Princes, at such time as the *Romane* Em- perours remoued out of *Germany & Italy* into *Greece*, are read to haue taken vnto themselves the Imperiall power: which authority and regall priuiledges wee see (euen at this day) by Kings and Emperors to bee granted vnto Dukes and Princes: so that the election of Princes & Dukes dependeth not of their Subiects (as doth the election of Kings) but is Datiue, as of gift, to be referred vnto the fauour and bounty of the Emperours and Kings, to whom they haue bene subiect. And in the former times, the names of Duke and Prince were names of Offices, and not of Honours and Dignities. And so in the times of the *Romans*, the *Roman Kings*, their *Dictators* and *Consuls*, & also their Emperours, were in the administration of their ciuill affaires, all martiall men, both horsemen and footmen.

But beside these great Offices of the *Tribuni* and *Praefecti*, there were other publike offices and charges; some called *Ordinary*, for that they kept orders in the army, and stood in the front of the bat-

taile. Those in the time of *Augustus*, were wont to be called *Aquilifer*; and of *Fl. Vespatianus, Flauides*: some called *Aquiliferi*, carrying an Eagle in their En- signes, and other some called *Imaginary*, bearing the ensigne of the common or generall Army of the people of Rome notable with the Letters, *S. P. Q. R.* That is to say, *Senatus Populus, Que Romanus*: or the Senate and people of Rome, whom wee can more fitly compare vnto none, then to our Standard or Ensigne-Bearers.

But if wee would heere prosecute all things in order, this Treatise should with- out measure encrease. But now in this place wee onely goe about, slightly as it were to shew the beginnings of Noble Dignities & Offices, least any man should suspect them to be but altogether thin, & fained, and vpon no reason grounded. Rehearsing thele things in the mean time by the way, that when we shall come vnto our owne age, it may appeare, how much Powers, Dominions, and Nations differ among themselves. For they who in au- cient times were vnder kings and empe- rours appointed Governours ouer Regi- ons and Countries, are now become he- reditary possessors thereof: & they which before were but Noble Ministers or Ser- uants, are now become absolute Nobles.

Beside that, in the meane time it most plainly appeareth of that which is afore- said, that the kindred, stocke, and discent of the Nobility in former ages flourished and became famous onely for vertue, no- ble actes, and valour of minde. And that Vertue being set apart, wee are all forsa- much as concerneth mans nature, the sonnes of *Adam*. Vwherefore, according to the rule of Theologicall or Philoso- phicall Nobility (whereunto our Ance- stors especially addicted themselves) to boast of Nobility by birth, without ver- tue, was but a vaine thing.

*Quamgenus & Proasus & que non feci-
mus ipsi,
Vix canosita ducio.*

For our proud Stocke and Pedigree,
and things we did not make,
VVe scarce reckon them for our owne,
or for our owne them take.

VVherefore wee pray and exhort all
men,

men, that forasmuch as vertue commeth not by inheritance, euery man would endeavour himselfe, of himselfe to become Noble. For they which otherwise vaunt and boast of Nobility, seeme onely honourers of vertue, vpon another mans credite, and liue not by their owne, seeing that they be rather base persons, bearing themselves brag, vpon another mans vertue. But for the most part quite out of order, so the fashion and manner of the world now is. For what cannot flattery, the fauour of Princes, and too much indulgence do, and bring to passe.

PARERGON.



It is sufficiently manifest, by that which is aforesaid, what the iudgment of my Friend and Vncle Robert Glouer was, concerning Politicall Nobility in ancient time, amongst the Gentiles: which Philosophers heretofore, haue set forth to vs as a waunting thing, (and Diuines as a thing vncertaine) whilst they in speaking thereof omitted the Ciuill Rights of persons.

It were verily to be wished, that the ornaments of vertue should euery where be conferred and bestowed vpon none, but vpon such, as in whom vertue it selfe resteth: for that as the encreasing of honor, so the credite and reputation thereof also, is propounded to be gotten, not by ambition, but by industry. But seeing that Politicall Nobility is another thing, whereof there be diuers beginnings, and those of such sort and condition, as maketh in euery man that hath them, a beginning and excellency proper and peculiar to themselves, it is from the rest of the kindes of Nobility (viz. Theologicall and Philosophicall) by this only difference distinguished, that whilst they rest onely vpon Religion and Vertue, this Ciuill Nobility resteth vpon the custome of Nations.

In the prosecuting whereof, for that he finished not the same, I verily tooke it most greedously: for many things seemed to me to be therein wanting, which might much haue concerned the matter: As the

peculiar forme of enobling of men, vsed in euery kingdome apart, and especially in this Empire and Island, as the very method and order of the worke seemed to me to make shew of. But forasmuch, as he in his life time perfected not these things: For,

—*Absolut clarum cita mors Achillem.*—

Vntimely death soone tooke away Achilles, and clos'd him in clay.

Least *Pemisses* head being onely by *A-pelles* perfected, the body being not yet drawne, the whole worke in the meane time altogether imperfect or deformed, should lye neglected and vnregarded, I thought it a thing worth the labour, to supply that defect, with such things as hereafter follow: to the intent, that at length amongst others, I might in fewe words, and as it were at a glimpse, shew what orders of Nobility are with vs also: what Rites and Ceremonies are vsed in promoting of men vnto the degrees of Nobility, that from hence the forme of creating of the being before vnderstood, I might afterward with greater fruit, and fuller pleasure, come vnto the persons themselves, with their families, marriages, changes, and noble aages; and at length in a iust volume (if God shall see it good) more at large, and fully delight the Readers.

But if we shall compare these old and most ancient times of the Romane Empire with ours, wee shall finde no signe or token of that ancient Nobility in the Courts of Princes. If you shall seeke for such as they called *Patricij* or Senators (whom the Romanes reuerenced as men sent downe from heauen) you shall finde them no where but in Citties, exercising *Vfury* and Merchandize (trades vterly forbidden the Romanes) at whom (although within their owne walles they be much regarded and esteemed) our noble Courtiers were wont to scorne & iest. Or else if it please you, goe vnto the time of Pope *Priuan*, who (forsooth) made *Charles* the Sonne of King *Leues* the 8. in *France*, a Senator of *Rome*, when as he should rather of his owne right, haue graced him with the Cardinals hat. And indeede, it was a very ridiculous comparison

son of the French King his Sonne with a Senator of *Rome*, as the matter now standeth.

Wherefore let vs see, and as breiefely as we can touch, how, & by what degree after the empire of that City (which first built by *Shepheards*, at length became Mistress of the whole world) began to decline from so great an Estate, together with the change thereof, by little and little, drew with it the change of Noble dignities and titles also.

After the translating of the Romane empire by *Constantine* the Great, all that excellency of publicke dignities, whereof it is expressly and sufficiently enough before spoken, seemeth to haue bin changed into a certaine other forme, and a new manner of enobling of men to haue bin deuised. And verily, the names of Honours and Dignities in the east-empire, seeme to haue bene diuers from the west-empire: and the *Latines*, after the empire rent in funder, and seated at *Constantinople*, seeme to haue bene subiect vnto the *Greekes*. For he that was there next vnto the Emperour, eyther by reason of the neere closeness of blood, or by institution, and was of the *Latines* called *Primus* was of the *Greekes*, by a generall name saluted *Despotes*; that is to say, *Lord*: as he is at this day calld *Monsieur* among the *Frenchmen*. The later *VVriters*, were wont also to call him, the same man *Sebastus*, according as the emperors had deuised honourable titles, where-with they might grace their friends, and binde them vnto them. The third in dignity from the emperor, was the *Sebastocrator*: whom hee whom they called *Cesar*, followed as fourth.

But whilst the emperor *Basilius*, was wont to be called *Sebastus*, & also *Cesar*, he the same man, at one & the same time enjoying all these titles, these dignities were then as offices, and not as titles of honour. But afterward, they as honourable names of dignities, even without any offices at all belonging vnto them, began to bee according to the emperours pleasure, bestowed and disposed of. And for a time, the next in honour vnto the emperor, was called *Cesar*: as *The king of the Romanes* at this day, is in the *VVest*. But afterwards, *Sebastocrator* was the second in honour, & *Cesar* the third, at such time

as *Alexius Comnenus* appointed his Brother *Isaacius* to be *Sebastocrator*: of whom *Zonaras* speaketh more at large. And last of all *Alexius Paleologus* being *Despotes* was made next in honour vnto the Emperour, vnto whom he the same Emperor *Comnenus* hauing no Sonnes, betrothed his eldest daughter *Irene*, and graced him with the Title of the *Despotes*, as hee which should haue bene heire of the empire, if he had not before dyed.

Protophastus had the first place & degree of honour from the emperor. And at length *Panhyperphastus* began to be the most stately and maiestical name of all others, being a new title, of a new dignity, iauented by *Alexius Comnenus*, to gratifie *Michael Taronitus* withall. *Eparchus* was also a name of great honor, as who should say, the cheefe of all the Princiuall Presidents. *Contostolus* was Generall of the Auxiliary forces, which out of *France*, *Sicily*, and *Italy*, serued in the East. Whereof he was called *The Great Contostolus*: and otherwise *Comestabilis*, which of the *Italians* is interpreted *Contostabile*. *Trungarius* was he, which had the command of a Fleet at Sea. But him which commanded the Army at Sea, they called, *The great Duke*, and in Greek, *Megadux*, for difference sake, imitating therein the *Latines*. For he which led the Army at Land, was called *Egemon*; but hee which ruled at Sea, was called *Dux*. And ouer the Army at Land, commanded alwayes, eyther the emperor himselfe, or the *Despotes*, or the *Sebastocrator*, or the *Cesar*, or the *Panhyperphastus*. And vnto this Great Duke whom they had as cheefe Admirall, they made subiect all the Drungars of their Fleete, their Admirals, their *Proto-Comites*, and him the Great *Drungarius* himselfe, before whom they also appointed the emperours Statue on horse-backe (which they called *Contus*) to bee carried before him in their forces at Sea. They had also their Great *Logotheta*, whom we at this day call the Chancellor. Their *Logarithes*, whom the *Frenchmen* call *Controleur*. And their *Protostator*, or *Marshall* of their Army. Their *Primicerius* also and *Primangulios*, and many others of that sort, I willingly passe over, least in prosecuting of euery one, my discourse should grow too long and tedious. These were all honorable dignities, and that for the most part not

Protophastus
Panhyperphastus

Eparchus

Contostolus

Drungarius

Megadux

Egemon

The Great
Logarithes
Logarithes
Protostator

Primicerius
Primangulios

so much for the necessity of their Offices or order, as so made by the fauour and good liking of the Emperour.

But whilst it seemed so good vnto the Emperours, so to appoint the feare of the Empire at *Constantinople* (where all things now ly swallowed vp of the Turkes) they left the west bared of their Legions, and strengthened onely with Fortes, vndefended and subiect vnto the inuasions & fury of the barbarous Nations: vpon the fall and decay whereof, the ruine of the East Empire (at length) ensued also. *Italy* and *Affricke* was at that time gouerned by their *Exarchi*, *Toparchi*, *Comarchi*, *Carthularij*, *Spatharij*, *Gustuladi*, and *Capitani*. But at length, when *Narses* the Eunuch, and one of the *Romane Patrij*, was by *Iulianus* the Emperour, appointed Gouernour, he brought in them whom they called *Consulares*, *Præsides*, and *Correctores*. But after, that hee that *Narses*, prouoked with the iniuries and despights of *Sophia* the Emperesse (and with anger enraged) had called in thither the *Longobardes* out of *Pannonia*, they became by little & little to vary, concerning the titles of Honour, and names of Dignity.

For *Narses* being dead, *Longinus* (one of the *Romane Patrij* also) by the same Emperour chosen Gouernor or *Exarchus* in his stead in *Italy*, for the repressing of the *Longobards*, but a little before called forth by *Narses*, and euen now about to come, ordained Dukes thoroughout the Prouinces (haply to the imitation of *Constantine* the Emperour, who is reported to haue provided by Law, that Countreyes and Townes should be assigned to *Dukes*, *Earles*, and olde *Captaines*, which hauing log serued, were to be rewarded for their good seruice done and past.) And vnto this purpose tend the words of *Guichardine* himselfe, which I haue thought good hereunto also to adioyne.

By the translation of the Empire vnto *Constantinople* (saith hee) a way was opened vnto the power of the *Roman hyshops*, for the authority of the Emperours, dayly more and more weakened and decreasing in *Italy* (both by their continual absence, as also for that they were still busied with warres in the east) the people also by little and little revolting from them, & the City of *Rome* selfe, being at length oftentimes by the *Goths* and *Vandals* taken & sacked;

the authority of the Emperours began to decay and vanish away in *Italy*. But the barbarous people, at length againe diuened out of *Italy* by the power of the Emperours, the gouernment began againe to be managed by Grecke Magistres (of whom he which commanded ouer the rest, was called *Hexarchus*, and had his seate at *Raenna*) who appointed Gouernours ouer the rest of the Citties of *Italy*, which Gouernors they called Dukes. From hence, came the name of the *Hexarchship* of *Raenna*, wherein all places were comprehended, which had not Dukes of their owne, but were vnder the command of one *Hexarchus*. Not long after, a notable change and alteration of matters ensued from the *Longobardes*: For they, a most fierce and cruell people entering into *Italy*, possessed the country called *Gallia Cisalpina*, of whome it hath also taken the name of *Lombardie*. They added also vnto their Gouernment *Raenna*, with all the *Hexarchship* thereof, besides many other parts of *Italy*, extending their armes as farre as *Picenum*, *Spoleum*, and *Beneuentum*, ouer which, they appointed Gouernors to rule and command, whome they called Dukes, &c. So the *Longobards* raging and roaming farre abroad in *Italy*, at length, with thirty of their Dukes, in vaine attempted to haue taken the Cittie of *Rome*. And so it came to passe, according to the manner of warres, that the Titles of the dignities of the former empire being neglected, all things began to bee gouerned by the Generals and Commanders of the armies, viz. by such as they called *Dukes*, *Earles* and *Princes*.

These people, *Charles the Great*, son to *Pippin King of France*, by the *Romans* called into *Italy*, hauing taken *Ticinum*, the Metropolitall Cittie of the *Insubres*, & there *Ilain Desiderius* (of a *Consulable* promoted to be King of *Italy*) ouercame and subdued, and was forthwith by the generall consent of all men chosen emperor of the VVest Empire: who as hee would haue the Empire it selfe to be called, *The French Romane Empire*, so euen in the beginning thereof he had a purpose to make it hereditary, and made the *Great men*, & such as were with *Honourable Titles* graced, to be altogether free: and bound them by oath, as men in Fee, holding onely of the King, and of the Emperour: so

Dukes, Earles, Princes.

The French Romane Empire.

that if by chance they should fall from their faith and allegiance, or dye without issue, hee then ordained those their dignities to be transferred vnto others: & that his ordinance was called *Inuestitura*, or an *Inuestiture*. The bounds and townes of his kingdome, he committed to be gouerned by Counties or Earls. The bounds & borders they called *Marchias*, or *Marches*: whereupon, the Gouernours of the *Marches*, began to be called *Marchiarum Comites*, (or Counties of the *Marches*) and at length *Marchiones*, or *Marquesses*. And them whom he set and placed in the Prouinces, for the administration of Iustice, and the keeping of the people in their allegiance, were then called *Missi* (or *Men sen*) or otherwise *Legati*: that is to say,

The Emperours Legats or Lieutenants. But such as the people afterward of them felues created, for the administration of Iustice, and the gouernment of Citties, being two or moe in number, being chosen after the manner of the ancient *Roman* Common-weale, were called *Consuls*. The *French Romane* Empire, with this successe made by *Charles the Great*, wa: left vnto his posterity almost hereditary: which in short time after also, vnder the Emperour *Charles the Grosse* (Nephew in the fourth degree vnto *Charles the Great*, & before, King of *Germany*) deuolued from the *French-men* vnto the *Germanes*.

Vnto whom also (within a few yeares after) *Otto the Great*, King of *Germany*, and he Emperour, also succeeded: who following the steps of *Charles the Great*, gaue such perfections vnto his beginnings, in bestowing and disposing of honours & dignities, as that he is not so much for his firman and noble acties, to bee compared with the most mighty emperours, as for his wholesome Lawes, and herioicall Ordinances, of all posterity of right for euer to be commended. For this man, after the ancient manner of the *Longobards* and *French*, entertaining every most valiant man into his wars, graced with Royalties such of them, as had done him worthy & faithfull seruice, and these Royalties were all manner of dignities, lands, & gouernments of Prouinces) which he according as he thought good, bestowed vpon such as had of him well deserued. And now men began more plainly to make a difference of titles and dignities. For the titles

of Dukes and Counties (being with the ancient *Romans* but the bare names of personall offices and charges) now receiued other customes: and a Duke (at first chosen for his vertues & noble acties) they now began so to call him of his Duke-dome: as they did also a *Marquesse*, of his *Marquisat*, and an Earle of his Earldome. And he which had the command of people, from some King, *Marquesse*, or Earle, was called *Capitaneus* (or a *Capitaine*.) But they which had such command from *Capitaines*, were called *Valasores* (or *Valasours*.) And they which had it from these *Valasours*, were called *Valasini* (or *Valasines*.) Whereupon this new beginning of Politicall Nobility, beeing tar & wide disperfed through the kingdomes of the Empire, they at length were deemed rightly Noble, according to the manner and custome of euery place & Countrey, who eyther themselves, or their ancestors liued, so graced with these, or such like priuiledges.

And these be the things, which according vnto the variety and alteration of times, we haue read in the most approved Authors, concerning the titles of honours and dignities. In recounting of which, we haue thought this most especially worthy the noting, that all the streames of Nobility (but especially the greatest & cheefest of them) came and issued all out of the Canipe. Which degrees of honour and Nobility, before that wee compare them with ours, it shall not repent vs in distinct rankes, orderly to runne through the beginning of euery one of them.

And first to begin withall, They in *Campes* were called *Principes*, or *Princes*, (of whom at this day, wee euery where make so great account) which seated in the first rankes, excellen others in strength and age, and which followed the *Spear-men*, diuided into fifteen bands or troops, so placed, as it were for a refuge & cleefe for them: to the end, that if in battaile the *Spear-men* should be enforced to retire, they might in safety flye vnto those *Principes*, as vnto principall men of more approved and assured seruice. Whereof *Castra Principalia*, the *Principall* tents, and *Porta Principalis*, the *Principall* port, where those *Principes* or *Principall* men were wont to ly with their bands; are so often read of in *Linie*.

Dukes.
Earles.
Marquesses.

A Capitaine.

Valasours

Valasines.

Princes.

Next

Next vnto *Augustus* the Emperour, they which in the emperors name gouerned the *Romane* affaires, were called *Principes Senatorum*, or Princes of the Senate. But afterward, the emperour would haue the place or title of a Prince, to bee a dignity next vnto a King, who amongst the ancient *Axioms* were called *Eschings*, and with vs *Cytones*. But now it is as it were a generall name, diuersly giuen and attributed vnto many at once, and orderly comprehending in it all the greater sorts of dignities: yea in some places, according to the manner and custome of the place, the title and dignity of a Prince, is inferiour vnto the title and dignity of a Duke, or an Earle.

Duces or Dukes tooke their names from the Latine word *Ducendo*, as who should say *Ducifores* or Leaders; for that they marching before, led their followers. Wherof we reade the Latine phrase, *Ducere bellum*, that is to say, to leade warre, for *Gerere bellum*, to make warre. And so *His bellum asidue ducunt cum Gente Latina*. These men make continuall war with the Latine Nation. And they which as Dukes or Generals were leaders of Armies, were wont to vie such Ensignes as the Consuls did: whereupon, the word *Ducatus*, sometime signified the Region or Country, ouer which the Duke commanded: and other while, the Military government and commanding authority it selfe. Vnto which manner of men, for doing by them honourably and valiantly in the wars achieved and performed, triumphall Ornaments were sometimes awarded. Amongst the ancient *Germanes*, vnto a Generall or Leader of an army, were assigned twelue Counties or Earles to attend vpon him.

Marquesses were so called of a certaine iurisdiction bound vnto some certaine place. So he which had the command and government of any frontier Territory or Sea-coast, was called *Marchus*, or a *Marchus*: and they which received of the Fees, were properly accounted the *Palatini* of the King, or of the kingdom, as men standing with the Generals. *Ad eadem Regni*, at the gates and entrances of the kingdom. Other some there bee, which goe about to deriue the word *Marchus* from *Marca* (a word of the *Celtic*) from whence they deriue the word *March*.

chare in French, to ride: and the *Marchomani* as a people so called, for that they excelled in good horse-manship.

Now of Counties or Earles, as there were diuers kinde, so of them amongst the ancient *VVriters*, are read diuers and sundry sorts and orders; such as among the rest were *Comites Sacri Palatii*, or Counties of the Sacred Pallace: *Antijur* (or *Principall Courtiers*) and *Comites stabuli*, or *Constables*. For *Vesiderius* from a *Constable*, by the *Longobards* chosen and appointed to beking of *Italy*, was slaine by *Charles* the Great. And it is elsewhere read, hee sent *Burchardus* the *Constable*, with his Fleete to *Corfica*.

There were also *Comites Militum*, or Counties of the Souldiers, of whom the *Romanes* would haue always two residing in the East, and were thereof sometimes called *Comites Orientis*, or Counties of the east. And in breefe, there were Counties of Prouinces: such as were the Counties of *Spaine*, of *Brittaine*, and of the *Saxon Coasts* in *Brittaine*.

The *Gustaldus* in *Italy*, and a County, seeme in ancient time to haue bene all one: There be some also, which beleue a County in olde time to haue bene called *Comarchus*.

The name of a *Vicount* sheweth a beginning not to be doubted of: For he to whom the County in the Camp committed the authority of his iurisdiction, was called *Vice-Comes* or *Vicount*; as were in the ancient time the *Proconsul*, & the *Proconsul* his Lieutenant or Deputy.

But whereof the *Barones* or *Barons* were so called, is not yet wel knowne; for vnto the *Romanes* as concerning their dignity, they were vnto us vnknowne: howbeit, that they assume it to be a Latine word, by that saying of *Cicero* to his friend *Atticus*. *Apud Patronum reliquosque barones te in maxima gratia posui*: Hee brought you into great fauour with your Patron, and the rest of the Barons.

Other some obtrude vnto vs the greek word *Sapien*, which significth *Grave*. But howeuer it cometh to passe, if credit be to be giuen to our most learned Lawyer *Braddon*, the Barons were still accounted for most valiant men, for hee would haue them to be called, *labora belli*, or the strength of warre. And by the Lawyer *Radus*, a Baron is defined to be a man having

Counties or Earles.

Vicount.

Barons.

uing from his Prince the power and authority of the greatest, middle, and lowest correcting of offenders. But sufficeth it now concerning these matters, to haue sayde thus much, as purposing of the same, to speake more at large hereafter.

And let vs now come nearer vnto the matter, by comparing of ancient things, with others of latter time; to the intent, that by applying of those ancient things vnto this our Age and Time, the reason as well of the Names as of the Dignities themselves, may the better and more manifestly appeare.

Like as the *Empire* of the *Greekes*, was by the *Turkes* ouerthrowne and brought to nought, euen so also was the empire of the *West*, by the cunning and ambition of the Bishops of *Rome*, rent in sunder and weakened. Which, how great it was, the very ruines thereof doe now scarcely declare. The maiestic whereof, is yet by the *Seauen Princes Electors* (of the *Germanes* called *Comogestum*) vnto the Ornament of the Christian world vpholden and maintayned. The *Septemvirate* of *Germany*, the *Emperour Otto* the third, and *Pope Gregorie* the fift, ordained in the yeare 960. Vnto whom afterwards the Emperour *Charles* the fourth engaged the reuenues of the *Empire* (hauing promised vnto euery one of the *Electors*, an hundred thousand crownes) that he would appoint *Venceslaus* his sonne, heire of the *Empire*. But the Money being not payed, it came to passe, that the Patrimony of the *Romane Common-weale*, which was appointed to the vires and maintenance of the warres (and for that onely cause was subiect to alienation) was privately distributed and diuided amongst them, vnto euery one of them a part, whereby the power of the *Empire* was afterward almost brought to nothing, the *Seauen Princes Electors* of *Germanie*, keeping all vnto themselves, and compelling the *Emperors* by oath, that they should not reuoke the Lands and *Pawnes* before ingaged.

And Kings, to whom it was a pleasant thing to be deliuered from another mans power and command, erected to themselves Monarchies.

But they which in most great Kingdoms hold the second place, next to the Kings and the Kings sons, are according

to the forme of the *Emperors* army, called *Dukes*. The title of an *Archduke* is but one alone, belonging to the house of *Austria*, by the emperor *Frederick* diuised, to grace his nephew *Phillip* withall, at such time as he was to marry *Joane* the heire of *Spaine*.

The name of *Marquess*, is a title of dignity onely in *Transilvania*, and *Valachia*. And so also is the *Doge* of the *Venetians*, who is also called a Duke.

And as in warres Counties or Earles were assigned vnto Dukes, so our Counties now at this day, are thought next in dignity to follow the Dukes.

For a *Marquess* at this day, is nothing else in his owne proper signification, then a Countie vpon the Frontiers & Borders: which in the *Germaine* tongue is more significantly called a *Marquess*: with whom a Countie is called *Graf*. And whereof come those honourable names of the *Salitzgrau*, *Landgrau*, *Marquess*, *Erzgrau*, & *Burggrau*: that is to say, The Countie *Palatine*, the Countie of the Prouince, The Countie of the Borders, The County of *Rhene*, The County of the Castle or Garrison. And yet according to the diuers custome of places, *Marquesses* in some places are preferred, and goe before Counties or Earles.

The beginning of a *Vicount*, the very etymology of the name it self hath tanght vs.

Barons are also euery where according to the dignity of their degree, power, & grauity accounted honourable. *France* hath also onely foure peculiar Great and principall Lords, whom they call *Vidames* (viz.) *Chartres*, *Chalons*, *Amiens*, and *Gerbery*. So hath it pleased men according to the custome of places, vnto new forms of Honours and Dignities, to giue olde names. But nothing is euery where, and in all places so sincerely obserued and kept, as is that olde and generall diuision of People, into Noble and Vnoble, with a certain difference of the Vnoble sort among themselves, as of the Noble sort among themselves also.

For such with easie exercises get their liuings, such as excell in wit in the knowledge of Martiall affaires, in learning, in wealth, or in vertue: these men, in these times, are as it were the Seminaries of Nobility (as were in ancient time the *Gentlemen* whom they called *Equites*, among the *Romans*, the nursery of the *Senators*.)

An Archduke.

A Vayuede.

A Doge.

An Earle.

A Marquess.

A Vicount.

A Baron.

Vidames.

Noble and Vnoble.

The Seminary of nobility.

S f

Many

Dukes.

Marquess.

The Empire decaying, the Nobilitie began to get Suborder and Names.

The Seauen Electors were first introduced in Germany about the year 960.

A Duke.

All the vulgar people are base and vnnoble.

All gentlemen are alike Noble.

The difference of Nobility.

Nobility, the greater and the lesser.

In some places of Italy there be hereditary Knights.

In many places also there are Esquires by birth.

Many noble & famous Gentlemen, haue also from Lawyers and Merchants descended. And although some of the vulgar & common sort of the people, be among them of better account and reputation, then some others of them, yet in respect of the Nobility, they are altogether base and vnnoble: like as all free-borne men, which are not of the vulgar and common sort of people, are indifferently and alike noble, according to the French Proverb: *le suu Gentilhomme comme le Roy*. I am a Gentleman as well as the King. *Il soy de Gentilhomme*: The faith of a Gentleman.

Yet it is to be knowne, antiquity and high functions, to haue their estimation in Politicall Nobility, as they haue in other things. And heereof as seemeth vnto me, are those distinctions of Nobility, named, and vnnamed: or of the greater and lesser Nobility, as some others would haue it. And *Named Nobility* I call that which is by hereditary succession graced with Titles and Fees. As a king taketh that his denomination of his kingdom: a *Duke*, of his *Dukedome*; an *Earle*, of his *Earledome*; and a *Baron*, of his *Barony*: who may also be called *Maiores Nobiles*, or *The greater Nobility*, although not altogether so properly, for that that distinction of Nobility, indifferently comprehendeth all sorts of Noblemen, & the higher Magistracies (bestowed vpon men for teame of life only, or during the Princes pleasure.) The rest of the Nobility vnder the degree of Barons, may be called *Nobiles Imminuti* (or vnnamed Noblemen) or *Minores Nobiles*, that is to say; the lesser Nobility.

And yet there are some of them which seeme to haue *Named Nobility*, although they be not in the same ranke and order to be placed: such as are Knights and Esquires. But forasmuch as the Titles of Knighthood and of Esquires, are not hereditary, they are accounted amongst the lesser Nobility.

The *Frenchmen* in the meane time, and we *Englishmen* also, doe by more knowne words, better discern the greater Nobility from the lesser, but not without a certaine injury and wrong done vnto the latine tongue, from which wee deriue our Nobility. For who is he which knoweth not the Latine word (*Nobiles*) indifferently to comprehend all such as are about the common and vulgar sort of me?

Which word is in *French* or *English* expounded (*Noble*). By which word, the common sort of *Englishmen* calleth or noteth no man, vnder the degree of a Baron.

The rest vnder the degree of Barons, are in *French* called *Gentilshommes*, and in *English*, Gentlemen. Of which, such as are neither Knights nor Esquires, we call them but onely Gentlemen, without any addition; and in *French*, *Gentilshommes simples*, or plaine Gentlemen. Although it may be that some of these me can shew more Armes of their flocke, and deriue their Pedigree further, then can some others of greater dignity, or euen the emperor himselfe.

Wherefore, in Politicall Nobility, being simply vnderstood, these plaine tearmed Gentlemen are not inferiour vnto the Princes themselves, but yet in honor and dignity much. For the titles of *Kings*, of *Dukes*, of *Marquesses*, of *Earles*, & *Barons*, are as it were the names of most honourable Offices, and by reason of such additions, one becometh more famous and nobler then another.

These things being thus somewhat more at large and in general spoken, concerning Nobility, seeme as it were to open the way vnto the particular degrees thereof with vs. But the diuision of the orders & degrees of men, which our *English* Common-weale and Empire well beareth, at other times, by others sette forth, is exceedingly well set downe: who haue diuided the same into a King, into Nobility of the greater and of the lesser sort, Citizens, Men liberally brought vp, and Labourers. But forso much as I haue purposed to speake onely of the degrees of Nobility, and that the intention and scope of this worke tendeth no farther. I haue determined to entreat onely of the Kings, and of the cheefe named Nobility, whom it pleaseth vs to call, *The Peeres of the Kingdom*, *The Common Fathers of the Common-weale*, & in briefe, by one name, *Great Estates*, or *Noblemen*.

Yet in so great conuersions of things, and inundations of forraigne Nations, where-with this our Island from the first inhabiting thereof, hath bene oftentimes troden vnder foote, and for a long time

What the true word Nobles significeth with the Frenchmen and Englishmen.

Noblemen how they are to be distinguished.

A Transition vnto the English Nobility.

most greuously afflicted: to write such a serious discourse, as to set downe, what were the beginning Titles of our Noblemen, with the orders and degrees of honours, seemeth a thing most difficult and hard.

Concerning which things (freely to confesse the truth) seeing that I haue not well satisfied my selfe, I dare not with too much hasty confidence to affirme much, especially seeing that heere, as well as elsewhere, the Victors haue still especially endeuoured them-selues, not so much to oppresse the people by them subdued, as they haue done to inuolute their customes, and to change their lawes. Seeing that it is so by Nature ordered, that with the same fate where-with Monarchies and Kingdomes are ouerwhelmed, euen the Nations themselves, and Noble Families fall, and come to utter ruine also.

For first, the *Romans* by subduing the *Brittaines*, the naturall Inhabitants of this Island, went about with their Legions to ouerthrow all things.

But the *Romans* about five hundred yeares more or lesse after, being againe transported into *France*, the *Saxons*, or rather *English-Saxons*, called in by the *Brittaines* vnto their aide, raised warre against their Hoalls, and thrust them quite out of their ancient Seates, and first of all others, gaue vnto the kingdom the name of *England*. And these people the *Danes* also for a space thrust out of the kingdom.

But at length, when as this kingdom began (as it were) againe to breathe vnder *Edward the Confessor*, a most holy King, and last of the *English-Saxons* race, he being forth-with dead without issue, gaue occasion to the *Normans* to passe ouer. VVho at length preuailling, (*Harold* who withstood them being overcome) and the *Englishmen* being thrust out of their ancient inheritance, began forth-with to assigne the Landes and groundes in euery place vnto their companions and fellow-souldiours, and also to bring in the *Normane* customes and fashions.

Many things for all that, are yet extant in the most auncient Records, euen in the *Heptarchy* of the *English-Saxon* Kings, concerning those Noble-Men

which were Rulers ouer the Countries of *Chester*, *Leicester*, and *Lincolne*, whom we reade to haue bene indifferently also called *Dukes*, and Counties of the *Mercians*. The *Danes* had also their *Hereticks*, and the Princes of their *Hereticks*. And *Edward*, the King and *Confessor* yet reigning, euen in the time next to the coming in of the *Normans*, in the charters and monuments of Churches, are found there to be *Ethelings*, *Clytons*, *Patrick*, *Consuls*, *Earles*, *Palatines*, *Dukes*, *Senators*, *Stalbers*, *Thayns*, *Theobalds*, *Masters*, and *Princes*. But yet with great inconsistency, of such their names and callings. For whom thou shalt reade to be called Counties, thou shalt elsewhere finde euen at one and the selfe-same time to be called *Dukes*. But the stile of *Clyte*, at first signified the Kings eldest Sonne, but afterwards, it was a title common to all them that were descended of the Kings blood.

The Titles of *Countie* and *Consul* signified the same thing, differing but in that *Comes* (or a *County*) was to be called a *Comitatus* (or of a *Shire* or *County*); and a *Consul* of *Consuldo*, or of the giving of Councell. A *Stalber*, and *The Governor of the Kings house*, to haue bene all one, it is out of diuers writings manifest. The *Patrick* and *Thayns* were Noblemen of the better sort; and I could almost affirme them to haue bene equall vnto our Barons at this day. Ministers and Princes, who in old Charters are set as lowest sitnesses, seeme to haue bene names of one and the same signification, and alike significant Noble-men: but what degree of honour or Nobility they were of, is altogether vnknewne. Neither seeme these honourable Titles to haue bene forth-with together with the victory, by *William the Normane* changed. For these men whom King *Edward the Confessor* in his Charter, concerning the Priuiledges by him granted to the Abbey of *Waltham*, in the year 1062: taketh to witnesse by the name of *Counties* *Palatine* (whom he but euen a litle before had called *Dukes*) and by the names of *Procurators*, *Chamberlaines*, and *Princes* of his Court: the *Normane* himselfe, in the second year after his victory, in his confirmatory Charter granted vnto the same Abbey, doth by the same Stiles and Titles take to

St 2 witnesse

witnesse also.

But, after that he had now confirmed the kingdome vnto himselfe in safety, the Counties whom he by his Royall Charter had rewarded with Countie and Lands, began to be one from another, distinguished, by the addition of the Title, of such and such a Countie. As witnesse *Alanus* Countie of *Richmond*; witnesse *Hugh* Countie of *Chester*; witnesse *Roger* Countie of *Shrewsbury* and *Arundell*.

VVherefore the *English Saxons* by little and little, eyther dead without issue, or oppressed, or thrust forth into exile, and so living in other places, all things were foisted vnto the *Norman* manner, as that of our Nobilitie at this day, there is not any which can so much as any little breathe of the Stock and Race of those most ancient *Saxons*.

These foundations of the auncient VVortheies and Nobility beeing layde by *William the Conquerour*: and oftentimes afterwards by Successours, according to the diuerse occasions and occurrents of times, by little and little continued and augmented, beganne at length in the reigne of King *Henry* the third, and *Edward* the first, to shine forth, who hauing now vanquished the VVelch-men their Neighbours, and contending with the Scottes bordering vpon them; for Principallitie and Soueraignetie; entreating of all things concerning the Common-weale, with the three States of the Kingdome (which consisted of the Nobilitie, the Clergie, and the Communitie) they themselves in their Royall Maiestie sitting in Parliaments, appointed vnto euery man a preeminence, according to the place of his dignitie: from whom, especially all the Nobilitie of our age, may seeme to deriue the diuerse and appoynted degrees of Dignities and Honours.

VVherefore a King, who may with vs be also called a Monarch, hauing in himselfe the supreme power, is of such great Maiestie, as that besides GOD alone, hee hath none his Superiour. Who from Equitie and Iustice seeking his chiefeest praise and commendation (when as any matter of greater weight or importance is to be decreed and set downe, concerning the welfare and honour of the Common-weale) doth ey-

ther make new Lawes, before conceiued by the three estates of the Kingdome, or else abrogateth the old; and free from all homage for his Empire, is with the sacred solemnities of his Countrey, with a royall Crowne, by his subiects crowned, whom afterwards we with so great reuerence obferue and honour, both in the time of peace, as also in the time of war, as that (in so much as hee himselfe is the fountaine of all Nobilitie) he may for his onely pleasure and good liking, blesse and grace whom hee will, with Offices, Dignities, Honour, Nobilitie, and Riches.

Amongst the Nobilitie or Peeres of the Kingdome, the Prince is the chiefe, who is alwayes but one and himselfe alone, for hee is to be deemed the Kings eldest sonne, or heire apparent of the Kingdome, and hath of long beene graced with the Title of the *Prince of Wales*. The Kings sonnes in auncient times, before the coming in of the Normans, were wont to be called *Ethelings*, that is to say, *Clytons*, (as more Noble than the rest, whom they in Latine called *Indytii*, or Noble) as *Edgar Clyto*, *Alured Clyto*, and others. Our Princes of *Wales* are now with vs, the fame that the designed *Caesars* were among the ancient *Romans*, as who should say, heires of the *Imperiall Maiestie*; and whereupon at this day, the *Germans* appoint him which shall be emperor, King of the *Romans*, and the *French* stile him that is to succeed in the Kingdome, the *Dolphin*: but the *Spaniards*, together with vs, call him which is to haue the kingdome after the death of the king his father, *The Prince, or Infant*.

The first that was by this name called after the coming in of the Normans, was *Edward*, the eldest son of King *Henry* the third, who (his Father *Henry* being dead) and hauing there vanquished *Leolin*, was the first that vniued the Principallitie of *Wales* vnto the kingdome of *England*: vnto whom also, *John* the Scot earle of *Chester*, being dead without heyres male (other lands and reuenues being assigned vnto the sisters of the aforesaid Earle) the king his Father had giuen the same countie.

At length King *Edward* the third gaue vnto *Edward* his eldest sonne (a most famous and renowned warrior) then

The Prince of Wales.

The first Prince of Wales.

then Prince of *Wales* and Earle of *Chester*, the Countie of *Cornewall* also, which hee then had made a Dukedome: and by this meanes it is come to passe, that afterwards our Kings eldest sonnes or heyres, were by the Kings royall Charter, with great solemnities in full Parliament, created Princes of *Wales*; and Earles of *Chester*, (with the Countie of *Flint*, which belongeth vnto the Dignitie of the Sword of the Countie of *Chester*) but are called Dukes of *Cornewall*, euen from the first houre of their Natiuitie.

They which are accounted of the Nobility after the Princes of *Wales*, we call Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, Vicounts, and Barons. Aboue which, if I shall also place the most famous Fellowship of Knights, of our (by farre) the most honorable order, taking name of the Garter, I not shal haply seeme to haue done amis: forasmuch as it maketh Knights, and sometime them of the Lesser Nobility, (excelling others in vertue and valour) almost equall, not onely vnto Noble-men at home with vs, but euen with Kings and Emperours abroad. But of them we are elsse-where to speake.

All these Noblemen (I say) in the beginning to haue beene Generall and Leaders of Armies, or Gouernours of Countie, it is before declared. But afterward, as pleased the Emperours, to haue beene giuen them for terme of life: and at length strengthened with lands and fees, we see them to haue obtained a certayne hereditary perpetuity: wherefore, a Duke, who in ancient time was, as it were, the Constable of the Kingdome, and whose chiefe seruice was, to leade and conduct the Kings Armie in time of warre, now graced with Fees, and once authorized by the King, is become an hereditary Title. Our Kings descended of the *Norman* blood, so long as they themselves were Dukes of *Normandie*, graced no man with this Title of Duke, till *Edward* the Third; who first of all (as is before sayd) exalted the Countie of *Cornewall* into a Dukedome: vnto the example whereof, many hereditary Dukes were in like manner by our Kings created, howbeit that at this day we haue none.

Next vnto Dukes in order follow

A Marquisse.

Marquesses, who in ancient time were called Gouernours or Wardens of the borders or Marches: a Title vnto vs, before the time of King *Richard* the Second, vnto vnknowne, who in the tenth yeare of his reigne, by his Royall Charter first created *Robert* Vere earle of *Oxford* (his Minion) Marquis of *Dublin* the Metropolitall Citie of *Ireland*. By which example, many others afterwards obtained the like Creations by Inheritance.

Concerning either the etymologie or the office of an Earle amongst the Auncients, I haue elsse-where briefly touched some things, and leaue the same to bee more at large by others entreated of: Earles with vs, haue alwayes bene both of greatest authority and dignity, and of much greater antiquitie than either Marquesses or Dukes.

Neither is it any let at all, but that an Earle may be called Earle of any Countie or place, from whence he receiveth no profit, neyther therein holdeth any iurisdiction. Indeed it is in ancient Charters, declared them in old time to haue bene feed-men, and to haue beene rewarded with the third penny of the profit of that Prouince whereof they were called Earles; but now the maner is with vs, that the Titles of Earledomes, are according vnto the Kings pleasure conferred and bestowed, without any possession of the places at all vnto whom, the King, in stead of the third Penny, is wont to appoynt a certayne summe of money, to be yearly received out of the Exchequer, or his Customs: as wee will hereafter more at large declare.

Concerning the beginning of a Vicount with vs, there is no cause why I should from farre deriue it, forasmuch as we had none of them before the time of King *Henry* the first. For he in the eighteenth yeare of his reigne, created *John* de *Beaumont*, or *Beaumont*, a Vicount: Whereupon that which in ancient time was the name of an office, we now at this day do acknowledge it bee a certayne name and Title of Dignitie, as it were in the middle, betwene an Earle and a Baron; as wee doe a Marquisse; betwene a Duke and an Earle. This Degree of Nobilitie hath inuelture from the Kings themselves, with certain solemne ceremonies,

An Earle.

A Vicount.

A Baron.

as the other degrees of Nobility haue.

Now the last of all, as well in order as specially in dignity, come fourth the Barons, whose conioyned power, compared with the rest, hath in the great affaires of the Common-weale alwayes bene the greatest. Of whose beginning, yet truth it selfe doubtfully wauereth. *Lucas de Penna in L. f. c. de mancipijs*, in his 16. book sayeth. *Quod Reges cum plures haberent filios nec omnes Reges posse fieri (quod regnum diuidi nequeat) prospererent: ampla cuique donabant Castra cum iurisdictione & Imperio, unde Barones dicerentur, id est, filij alij excelsiores.* For that Kings when they had many sonnes, which they well saw could not all be made Kings (for that a kingdom cannot be diuided) they gaue vnto euery one of them great Castles, with iurisdiction and command, whereof they should be called *Barons* (that is to say) Their sonnes, higher in degree then others. Other some will haue the word *Baro*, to haue bene deuied from the Greeke word *βαρὺς*, signifying grauity. But if it may be lawfull for vs with coniectures to contend, I deeme it not amisse, hereunto to ioine the curious conceite and iudgment of a certaine most learned man, and of great reading, who marking the great power and authority of Barons, suppoeth them in the beginning to haue bene the Generals or Leaders of Nations & people, dispersedly roaming and stragling vp and downe without any certaine resting places, after the empire was rent in sunder, who equally diuiding the lands by force or leaue by them gotten, as it were by tutelary law gouerned the people, holding of them in fealty, and subiect to euery one of their iurisdiccions, eyther with a meere souerainty apart, as Monarchs, or vnder forme other common Prince.

W^h hereof, *Isidore* happily hath called a man of greatest, middle, and meanest authority and command, *Baronem*, or a *Baron*. But they which were so in power and authority in a manner like and equal, were before in Latine called *Patres homines* (or like men) but of the *Frenchmen* and *Italians*, (speaking more contractly) *parhommes*, and *parhomini*, and thereof they might, saith he, be called *Baroni* and *Baroni*: for with a more easie pronunciation, they in their words easily admit *b* for *p*. And to giue more credite to this mat-

ter, he ioyneth thereunto the force of diuers Languages: For they whom the *Frenchmen* from the beginning, called *Barons*, we in the same sence in ancient time, called *Thains*, and at this day in english, *Lords*, whom the *Germanes*, as it were by a circumlocution, doe more fitly call *free-heren*, which with vs truly signifieth *free Lords*; that is to say, *Lords* hauing free iurisdiccions and territories. But from whence this very word *Lord* is sprung (which is not so much peculiar vnto Barons as to all Noblemen in general) remaineth yet doubtful.

Forasmuch as we after our manner and fashion, are wont to call all Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, and Vicounts, (and some of the greatest Officers and Magistrates of the kingdome also, although they be not Barons) after the manner of Barons, *Lords*: some say it to be a primitive & originall word of it selfe, sprung out of the Saxon word *Hlaford*, which is interpreted *Lord*: Other some also, suspect it to haue bene a deriuatiue word, and to haue bene first brought out of *Burgundy*: for it is manifest, the emperor *Probus* to haue sent hither into *Britaine* the *Burgundians*, whom he had overcome in the year 282. Who hauing heere seated and settled themselves, did vnto the *Romanes* right good seruice, if at any time rebellious did arise or was stirred vp against them, And in that place they commonly call, *Allodium*, which signifieth, *Free* and discharged from all homage and seruice: which manner of possession or owner, is euen at this day called *Allodium*: whom we, resting almost vpon the same reason, do in english call, *A Lord*. Contrary vnto those *Allodij* or *Lords*, are the *Leudis* or *Leudis*, as subiect vnto the *Allodij*, whereof perhaps the word *Laydes* is vied amongst the *Scots*, whom they with vs call also *Lords*.

But as concerning words and etymologies, let euery man chuse as he list: howsoeuer the names be deemed of, it is for the most part of all men granted, that *free-heren* or *Lords* (call them whether you list) to haue in all places liued as free-borne men, and of great esteeme, & I verily think them to haue bene the same, whom *Cassius* calleth *Regulos* in France: where euen yet vnto this day, certaine of the most olde and ancient Barons, are reported

Thain.

A Lord.

Hlaford in the Saxon tongue, in English Lord.

A Layde.

ported and reputed by a certaine right of their Baronies, to contend for precedence with the new Earles. But how full of authority and dignity the name of a Baron and of a Baronage is, shall very plainly & easily appeare, if wee shall eyther respect the antiquity thereof, as they which of ancient time had hereditary iurisdiction annexed vnto their honour and dignity, and whereof wee at this day retain a shew in our *Lords courts*, commonly called a *court Baron*: or looke into the most honourable and reuerend prerogative of the in the cheefest assemblies of the kingdome. For all *Dukes*, *Marquesses*, *Earles*, and *Vicounts*, haue their seates with the Barons, in the highest assembly of the kingdome, in Parliament, onely by the name of their Baronies: Insomuch, that the greatest Duke sitting in Parliament (although he be placed according to the preheminance of his degree) yet holdeth he his place only by reason of his Barony: neyther is it for any other reason granted vnto our Archbishops and Bishops (as it was in auncient time vnto some Abbots and other of like sort) to sitte there, but that they haue the possession and dignity of some Baronage or Barony annexed and ioyned vnto their Bishopricks; yea, the eldest Sonne of a Duke who soeuer, although he be commonly called an *Earle*, as also the eldest sonne of an earle, although by the flatterie of custome, and in respect of his blood he be called in Latine *Dimita* or *Dominus* in French *Signeur*, and after our manner, a *Lord*, yet if wee shall consider the force of the Law, they are not to be numbered either amongst the earles or the Barons, but only to be accounted *Esquires*; neyther can they challenge any voyce or suitra in the Parliaments of the Kingdome, so long as their Fathers liue. Howbeit, wee haue it often in experience (I confesse) that as often as the King shall see the eldest sonne or heyre of a *Duke*, *Marquess*, or of an *Earle*, as well in wisdom and counsell, as of yeeres ripe and stayed, and whom he shall deeme worthie to bee present at the greatest assemblies of Parliament, him he promoteth vnto the height of that honour: and by a *Vittie of Summons* (as they terme it) his father yet being aliue, according to the name & stile (if he be the sonne of a Duke) of his

Barony, or if he bee the sonne of a Marquess, or of an Earle, by the name whereof he was before called, and whereof hee was heire apparent, and into the inuelture whereof his father also before came.

This I say, sometime is done, and may be done, by the fauour of the Prince onely, whose prerogative is so indeterminate as that he may promote vnto honors, and admit into Parliaments whom hee pleaseth. As for example; it pleased our deceased Queen *Elizabeth*, in the year 1575. by her *Writ of Summons*, to call *William Poulet*, Baron *S. John of Basing* at this day Marquess of *Winchester*, (viz) the eldest sonne of *John Poulet*, Marquess of *Winchester*, and to assigne vnto him a place amongst the Noblemen of the Vpperhouse, due vnto the ancient Barons of *S. John*, vntill that their heires male sayling, the heire generall of the same family, had married with the stocke of the *Poulets*. This I say, the Queene might doe by her royall prerogative onely, the age and towardness of the young Baron being respected and looked into, which he could no way by right haue challenged, his Father yet liuing.

Henrie Stanley, Earle of *Darby*, was by *Writ of Summons* called vnto Parliament, his father yet liuing, by the name of *Baron Strange of Knokin*, and placed in the same seate wherein the Barons *Strange of Knokin* were wont of ancient time to sit. The like we now of late haue also seene to haue bene done to *Gilbert Lord Talbot* (at this day Earle of *Shrewsburie*) sonne and heire to *George* earle of *Shrewsburie*, but of late deceased, which places they could not by prescript forme of law as yet challenge vnto them, for that their Fathers then aliue, possessed both the dignities & reuenues of the aforesaid Baronies. So that I say, they were onely by the fauor of the Prince, promoted vnto such honour and degree, whilst that their fathers yet liued.

For wee rightly acknowledge no Barons, but them whom the Kings Royall Maietie hath first by his Charter created, or else the Parliaments preheminance & dignity designed, who so called and once admitted, and in Parliament placed, are alwaies after to bee held and accounted Barons, and to be reckoned amongst the Nobility of the Baronage of *England*, nei-

For that vnto
me intimated
the gate of
honour, are
wher open, fo
things which
are once gran
ted vnto any
man by the
Princke, are
not to be a-
gain returned
vnto his Ioffe
or disgrace.

ther doeth it any where appeare, anie of them to haue bene afterwards reiecte or degraded, except by chance their posselions were so far diminished, as that they were by no means able to maintayne lo great an honour. For, as in ancient time the *Romane* Senatours, which had waisted or decayed their Senators substance were out of Senate remooued; euen so (I say) such are either of their own accord to abla n from coming into the vpper house of our Parliament, or else (I may say perhaps) are not therinto admitted, althogh that they for euer still retainne the stile and name of their Barony.

And these be they whom we acknowledge to be *Named Noblemen*: But how they bee now amongst themselves together, and feuerally apart, both in dignitie and preheminance distinguished, is out of the forme of their Creations or admissions to be better discerned: which things we will declare by the Letters Patents, or of Summons, giuen vnto euery one of them at the time of their Creation, (which Letters, we by two names call, viz: *Royall Charters*, and *Parliament Writts*) and by the ceremonies after our manner, ioyned into their Inuecture, and the custome of their precedencie, beginning first with the Baron himselfe.

For why, the name of the Baronage of England is right famous, and more honorable then the rest: resembling the ancient (I heare of a *Reuerend Romane Father*, registered to be one of his counsell of estate, & of the *Senatory Dignity*; and with vs giuing an entrance vnto all the higher degrees of honor, as did that among the ancient *Romanes*.

In elder time, it was for a certain space giuen vnto none, but vnto men for their martiall prowesse renowned, vnto whom the ensigne of a Barony was also giuen; as was the right to weare a Ring of Gold granted vnto the *Romane Gentlemen*. But afterward, not onely they whom martiall prowesse had commended, but euen they also whom their Nobility of birth, theyr manners, fortune, or wisdom hadde at home ennobled, were wont by the Kings Writ of *Summons*, to be called forth vnto the high assembly of Parliament. And at length also, King *Henrie the 6.* brought in the fashion to create some by this very name, by vertue of his *Royall Charter*:

which manner of forme and fashion, together with that other of calling by *Writ of Summons* vnto the Parliament, we onely at this day haue in vse, in forme following.

Letters of Summons, or Parliament Writts (as they call them) for the promoting of any one, or of whomsoever, vnto the Dignity of a Baron, in full Assembly of Parliament, are in a prescript appointed forme in this sort made: Changing onely such things as are of order to be changed.

ELIZABETH, by the Grace of God, *Queen* of England, France, and Ireland, *Defendresse of the Faith, &c.* Vnto her faithfull and well-beloued Henry Norris of Ricot Knight, Greeting. Forasmuch, as Wee by the aduice and consent of our Councell, for certaine high and urgent causes, concerning the estate & defence of our kingdom of England, and of the English Church, haue appointed a certain Parliament of ours, to be holden at our Citie of Westminster, the eight day of May, next comming, and there to haue speech and conference with you, and with the Prelates, the States, and Nobility of our sayde Kingdom: Wee firmly enioyne & command you, upon the Faith and Allegiance wherein you are vnto vs bound, that the weight of the aforesaid businesse, and the imminent dangers considered, all excuse whatsoeuer set apart, you be there personally present the said place aforesaid, to conserue with vs, & with our Prelates and Nobility aforesaid, concerning the aforesaid businesse, & there to shew your aduice. And of this, as you loue vs, and honour the safeguard & defence of our Kingdom, and the Church aforesaid, and the good dispatch of the affairs aforesaid, in no wise faile you.

Witness Our selfe, the day of _____ in the year of Our reigne the fourteenth.

An-

The Letters
patents wher-
by Sir William
Cecil
Knight, was
by *Queen*
Elizabeth
made Baron
of Burghley.

Another manner there is of creating of Barons by Charter: whereof this is the forme.

ELIZABETH by the Grace of God, of England, France, and Ireland, *Queen, Defendresse of the Faith, &c.* Vnto all Archbishops, Marquesses, Earles, Vicounts, Bishops, Barons, Knights, Governours, Free-borne men, and all our Officers, Ministers, and Subiects, whomsoever, vnto whom these presents Letters shall come, greeting. Wee well perceiue and see the might and tpe of our Royall Dignity, not onely to be beautified, but encreased also, whilst the titles of honors, are by vs conferred vnto men for their vertues renowned, and in our most weighty affaires well experienced. For Wee thinke our Royall Crowne to be so much the more adorned and enriched, when as Wee call and promote graue and wise Men, especially such as are for the Nobility of their stocke famous, and for their wisdom renowned and mighty, into part of our Royall Councell, vnto the degrees of Honour and Dignity, and the gouernment of the Common-weale. Wherefore, Wee considering the long seruike, which our well-beloued and faithfull Councellor William Cecil, our principall Secretary, hath many waies done, as well in the time of our Progenitors, Kings of this kingdom, as also his faithfull, and most pleasing loyalty towards vs at all times, euen from the first beginning of our Reigne, not onely in the notable and graue affaires of Councell, but beside also, hath not ceased daily to doe, in all other expelitions for our Kingdom in general: and also the circumspection, courage, wisdom, dexterity, integrity, prouidence, care, and fidelity of him the said William Cecil, towards vs, our Crown, and Dignity.

Know you therefore, that Wee of our speciall Grace, certaine knowledge, and meere meritation, haue set, giuen, and in our Countie of Northampton promoted, made, and created, and by the tenor of these presents, do set, ordaine, and create him the aforesaid William Cecil, vnto the stile, degree, dignity and honor, of Baron of Burghley: and vnto the said William, haue imposed, giuen, and granted, and by these presents, doe impose, giue, and

grant, the Name, Stile, and Title of the Baron of Burghley. To haue, and to hold, the same Stile, Degree, Dignity, Stile, Title, Name, and Honour, vnto him the aforesaid William, and the heyres male issuing of his body for euer. Willing and by these presents for vs, Our heyres and successors granting, that the aforesaid William, and his heyres male aforesaid, may successively beare and haue, and euery one of them may haue and beare the said Name, Stile, Degree, Stile, Dignity, Title, and Honour: and may be called and stiled, and euery one of them may be called and stiled by the name of the Baron of Burghley. And that he the said William and his heyres male aforesaid, shall successively in all things, be holde for Barons of Burghley: and shall so be used and reputed, & that euery one of them shall be used, holden, and reputed, as Barons. And that the said William, and his heyres male aforesaid, may haue, hold, and possesse, and their heyres male also aforesaid, and euery one of them may as Barons haue, hold, and possesse a seate place, and voice in our Parliaments and Councells, amongst other Barons, within our kingdom of England. And also the said William, and his heyres male aforesaid, may haue, enioy, and vse, and euery one of them, shall by the name of the Baron of Burghley, haue, enioy, & vse, all the Rights, Priuileges, Prebendunes, and Immunities of right, and lawfully belonging vnto the state of a Baron in all things, which other the Barons of our said Kingdom of England, in former times, in better sort, more honourably and more quietly, used and enioyed, or at this present doe enioy and vse: and this without any fine or fee, great or small, to be therefore to or vs, in any wise giuen, paid, or made into our Humpsey of our Chancery, or elsewhere, for that expresse mention of the certainty of the premises or of any of them, &c. These being witnesses. The most reuerend father in Christ, Matthew Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate and Metropolitan of all England, our wellbeloued & faithfull Councellor, Nicholas Bacon, knight, Keeper of our great Seale of England, and also our wellbeloued Cousins and Councellors, William Marquess of Northampton, Henry Earle of Arundell, Thomas Earle of Suffolke, President of our Councell in the North parts of our Kingdom, Henry Earle of Huntingdon, Ambrose Earle of Warwick, Master of the Ceremonie, Francis Earle of Bedford, Robert Earle of Leicester, Attaine of our House,

Arse, Walter Vicount Hereford, *Antonie Vicount Mountague*: And also the reuerend Fathers in Christ, *Edwin byshop of London, Nicholas byshop of Worcester, Edmund byshop of Rochester, William byshop of Chester*: And also our wel-beloued and faithfull *William Lord Lumley, James Lord Mountjoy, Henrie Lord Cromwel, Thomas Lord Paget, Roger Lord North*. And our welbeloued & faithfull Councillors, *Francis Knols, knight, Treasurer of our household, &c. James Crofts knight, Master Controller of our household, &c.* Given vnder our hand, at *Westminster*, the 2. of February, in the 23. yeare of our reigne. By the Queene her selfe, according to the aforesaid date, by the authority of the Parliament.

The rites and Ceremonies vsed in Creating Barons by Charter.

William Cecil Knight, attired in a robe and Mantle, and in this forme brought forth, the xv. day of Februarie, the xiii. yeare of the reigne of Queene Elizabeth, was in the royall Pallace at *Westminster*, in a great assembly of Countiers, made Baron of *Burgley*. First, the Heralds go before, by two and two together, whom *Garter* alone followeth, carrying in his handes the Royall Charter; *Henry Cary*, Baron of *Hunsdon*, carried the Barons Cloake: after whome followed *William Cecil* Knight, in the midst, betwixt *Edward Baron Clinton*, on the right hand, and *William Brooke* Baron *Cobham* on the lefte: who entering into the Chamber of *salutation* (which wee commonly call the *Presence Chamber*) & making there obedience thrice, approached vnto her royall Maiesty, where *Garter* first deliuered the Charter to the Earle of *Sussex*, then being Chamberlain of the Queenes house, who gaue the same vnto the Queene, and she againe deliuered the same vnto *John Wolley* Esquire, to be read: VVhere, at the word (*inuestimus*, or we haue inuested) the Queen put vpon him the Barons Cloake, and the Charter being read, pronounced him the sayde *William Cecil*, Baron of *Burgley*, and his heyres male after him, as is before declared.

VVhich thing being done, the charter

was againe deliuered vnto the Queene, who forthwith gaue it to the Baron to be kepte; who at length, after most great thankes giuen her, for the honour by him receiued, in his honourable attire, with a great noise and sound of Trumpets, departed to dinner, euen in the same manner that he came in.

After mid dinner, *Garter* with the rest of the Queenes Heralds, comming neere vnto the Table, and hauing first altogether cryed aloud, *Largeesse*, forthwith proclaimed the Queenes stile in *Latine, French and English*, and so with-drawing themselves a litle farther off, and againe repeating *Largeesse*, he repeated the stile of the new Baron in these words: *Du tres-noble Seigneur Guliaulme Cecil Chenalter, Baron de Burghley*: and so hauing done their obedience, and altogether crying twice *Largeesse*, they departed.

The manner and forme of admitting of Barons by Rescript or Writ.

His (I say) is the manner of creating of the Named Nobility, by royall Charters: now a fewe things remaine, to shew how the newe Barons are by VVrits of Summons chosen into the Parliaments: and in what sort they being thether called, are there placed. The forme of the writ wee haue before shewed, and the forme of theyr Admission, is this.

Henry Compton, Henry Cheyney, & Henry Norreis Knights, were by writs, called to be present at the Parliament at *Westminster*, ypon Thursday the 8. day of May, in the 14. yeare of the reigne of *Q. Elizabeth*, ypon which day, after that the Nobles were set on their seats, these three attending without, were by turnes in this manner brought in, and admitted into the vpper house. *Garter K. at Armes*, came before bare-headed, hailing on his royall coat, whom two of the last made Barons, attired in their Cloaks, robes, and Mantles followed, bringing in the knight that was to be in his new honour inuested, in the middle betwixt them. Him at length they bring vnto the Chancellor, vnto whome the Knight hauing made once or twice Obedyance, deliuereth his Writ of Sum-

mons

mons to be read, wherein he declareth by what power & authority he is come thether: the Chancellor after the writ read with great courttesie welcomming him, dismisseth the new Baron (in his Barons attire) to take his place, which place (*Garter* going before them) they shewe vnto him: but the writ is by the Chancellour deliuered vnto the Clarke of the Parlia-

ment to be laid vp.

In the like manner were the other two Knights afterward brought in and admitted, and in their due order in their seates placed. So they which entred into the Parliament but Knights onely, goe out thence and are so accounted Barons, and enioy the like honor with the rest of the Barons of the kingdom.

The habit wherein a Baron of England, is inuested.

BARO



CHAP. VII.

The Kings Charter for the Creating of a Vicount.

The Copy of the L. Patents of K. Henrie the VI. creating Jo. Beaumont, vicount of Beaumont.

HEnry, by the grace of God, King of England, and of France, Lord of Ireland, &c. To all Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Dukes, Earles, Barons, Iustices, Sheriffes, Governours, Bayliffes, Ministers, and other his faithfull Subiects, vnto whome, &c. *Greeting.* Know you, that we, when as wee fee it to beseme our Maiestie, with principall honors to promote them, who with dutifull seruice dayly attend vs, especially in such things which proceed from our meere Prerogatiue & gracious bounty; and them chiefly, whom the remembrance of their fathers and former Ancestors hath ennobled, and the merites of their owne vertues haue with manifest obedience and loyalty graced: that vertue so rewarded, may in it selfe be strengthened, and withall allure many vnto vertuous actions.

Heereof it is, that wee considering the Noble discent of our most dearely beloved cosine *John Lord of Beaumont*, & the good seruices which his Ancestors faithfully performed vnto our Progenitours, together with the most acceptable Offices which he euen from his infancy, hath hitherto commendably done vnto vs, and yet dayly performeth; as he desireth hereafter to continue the same, and to doe vs so much the more better honour: VVee of our especiall Grace, in this our present Parliament, glue vnto the aforesaid *John Lord of Beaumont* our cosine, and the heires male of his bodie, the name of the *Vicount of Beaumont*; and do really inuest

him the said *John*, with the Armes of the *Vicount of Beaumont*, and assigne vnto him in our Parliaments, Councils, and other assemblies, a place about all the other Barons in our Kingdome. Vnto whom as it shall be more fit, and as it is shewed in the very State of a Vicount aforesayde, wee of our meere motion and bountie, haue giuen and graunted for vs and our heyres, as much as in vs is, vnto the aforesaid *John* and his heyres, together with the Name, Armes, and place aforesaid, twentie Markes to be yearly receiued vnto him, and to his heires male yssuing out of his owne body, out of the former issues and profits, of our countie of *Lincolne*, to bee paid by the hands of the Sheriffe of the sayde county for the time being, at the Termes of Easter and S. Michael, by equall portions. To haue & to hold to him and his heires aforesaid, the Name, armes, place, and twenty Marks as aforesaid for euer; for that expresse mention, &c. VVritesse our selfe at *Redding*, the twelfth of February, in the eighteenth yeare of our reigne.

By the Writ of our Primate Seale.



Here is so great a similitude and likeness in the Rites and ceremonies in creating of a Vicount, with those which are vsed in the creating of a Baron, as that but chaunging such things as are of necessity to be chaunged, a man would thinke them almost the very same. But this difference there onely is; that a Baron is conducted betwixt two Barons, whereas a Vicount hath an Earle on his right hand, and a Baron on his left (in case there want Vicounts) to conduct him, and is by halfe a gird vpon his shoulder about a Baron, as by the Picture following in the next Page appeareth.

The

The rites and ceremonies of creating a Vicount.

VICE-COMES



Tt

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

¶ The Royall Charter for the creating
of an Earle.

The Copie of
the Letters
patents of Q.
Elizabeth,
creating Wal-
ter Deucreux
earle of Essex.

Elizabeth, by the grace of God, Queene of England, France, and Ireland, Defendresse of the faith, &c. Vnto all and singular Archbishops, Dukes, Marqueses, Earles, Vicounts, Bishops, Barons, and all others, vnto whom &c. Greeting. Seeing that they whom the Diuine providence hath put and placed in a Monarchy and Royall Seate, that they being as it were the Lieutenants of him that heauenly Monarch, vpon earth, may well, vprightly, religiously, decently, and wholesomely rule, gouerne and maintaine, whatsoever is to their custody and government by God himselfe giuen and committed: and that the Monarchs in their Monarchies, represent the same thing that the eyes do in the body, whose office it is to direct all the members of the body: Monarchs and Princes therefore as eyes of the Commonweale, ought diligently to intend, to looke about, and to search into all States and degrees of their Empire, without which wee must needs confesse, no ciuill administration, or politick gouernement, to be possibly made or framed. And so necessary is the preferuation of orders and degrees of men in great Empires, as that after they once see the Nobility of the States and Degrees, broken, rent, impaired, or shaken, or (as many things happen after the manner of men) by death afflicted or weakened, they ought with all speed to amend, repaire, increafe, and augment the same: so that others, whom both their owne vertues, and the glory of their Stocke and Ancestors hath ennobled, being called vnto Nobilitie and honour, the glorie of Degrees and States may for euer in the glorie and brightnesse thereof bee preferred and kept. Wherefore wee now seeing one honourable and glorious order of Nobilitie amongst the rest to growe few, and knowing right well our most famous and renowned Cousin Wal-

ter Vicount Hereford, Knight of our most Noble order of the Garter, Lord Ferrers of Chartley, worthily and valiantly to haue for vs behaued himselfe in that sedition tumult of wicked Traytors and Rebels, raised of most wicked and vngacious men in the North parts of our kingdom: In which tumult and power of armed Traytors, a most great and horrible danger was, not vnto our Kingdome onely, but euen vnto our person also intended: so that partly by his conduct, not onelie the cruell furie and rage of the Traytors and Rebels, was there in that place repressed, but many of the Rebels also were vnto our obedience reduced, and so the state of our Kingdome before sore troubled, became againe to be well quieted and pacified.

Wee therefore, for these causes and things by him so worthily performed, willing to promote him the sayde Walter vnto the State, Honour and Dignitie, of the Earle of Essex: and for that the aforesayde Walter is descended of the Noble Stocke and Family of the Bourchiers, late Earles of Essex, & is by the common Law of our Kingdome, next heire vnto Henry Bourchier late Earle of Essex. Know you, that wee of our especiall grace, certaine knowledge, & mere motion, haue erected, created & promoted the said Walter to be Earle of Essex, and also to the state, degree, dignity and honour of the Earle of Essex: and by the Tenour of these presents, do erect, create, and promote him to be Earle of Essex. And vnto the same Walter haue imposed, giuen, and bestowed the name, stile, and title of the Earle of Essex, and by these presents, do impose, giue, and bestow the same. And him the said Walter, in such the state, title, honour, and dignity of the Earle of Essex, by the girtting vnto him of a Sword, and the putting on of a Cap of Honour, and a Coronet of Gold, do grace, inuest, and really ennoble by these presents. To haue and to hold the state, degree, dignitie, stile, title, name, and honour of the Earle of Essex aforesaid, with all and singular the preeminences, honours, and other such things whatsoever vnto the state of an Earle appertaining or belonging, vnto the aforesayd Walter, and the heires male issuing from his bodie for euer. Willing, and by these presents, granting for vs, our heires,

heires & successors, that the said Walter, and his heires male aforesaid, shall the name, state, degree, dignity, stile, and honour aforesaid, successively haue & beare: and shall by the name of the Earle of Essex aforesaid, be called, and stiled, and euerie one of them shall be called & stiled. And that the said Walter and his heires aforesaid, shall in all things successively be holden, vsed, and reputed, and euerie one of them shall be holden, vsed, and reputed, as Earles of Essex. And the said Walter and his heires male, shall haue, hold, and possesse, and euerie one of them shall haue, holde, and possesse a place in our Parliaments, and in the Parliaments of our Heires and Successours within our Kingdome of England, among the other earles, as earle of Essex; and in such sort, as the aforesayde Henry Bourchier, late earle of Essex had, held, and possessed the same.

And the said Walter also, and his heires aforesaid, shall enioy and vse, and euerie one of them by the name of the earle of Essex, shall enioy and vse all & euerie the rights, priuileges, preeminences, and immunities in all things orderly and of right vnto the state of an Earle belonging; and which other earles in all things, orderly & of right, haue before these times, in better wise more honourably and quietly vsed and enioyed, or do at this present enioy and vse.

And for because, that as the height of State and Honour encreaseth, so greater charges and burdens necessarily encrease also: and that hee the sayd Walter and his heires aforesaid, and euerie one of them may the better, more seemely, and honorably maintaine & support the aforesaid state of the earle of Essex, and the burdens lying vpon him the said Walter and his heires: Wee therefore of our more abundant grace, haue giuen and granted, and by these presents doe giue and graunt, for vs, our heires and successors, vnto the aforesaid Walter, and his heires aforesaid, for euer, twenty pound of Fee, or yearly rent, to be yearly received, of the issues, profits, and reuenues, of our great and litle Custome and Subsidie graunted vnto vs, or hereafter to be granted vnto vs, our heires and successors, aising, growing, or coming, within the Port of our honorable Citie of London, by the

hands of our Customers and Collectors, or the Customers and Collectors of our Heyres and Successors there, for the time being, at the Termes of *St. Michael*, and *Easter*, by euen portions, to be euerie year payed. By reason that expresse mention of the true yearly valour, or of any other valour or certainty of the premises, or of any of the, or of any other gifts or grants by vs, or any of our Progenitors, before these times made vnto the aforesaid Walter earle of Essex, in these presents appeareth not: or any Statute, Ordinance, Act, Prouision, Proclamation, or restriction to the contrary thereof, before had, made, set forth, or provided, or any other thing, cause, or matter whatsoever, in any thing notwithstanding.

These being VVitneses. Our faithfull Councillor, *Nicholas Bacon* knight, Keeper of our great Seale of england: and our most wel beloued Cousin, *Edward* earle of *Oxford*, Lord Chamberlaine of england, *Reinold* earle of *Kent*, *William* earle of *Worcester*, knight of the most Noble order of the Garter, *Henry* earle of *Kutland*, *Thomas* earle of *Suffex*, of our aforesaid order of the Garter knight, and President of our Councill in the North parts of our kingdome of england: *Henry* earle of *Huntingdon*, of the aforesaid Order, &c. *Ambrose* earle of *Warwicke*, of the aforesaid Order, &c. *Edward* earle of *Hertford*, *Robert* earle of *Leicester*, of the Order aforesaid, &c. *Thomas* Vicount *Simon*. And also the reuerend Fathers in Christ, *Edmund* Bishop of *Swum*, & *Edmund* Bishop of *Recheiter*, our Almoner, And also our wel-beloued and faithfull, *William* Lord *Howard* of *Effingham*, Lord Chamberlaine of our House, of the Order of the Garter aforesaid, &c. *William* Lord of *Burghley*, our principall Secretary of the Order aforesaid, &c. *Henry* Lord *Strange*, *Arthur* Lord *Gray* of *Wilton*, of the order aforesaid: *William* Lord *Sunder*, *Edward* Lord *Windsor*, *Thomas* Lord *Wharfen*, *Robert* Lord *Rich*, *Thomas* Lord *Paget*, *John* Lord *Darcey* of *Chiche*, *Robert* Lord *North*, *Edmund* Lord *Chandos*, of the aforesaid Order of the Garter, &c. *Thomas* Lord of *Buckingham*, *William* Lord *Devenare*, Barons, *Francis* Knakes knight, Treasurer of our House, *James* Croftes, Knight, Controuller of our House. And our well-beloued and faithfull

Henry Sidney Knight of the aforeſaid Order, &c. and Lord President of our Council in the Marches of Wales: William Cordall Knight, Maister of the Rolles of our Chancery, and others. Given vnder our hand, at our Mannour of Greenwich, the fourth day of May, in the fourteenth year of our reigne. 1572.

CHAP. IX.

¶ The Rites and Ceremonies of creating of an Earle.

THe same Walter Fereux, Baron Ferrers of Chartley, & Vicount Hereford, hauing on an inner Gowne of purple silke, and covered with a Roab of Eſlate, & a veluet Mantell of the same colour, and going in the middle betwixt the erle of Suffex on his right hand, and the erle of Huntingdon on his left, both of them in their Roabs was conducted from the Queens Chappell vnto the Queens presence. Next before him went the earle of Leicester, carrying a Cap of Eſlate, and a Coronet of Gold: & the earle of Bedford on the left hand, bearing before him a Sword, with the Hilt vpward. Before these also went Garter, the chiefe K. of Armes with the Charter alone, and before him al the rest of the Herald's, by two & two together. When they were now come vnto the Chamber of Presence, after they had thrice made their most lowe obeisance, with some little space betwixt, they drew neare vnto the Queene then sitting in her Chaire of Eſlate, where the aforeſaid Walter kneeled downe, the rest standing by. There the Charter was first deliuered vnto the Queene, who gaue it to William Cicill, Baron of Burghley, who deliuered the same vnto William Cordell Knight, Maister of the Rolles, to reade it aloud. Where at these words (in the Charter) *Gladio cinet unanimus*, the Queen put about his necke a Sword, hanging overthwart towards his left hand: and at the word's *Cappa & Circuli aurei*, she also put vpon his head a Cap, with a little Coronet. And afterward reading that which was left, pronounced him the said Walter before vicount Hereford, now created erle of Essex, for him and his heires male, as in

the Charter it selfe before set downe more at large appeareth. These things being done, the same Maister of the Rolles (instead of the Secretary, for the helping of whom he had read the charter) deliuered it to the Earle of Oxford, Great Chamberlaine of England: but he deliuered it vnto the Queene, who also gaue the same vnto the Earle of Essex to be kept. But he after great thanks, with greatell humility giuen, withdrew himselfe aside amongst the other Noblemen standing there by, expecting another, comming to be created earle. In like maner, & at the ſame time also, Edward Baron of Clynton and Say, and Admirall of England, was for himselfe and his heires male, created earle of Lincoln.

These things altogether finished, they departed in the same order that they came in, with the Trumpets aloud sounding, whom the Herald's receiued. Garter went before, whom the new Earles followed in the middle, betwixt the Earles of Suffex and Huntingdon. And being so attired in the Ornaments of their creations, were conducted to dinner into a dining Chamber prepared for the same purpose. Where, after they had sit a space, at the comming in of the second course, Garter with the rest of the Herald's entering into the dyning Chamber, crying aloud, *Largeſſe*; he alone proclaimed the Queens stile, first in Latine, after in French, and thirdly in english: and hauing twice repeated the word *Largeſſe*, & withdrawing themselves a little farther from the Table, proclaimed the stile of these last created Earles, in french and english in these words.

Du tresbault et puissant Seigneur Gautier d'Euerux Comte de Essex, Vicount Hereford, Baron Ferrers d'Chartley, et Cheualier du tresnoble ordre de la Toislerie.

Of the most high and mighty Lord, Walter of Euerux, earle of Essex, Vicount Hereford, Baron Ferrers of Chartley, and Knight of the most honourable order of the Garter.

Du tresbault et puissant Sir Edouarde Comte de Lincoln, Baron de Clynton et Say, grand Admirall d'Angleterre, et Cheualier du tresnoble ordre de la Toislerie.

Of the most high & puissant, Sir Edward, earle of Lincoln, Baron of Clynton & Say, great Admirall of England, & knight of the most noble order of the Garter.

The

The habit and attire wherein an Earle of England is invested.



Tet

CHAP. X.

¶ The Kings Charter concerning the creating of a Marquesse.



Edward by the grace of God, King of England & of France, Lord of Ireland, &c. Vnto all Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Dukes, Earles, Barons, Iustices, Sherifffes, Gouernours, Ministers, Balmes, and all his faithfull subiects; greeting. Know you, that forasmuch as our Royall Maiesty, after most great victories obtained ouer our enemies, is by the power of Almighty God promoted vnto the Regall Dignitie, and our Hereditary Royall seate: and lest that so great glorie of our Name, should euen in the verie rising thereof, for want of Children, faile, it came most happily to passe, that we were in lawfull marriage ioyned vnto our best beloued wife, Elizabeth, Queene of England, of whom we haue raised certaine more strong stayes of our future Royall Posterity, that is to say, Edward our eldest Sonne, Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Earle of Chester; Richard Duke of Shrewsbury and of Yorke; with a notable encrease of other our Children also: which thing greatly both perswadeth and enforceth vs, euen from our heart, to giue the greatest thanks wee possibly can, vnto the most glorious and high GOD, Defender of our Royall right, and Reuenger of our wrongs; and with gracious fauours to prosecute, and with greater honour and fauour to grace and beautifie her the same our wife, hauing of vs best deserued, and all her Progeny. But to the intent that our first begotten Sonne aforesayd, and the rest of our best beloued Children, compassed about with the faithfull, trusty, and sure strength of their neare and deare friends, as it were with certaine walles, may the more strongly be defended; we will not passe ouer vnrewarded, Thomas Grey their Brother by the Mothers side; whose noble Stocke, exceeding towardliness, worthy valour, but most of all, whose honourable vertues, we with the sincere affection of loue embrace: for

why it seemes a thing most certain, them being brought vp in naturall society, and bound together with that sweete remembrance, them to haue dwell in the same dwelling place before they were borne, to beare a certaine common, and especial loue amongst themselves for euer: and that they who in so strait a degree of consanguinity & loue are ioyned together, if any one of them should bee of so small dignity and reputation, as that for poverty hee should not be able honourably to serue his greater kinsman when he ought so to do: we thinke it not vnbecominge vs to provide therefore, so as shall best seeme vs. And therefore we willing that the sayde Thomas should bee promoted with a greater patrimony, and more notable Titles of honour and dignity, that so he may stand in better stead; and become a greater Ornament vnto vs, our Children, and the Common-weale: of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, & meere motion, do ordaine, make, and create him the said Thomas, to be Marquesse Dorset; and also by these presents vnto the said Thomas, giue and grant, the stile, honour, state, title and dignity of Marquesse Dorset: and by the Giding vnto him of a Sword, and by the putting on of a Cap of Honour, do inuest him of the stile, title, name and honour of Marquesse of the place aforesaid; together with all the praeminences vnto the same honour and dignity appertaining and belonging. To haue and to hold the said name, stile, honour, state, title, and dignity of Marquesse Dorset, together with all the appurtenances, dignities, and other things whatsoever, vnto the state of a Marquesse of our kingdom of England, as well in our Sessions, Parliaments and Councells, and of our heires, or otherwise howsoever it be vnto the same honour and dignity appertaining and belonging, vnto the aforesayde Thomas and his heyres male issuing out of his body for euer. And also of our more plentifull grace we haue giuen and graunted, and by these presents do giue and graunt vnto the aforesaid Marquesse towards the supportation of the sayde name, stile, honour, state, title and dignity, 35. pounds of lawfull money of England. To be had, leui'd & receiued yearly vnto the sayd Marquesse, and the same his heires aforesaid, (viz.) twenty pounds there-

The Letters Patents wherby King Edward the 4. created Tho Grey Marquess Dorset.

CHAP. XI.

¶ The Kings Charter for the creating of a Marchionesse.



HENRY by the grace of God, King of England, and of France, Defender of the Faith: & Lord of Ireland: to all and singular Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Dukes, Earles, Barons, Iustices, Sherifffes, Gouernours, Ministers, and all Balmes, & others his faithfull Subiects: Greeting. Know you, that forasmuch as a Royall Seate, & the height of regall dignity, with the greater State and Maiesty, consisteth in the multitude of persons of both Sexes, as well of men as women: and that the gouernment of our kingdom is so much the more, with the more excellent honour strengthened, by how much the more noble States, and higher Dignity of both Sexes are vnder it, or support it. VVee therefore vnto the premisses directing our fight, and willing to establish our Royall Scepter with the encrease of Nobles, and especially such as are from Royall race descended. For a Royall Seate once placed, is with the preference of many Princes to be attended. VVherefore vpon this consideration, as well for the Nobility of her Stocke, as for the excellency of her vertues and conditions; and other the shewes of her honesty & goodness, worthily to be commended. VVee by the content of the Nobility of our kingdom then present, make, create, and ennoble; and by these presents make, create, and ennoble our Coosin Anne Rochford, one of the Daughters of our well-beloued Coosin Thomas, Earle of Wiltshire, and of Ormond: Keeper of our prinate Seale, to be Marchionesse of Pembroke: and also by The putting on of a Mantle, and the setting of a Coronet of gold vpon her head, as the manner is, do really inuest vnto her the Name, Title, State, Stile, Honour, Authority, and Dignity, and other the rest of the Honour, vnto the same belonging and annexed.

To haue and to hold the Name, Stile, Title,

thereof to bee had and receiued vnto the said Marquesse and the same his heyres, of the Fee-farme of the Towne of Dorset, by the hands of the Bourgessees of the said Towne for the time being, at the tearmes of S. Michael, and of Easter, by equal portions. And the other fifteene pounds the remainder thereof, to bee had and receiued yearly vnto the said Marquesse, and his heyres aforesaid, of all the Customes and Subsidies, to vs already granted, or to be granted, and of cyther of the, and of euery part, or of euery parcell of the same, comming and growing in that Port of our Towne of Southampton, by the hands of our Customers or Collectors, or of our heyres in the Port for the time being, at the aforesaid Tearmes by equal portions. For because that expresse mention of the true yearly valour of the premisses, or any of them, or of any other gifts or grants vnto the said Thomas, before these times by vs made, is not in these presents made: or any statute, acte, or ordinance to the contrary, made, set forth, or ordayned: or any other thing, cause, or matter whatsoever notwithstanding: and these things without any fee thereupon, to our vse in any wise to be payed. These being Witnesse: Our most famous first begotten Sonne, Edward Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Earle of Chester, and of Flint. The most reuerend Fathers, Thomas Cardinal and Archbishop of Canterbury, & George, Archbishop of Yorke. Our most renowned Brethren, George Duke of Clarence, and Richard Duke of Gloucester: and the right reuerend Fathers, Thomas Bishop of Lincolne, our Chancellor of England: and Thomas Bishops of Hereford. Our well-beloued Coosins, William Arundell, Henry Essex, Treasurers of England, and Anthony Kniuers Earles. And the welbeloued and faithfull Clarke, our Esquire John Russell, Doctor of Law, & keeper of our prinate Seale: And also our welbeloued and faithfull Thomas Stanley, & William Hastings, Knights: with others. Giuen vnder our hand at Westmonastery, the XVIII. day of April, in the XV. yeare of our Reigne.

By Letters of our prinate Seale, and of the Date of these presents, before the Parliament.

The Letters Patents wherby King Henry the eighth created Anne Rochford Daughter to Thomas earle of Wiltshire and of Ormond, with the Title of Marchionesse of Pembroke.

Title, State, Honor, Authority, and Dignity of the Marchionesse of *Penbrooke* vnto the aforeside *Anne*, and the Heyres male yssue of her body for euer. And to the intent, that the sayd *Anne* as becometh the name of the Marchionesse of *Penbrooke*, & the Nobility of her state may the more decently and honorably, maintaine and support the burthens to be laid vpon her, we haue giuen and granted, & by this present Charter doe giue, grant, and confirme vnto the said *Anne*, and her heires aforesaid, thirty and siue poundes yearely, to be receiued to her & her heires aforesaid, of the firme rents, issues, reuentions, obuentions, profites, and emoluments, of our Countie of *Penbrooke* aforesaid, arising and growing, as well by the hands of the Sheriffe of that Countie for the time being, as by the hands of the Bailiffes, Farmers, or other occupiers of our Countie aforesaid whosoever, at the Termes of *Saint Michael* the Archangell, and of *Easter*, by equall portions to bee paid. For that expresse mention of the true yearely valew, or of other giftes or grants by vs, vnto the aforesaid *Anne* in former times made, in these presents appeareth not, or any statute, act, ordinance or provision to the contrary therof made, set forth, or provided, or any other thing or matter whatsoever, in any thing notwithstanding. These being Witnesses. The most reuerend Father in Christ, *Ed.* Archbishop of *Torke*, and the Reuerend Father in Christ, *Step.* Bishop of *Winchester* our Secretary, and *John* Bishoppe of *London*. And also our wel-beloued cosins *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolke*, our Treasurer of *England*; and *Charles* Duke of *Suffolke*, Earle *Marshall*: *Thomas* Earle of *Wiltshire*, Keeper of our priuate Scale: *John* Earle of *Oxford*, our Chamberlaine of *England*; and *George* Earle of *Shrewsbury*, Steward of our house: *Thomas Audley* Knight, keeper of our great Scale: *William Sandes* of *Fine*, Knight; Chamberlaine of our House: and *Walter Deuereux* of *Ferrers* Knight, Barons: *William Fitz. Williams*, Treasurer of our house: and *William Paulet*, controller of our house, Knights: and others. Giuen vnder our hand, at our Castle of *Windfor*, the first day of September, and in the 24. yeare of our reigne.

The Rites and Ceremonies vsed in Creating of a Marchionesse.

THIS *Anne* the daughter of *Tho.* Earle of *Wiltshire*, and of *Ormund*, vpon a Sunday, viz. the first day of Septem. 1532 in the 24. yeare of King *Henry* the eight, was at *Windfore* in this manner inuected.

The King himselfe attended vpon with the Dukes of *Norfolke* and *Suffolke*, the Marquesses, Earles, Barons, and other the Great estates of the Kingdome, together with the French Ambassador, and manie of the Priuy Counsell, went into the Chamber of *Salutation*, which they commonly call *The Presence*) and there fate him downe in his chaire of *Estate*. Vnto the which place the aforesaid *Anne* was conducted with a great traine of Noble Courtiers, both men and women. The *Heralds* went formost, *Garter* K. of *Heralds*, first carrying the Kings Charter. After whom, the Noble Lady *Mary*, daughter to *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolke*, vpon hir left arme, carried a robe of estate of *Crimson Veluet*, furred with *Ermines*, and in her right hand a *Coronet of Gold*. Her, the aforesaid *Anne* followed, with her hayre loose, and hanging down vpon hir shoulders, attired in her inner garment (which they call a *Surcoat*) of *Crimson Veluet*, lined with *ermens* also, with straite sleeves, going in the midst betwixt *Elizabeth*, Countesse of *Rutland* on her right hand; and *Dorothy*, Countesse of *Suffex* on her left; whom many Noble Ladies & Gentlewomen followd. But she being brought towards the Kinges Royall Seate, thrice made her obeysance, and comming vnto the King fell downe vpon her knees. The King gaue the Charter before deliuered vnto him, vnto the Bishop of *Winchester* his Secretary to be read, which as he was reading aloud at these words *Mantella induktionem* (in the Charter) the King put vpon *Anne* the Marchionesse the Robe of estate, deliuered him by the Lady *Marie*; and at the wordes *Circuli aurei*, put also vpon her head a *Coronet of Gold*. At length, the Charter being read, the King gaue vnto her two Charters, viz. the one, of the creating of her to bee a Marchionesse, and to the heyres male yssue out of her body for euer. And another, for the receiuing of a thousand poundes reuenue yearly, for the maintaining of that her dignity. All which thinges at length performed, he gaue the King most humble thanks, and so hauing on her Robe of *Estate*,

Estate, and a *Coronet* vpon her head, with the Trumpets aloud soundi. g, departed.

THE Rites and Ceremonies for creating of a *Marquesse*, altogether agree with those vsed in creating of a *Duke*

changing onely such things as are of necessity to be changed, but that *Marquesses* haue a *Marquesse* and an *Earle* to conduct them at their creating: the rest of the difference is out of the portraiture beneath set, as followeth.

The Rites and Ceremonies in creating of a MARQUESSE.

MARCHIO



CHAP. XIII.

The Kings Charter for the creating of a Duke.

The copy
of the letters
patents of K.
Edward the 6.
creating Ed-
ward Seymour
to be Duke of
Somerset.

EDWARD by the grace of God, of England, France and Ireland, King: Defender of the Faith, &c. to all Archbishops, Bishops, Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, Barons, Iustices, Sheriffes, Gouernors, Ministers, and to all Baliffes, and other his faithfull Subiects, &c. Greeting. Seeing that there is nothing which more becometh a Prince, then to shew himselfe bountifull and liberall, especially vnto such as haue of him well deserued, & good seruices vnto him performed: wee therefore reuoluing in our minde, with how many, how great & worthy seruices our most deare and well-beloued Vnkle Edward, earle of *Hertford* hath honoured vs: wee haue therefore thought him worthy, whom wee shoulde promote vnto an higher degree of honour and dignity: neyther can we but for such his great deserts towards vs, but in some part with due deserts againe requite him. Know you therefore, that wee of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, & meere motion, and by the aduice of our Councell, do create, ennoble, make and ordaine, him the aforesaid earle, to bee Duke of *Somerset*. And by these presents, giue and grant vnto him the saide earle, the name, title, state, stile, honour, authority, & dignity, of the D. of *Somerset*: and him of that name, with the title, state, honor, authority, & dignity, & other honors to the same belonging & annexed, by *The girtting vnto him of a sword, and by the putting on of a Cap, and a Coronet of Gold vpon his head: and the deliuering vnto him of a golden verge*, do really inuest. To haue and to hold the name, stile, state, honour, authority, and dignity, of the Duke of *Somerset* to our aforesaid Vnkle, and to the heyres male of his owne body, and of the body of *Anne*, now his wife, already begotten, and of the body of the same *Anne* hereafter to be begotten. And if it shall happen the saide Duke to dye without heyre male begotten, or hereafter to bee

begotten of his body, and the body of the saide *Anne* now his wife: VVee will and grant, that if by the death of him the saide Duke, the heyres male of his body, and of *Anne* now his wife shall decease or dye, then *Edward Seymour* Esquire, the saide Dukes Sonne of the body of *Katharine* the first wife, of him the saide Duke deceased, shall be Duke of *Somerset*, and shall beare, haue, hold, and enjoy vnto him the aforesaid *Edward Seymour*, and the heyres male from the body of him, the same *Edward* lawfully descended, the name, state, title, honour, authority, and dignity of the Duke of *Somerset*, with all the honours vnto the saide Dukedome appertaining & annexed. And also by *The girtting vnto him of a sword, and the putting on of a Cap, and a Coronet of gold vpon his head, and by the deliuering vnto him of a golden verge*, shall be thereof really inuested. And if it shall happen the aforesaid *Edward* to dye without heyre male of his body lawfully begotten, then we will, and grant, that the heyre of the now Duke of his body lawfully begotten, by any other his wife which he shall hereafter marry, shall be Duke of *Somerset*, and shall beare, haue, and enjoy the same, vnto him & his heyres male, lawfully begotten. And also the state, title, honour, dignity, and authority of the Duke of *Somerset*, with all the honours vnto the saide Duke appertaining & annexed. And also by *The girtting vnto him of a sword, and by the putting on of a Cap and Coronet vpon his head, and the deliuering of a golden verge vnto him*, shall therein be royally inuested. And that the same Duke and his heyres aforesaid, may according to the decency of the saide name of the Duke of *Somerset*, and the Nobility of his and their estate, more honourably beare themselves. And that the same *Edward* and his heyres aforesaid, if they shal chance to be Dukes of *Somerset*, may the more honourably maintaine, and beare the state and honour of the aforesaid name of the Duke of *Somerset*: and for want of such issue, that then the heyres male of the body of the saide Duke hereafter to bee begotten of the body of any wife, which he shal hereafter marry, may in like manner more honorably beare the state and honour of the aforesaid name of the Duke of *Somerset*: we haue giuen and graunted, and by this our present Charter,

Charter, giue, graunt, and confirme, for vs our heyres and successours, vnto the aforesaid duke of *Somerset*, a certaine annual rent of forty pounds, of good and lawfull money of England, issuing out of our Mannor of *Crikerum*, otherwise called *Crokhorne*, *Stokegeryse*, *Wikefithspane*, or of any of them, in our County of *Somerset*, being late parcel of the possessions of *Henrie late Marquesse of Excester*, which came vnto the hands of the late most noble and inuincible Prince, King *Henry* the eight, our most renowned father, by reason of the attainder of the saide Marques, of high treason attained, and which now are in our hands. To haue, hold, and receiue the aforesaid yearly rent of forty pound, vnto the aforesaid duke of *Somerset*, and his heyres aforesaid, at the Feasts of the blessed virgin *Mary*, and Saint *Michael* the Archangel, by equal portions, to bee yearly payed by the hands of the Receiueurs, Farmers, Tenants, and other whomsoever, Occupiers of our Manors, Lands, and Tenements aforesaid, or of any of them, being parcell of them. And after that, for want of such issue, vnto the aforesaid *Edward*, and the heyres male of his body lawfully begotten. And for defect of such issue, to remaine from thenceforth, vnto the heyres male of the saide Duke of his owne body begotten, by any other his wife, which he shall hereafter marry. And that these our Letters Patents, or the Inrolement of them, vpon the onely shewing of the same, or of the enrolement of them, shall be yearly, and from time to time, as well vnto our Chancellour, and our Councell of our Court of *Augmentation and Reuencion* of our Crowne, for the time being, as vnto all others our Ministers, Receiueurs, and other our Officers, their heyres and successours whatsoever for the time being, a sufficient warrant and discharge in this part, for the deliuey and payment of the saide yerely rent of forty pounds, vnto the aforesaid Duke and his heyres aforesaid. And for defect of such issue, vnto the saide *Edward Seymour*, and the heyres male of his body lawfully begotten. And for want of such issue, vnto the heyres of the saide Duke, of his body lawfully begotten, by any other his wife, which he shall hereafter marry. And if it shall happen the saide yerely rent of forty pound, or any part or

parcell thereof to be behind & vnpaid at any of the aforesaid Feasts, in which it ought to be paid as is aforesaid: then we grant for vs, our heyres and successours, vnto the saide Duke, and his heyres aforesaid, and euery one of them: and for lacke of such issue, vnto the saide *Edward Seymour*, and his heyres aforesaid: and for want of such issue, vnto the aforesaid heyres of the saide Duke, whom he shall lawfully beget of the body of any other his wife whom hee shall hereafter marry, and to euery one of them, into the aforesaid Mannors, and euery one of them, and into all and euery the aforesaid Lands and Tenements, or any parcell of the saide Mannors, Lands, or Tenements, to enter, and there to distraine, & the distresses there so by them, or any of them taken, to driue, leade, carry away, impound, and with them, and euery one of them to detain, vntill the aforesaid yearly rent of forty pound, together with the arrearages (if any there shall be thereof) shall vnto the aforesaid duke and his heyres aforesaid, or vnto the saide *Edward* or his heyres aforesaid: or the heyres of the saide Duke, or some one of them, be fully and wholly contented and payed, by vs, our heyres and successours, or the assignes of vs, our heyres, or successours. And for that expresse mention, &c. These being VVitneses. The most reuerend Father in Christ, *Thomas* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Primate and Metropolitan of all England; and our well-beloued and faithfull Councillour, *William Poules* Knight, Lord *Saint John*, Great Maister of our house, &c. *John Russell* Knight, Lord *Russell* Keeper of our priuie Seale: and also our most well-beloued Cozins, *Henry* earle of *Arundell*, and *Francis* earle of *Shrewsburie*, &c. Giuen vnder our hand at the Tower of *London*, the sixteenth day of February.

The first of Edward the first by the King himselfe.

¶ The

CHAP. XIII.

The manner of Creating of a Duke.

IN the yeare one thousand siue hundred forty seven, the xvii. of the Moneth of February, and in the first yeare of the Reigo of *Edward* the sixt of that name, The Nobility being called together and assembled into the Tower of London. *Edward Seymour*, the aforesaid Earle of *Hertford* the kings Vnkle, & Protector of the kingdom, with others promoted vnto the diuers degrees of Nobility, was in this wise created D. of *Somerset*. He himselfe being apparelled in an inner Robe of honour, the Heralds went before him in their Heralds coates, the chiefe of whom, *Garter* following alone, carried the Charter. The Earles of *Shrewsbury* and of *Oxford*, going together, the Earle of *Shrewsbury* on the right hand, carried a Verge of gold, & the earle of *Oxford* on the left, carried the Dukes Cap, with a Coronet of gold. Next vnto whom followed the Earle of *Arundell*, carrying a Sword with the hilts vpward. At length the earle of *Hertford* himselfe was conducted in the midst, betwixt the

Duke of *Suffolke*, and the Marquesse of *Dorchester*: When they in this manner, attired in their Robes of honour, were come into the *Chamber of Salutation* (which they commonly call *The refectory Chamber*) they after thrice obeysance made, went vnto the king, sitting in his chayre of Estate: where forth-with the earle kneeled downe, all the rest standing about him, *Garter* king of Heralds, deliuered the Charter vnto Baron *Paget*, the Kings Secretary, who gaue the same vnto the King, and he deliuered it vnto him againe to be read aloud. And when hee came vnto the words *Inuestiuius*, (or we haue inuested) the king put a Dukes Mantle vpon the Earle: and at the words (*Gladio cincturauimus*) girt him with a Sword: at the words (*cappa & circuli aurei impositionem*) the King himselfe in like manner with his owne hand put vpon his head a Cap with a Coronet of gold vpon it: and at length, at those wordes (*virga aurea traditionem*) the King himselfe gaue into his hand, *A verge of gold*: which done, the Secretary read the rest, euen vnto the end of the Charter: wherein he pronounced him the saide earle of *Hertford*, to bee Duke of *Somerset*: at which time, the King forthwith gaue the Charter vnto the Duke to bee kept: who after thanks giuen vnto the Kings Maiesie for so great an honour and dignity received, in this sort attired, stood by the Chaire of Estate, whilst the Noble-men returned to bring in others, who were also to be created.

The

The habite and attire of a Duke.



CHAP. XV.

The Kings Charter for the creating of the Prince of Wales.

The Copy of the letters patents of king Henry the 6. creating Edward his first begotten Son Prince of Wales, and Earle of Chester.

HENRY by the grace of God, King of England, and of France, Lord of Ireland, &c. To all Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Dukes, Earles, Barons, Iustices, Vicounts, Gouvernors, Ministers, and to all our Balues, and faithfull Subiects, Greeting. Out of the excellency of Royall preheminance, like as beams from the Sun, so do inferior honours proceed: neyther doth the integrity of the royall luster and brightnesse, by the naturall disposition of the light, affoording light fro light, feele any losse or detriment by such borrowed light: yea, the Royall Scepter is also much the more extolled, and the Regall Throne exalted, by how much the more Nobles, Preheminences, and Honours are vnder the power and command thereof.

And this worthy consideration allureth and induceth vs, which desire the encrease of the Name and Honour of our first begotten and best beloved Sonne, *Edward*, in whom we behold and see our selues to bee honoured, and our royall house also, and our people subiect vnto vs; hoping by the grace of God (by coniecture taken of his gracious future proceeding to be the more honorably strengthened, that wee may with honour preuent, and with abundant grace prosecute him, who in reputation of vs, is deemed the same person with vs. VVherefore, by the Councell and consent of the Prelats, Dukes, Earles, Vicounts, and Barons of our kingdom, being in our present Parliament, we haue made and created, and by these presents make and create him the said *Edward*, Prince of Wales, and Earle of *Chester*. And vnto the same *Edward* we giue and grant, and by this Charter haue confirmed, the Name, Stile, Title, State, Dignity, and the honour of the said Principality and County. And him of the said Principality and County, that hee may therein in gouerning rule, and in ruling, direct and defend, we by a *Garland* vpon

his head, by a ring of gold vpon his finger, and a verge of gold, haue according vnto the manner inuested him. To haue and to hold the same vnto him and his heires, the Kings of England for euer. Wherefore, we will, and straightly command, for vs and our heires, that *Edward* our Sonne aforesaid, shall haue the Name, Stile, Title, State, Dignity, and Honour of the Principallitie of *Wales*, and of the County of *Chester* aforesaid, vnto him and his heires the Kings of England aforesaid, for euer. These being witnesses. The reuerend Fathers, *John*, Cardinal and Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Primate of all England, our Chancellor, and *William* Archbishop of *Torke*, Primate of England; *Thomas* Bishop of *London*, and *William* Bishop of *Norwich*: our most wel-beloued Cousins, *Richard* Duke of *Torke*, and *thumfrey* Duke of *Buckingham*, our wel-beloued Cousins, *Richard* Earle of *Warwicke*, *Richard* Earle of *Sarisbury*, *John* Earle of *Wiltshire*, and our beloued and faithfull Raffe *Cromwell*, Chamberlain of our house, *William* Faulconbridge, and *John* Stourton Knights. Dated at our Pallace of *VVestminster*, the XV. day of *March*, and in the yeare of our Reigne, XXXII.

By the King himselfe, and his Councell.

CHAP. XVI.

Things required vnto the Creation of the Prince of Wales.

First, an honorable habite (viz.) a Robe of Purple Veluet hauing in it, about XVIII. elnes, more or lesse, garnished about with a fringe of gold, and lined with *Ermins*.

A Surcoat or inner Gowne, hauing in it about XIII. elnes of Veluet, of like Color, Fringe, and Furre.

Laces, Buttons, and Tassels (as they call them) ornaments made of purple silke & gold.

A girdle of silke also, to gird his inner Gowne.

A sword with a scabberd made of purple silke and gold, garnished with the like girdle he is girt withall, thereby shewing himselfe

himselfe to be Duke of *Cornwall* by birth, and not by Creation.

A cap of the same veluet that his Robe is of, furred with *Ermines*, with Laces and a Button, and Tassels on the crowne thereof made of Venice gold.

A garland or a little Coronet of gold, to be put on his head, together with his Cap.

A long golden Verge or Rod, betokening his government.

A Ring of gold also to bee put on the third finger of his left hand, whereby he

declareth his mariage made with *Equity* and *Iustice*.

All these things were almost with Royall sumptuousnesse prepared for *Edward*, Sonne to King *Henry* the eight, to haue bene created Prince of *Wales*, but preuented by his Fathers death, hee was crowned King, sixt of that Name: yet the forme, with the Rites and Ceremonies belonging to the inuesting of the Prince into the Principality of *Wales*, you may perceiue, by that which is before declared.



CHAP. XVII.

Of the Crowning of the King.

Concerning Charters & Writs of Summons vnto Parliament, whereby the Kinges of England, onely upon their good liking, & mere motion (as they use to say) are wont to conferre Named Nobility, we haue already spoken: and now at length we are come vnto the rites and Ceremonies of the Coronation of the Kinges themselves, as they are after our manner with vs Crowned. Concerning which, a few things are now to be said.



Nothing assuredly is more excellent then the Royall dignity, if we shall respect the Maiesty of the name of a King, either among the nations or in holie Scriptures. The Romanes in ancient time, appointed three Degrees of their greatest Dignities, of all which, the Regall power was the cheefest and highest. Next after the dignity of a King was the *Dictatorship*, in the third place, followed the power which the *Generall* of their Armies had, whom they called *Imperator*. Hee that great *Julius Caesar*, when after the victory of *Pharsalia*, had beene oftentimes by his army saluted *Imperator*, yet for all that, vsed he not the name of *Imperator*, but *Dictator*. For why, the name of a King, after the time of *Tarquinius*, was for a great while growne into hatred, and become odious in the Citie. Howbeit, at such time as he was about to make an expedition against the *Parthians*, hee affected to bee called a King: affirming it to be contained in the Books of the *Sybls*, the *Parthians* not possible to bee conquered and subdued but by a King.

The *Dictator*'s most high power, was in all things like vnto the power of a King: and such as a man may say to haue bin e-

quall vnto the power of a King. This was (as *Varro* witnesseth) chaunged into a great Magistrate, whom they called *Magistrum Ciuum* (or *Maister of the Citizens*) which manner of Gouvernour of a Citie, the Germanes vied to call, *Burgue Meistre*.

The name of *Imperator* or Emperors, was at first but an Office in an Army, and a bare Title; which yet at length became a dignity of greater State and Maiesty; then any of the rest; and yet at length so fell, as that the Maiesty and magnificence of the Christian world, is maintained onely by the power of Kings. Vnto foure of whom onely, it is written to haue bene proper in ancient time to bee annointed, viz. vnto the Kings of *Ierusalem*, of *England*, of *France*, and of *Sicily*.

The French writers report, the French Kinges within the bounds of their owne kingdom, to be styled *Imperatores* or *Emperors*. *Chassaneus* also affirmeth, the king of *England*, to bee in *England*, a Monarke. And if the name of *Christianissimi*, or the most Christian king, bee glorious vnto the French Kinges, and the name of *Catholici* or *Catholique* vnto the kings of *Spain*; the Kinges of *England* haue also a style whereof to reioyce, as (viz:) not in Title, onely to be styled *Fidei Christiana* & *Catholica Defensores*, or Defenders of the *Christian and Catholique Faith*, but euen with vndaunted Maiesty, to be of both acknowledged the great *Champions* and *Protectors* of the same. But concerning attributes or additions of Stiles and Titles, I list not for to stricke. But, seeing that the kings of *God* for their royall dignity, giue *God* the thanks onely; and that it is onely by the grace of *God* (as they vse to say) by hereditary succession, by them obtained: they hold it vnto them confirmed by the suffrages of the people, with the requisite forme and ceremonies of *Coronation*, *Consecration*, and *Inunction*. Which being of ancient time (the king; dome sore shaken with *Danish* wars) ofte kept at *Kingston* vpon *Thames*, is now vsually holden and made at *Westminster*, a city ioyning vnto the city of *London*, in forme following.

The

The ancient forme of the Coronation of the Kings and Queenes of England.

In primis. The King to be newly crowned, the day before his Coronation, shall be brought forth in royall Robes, and shall ride from the Tower of *London*, to his Pallace of *Westminster* with his head vncouered, being accompanied on horsebacke with his temporall Lords, his Nobles, the Commons of *London*, and other his seruants.

The seate of Estate.

Item. Let there be provided against the day of Coronation, in the Kings great Hall at *Westminster*, a Chaire of Estate, fittingly provided with hangings of silke and embroidery, with Cushions and Carpets of Arras accordingly.

The Scaffold.

Item. Let it be provided, that a Stage or Scaffold bee erected in the Church at *Westminster*, with steps on eyther side: let it be orderly fited with Cloathes and Carpets on all parts, and likewise on the floore.

The Royall Throne.

Item. Let it bee provided, that vpon the said Scaffold, there bee erected a Throne or Chaire, wherein the King is to sit: Let it bee accordingly fited with rich furniture, and Cushions of cloth of gold.

The Abbot of Westminster.

Item. It is to be obserued, that the Abbot of *Westminster* for the time being, by the space of two or three dayes before the Coronation of the King or Queene, shall instruct them what duties they are to performe in the celebration of their Coronation; as also to prepare their consciences, before the receiuing of the *Sacred unction*. And if the Abbot be dead, sicke, or absent in some remote Country, or lawfully hindred; the shall one of the Monks of the said Monastery (nominated by the Couent of the same Church) supply the office of the said Abbot in this case.

Of the Kirtle and Surcoat.

Item. Vpon the day of the Coronation, the King that is to be crowned, shall be placed in the foresaid Chaire of estate; in the foresaid Hall (but being first bathed:) and after his bathing, a Kirtle and Surcoat of Veluet shall be prepared for him, open on the breast, betwene the shoulders and blades of his armes: Let his open Kirtle and Surcoat bee fastened together with loops of siluer: and vpon the Kirtle let him be cloathed with other royall Robes, and let him bee shod with Sandals.

Procession.

Item. Let a solemne Procession be prouided by the Abbot and Couent of *West*: from the fore-saide Church to the Kings seate, in the fore-said Hall. In which procession, there shall be arch-bishops, Bishops, and other Prelates. Then the King shall descend, and follow the Procession into the Church at *Westminster*, and he shall goe vpon blew cloth spread vpon the ground, from the foresaid Chaire to the Stage (or seege) erected in the fore-saide Church. And in the said procession shall be sung such like Hymnes, as are accustomed to bee sung in the reception of Kings and Queenes.

The Crosse, &c.

Item. The Crosse, Sword, Scepter, and Royall Mace (ensignes of honour) shall be borne in the procession, by the Abbot, Prior, and Senior Monks of *Westminster* into the Pallace, and there shall they be surrendered to diuers of the Lords, to be borne before the King to the Church.

The Barons of the five Ports.

Item. The Barons of the five Ports shall carry a rich Canopy vpon siluered staves ouer the King or Queenes head, in the fore-saide procession vnto the said Church.

The Abbot of Westminster.

Item. The Abbot (or the Monke supplying his place) ought alwayes to be neere about the King and Queene to giue instructions.

Vv3

The

The Arch-bishop ought to demand the good liking of the people.

After the King hath a little reposed himselfe in the Chaire or Throne erected vpon the Scaffold, then the arch-bishoppe of Canterbury, shall goe vnto the foure squares of the Scaffold, & with a loud voyce, aske the good liking of the people, concerning the Coronation of the king: Meane while the king shal stand vp in his Throne, and turne himselfe v. to the foure squares, in like manner, as the Archbishoppe speaketh vnto the people. And after the said demand, the Anthem *Firmetur manus tua, &c.* shall be sung.

The Offertory of the King.

The anthem being ended, the king shal descend from the Scaffold, vp to the high Altar, the Bishops leading him: wherupon he is bound to offer a Mantle, & one pound of gold: therein fulfilling his commandement, who said; *Non apparebis vasculis in conspectu Dei tui.*

The King prostrateth himselfe.

The Offering being finished, the king boweth himselfe vpon the Pavement before the Altar, being before prepared by the Kings Officers, with cloaths and furbie cushions of veluet, vntill the Arch-Bishop hath laide ouer him the Prayer, *Deus fidelium, &c.* And then ought a Sermon to be preached vnto the people.

The King taketh his Oath.

The Sermon being ended, the king approacheth vnto the Altar to take his oath, which he ought to performe vpon the sacrament of our Lords body. Then let the Hymne, *Veni creator spiritus*, be solemnly sung. VVhich being begun, the King shal prostrate himselfe before the high Altar, vntill the Letany and Preface bee wholly sung ouer him. Which being finished, let the king arise and sit in his chaire, therein reposing himselfe a while.

The anointing of the King.

After this, let the King arise from his chaire, and goe vnto the Altar, and there shall he put off his Robes (except his Kirtle and Surcoat) and there let him receiue Vnction, the Quier meane while singing; *Psalterium Salomonem*, with the prayer following. Then let him be annointed in fure

places, (viz.) in the palmes of his hands, on his breast, betwene his shoulders, on the blades of his armes, and on his head, with holy-oyle, in forme of a crosse; and afterwards making the signe of the crosse vpon his head with the Chrisme, the fastenings and Mantle beeing first opened. Item, after the foresaid Vnction, and wiping with linnen cloaths (which ought afterwards to bee burnt) let the opened places for the annointing, be closed again by the Abbot of Westminster, or his Deputy.

The Abbot of Westminster shall take off the Kings Cap.

After the annointing of the kings head, let it bee covered with a linnen Cap, because of holy vndion, and so let it remain vntill the eight day after the vndion: vpon the which day, the Abbot of Westminster or his Deputy, shall come vnto the king, and take off the afore said linnen Cap, and shall wash & mundifie the kings head. After the said washing, the Abbot of Westminster, or his assignes, shall put vpon the King, royall habiliments, viz. a Sinden fashioned after the Dalmatian fashion, with hose and sandals: and then let these royall Robes bee sacred by the arch-Bishop: as *Patet in Libro.*

The King shall be clothed with a Mantle by the Abbot.

These Offices being finished, the afore said king shall be arrayed by the Abbot of Westminster, or his assignes, with a long Cloake or Mantle, woven with faire Imagery of gold, before and behind, with his Buskins, Pantofles, and Spurs fitted to his legges.

The setting of the Crowne vpon the Kings head.

After the King is thus arrayed, then let the Crowne be placed vpon the kings head by the arch-bishop, and afterward let a Ring be put on the Kings hand by a Bishop.

Of the Sword.

After this, let the Royall Sword bee blessed, and the said King shall receiue it from the Bishop, and shall gird himselfe with the said sword, and receiue the Bracelets: afterward, let him bee clothed with a Royall

Royall cloake.

The offering of the sword.

After this, let the King offer the saide Sword vpon the Altar to God: which the worthiest earle then present is to redeeme for one hundred Shillings; and to carry it naked before the King. The price whereof pertayneth vnto the sayde Altar.

The receiuing of the Scepter.

After this, let the King receiue a paire of linnen Gloues, & after that the Scepter, with the Crosse in his right hand, and the Mace in his left. Then being blessed, he shall kisse the bishops, by whom (as also by the residue of the Nobility) he shall bee honourably conducted to his Royall seate, the Quier singing, *Te Deum laudamus.*

The Prelates, and the residue shall make their homage.

After this, let the Prelates and Lords make their fealty and liege homage to the Lord King: and then let Masse begin. Item, whilst *Gloria in excelsis* is singing, the King shall be censed by a Deacon: and at *Credo*, he shall kisse the Booke.

The offering of Bread and Wine.

Whilst the Offertorie is singing, let the King approach to the Altar, & make his offering of Bread and VVine: and after that let him also offer a Mark of gold: which being done, the King shall a little bow downe his head, whilst the Arch-bishoppe doth blesse him with two Orisons, which being finished, let the King be brought back to his Throne or estate.

The kissing of the Pax after the Agnus Dei.

The kisse of the Pax after the *Agnus Dei* being receiued: let the King descend from his Estate, and humbly approach the Altar, and there receiue the body & blood of our Lord: which being receiued, the Abbot of Westminster shall minister vnto him wine out of a stone Challice, pertayning to the King, and then immediately the King shall returne to his estate.

Masse being finished, let the King descend from his Throne, and goe vnto the high Altar, and let the Archbishops, Bi-

shops, and Nobility go before him to the Shrine of Saint Edward, where the King shall be arrayed with other Robes; all which shall be offered vpon the Altar of Saint Edward.

The taking off the Robes.

The great Chamberlaine (viz.) the earle of *Oxford*, shall vnclithe the king of the foresaid Robes in a with-drawing place neare to the Shrine: which Robes, as they are particularly taken from the King, so shall they be laid vpon the said Altar by the Abbot.

Another Crowne.

The King attired in other honourable apparrell, shall approach vnto the Altar of Saint Edward, where the Archbishop shall put another Crowne vpon his head.

The King returneth to the Pallace.

The said King being thus crowned, & carrying in his hand the Regall Scepter, from the Shrine to the high Altar, and from thence to the scaffold, then shall he descend thorow the midst of the Quier, by the same way as hee came into the Church, the foresayd earles carrying the Swords before him, returning with great glory vnto the Kings Pallace to dinner.

The delivery of the Scepter.

Dinner beeing ended, and the King withdrawne into his chamber, the Scepter shall bee deliuered to the Abbot of Westminster, or his deputy, by the Kings owne hands, to be kept in the said church of Westminster.

The Coronation of the Queene.

And note, that in the Coronation of the Queene, Procession shall be celebrated: and if she be crowned with the king, then ought she to be annointed vpon the Crowne of her head, and on her breast: and if she be crowned alone, then ought shee to be annointed vpon the Crowne onely crosse-ways with the Chrisme.

The Kings Oath vpon the day of his Coronation.

The Archbishop of Canterburie shall demaund the King, saying: *Plesseth it you*

to confirme and obserue the Lawes and Customes of ancient times, granted from God by iust and deuout Kinges vnto the English Nation, by Oath vnto the said people, especially the Lawes, Customes and Liberties, granted vnto the Clergy and Laity, by the famous King Edward? The King answering that he will performe and obserue all the premises. Then shall the Archbishop reade vnto him the Articles whereunto he shall sweare, thus saying, *Thou shalt procure vnto the Church of God, vnto the Clergie, and people, firme peace, and vnitie in God, according to thy power: He shall answer, I will performe it.*

Art thou pleased to cause to bee administered in all thy iudgements indifferent and vpright iustice, and to vse discretion with mercie and veritie. He shall answer, I will doe it.

Art thou pleased, that our vpright lawes and customes be obserued: and dost thou promise, that those shall bee protected and maintained by thee, to the honour of God, according to thy strength. He shall answer, I grant and promise.

The petition of the Bishops.

The Admonition of the Bishops vnto the King followeth; and must be read by one, (viz.) by the Bishop of Lincoln: *Lord King, wee desire your pardon, that you would vouchsafe to defend to euery one of vs, and to the Churches committed vnto vs, our Canonically Priviledges, with equitie and iustice, as a King in his Kingdome ought to doe vnto euery Bishop, Abbot, and Churches committed vnto him. Hee shall answer thus*

The Kings answer.

With a willing and deuout heart, I promise vnto you, and I pardon euery one of you, and the Churches committed vnto you. I will confirme the Canonically priuiledges, minister equitie and iustice, and will defend them by Gods sauour, as farre as I am able; euen as a King ought with vprightnes to do, vnto euery Bishop, Abbot, and the Churches committed vnto him.

The Oath of homage made vnto the King.

I become your man liege of life and limbe, and troth, and yearly honour to you shall beare asenit all men that now liue. So helpe me God and Holy doome.

Item, that the Arch-bishop of Canterbury, shall first make his fealtie, then the Bishops, and afterwards all the Nobles of the Kingdome.

CHAP. XVIII.

A briefe Description of the pompe and Ceremonies at the Coronation of Edward the first, King of England: according to the ancient manner, vsed in the Consecration of the Kings of England.



Henrie the eight, the most inuincible K. of England, beeing dead, who departed out of this life at Westminster, the 28. day of January, 1546 and 38. of his reigne. Edward Seymour, erle of Hertford, King Edward his Vncle, accompanied with most of the Nobilitie of the whole Kingdome, forthwith went to Enfield (in the Countie of Middlesex) vnto Edward, now at length (by right of succession vnto his Father Henry) King of England, France and Ireland. Whom the Munday following (viz.) the last of January, he with the great applause of the Citie, and of the people by the way as hee went, was brought from thence vnto the Tower of London.

The same day the Heralds from an high Stage set vp in the midst of Westminster hall (with a great found of Trumpets) out of a Royall Charter, sealed with the great Seale of the kingdome, proclaimed the death of the aforesaid King Henry the eight, and the Inauguration of K. Edward the sixt to come. Which Charter was dated the 31 day of Ianuarie, and the first yeare of King Edward.

Vpon Friday following (viz.) the 4. of February, it was through the most famous places of the City of London, by the Heralds proclaimed and notified, that whosoever they were which by right of Fee, were bound at the Coronations of Kings, to performe their Offices or Seruices, should vnto the Kings Commissioners therefore appoynted, in the White hall,

hall, the vij. of February exhibite their petitions: who according to the ancient custome of the kingdome, should determine vnto euery man their rights and seruices, against the twentieth of the same moneth, the day appointed for the Coronation of the King.

Vpon Thursday (which was the first day of February) the Nobility and States of the Kingdome assembled into the Chamber of Prefence (as they call it) euery one of them in order one by one, did their reuerence and duty vnto the King, sitting in his Royall Seate, kissing his hand, and saying; *Long liue the Kings Majestie.*

After that the Chancellour declared vnto him the Will of his dead Father, and the Names of his Executors: and that for lacke of yeares, he was not yet himselfe able to gouerne his Kingdome (for now hee was but going vpon the tenth yeare of his age) he told them, that the Earle of Hertford his Vncle, was by common suffrages chosen Tutor of his person, and Protector of his Kingdome. VVhich when the King had approued, and that the erle refused not that charge, they altogether, and oftentimes doubled and redoubled; *Long liue our King Edward: and God saue our King.*

The next day (viz.) vpon Friday, the Noble-men meeting together in the Stare-chamber, there bound themselves by Oath vnto the King: at which time and place, also the Maister of the Rolles, and the chiefe Officers of the Chancerie, were sworne truely and sincerely to enrole the VVill and Testament of the aforesaid King Henrie the eight, being dead.

The Sunday following, the King by his Vncle the Protector, was after the accustomed manner made a knight, who by and by after with the same Ceremonies created the Maior of London, and certaine others, knights.

But vpon the Monday, the Commissioners hauing well considered of the matter, and hauing read the Suters Petitions on both sides, gaue sentence concerning Seruices, after the manner to be performed at the time of the Coronation; of which in their place and order more is to be hereafter said.

The VVednesday following, was

wholly bestowed in the magnificent performing of the rites and ceremonies of the Funerall of King Henrie the eight. VVhich done, they entred into consultation concerning the Coronation of the new King. And first of all, for the greater solemnitie of the pompe, the Earle of Hertford was graced with the Title of the Duke of Somerset. At which time others also, with other honourable Titles, were with great solemnity honored also.

After dinner, the Knights of the Garter assembled together into the Kings Chamber, where the King attired in the ornaments of that Order late (as of right he should, highest) and with ioyned voices, chose the Marquesse Dorset, the earle of Darbie, and others, into the fellowship of that Order.

At length, vpon Saturday (viz.) the 19 day of February, the king with a most magnificent pompe, went through the middelt of the Citie, from the Tower of London, vnto the Pallace at Westminster, the great Ordinance both out of the Tower, and the Shippes, on euery side thundering.

And in this order they went.

First, all the Kings Messengers by two and two together.

After them the noblemen of lesser note, or Gentlemen by two and two together also.

The Sergeants of the forraine embassadors, by couples.

The Trumpettors with great noyse sounding on both sides.

The Gentlemen, keepers of the Kings person (whom we call Esquiers for the Body.)

Knights (which are called knights, Bachelours.)

The greater Chaplaines.

The younger sonnes of Noblemen mounted vpon great Horses.

The Senators or Aldermen of London.

The Clerks of the Councell.

The Kings Secretaries.

The keeper of the sacred Records, commonly called, the Maister of the Rolles. The Knights of the Bath.

The

The Kings Councillours.

Knights Banners.

Knights of the order of the *Garter*, which were not by dignitie Barons.

The nobles of vicounts.

The younger Sonnes of earles and Marquesses.

Barons.

Earles eldest Sonnes.

Vicounts.

Bishops.

Marquesses eldest sonnes.

Dukes younger sonnes.

Earles.

Dukes eldest sonnes.

Marquesses.

Dukes.

The Controller or Cenfor of the Kings house, and the Venetian Ambassador.

The Treasurer of the Kings house; and one of the Ambassadors of the Protestant Princes.

The Kings Almner; and another of the Ambassadors of the Protestant Princes.

The lord William Paget Secretary, with the duke Phillip.

The Admiral of *England*, with one of the Ambassadors of *Scotland*.

The keeper of the priuate Seale, with another Ambassador of *Scotland*.

The gouernour of the Pallace, or great Maister of the Hall, with the *Baron de la Garde*, a Frenchman.

The Chancellour of *England*, with the French Ambassador.

The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with the Emperors Ambassador.

Two noble Courtiers representing the dukedoms of *Normandy & Aquitaine*, attired in Purple robes, with caps of honour, with their Cloaks cast crosse of purple velvet, furred with Mineuer. Garter king of Armes, in his Heralds coate, and the Maior of the Citie of London, carrying the Mace of his Mairalty.

The Sergeants at Armes, & the Heralds on both sides.

The Constable of *England*, who for that time was the Marquesse *Dorset*, carried the Sword: on whose right hand went the earle of *Warwicke* as Chamberlaine of *England*; and on his left hand the earle of *Arundell*, supplying the place of earle Marshall.

The Duke of *Somerset* Protector of the kingdome, went a litle before the king toward the left hand.

The King himselfe went vnder a Canopy or Thole, borne by sixe Knights, (the footmen going about him) before which, two Gentlemen Vthers went with white Staues.

Next after came the master of the Horse, with a royall Pallfrey richly furnished. After came nine Pages of honor (whom we call Hench-men) bare headed, and mounted vpon great Horses, whom Sir Francis Brian their Captayne followed.

Then followed the gentlemen of the priuy Chamber.

The gentlemen Pensioners, with their Polonian Partisans, guarded on both sides from those Courtiers which represented *Normandy* and *Aquitaine*, cū to the Guard.

Then came the Capitaine of the Guard, with his band of the Yeomen of the Guard.

The Seruants of the Noble-men and Gentlemen shut vp the troope, going in order according to the honour and dignitie of their Lords and Masters.

In this order they came thorough the midst of the Citie vnto the Pallace at *Westminster*: The Pageants in the meane time, with diuerse shewes e-uery where set forth, and the Orations made, &c. I for breuitie sake purposely omit.

Vpon Sunday, the twentieth day of February, at nine of the clocke, the King was carried downe the Riuer, from the Pallace vnto the Hall at *Westminster*, where first in the Chamber of the Court of Augmentation (which now is called the Court of Wardes) he attired himselfe in a Roabe of Purple velvet, with a long trayne, furred with Ermins. His inner Gowne was of the same kind of velvet, furred with Mineuer, and fringed round about with Gold. These were called Parliament Roabes, but vpon his head hee did weare a Cappe of blacke Velvet. The Noble-men in like manner also being attired in their Roabs of honor, attended vpon the Kings Maiesty, from thence to the Marble Chaire set

in

in Westminster Hall, and from thence vnto a Royall Throne set vp for him in *S. Peters* Church at Westminster. But the way whereby he went, was by the Kings Almer all couered with blew Cloth.

And in this order they set forward.

All the Gentlemen went by two & two together.

All the Esquires by two and two also. The Secretaries of the Latine & French tongues.

The Senators or Aldermen of London. The chiefe Porter or Vther alone.

Three Crosse.

They of the Quier of the Church of *Westminster* in their Coapes.

The Subdeacon of the Kings Chappell, with the singing men of the same.

The Bishops in their *Pontificalibus*.

The Chancellor of the Augmentation, and the Venetian Secretary.

The Gouernour of the Wardrobe, with the Duke Phillip.

The Controllor of the Kings house, with an Ambassador of Scotland.

The Treasurer of the Kingshouse, with another Ambassador of Scotland.

The Almner, with the Ambassadors of France.

Secretary Peter, with another Ambassadors of France.

Secretary Paget, with the Emperors Ambassadors.

Garter King of Armes, and the Maior of the City of London.

The Earle of *Kutland* carrying Saint Edwards Spures, and with him the Earle of *Huntingdon*, carrying S. Edwards Staffe.

After that, three drawne swords; the first whereof was borne by the Baron of *S. John*, great Master of the Kings house: the second, by Baron *Russell*, keeper of the Priuate Seale: the third, which is called *Cortayna* was carried in the midst betwixt the other two, by the earl of *Darby*.

A Sword was also carried before in the Scabbard vndrawne, vnto which vpon the left hand was ioyned the Earle of *Arundell*, as Earle Marshall in stead of the Protector.

The Duke of *Somerset* Protector of the Kingdome, carried the Crowne, whose right side the Duke of *Suffolke* with a

Globe and Crosse of gold enclosed, & his left side the Marquesse *Arger*, with the Royall Secretary.

At length the Kings Maiesty went vnder a Thole or Canopy, which the Barons of the five Ports (by an ancient right) did beare, supported on the right hand by the Bishop of *Durham*, and on the left by the Earle of *Shrewsbury*.

The Earle of *Warwicke*, as great Chamberlaine of England, held vp the Kings traine: whom the Marques of *Northampton* assisted on the one side, and Baron *Seymour* of *Sudley*, Admirall of England, both of them of the Kings priuy Chamber.

The Gentlemen of the priuy Chamber. The Noblemen of the kingdome, attyred in the Robes of honour, euery one of them according to his place and ancientnesse: whom the Gentlemen Pensioners, the Caprine of the Guard, & the Yeomen of the Guard themselves did follow.

The King in this order beeing brought to Saint *Peters* Church, was placed in the Chaire of Saint Edward the King, in the midst of a Throne, seuen steppes high. This Throne was erected neere vnto the Altar vpon a Stage, arising with steppes on both sides, couered with Carpets and hangings of Arras. Where, after the King had rested a litle, being by certaine Noble Courtiers carryed in another Chaire vnto the foure sides of the Stage: he was by the Archbishop of *Canterbury* declared vnto the people (standing round about) both by Gods and Mans Lawes to be the right and lawfull King of England, France, and Ireland; and proclaimed that day to be crowned, consecrated, and anointed. Vnto whom he demanded, whether they would obey and serue, or not? By whom it was againe with a loud cry answered; *God saue the King: And ener line his Maiesty*.

This being done, he was againe placed in the Chaire of the Throne, the Quier singing of an Anthem: The King from thence descending vnto the Altar, there offered his Cloake, and certaine Money, (viz.) XX. Shillings, and afterward lay downe flat before the Altar, the Archbishop saying certaine Prayers; as *Deus fidelium*, &c. And afterward in formall words, swore an oath vnto the King before

for

fore the people.

There the king being againe prostrate, the Archbishop againe kneeling downe, beganne the Hymne *Veni Creator spiritus &c.* and said other Praiers ouer the King: two other Bishops beginning the Letany, which at length ended, the King arose and came againe vnto his throne: and from thence was brought to a retyring place (commonly called a *Trauerse*) where having put off all his former garments, hee was by the Chamberlaine of England apparelled agayne with other, (viz.) a Crimson Coate, open vpon the backe and the breast, the shoulders and the elbows, with a linnen Cappe vpon his head, wrought with gold. The Chancellor in the meane time, from the Stage proclaimed vnto the people the Kings generall pardon.

The King brought backe againe out of the *Traverse* vnto the throne, and from thence vnto the Altar, vnder a cloath of golde (the strings of his Coate and Shirt being opened) was by the Arch-bishop with formall praiers vnto God, vpon the Palmes of his hands, vpon his breast, betwix his shoulders, in the ioynts of his Armes, and Crowne, with hallowed oyle and chrisme annoynted; the Quire in the meane time singing the Anthem: *Pax erunt Salomonem, &c.*

After this annoynting (the oyle being lightly wiped off) the openings of his coate and shirt were agayne by the arch-bishop closed, who put vpon his hands a payre of Linnen Gloues, and a Linnen Cappe, (brought thither by the great Chamberlayne,) and so brought backe vnto the *Traverse*, was with a Royall Roabe againe reuelled.

At length returning againe vnto the Altar, hee there offered vp the Syvord wherewith hee was girt, to be afterwards with five pound in mony redeemed. The royall Ornaments were after that consecrated. The King sitting before the Altar, the Archbishop and the Protectour brought vnto him three Crownes.

The first was the Crowne of Saint Edward the King.

The second was the ancient Crowne of the Kings of England.

The third was of all the richest, made for that day, and for that purpose (and fit for the Kings head) which being all

by turnes, with the great sounding of Trumpets, and the applause of the People, put vpon his head: the Quire also singing *Te Deum laudamus, &c.* The Archbishop put a Ring vpon the third finger of the Kings right hand, at which time hee was likewise by the Maister of the Iewells bedecked with Bracelets, and other most rich and most precious Jewells.

The Earle of Shrewsbury deliuered the Scepter into the Kings hand.

The Archbishop deliuered vnto him Saint Edward the Kings little Staffe.

The Earle of Rutland offered vnto him a paire of golden Spurres.

The Duke of Suffolke gaue vnto him the golden Globe.

The Earle of Oxford deliuered him the other Royalties.

Hee in this manner attired with all Royall Ornaments (viz.) apparelled with a royall Roabe, and crowned with a Crowne vpon his head, carrying in his right hand a Scepter, and a golden Globe in his left, beeing brought vnto the Throne, hee sat downe in the Chaire of S^t. Edward the King. Where first the Duke of Sommer set Protector of England, vpon his knees in formall words did his due homage and fealty vnto the King and his heires, the kings of England: whom the Archbishoppe of Canterbury followed and kissed the Kings knee. The same againe did all the rest of the Nobility, which could so doe. But such as stood about (and with the shortnesse of the time excluded, could not come nie) the Protectour vpon his knees pronouncing their homage, holding vp their hands, cryed out with loude voyces together, Long liue EDWARD the sixt our King.

Diuine seruice at length being done by the Archbishop and two Bishops, the King at the offering time came downe vnto the Altar, where in the patten of S^t. Edwards Chalice, he offered an hallowed little Crust or Cruet of Wine, and a pound of gold: and then having bowed downe his head, the Archbishop sayde certaine Prayers, and blessed the King, and so returning vnto his Throne, there kissed the Pax being offered him.

Last of all, hee being brought vnto the Altar, the Archbishop taking the Crowne

Crowne from off his head, layde it vpon the Altar. From thence the King going into the Trauers, deliuered his royall Ornaments vnto the Deane of Westminster to be layde vpon the Altar: and in his inner purple Gowne (commonly called a Surcoat) furred with Ermins, with a Crowne vpon his head, returning vnto Westminster Hall in the same order wee before saide; staued a while in that chamber (which we call the Court of Wardes) vntill the Tables were royally furnished. The stately furniture of the Hall at that time, the multitude of Tables, the varietie of dishes and sauces, and the delicate magnificence of the feast, I willingly passe ouer.

Yet this it is worthy to remember, that the Earles of Oxford & Huntingdon held water vnto the King, which the Earle of Huntingdon before tasted.

The Earle of Rutland held the Towell.

The Marquesse of Northampton was the Caruer, & before tasted the Dishes.

The Earle of Suffex was Sewer of the first course, and placed it vpon the Table.

Before the coming in of the first course, the Marquesse Darset at that time. Constable of England, with a little silver Staffe (the signe of his office) and the Earle of Arundel with the rod of the Marshalls ship, mounted vpon trapped horses, al in cloth of gold came riding into the Hall.

Four swords were all the dinner time carried before the King.

The Ambassadors of forraigne Princes, the Bishops and Noble-men, the Maior of the City of London, the Barons of the five Ports, &c. were in their order set at Tables in the same Hall.

After the second course, the kings champion (surnamed Dimock) a knight in complete Armour, mounted vpon a great Horse, couered with a Caparison of cloth of gold, and attended vpon with an Herald in his Coat of Armes, came into the Hall: who even at the first, with a proud gaue went vnto the King, and with great reuerence made to him his lowe obedience. Afterward prauncing his carrying Horse, by a trumpet sounding foure times in the Hall, challenged to combate him who foueer he were, that should deny Edward the sixt of that name, to be the true, vndoubted, and lawfull King of England, France, and Ireland. And so often he call

downe his Gandel vnto the ground, as a pledge of his challenge so made: which when no man would take vp, the Herald deliuered it vnto him againe: which done, the King did drinke vnto him in a Cup of gold, which he thankfully accepted, and challenging the Cup due vnto him as his Fee, so departed.

Last of all, Garth king of Armes, with the rest of the heralds, having made thrice obeysance before the King, all aloud, in formall words proclaimed the kings stile, in Latine, French, and English, in this sort: *Largeſſe of the most Soueraigne, and most invincible Prince and King, Edward the sixt, by the grace of God of England, France, and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith: and of the Church of England and Ireland, next vnder Christ in Earth supreme head: chiefe of the most Noble order and Knight-hood of the Garter. Which same stile, when he had in Latine and French, and so in three other places of the Hall beside repeated, they oftentimes altogether crying out aloud, Largeſſe, so departed.*

A little before the ende of the Feast, the Maior of London (as the manner is) in a Cup of gold, gaue a Cuppe of spiced Wine (which we commonly call *Troster*) vnto the King to drinke; which after hee had tasted of, hee gaue the Cup vnto the Maior, as due vnto him for his fee.

The rest of the time was spent in creating of Knights of the Bath, and of other Knights: and in appointing of Iustings & Tiltings: All which, as not appertaining to my purpose, I omit; as also the variety of mulique, the diuers kindes of shewes, & other things in number infinite, which wonderfully graced & set forth the magnificence of this coronation: of all which things, let them say more at large, which saw either the fame, or the pompe of the Coronation of the most Soueraigne Queene Elizabeth, with the wonderfull happineſſe of her Reigne, and the applause and ioyfullnesse of the people on euerie side.

CHAP. XIX.

The memorable and famous Coronation of our most gracious Lord King Iames, and our Soueraigne Lady Anne his Wife, the 25. of Iuly, 1603.

¶ The Coppy heereof was delivered to his Maieſty, by the Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury; who faithfully obſerved the forme, ſet downe in the ancient Booke kept among the Regalia at Weſtmiſter.

THE King and Queen came from Weſtmiſter bridge, to the Weſt doore of the Miniſter Church.

They receiued into the Church with an Hymne or Antheme. They paſſe along thorow the body of the Church, and ſo vp to the Stage, and do there take their places in their ſeueral Seeges Royall.

The King ſhewed to the people, and they are required to make acknowledgment of their allegiance to his Maieſty, by the Archbiſhop: which they do by acclamations.

The ſecond Antheme is ſung.

The King and Queene deſcend from their Thrones, and going to the Altar, there offer: the King a Pall, and a pound of gold: the Queene likewiſe offereth.

A Prayer is ſaide by the Archbiſhop.

A Sermon by the Biſhop of Wincheſter. After the Sermon, the King is moued by the Archbiſhop to take his Oath.

The Oath miniſtered by the Archbiſhop, and taken by the King, there is ſung, *Come Holy Ghoſt, &c.*

A prayer by the Archbiſhop: when that is done, *Letany* is ſaide or ſung by two Biſhops.

The Archbiſhop beginneth the Ceremony of the anointing, with the thankſgiving, *Liſt vp your hearts, &c.*

After which, the King comming to the Altar, putteth off his vpper garments.

The Kings vnder Garments are ſo to be made, as the places to be annoynted,

may (by the vndoing of certain loops) be made open.

The Archbiſhop annoynteth his Maieſty.

(Palmes.

Breaſt.

Vpon the { Betweene the Shoulders.
Bending of both Armes.
Crown of the head.

Then a Linnen Coife is put on his head, the Quier meane while ſinging the Anthem.

Prayer made by the Archbiſhop.

The Inueſtiture.

Then is the King inueſted with the Robes of King *Edward* the Confeſſor, by the Abbot of Weſtmiſter.

With the Tunicke.

Cloſe Pall.

Tuſſini Hoſen.

Sandals.

Spurs put on by a Peere.

Then is the Sword deliuered his Maieſty by the Archbiſhop and Biſhops, and after giſt about him by a Peere.

After, the Armill or Collar is put on by the Abbot of Weſtmiſter.

Then the vpper Pall or Mantle Royall.

His Maieſty to be crowned with the Crowne of King *Edward* the Confeſſor.

The fourth Antheme.

A Ring to be put on the fourth finger, on the left hand: after which done, the King putteth on the Linnen Gloves, & goeth to the Altar, & taking off his ſword, there offereth it.

Which ſword ſo offered, the cheefe Peere is to redeeme; and hauing redeemed it, to draw it, and leaue it ſo drawne by his Maieſty all the ſolemnity.

A Rod with the Dove to be borne in his left hand.

A Prayer or bleſſing is pronounced by the Archbiſhop.

Then the King graciouſly vouchſafeth to receiue to his kiſſe the Archbiſhop or Biſhops that were aſſiſting to his Coronation.

The Inthronizing.

After this, the King is ledde backe to his Throne, with all ſolemnity, the Quier ſinging, *We praife thee O God, &c.*

The King is inthronized by the Archbiſhop, in the Throne Royall.

The

The Peeres do their homage to the King, ſo ſitting in his Chaire Royall.

And after the homage done, they all put their hands vp and touch the Crowne on the Kings head, as promiſing for euer to ſupport it.

The Queenes anointing.

¶ The ſolemnity of the Kings Coronation, and inthronizing being performed, the Archbiſhop leaueſh the King in his Throne, and goeth to the Altar.

The Queene, who hath all this while repoſed her ſelle in her Chaire beneath, ariſeth and commeth to the ſteps of the Altar, and there kneeleth downe.

A Prayer ſaide by the Archbiſhop.

The queene ariſeth from her prayer, the cheefeſt Lady taketh off the Coronet fiſt, and after openeth her breaſt.

Then the queene kneeleth downe againe.

The Archbiſhop fiſt powred the anointing Oyle on the crown of her head. Then he annoynted her on the breaſt.

A Prayer by the Archbiſhop.

Then the cheefe Lady attendant, cloſeth the queenes Robe at her breaſt, and after putteth on her head a linnen coife.

The Queenes Crowning.

That done, the Archbiſhop puts on the fourth finger of the queenes left hand a Ring.

A Prayer by the Archbiſhop.

The Archbiſhop taking the Corwne in his hands, and laying it before him on the Altar, ſaith a prayer.

The prayer done, he ſets the Crowne on the queenes head, after that hee ſaith a prayer.

The deliuey of the Queenes Scepter & Rod.

After the prayer, the Archbiſhop deliuered fiſt the Scepter into her right hand the Rod of Iuory with the Dove into her left hand, both which being done, he ſaith a prayer.

Which prayer being ended, the queene ariſeth and goeth from the Altar, and is led by two Biſhops vp to the Stages, and paſſing by the King in his Throne, ſhee doth, *Inclinare Regi eius Maieſtatem* (vt deſcet adorando.)

Which hauing done, ſhe is ledde to her Throne, on the left hand, and ſome what lower then the Kings, and is placed or inthronized in it.

After this, the Archbiſhop beginneth

the Communion.

Whereas after the { Collects, } read by the Archbi.
Epitlic. }
Goſpell. }

The Nycen Creede.

Offertory is ſung by the Quier.

Whileſt the Offertory is ſinging, the king and queene deſcend from their Throne, and come downe to the Altar. The King maketh his Oblation; fiſt of Bread and Wine: ſecondly, of a marke of gold. The queene after him offereth likewiſe.

After which, the Archbiſhop pronounceth the bleſſing ouer them: that ended, the king and queene are brought back to their chaires hard by the Altar. The Archbiſhop proceedeth with the Communion. After the Archbiſhop hath communicated himſelfe, and thoſe which aſſiſted him, the king and queene come vnto the ſteps of the Altar, there to receiue the holy Sacrament.

The Archbiſhop miniſteth the body, the Abbot the Cup. That done, the king and queene are brought backe to their Throne about the Stages.

There they ſtay till the Communion be ended. After which, they both goe into the Chappell of King *Edward* the Confeſſor, there they put off the Crownes wherewith they were crowned.

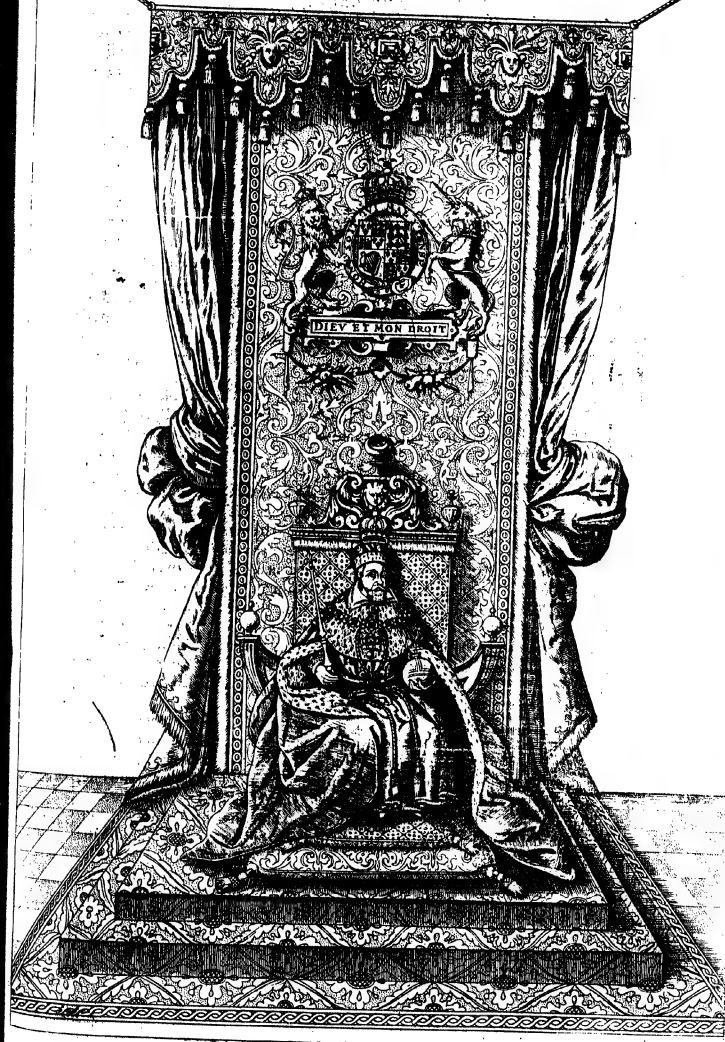
They withdraw themſelues into their Trauers. The King putteth off King *Edward*s Robes wherewith hee was inueſted.

Hee is arraid with his owne Robes royall, by the great Chamberlaine of England. Then comming forth, the Archbiſhop puts on the king & queenes heads the Imperiall Crowns, which they are to wear. The King taketh *S. Edwards* Scepter in his hand, and the queene hers. The traine is ſet in order, and they returne the ſame way they came.

After the king and queene returne to the Pallace.

The Scepters are deliuered vnto the Abbot of Weſtmiſter, to be kept there among the reſidue of the Regalia.

REGIA MAIESTAS



Hitherto I haue described what manner of men the named Noble-men haue bene with vs. The forme of their Charters and Rescripts I haue set downe, with what Rites and Ceremonies they are after our manner and fashion created: and the Maiestie of the Coronation of the Kings themselves, we haue declared. Here now a great field is opened vnto me to speake of the right of the precedence of the Nobilitie, and of their Priuiledges, but forasmuch as they rest rather vpon Custom then vpon positive Lawes, I haue of a set purpose omitted many things, proceeding but by inference as the Statutes of the Kingdome may be my warrant and safety.

CHAP. XX.

A Statute and Act of Parliament, made in the one and thirti yere of Henry the eight, concerning placing of the Lords in the Parliament chamber, and other assemblies and conferences of Councell.



Esomuch, as in all great Councells and Congregations of men, hauing Degrees and Offices in the commonwealth, it is very requisite and conuenient, that an order should be had and taken for the placing and sitting of such persons as are bound to resort to the same, to the intent that they knowing their places, may vse the same without displeasure or let of the Councell: therefore the Kings most royall Maiestie, although it appertaineth vnto his prerogative Royall, to giue such honour, reputation, and placing to his Counsellors, and other his Subiects, as shall be seeming to his most excellent wisedome, is neuertheless pleased and contented for an order to be had and taken in this his most high Court of Parliament, that it shall be enacted by the authoritie of the same in manner and forme as heereafter foloweth.

First, it is enacted by the authoritie aforesaid, that no person or persons of what estate, degree, or condition foucer he or they be of (except only the Kings children) shall at any time hereafter attempt or presume, to sit or haue place at any side of the cloth of Estate in the Parliament Chamber, neither on the one hand of the Kings highnes, nor on the o-

ther, whether the Kings Maiestie be there personally present, or absent. And forasmuch as the Kings Maiestie is iustly and lawfully Supreme Head in earth vnder God, of the Church of England, and for the good exercise of the said most royall dignitie and office, hath made Thomas Lord Cromwell, and Lord Priuie-Seale his Vicegerent, for good and due administration of Iustice, to be had in all causes and cases, touching the Ecclesiasticall Iurisdiction, and for the goodly information and redresse of all Errours, Heresies, and abuses in the said Church. It is therefore also enacted by authoritie aforesaid, that he the said Lord Cromwell, hauing the said Office of Vicegerent, and all other persons which heereafter shall haue the said Office of the graint of the Kings highnes, his heires or successours, shall sit and be placed, aswell in this present Parliament, as in all Parliaments to be holden heereafter, on the right side of the Parliament Chamber; and vpon the same forme that the Archbishop of Canterbury sitteth on, and aboute the same Archbishop and his successours, and shall haue voice in euery Parliament to assent or dissent, as other the Lords of the Parliament haue.

And it is also enacted, that next vnto the sayd Vicegerent, shall sit the Archbishoppe of Canterbury, and then next vnto him on the same Forme and side, shall sit the Archbishoppe of Yorke; and next vnto him on the same side, the Bishop of London; and next to him on the same side and Forme, the Bishop of Durham; and next vnto him on the same side and Forme the Bishop of Winchester; and then all the other Bishops of both Prouinces of Canterbury and Yorke, shall sit and be placed on the same side after their ancients, as it hath bene accustomed.

And

And forasmuch as such other Personages, which now haue, and heereafter shall happen to haue other great Offices of the Realme; that is to say, the Offices of the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord President of the Kings most honourable Councell, the Lord priuie Seale, the great Chamberlaine of England, the Marshall of England, the Lord Admirall, the Grand-Master or Lord Steward of the Kings most honourable household, the Kings Chamberlaine and the Kings Secretary, haue not heerebefore bene appointed and ordered for the placing and sitting in the Kings most high Court of Parliament, by reason of their Offices. It is therefore now ordayne and enacted by the Authority aforesaid, that the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord President of the Kings Councell, and the Lord Priuie Seale, being of the degree of Barons of the Parliament, or aboute, shall sit and be placed aswell in this present Parliament, as in all other Parliaments hereafter to be holden, on the left side of the Parliament Chamber, on the hither part of the forme of the same side, aboute all Dukes, except only such as shall happen to be the Kings Sonne, the Kings Brother, the Kings Vnkle, the Kings Nephew, or the Kings Brothers or Sisters sonnes.

And it is also ordained and enacted by authority aforesaid, that the great Chamberlaine, the Constable, the Marshall, the Lord Admirall, the great Master, or Lord Steward, and the Kings Chamberlaine, shall sit and be placed after the Lord priuie Seale, in manner following: that is to say, euery one of them shall sit and be placed aboute all other Personages being of the same estates or degrees, that they shall happen to be of; that is to say, the great Chamberlaine first; the Constable next; the Marshall third; the Lord Admirall the fourth; the Grand-Master or Lord Steward the fift; and the Kings Chamberlaine the sixt.

And it is also enacted by authority aforesaid, that the Kings cheefe Secretary being of the degree of a Baron of the Parliament, shall sit and be placed afore and aboute all Barons, not hauing any of the Offices before mentioned. And if he be a Bishop, that then he shall sit and be placed aboute all other Bishops, not hauing

any of the Offices aboute remembred.

And it is also ordayne and enacted by Authority aforesaid, that all Dukes not afore mentioned, Marquesses, Earles, Viscounts, and Barons, not hauing any of the Offices aforesaid, shall sit and be placed after their Anciency, as it hath bene accustomed.

And it is further enacted, that if any person or persons, which at any time here after shall happen to haue any of the said Offices of Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Lord President of the Kings Councell, Lord Priuie Seale, or cheefe Secretary, shall be vnder the degree of a Baron of the Parliament, by reason whereof, they can haue no interest to giue any assent or dissent in the said house, that then in euery such case, such of them as shall happen to be vnder the degree of a Baron, shall sit and be placed at the vppermost part of the sakes, in the midst of the said Parliament, either there to sit vpon one Forme, or vpon the vppermost sacle, the one of them aboute the other, in order as is aboute rehearsed.

Be it also enacted by Authority aforesaid, that in all trials of treasons by Peers of this Realme, if any of the Peeres that shall be called heereafter to bee tryers of such treasons, shall happen to haue any of the Offices aforesaid, that then they hauing such Offices, shall sit and be placed according to their Offices, aboute all the other Peeres that shall be called to such trials, in manner and forme as is aboute mentioned and rehearsed.

And it is also enacted by Authority aforesaid, that as well in all Parliaments, as in the Starre-Chamber, and in all other Assemblies and Conferences of Councell, the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord President, the Lord priuie Seale, the great Chamberlaine, the Constable, the Marshall, the Lord Admirall, the Grand-master, or Lord Steward, the Kings Chamberlaine, and the Kings Secretary shall sit and be placed in such order and fashion, as is aboute rehearsed, and not in any other place, by authority of this present Acte.

CHAP.

The Parliamentary Pompe.

CHAP. XXIII.

(Viz.) The forme and manner of the going of the States vnto the Parliament, seriously collected out of diuers examples. Wherein I thought good, especially to propound that most stately going of Queene Elizabeth, in the xxxij. yeare of her reigne.



On Sunday (the xxij. day of Nouember) in the Chamber of Prefence (as they doe tearme it) it was proclaimed that the Noble-men and States, and so all others which were bound to attend vpon the Queenes Maiestie, the next day to be holden at Westminster, should bee ready at nine of the clocke before noone, to giue their attendance, the Queene then lying in her royal house called Saint James, neare vnto Westminster. The next day at the appointed houre, the Noblemen put on their Parliament Robes in the Counsell chamber, and the Bishops theirs likewise, in another chamber next vnto the chapel: from thence they, by the Garden going into the Parke, mounted on horse-backe, attended the coming forth of the Queene. About eleuen of the clocke the most gracious Queene, attired also in a Parliament Roabe, at the going out of the Garden, mounted in a Chaire of Estate, like vnto a Chariot or Horfletter, carried betwixt two white Horses. This Chaire was on euery side open, but that behind a couering hanging forth aboue, semicircle-wise, was with two little pillars of Siluer supported: vpon the top whereof, stood on high a Crowne of golde: and vpon two other pillars at her feete, stood a Lyon and a Dragon glistring with golde, made with wonderful cunning, supporting the Queenes Armes. This Chaire (which I might rather call a Throane) being altogether cunningly garnished and gilt, was most magnificently bedeckt with cloth of Siluer (as

they call it) and with Cushions of the same. Wherein, after that the Queene had placed herselfe: the rest by two and two in this order set forward.

First went the Mandataries or Messengers of the Kings Court.

Afterward the Gentlemen of lesse note. Squiers.

Squiers of the body.

The Clarkes of the Chancerie.

The Clarkes of the Signer.

The Clarkes of the priuate Seale.

The Clarkes of the Counsell.

The Maisters of the Chancerie.

The Knights Bachelours.

Knights Bannerets.

Trumpets heere and there sounding.

Seruaunts or Sergeants at Law.

The Kings Sergeant in an vnlined purple Gowne or Hood.

Him followed John Popham the kings Attorney, with Thomas Egerton the Solicitor.

Two Heralds.

The Iudges of the Exchequer, whom we call Barons of the Exchequer.

The Iudges or Iustices of the Court of the Common Pleas, and of the Kings Bench,

Edmund Anderson chiefe Iustice of the Common Pleas, together with Roger Manwood chiefe Baron of the Exchequer, both knights.

Christopher Wray, chiefe Iustice of the Kings Bench, or of England, & Gilbert Gerard Maister of the Rolles, Knights both: but this man ridde in a Velvet Gowne, but aswell the rest of the Iustices, as the Barons of the Exchequer, rid in Gownes and Hoodes of Skarlet, lined with a white furre called Miniver.

The yonger sonnes of the Nobility according to their dignities.

The Treasurer of the Kings Chamber. Knights of the Bath.

The eldest sons or heires of the Nobility. Knights of the Priuy Counsell.

Knights of the order of the George, or of the Garter.

Francis Walsingham knight, principall Secretary.

Francis Knolles Treasurer of the Queenes house, together with James Crofter, Controuller of the Queenes house, both Knights.

Edward

Edward Norris, the third Sonne of Baron Norris, carrying the Queenes Hat and Cloake, thut vp this ranke.

Two Heralds, whom the Barons followed by two and two together.

Barons.

Henry Baron Norris of Rycot.

Henry Baron Cheney of Tuddington.

Henry Baron Compton.

William Cecil Baron of Burghley. But

he went in another place, because hee was Treasurer of England.

William West, Baron de la Ware.

Thomas Sackville Baron of Buckburish.

John, Baron S. John of Rilegh.

Henry Cary Baron of Hunsdon. He was absent because he was Gouernor of Barwicke.

Giles Bruges Baron Chandos.

Roger Baron North of Carthelage.

Charles Baron Howard of Effingham.

He went in another place, because hee was Chamberlaine vnto the Queene.

Thomas Baron Darcy of Chiche.

Thomas Baron Paget.

Edmund Baron Sheffield of Butterwick.

Charles Baron Willoughby of Parham.

Robert Baron Rich of Lese.

Philip Baron Wharton of Wharton.

William Baron Eure of Witton.

Henry baron Cromwell of Plcombe.

Leues Baron Mordant of Turney.

Thomas Baron Burgh of Gainsburgh.

Henry Baron Wentworth of Nettlested.

Fredericke Baron Windesore of Bradenham.

William Baron Paux of Harroden.

William Baron Sandes of Vine.

John Baron Darcy of Menill.

Cutbert Baron Ogle of Bothall.

William Baron Montjoy.

John Baron Sturton.

John Baron Lumley.

Edward Baron Dudley.

Henry Baron Scroope of Bolton.

He was absent, for that he was Gouernor of Carlile.

Arthur Baron Gray of Wilton.

Edward Baron Stafford, of Stafford.

William Brooke Baron of Cobham.

Gregorie Fynes, Baron Dacres of Herstmonceux.

Edward Parker Baron Morley.

Henry Baron Barkley.

Peregrine Bertij Bar. Willoughby of Eresby.

Edward Baron Zouch of Haringworth.

George Touchet Baron Audley.

Henry Neuill Baron of Abergaunenny.

Two Heralds going before the Bishops.

The Bishop of Gloucester.

The Bishop of S. Asphe.

Bishop of Chester.

Bishop of Carle.

Bishop of Peterborow.

Bishop of Landaffe.

Bishop of Hereford.

Bishop of Ciciler.

Bishop of Lietchfield.

Bishop of Bath.

Bishop of Rochester.

Bishop of Worcester.

Bishop of S. Davids.

Bishop of Bangor.

Bishop of Lincolne.

Bishop of Sarisbury.

Bishop of Norwich.

Bishop of Excester.

Bishop of Ely.

Bishop of Winchester. Prelate of

the Garter. Bishop of Durham.

Bishop of London, Chancellor to the

Bishop of Canterbury.

These three Bishops, (viz.) the Bishops of London, Durham, and Winchester, by force of Age of Parliament, made the xxxi. yeare of King Henry the viii. goe next vnto the Arch-bishops: but all the rest take their places, according to the ancientesse of their elections. Euery Bishops Gowh was made of Scarlet cloth, made after the fashion of Barons, and hoodes of the same, lined with Mineuer, & hanging downe behinde them.

Henry Vicount Howard of Bindon.

Anthony Browne Vicount Montacute.

Two Heralds, after whom the Earls followed.

Edward Earle of Lincolne.

The Admirall was sicke.

Robert Earle of Suffex, was absent,

because he was vnder age.

Robert Earle of Leicester, went in another

place, for that he was for this turne

Steward of the Queenes House.

Edward Earle of Hertford.

Henry Earle of Penbroke.

Francis Earle of Bedford.

Henry Earle of Southampton.

Amброse Earle of Warwick.

William Earle of Bath.

Henry Earle of Huntingdon, was ab-

sent, because he was President of Torke.

Henry Earle of Suffex.

George Earle of Cumberland.

Edward

Edward Earle of Rutland.

William Earle of Worcester supplied the place of the Marshall, being absent. *Henry Earle of Kent* went in another place because he carried the Sword.

George Earle of Shrewsbury, was absent being sicke.

Henry Earle of Northumberland, Then prisoner in the tower of *London*.

Edward Earle of Oxford, went in another place, because he was high Chamberlaine of *England*.

Phillip Earle of Arundell.

An Herald or King of *Armes*.

William Marquesse of Winchester: Hee in another place carried the Cap royall.

Heere were places fit for Dukes: all whose parliament robes (a thing worth the noting) differed nothing from the Barons, but that they wore the guardes vpon their shoulders, three or foure fold. For although all Dukes, Marquesses, and Earles, in their creations are attired with garments of Silke and Veluet, which are called Roabes or garments of Honour: yet in Parliaments they vse the same that Barons doe, made of Skarlet, with certayne differences of white Furze, set as fringes or edgings on their shoulders: for that there they al sit by reason of their Baronies, and according to their dignitie take their places.

Thomas Bramley Knight Chancellour of *England*; with *William Cicill* Baron of *Burghley* ridde together. But the great Seale of *England*, was by one footman carried before the Chancellour: but hee himselfe was attired in a Gowne of black Veluet lined with Sables.

John Whiggis also, Arch-bishoppe of *Cantebury*: with *Edwin Sands* Archbishop of *Torke* followed next after them.

Clarenceux King of Armes.

Two Sergeants at *Armes* with siluer scepters, which we call *Maces*, gilt.

Garter chiefe King at *Armes*, in his Heralds coate, hauing the chiefe gentleman Vher on his right hand.

The Marques of *Winchester* did beare the Cap royall, vpon whose left hand the Earle of *Worcester* carried the Rod of the Marshallship of *England*, in steed of *George* Earle of *Shrewsbury*, then earle Marshall, who was then in the Parliament Chamber, although he was not heere present, for that he was sicke of the Gout.

The Earle of *Kent* after them carried the sword, on whose right hand went the earle of *Oxford*, then great Chamberlaine of *England*, and on his left hand the Earle of *Leicester*, *Sensschall*, or Steward of the queenes house.

The queenes Maiesty carried in a chaire as we haue before said. She her selfe decked vp in a purple Robe, furred with *Ermens*. But her inner Garment was of purple veluet also, more straighter vnto her body, turned vp at the hand, with the same furze.

Foure Quieres of the Stable (whom in French they call *Esquires*) and the Footmen in their rich Coates were attendant about the queene: and without them all along in a ranke, waited the Gentlemen Pensioners with their *Partisans*.

After them followed the Earle of *Darbie*, Master of the Horse (instead of the Earle of *Leicester*, who at this time supplied the place of the Steward) leading a spare horse of state: by whom on the left hand rode *Charles Howard*, Baron of *Effingham*, Chamberlaine of the queenes house, both of them attired in their Parliament Robes.

After these followed also *Christopher Hatton*, Knight Vice Chamberlaine, with many Noble women, Ladies, and other Noble Courtiers.

In this order and Royall pompe, the queene came vnto the South gate of *S. Peters Church* at *Westminster*, where the Bishop of *Sarisbury*, the Kings Almoner, and Doctor Goodman Deane of that Church, with the *Prebendaries*, and all the quier receiued Her in their Coapes. Without the Porch was set a Forme, furnished with Carpets and Cushions, at which the queene vpon her knees, receiued of the Deane the golden Scepter of *S. Edward*, which she layde vpon the Cushion before her: and hauing receiued a litle Booke of the Deane, vnto her selfe softly prayed. Afterward she came into the Church, vnder a stately Canopy of Cloth of Siluer, which sixe Knights supported.

The Marchionesse of *Northampton*, and the countesse of *Oxford* bare vp the train: Baron *Howard* of *Effingham* being Chamberlaine supporting her: *Christopher Hatton* Vice-Chamberlaine going on the other side, but not supporting her. But forasmuch

forasmuch as the Queenes robes made of rich silke and *Ermens*, were too weighty and chargeable for her well to beare, the Earle of *Arundell* on the right hand, and the Earle of *Pembroke* on the left, held them vp from her shoulders.

Before the Lord Chancellour and the Lord Treasurier, went the singing men and Quiristers, singing of Psalmes, and when the Queene was now come vnto the royall withdrawing or retiring place (commonly called the *Traverse*) prepared for them vpon the right hand of the Quier, neare vnto the Communion Table: the Noble-men tooke their places vpon Formes, beneath the *Traverse*, but the Bishops sat themselves downe beneath the Pulpit on the north side of the Quier.

The Archbishop of *Cantebury*, after a psalme sung, made a sermon, the sword and cap of Honour beeing in the meane time borne before him.

The sermon with a psalme ended, the Queene on foote vnder a Canopy, went vnto the south gate of the Church, carrying in her hand the Scepter, dedicated to King *Edward* the Confessor: in which place, she restored it vnto the Deane of *Westminster*, of whom shee had before receiued it, to be againe layd vp.

It is worthy note, that whilst the Queenes Maiesty was hearing diuine seruice in the Church, the Earle of *Leicester* (for that time Steward of the Queenes house) went vnto the Lower Parliament house, to be there present at the answer of the Rescripts, (which our Lawyers call the Returne of the Writtes) before sent forth for the summoning of the knights of the shires, and for the Burgessees of the townes thither, and met the Queene coming vnto the vpper Parliament house.

The Queene being come thither, first retired her selfe into her owne priue Chamber, where resting her selfe a litle, the Noble-men in the meane while, had in due order placed themselves in the vpper house: and at length the Queene her selfe came forth, the Sword, the Cappe, and the Rod of the Marshallship of *England* being borne before her, and the other Officers going before her, shee went vp into the Royall Throne, the Nobilitie of the Kingdome sitting downe about her.

In the midst of the vpper house: lie great Sackes of cloth filled with wooll: vpon the vppermost whereof stretch the Chancellour; and vpon those which lie towards the sides of the house, sit the Maister of the Rolles, the *Queenes Secretary*, the *Judges*, the *Barrons of the Exchequer*, and certayne Lawyers, aswell *Ciuitilians* as Common Lawyers. Vpon the lowest of all, sitteth the Clarke of the Parliament house, with the Clarke of the *Crowne*, behinde whom the other Clarks write, resting vpon their knees.

When the Queene was set, and that they of the newel house (*widehest*) the Knights of the shires; and the Burgessees of the Cities were set in, the commaunded the Lord Chancellour, standing on the right hand by her, to make his Oracion: who turning himselfe vnto the Nobilitie, and therest there present, declared vnto them, in her Maiesties name; that this assembly of *Parliament* to be for three causes called (viz.) For the glorie of Almighty God; and the furthering of true Religion: For the health and preservation of her royall Maieesty, and the welfare of the Common-weale. Whith after that, hee had aloude and most eloquently at large declared, turning his speech vnto the Knights and Burgessees, standing on an heape together below: he willed them to make choyse of their Prolocutor, and to giue notice of him to be chosen, to the Lords of the Priuy Counsell, from whom they should expect what the *Queens* pleasure and answer was concerning him so chosen, to be afterward presented.

When the Chancellour had ended his speech, the Clarke of the *Parliament* rising vp, in French, and with a lowd voice proclaimed the names of them, which as Delegates had the power within certain dayes to vnderstand of the affaires aswell of the Kingdomes of *England*, *France*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, as of the Dukedoms of *Normandie* and *Aquitaine*, and to heare and examine the requests and petitions of them of the Ilands and parties beyond the Seas.

Which things being done, the Chancellour protogued the *Parliament*; the *Queene* disceding from her Throne, and retiring into her Priue Chamber, there put off her parliament robes; which when

when the Barons had in like manner also done, they in order (with the Sword, the Cappe of Honour, and the Rod of the Marshallship carried before her) attended her vnto her Barge, wherein shee from thence was downe the River carried backe vnto her Pallace (called *White Hall*;) through which she passed into the Parke, where she mounting vpon a most couragious Horse; the Nobility, States, and most honourable men and women attending her, shee happily returned vnto her Pallace of *S. James*; from whence she before came.

Vpon Thursday following, the day appointed for the presenting of the Prolocutor, the *Queene* about three of the clocke in the after noone, by the Parke came from her royall house of *S. James*, vnto her pallace of *White Hall*; and when she had in her Chamber put on her *Parliament* robes, she went to her Throne, the Sword, the Cappe, and the Rodde of the Marshallship, being after the wonted manner carried before her: The Lord Chamberlaine going on the right hand of the Sword, and the Lord Steward on the left, with the Lord *Treasurer*, *Garter*, the *visers*, & the *Sergeants* at Armes going before them. At length, when the Noble men were set downe, the *Chancellour* on the right hand, and the high *Treasurer* of England on the left hand, stood beside the *Queene* without the barres.

Then at length, the Knights of the Shires, and the Burgesses of the Cities being admitted in, brought in their most learned Lawyer (viz.) *John Puckering*, who standing at the barre, and hauing thrice made most lowe obeisance, sayd what he might, to shew himselfe vsuto vnder-take so great a burthen, requesting most earnestly, that they would make choice of another *Prolocutor*, vnto whom the *Queene* by the *Chancellour* made answer, That shee liked exceeding well of the choice of him already made, and that she ratified the same.

Which done, the *Prolocutor* framed himselfe to another manner of speech, wherein hee particularly rehearsed what great benefits were redounded vnto the Commonweale, by the most wise gouernement of her royall Maiestie: he declared her singular vertues, her very naturall and sootherly care ouer her Sub-

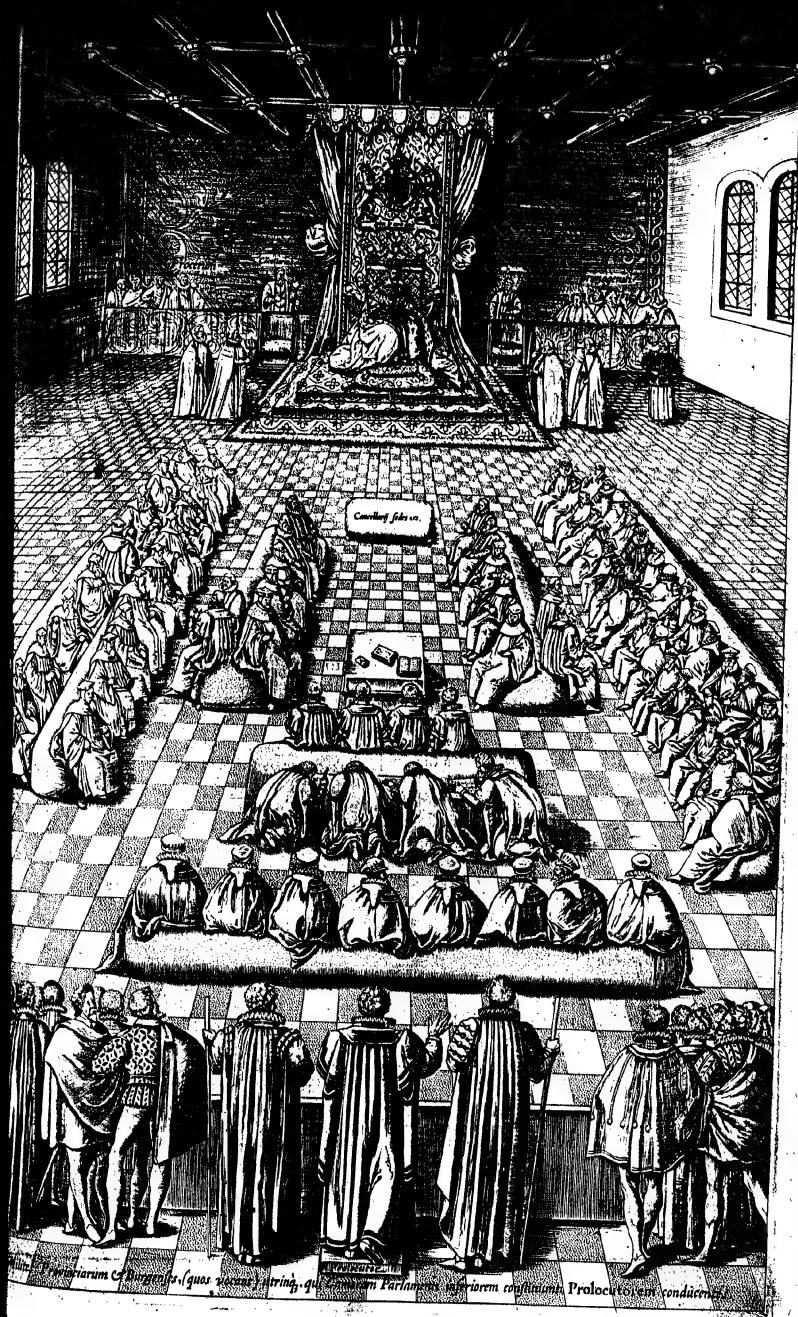
jects: But especially in that she had then called together the Estates of the Kingdome, there to consult and consider of the most weightiest affaires of the Common-weale, earnestly admonishing the Bishops to prouide for the Ecclesiasticall and Church matters: the Nobilitie and the rest to bee carefull of the profite and welfare of the Common-weale. In the conclusion of his speech, he most humbly requested, that the auncient Rights and Priuiledges of the Lower house of the Burgesses, (viz.) of freely deliuering of their speech and minds, and of being free from Arrests, as well themselves as their Seruants, during the time of the parliament, might be kept whole and vtouched. And if that in any thing not well by them vnderstoode, they should happen to offend, he requested leave aswell for himselfe as for the rest, to haue access vnto her royall Maiestie.

His Oration at length ended, the *Chancellor*, by the *Queene* commanded, and in some poynts, by her instructed, highly commended the *Prolocutors* Oration, and in the *Queenes* name graunted the leave he had requested.

Which things being so on both sides dispatched; the *Queene* rose and retired herselfe into her priuate Chamber, put off her *Parliament* robes, and so attended vpon with the Nobilitie, came downe: and at the West side of the Parliament house, mounted into her chaire of Estate; a very royall one; and from thence with a great traine of Noblemen and honorable Ladies attending her (the Earle of *Kent* carrying the Sword before her) shee by Torch-light through the Parke, returned vnto her Pallace of *Saint James*, from whence she before came.

The manner of sitting in the Upper house of Parliament, is in this Platforme following in the next Page, most truly and lively described.

CHAP.



CHAP. XXII.

The manner of restoring of renewed Nobilitie before lost.



HE maners and formes of creating of Noblemen, with their Rites and Ceremonies, by *Charters and Rescripts*, or Writs of summons, we haue

before described. Now heere at length I haue thought it good, to ioyne heereunto the manner of restoring of dignities & honours before lost. Such as haue by their owne or others fault, lost their honorable stiles and titles, are wont to bee vnto the same by petitions, exhibited vnto the Kings in full Parliament restored: which I would say, to be a confirmation of renewed or restored Nobility. Whereof the request of *Margret*, daughter to *George Duke of Clarence*, in Parliament, in the first yeare of King *Henry the eight*, (to omit others) may serue for an example. Whereby she is restored vnto the *Soule*, *State*, *Name*, *Title*, *Honour*, and *Dignity* of the Countesse of *Sarisbury*, frō which *Edward* her Brother Earle thereof, had by his guilt fallen. The Petition it selfe is longer then is necessary to be heere inserted. It is in English extant in the Records, & is shut vp with these words.

Which petition being read, and to the full vnderstanding, and consented vnto by our said Lord the King, by the aduice and assent of the Lords spirituall and temporall, and of the Comynalty in the aforesaide Parliament being: and also by the Authority of the same Parliament, it was vnto the same Petition thus answered.

*Soit fait come il est desire.
Beit done according as it is requested.*

CHAP. XXIII.

Customes.



Haue said *Politically* Nobility, still subiect vnto the dispositions of Princes, and change of time; to rest alwayes vpon the customes of Nations.

For first of all, it is manifest, dignities which were but the bare names of personal Offices, to haue at length become hereditary and successory: and yet with diuers Lawes circumscribed.

For although women in *Germany* born of Dukes, Earles, or Barons, are according to the manner of the Empire styled and called Dutchesse, Countesses, and Baronesses; yet by the Law of the Imperiall grant, the Principalities themselves, with the Fees thereto belonging, descend vnto the Males onely, who sayling, they reuert vnto the Emperor. Which thing, the most great Dukedome *Carinthia*, proeueth to be so. For *Ericus* the last Duke beeing dead without heires male, the dukedome by the Lawes returned againe vnto the Empire: which *Lewes* the Emperour afterward bestowed vpon *Albert Duke of Austria*.

Sigismund the Emperor also, the right line of the dukes of *Saxony* being extinct, gaue the dukedome in the yeare 1423. vnto the Marquesse of *Austria*; and the Marquisat of *Brandenburg*, vnto the *Burgraues* of *Noriburge*: whose successors euen now at this day enioy the same.

The same we reade to haue been done in *Italy*: For *Wenceslaw* the Emperour in the yeare 1490. graced the *Vice-county* of *Millaine* with the Title of a Dukedome: but so as that for want of heires male, it should together with that Dignitie, bee made a part of the Imperiall patrimony. And in the remembrance of our Grandfathers, we reade of certayne (as well at *Naples* as else-where,) to haue bene by the Emperour *Charles* the fifth created; but yet alwayes with that common Lawe of Reuerfion, that so soone as the last

last of the male descent should dye, they should be made Imperiall dignities. Yet heere by the way we must remember, that the Emperours did not at all times doe all things according to the vttermost of the greatnesse of their power; but sometime by a new beneficiary or bountifull covenant, being requested so to doe, suffered those titles of honours to descend vnto the daughters (no heires male remaining) mitigating the extremity of the law, by wise mens interpretations thereof, regard being still had, eyther of the Commonweale, or of some former agreement, or of the time present.

In *France*, *Rematus Choppinus*, disputing of the Royall *Demaine*, maketh a distinction of dignities. For he affirmeth all Military and masculine dignities, by the Law *Salique* to be annexed vnto the *Fees Royall*, neyther by any meanes, by meere Law, to come vnto the Women, although that the heyres male faile; except by speciall and expresse words it bee before otherwise provided: which hee saith, himselfe to haue scene and read. Yet in the

meane time he affirmeth, priuile *Principality* not to be denied to women: which hee manifesteth by the example of the County of *Arminack*, by a womans right deuolued vnto the King of *Nauarre*, as by many others also.

And to mee, now writing and running ouer some few things concerning our owne affaires, it fortun'd a certaine most ancient writing to come vnto my hands, taken out of the ancient *Saxon Lawes*, and lent me by *William Lambert*, a great admirer of reuerend antiquity, and a most earnest restorer thereof. Which writing, although that both in tongue and character it meereley found *Saxon* like, yet seemeth it in some things, to fauour of the *Danish* matters, as also of the ancient lawes eyther of the *Britons* themselves, or of the *Saxons*, shaken and rent in funder, vnder the rule and government of the *Latines*.

But the writing it selfe written in the *Saxon* tongue, translated into English, word for word, & into Latine, according vnto the true sense and meaning thereof, here following is contained.

hitwef þilumon Engla lagum þi leod 7 lagum for bezepinedum, And þa
æt was sometime in the English Lawes, that the people and lawes were in reputation. And then
Tempus erat olim cum Anglicis, legibus & populo suis ubique constabat honor. Qui ex

þær on leod þiwan þeopðrceppþþða, ælc be þirmæde. Eopl 7 Ceopl ðegn 7
were the wisest of the people to worship worthy, each in his degree. Eople and Choyse. Wher on and
populo prudētissimi erant in honore fuerunt suo quisq; ordine Comes & Colonus. Thynus &
*opulenti;
ignobiles.*

ðæoben 7 And gif Ceopl geþeah þ he þeþoe fullice þif þiða ageneþ lande, Cipican 7
Andertþegn. And if a Choyse so thyned that he had fully five hides of his stowe land, a Church &
Sub-thynus. Quod si Colonus ita refecisset ut habuerit plene quinq; hidas propria terra & sacra

Cýcenan, belþur 7 þuþþæt 7 et 7 runþerno we on Cýnger healle, þonne þæt he
a Bitchen, a Welhouse and a gate, a seate and a feuerall office in the Kings Hall, then was he
Coquinum, Campanile, & Portam, locum it et peculiare munus in Regius Aula, tunc erat de-

þannon forð ðegen þigh tærpeopðe 7 And gif ðegn geþeah þ he þenode Cýnge
thenceforth the ðeþenes right woþþe. And if a ðeþene so thyned that he ferued the þing
inceps pari cum Thyno dignitat e. Si vero Thynus ita prouectus erat ut Regi seruerit.

7 his p̄p̄tepe p̄o on his hipece, ȝif he þonne hepece Dege ȝe him p̄l̄ȝe
and on his meſſage oꝝ iourney rode in his houſhold, if he then had a ȝeþene that him followed,
& *nuncius eius eſſet & equitaerit in ſamliā, ſi tunc etiā Thaynum ſibi ſamlantē habuerit,*

ȝe to Cyngeꝝ ut ſan Fiſ h̄ida hapce 7 on Cyngeꝝ ſeol his h̄lapoꝝ ȝenode 7
toho to the Kinges expedition ſue Hydes had, and in the Kinges Wallace his Loꝝd ſerued, and
qui ad Regiam expeditionem ȝ. h̄ydas habuerit, eiꝝ ȝ. in Regia aula Domino ſeruierit, et que

ȝiſa mio his ȝpeno ȝepoꝝa to Cynge he moꝝt ȝiȝdan mio his ȝopaȝe his h̄lapoꝝ
thrice with his exande had gone to the King, he might afterward with his foze Wath his Loꝝdes
eius nuncius ad Regem venerit, hic deinceps data fidelitate Domini perſonā ſuſtinere poterat

applan at inſpican neoban And ſi Dege ȝe deah ꝑ he peande to eople þonne ꝑꝝ he
part play at any n̄de. And if a ȝeþene ſo th̄iued that he became an Earle, then was he thence-
ſi opus fuiſſet. Quod ſi Thaynum ita exultus erat ut Comes euſerit pari erat deinceps

ȝiȝdan eople n̄h̄tepeoꝝde. And ȝif Waꝝpe ȝe deah ꝑ he ſepde h̄iȝde oꝝen
foꝝth an Earles right woꝝthy. And if a ſparchant ſo th̄iued, that hee paſſed th̄iue ouer the
Comite dignitate. Et ſi Mercator ita rem ſeciſſit, ut ſer uſum mare ſua peritiā

piȝe be his ȝenun cnaꝝte, he ꝑꝝ þonne ȝiȝdan Dege n̄ȝtepeoꝝde And ȝif leop-
tuide ſea of his owne Craft, he was thencefoꝝth the ȝeþenes right woꝝthy. And if a ſchol-
lariecerit, pari tunc erat cum Thayno dignitate. Quod ſi Literarum ſtudioſus liſte-

ner ȝe deah þuꝝh lare ꝑ he haȝheꝝde 7 þenode Xꝑe, he ꝑꝝ þonne ȝiȝdan m̄de
le to th̄iue through learning, that he had degre and ſerued Chriſt, he was thencefoꝝth of dignity
riꝝ progꝛeſſum ſeciſſet, ut ordines habuerit & Chriſto inſeruiet, erat deinde venerandum

7 n̄uine ꝑꝝa micelꝑeꝝp̄ȝe ꝑꝝa þeꝝto ȝeȝyꝝe, but on he foꝝpoꝝhte ꝑ he ꝑꝝ had no
and peace ſo much woꝝthy as theſe to belonge, unleſſe he ſoꝝſeited ſo that he the t̄e of his de-
& immuniꝝ quantum ad locum eiꝝ ſeſtabat, niſi ita excidiſſet ut ſuo munere uti non

te notian ne moꝝteꝝ

ȝe ne might.

poꝝuiſſet.

Theſe

Theſe ruines or rubbidge of antiquity, make ſhew of a perpetuity of Nobility, euen from the beginning of this Iſland, but times are changed, and we in them alſo. For King Edward the Confeſſor, laſt of the Saxon blood, coming out of Normandy, bringing then in the Title of a Baron, the Thaynes from that time began to grow out of vſe; ſo that at this day men remember not ſo much as the names of them. And at length, that name of Baronage began to be both in dignity and power ſo magnificent about the reſt, as that in the name of the Baronage of England, all the Nobility of the Land ſeemed to be comprehended. As for Dukes, they were (as it were) ſet from long exile, and againe renewed by King Edward the third. And Marqueſſes & Vicounts, were altogether newly brought in by King Richard the ſecond, and King Henry the fixt.

But our Kings deſcended of the Norman blood, together with the Crowne of the Kingdome, granted an hereditary & ſucceſſory perpetuity vnto honourable titles, ſuch I meane as are the Titles of Earldomes and Baronies) without any difference of ſex at all. Which thing I thought good to make manifeſt, by the examples of the more ancient times. In the reckoning vp whereof, that I may the better acquit and diſcharge my ſelfe; in the very entrance of my ſpeech, there be 3 things, whereof I would haue the Reader by the way, to be eſpecially forewarned. Firſt, concerning the diſpoſition and inclination of our Kings, in the creating of the nobility. Secondly, of the cuſtome of transferring of honours and dignities by Families. And thirdly, of the force of time, & the change and alteration of things. For why, our Kings (who only and alone, doe in their kingdome beare the abſolute rule and ſway) are with vs efficient cauſes of all Political Nobility. The Titles of Named Nobility, by our cuſtome, haue this naturall and common together with the Crowne it ſelfe, that the heyres male ſayling they deuolue vnto the Women, except in the firſt Charters it be by expreſſe words otherwiſe provided; and yet ſo, as that regard is alwayes to be had of the time, which is euery where wont to beare ſway in the formality of things.

In this manner William the firſt, King and Conqueror, Harold being ouercome,

having obtained the Soueraignty, according to his pleaſure beſtowed dignities & honors vpon his companions and others, (viz.) ſome of them ſo annexed and conioyned vnto the Fees themſelves, as that euen yet at this day, the poſſeſſors thereof, may ſeeme to be ennobled, euen with the poſſeſſion of the places onely. As our Biſhopps at this day, as alſo certaine eccleſiaſticall Abbots and Priors; who by reaſon of the Baronies ioyned vnto their Biſhoppricks, enjoy the titles and preheminent of Barons in the higheſt aſſemblies of the kingdome in Parliament. Other ſome of the dignities and honors, he gaue and granted alſo, together with the lands and fees themſelves. As he gaue to Hugh Lupus his kinsman and a Norman, the earldome of Cheſter. *Ad Conquendum & tenendum ſibi & heredibus, adeo liberè per gladium ſicut ipſe Rex tenuit Angliam per Coronam.* To conquer and hold it to him and his heyres, as freely by the Sword, as the King himſelfe helde England by the Crowne. With the Earldome of Richmond hee graced Alanus Ruſus, his Nephew, and then Earle of Britaine in France and his heyres: *ita liberè & honorifice ut eundem Edwinus Comes antea tenerat:* ſo freely and honorably as Earle Edwin had before holden the ſame. And the Earldome of Arundel, which Harold poſſeſſed, he granted with a fee vnto Roger of Montgomery. The firſt two of which honors (the heyres male ſayling) by women eſtfoones paſſed into other Families, but the latter Earldome, Robert the Sonne of Roger being attainted of treaſon, returned vnto King Henry the firſt, who gaue the ſame in dowry vnto Queene Adeliza his Wiſſe.

The ſucceeding Kings more ſparingly, beſtowed ſuch dignities to bee holden of them in Fee, granting only for the better and more honourable maintenance of their ſtock and honour, the third part of the Pleas of the County (as they terme it) which they in their Charters called *Tertium Denarium*, or the third penny. So that hee which receiued the third penny of any Province, he the ſame man by the ſame ancient Law of ſucceſſion, was called Earle of the ſame Province: and ſo by cuſtome the women, the heyres male ſayling.

Yy 3

And

The name of a Baron from whence and when it came into England.

Memoir.
Three things that be which beare rule in all things viz. the Law, Cuſtome, and Necessity.

And if any Earle or Baron dying without Sonnes, had many women his heires, howsoever order was, either by couenant, or by way of partition taken, concerning the Lands and possessions, according to the common Lawes of the kingdome, yet the dignity and honour, a thing of it selfe indiuisable, was still left to be disposed of, according to the Kings pleasure. Who in bestowing thereof, for the most part respected the prerogative of birth.

By which right, King Henry the third, after the death of John the Scot, dead with out issue (other lands and reuenues being by agreement giuen vnto his three Sisters) vniued the Earldome of Chester, with the honor thereof vnto the Crown. This is also manifest in the Earldome of Arundell: which (after Robert of Bellisme, Sonne to the aforesaid Roger of Montgomery, diuen out by Henry the first) King Henry the second bestowed vpon William of Albine, Queene Adeliza his Mothers Husband, and by a new Charter, confirmed it in Fee, together with the inheritance to him and his heires, with the third penny of the Pleas of Suffex, whereof he created him Earle. But Hugh the great, Nephew of this William the first, being dead without issue, all the inheritance of the Earldome was diuided among his foure Sisters. Whose dignity and honour for all that, together with the Castle of Arundell, was by Edward the first, at length giuen to Richard Fitz-Alan (viz.) the Nephewes Sonne to John Fitz-Alan and Isabel, the second of the aforesaid Sisters.

Now let vs passe from Henry the third, vnto Edward the first his Sonne. When as for a time a great dissention was betwixt him and certaine of his Nobility (viz.) Gilbert of Clare Earle of Hereford and of Gloucester: Humfrey of Bohun, earle of Hereford and Suffex, and Constable of England, and Roger Bigod Earle of Norfolk, Marshall of the kingdome, and that all those Noble-men, at length had lost their Earldomes and Offices, they being reconciled vnto the King, afterward by new Charters received the same againe in this manner.

The first of them, received the same vnto himselfe & Ioane the same kings daughter his second wife, for tearme of both their liues, and to the Children to bee by them two begotten (his two Daughters

by his first wife being excluded.) This Ioane (called Ioane of Acon) bare vnto her husband Gilbert, a Sonne called also Gilbert; but shee the second time, secretly married vnto one Radulph, of Mount Hermeri (without the King her Fathers knowledge) in her owne right, made also the same Radulph Earle so long as shee liued. But she at length being dead, Gilbert her sonne, by the aforesaid Gilbert, succeeded againe into the Earldome, Radulph his father in Law being yet aliue. In the very same manner he reitorred the Earldomes and Office of Constableship vnto the aforesaid Humfrey of Bohun, vnto whom also he gaue in marriage Elizabeth, another of his Daughters, widdow to John Earle of Holland: and vnto the third, he restored the Earldome of Norfolk, and the office of the Marescall, with a yearly increase of a thousand Markes; yet vpon condition, that the heires male of his body to be begotten, sayling, both of them should returne againe vnto the King. At length, this Roger dyed without issue, in the xxxv. yeare of him the said Edward the first viz. in the last yeare of his reigne: and King Edward his Son, the second of that name, both by a new Creation & Charter, gaue the Earldome and the Marshallship vnto Thomas of Brotherton his Brother, and his heires male.

These things wee haue thus propounded, thereby to shew, how according to the diuers dispositions of Princes, & changes of times, it hath by little and little varied in the first bestowing of dignities and honours. Of which thing (that new Law) and to them of ancient time vnknewe, made by King Edward the first himselfe, seemeth afterward to haue bene of no small weight and moment, whereby, hee fauouring certaine priuate men, more carefull of their owne surname, then of their posterity, it was thought vnto him good, & so decreed, to make Fees to belong to men only. That law I say, which I would in Latine call *Gentilitium Municipale*; & which the Lawyers commonly call *ius Talliatus*, and *Talliable*: or the Law of cutting off: for that it cutteth off successions before general, and restraineth them vnto the particular heires of Families: which seemeth also to haue giuen an occasion of change in the giuing and bestowing of dignities and honors.

For

For euer since that time, in the creating of any new Earle, it is begonne to be altogether by expresse words in all Charters provided, that it shall bee but for terme of life onely, or descend vnto the heires males alone, the Women being quite excluded. And this I need not by examples to prouue; for why, the thing it selfe prouoeth the same. But the force and efficacie of this Lawe of Entaile, (or of cutting off) I haue thought good thus in few words to declare.

The Lands and Fees of the earldome of Oxford (Robert Earle of Oxford and Duke of Ireland, being condemned of treason) by that Law came to Albericus Pere vncle to Robert, who therefore in Parliament, requested of the King, the Title of the Earldome also, and obtained the same. This is also most manifest, by the example of the Earldomes of Arundell and of Surrey, ioyned together in the family of Fitz-Alan. For Edmund Fitz-Alan Earle of Arundell, married the onely sister and heire of Earle Richard, and of her begot Richard, happy with his twice marriage. Vnto this Richard, the Sonne of Edmund, and his heires male by Aenor of Lancaster (his second wife) begotten, and to be begotten, the Castle, Honour, and Lordship of Arundell were entailed in the one and twentieth yeare of Edward the third. And afterward (viz.) the same yere, Earle John his brother being dead without issue, enriched also with the increase of the Earldome of Surrey, he was called Earle of Arundell and Surrey. Of Aenor Richard begot a sonne, called Richard, at length Earle of Arundell and Surrey also: and John Fitz-Alan his second sonne, in the right of his wife, called Baron Maltreuers. This Richard had Thomas his onely Sonne, dead without issue; and foure Daughters his Coheires (viz.) Elizabeth, Ioane, Margaret, and Alice, who diuided the Earldome of Surrey amongst them. Howbeit the dignity therof was granted to John Mowbray duke of Suffolke, begotten of Elizabeth the eldest sister; who by the ancient custome of Succession challenged vnto himselfe the Earldome of Arundell also. But John Baron of Maltreuers, Nephew to the first John Fitz-Alan, and Baron of Maltreuers, by his sonne John opposed himselfe against this man, and withstood

him, challenging vnto himselfe the possession of that cattle and demaine of Arundell, as fallen vnto him by the good right of the Law of Entaile.

For Thomas the last Earle being dead without issue (as is afore-said, he alleged the demaine of the Castle nor to belong vnto the Sisters, but to descend vnto his heires male and kinsmen, of whom hee himselfe was nearest of kinne vnto the said Earle Thomas: of which Fee, seeing by Law he held the possession, he affirmed the Title of honour and dignitie more fully to agree vnto himselfe then to lie in vaine, and to no purpose hidden in the Duke himselfe. Which thing, although hee could not obtayne, yet John his sonne, a most famous warrior, after the death of his Father, with the applause and good liking of all men, obtained by Acte of parliament, in the eleuenth yeare of King Henry the sixth. Of whom also, for his great deserts and most noble vertues, he was, the yere after, rewarded with the dukedome of Thuranis in France. And this John, both Earle and Duke, being dead, Humfrey his son, in short time after dead without issue (notwithstanding his sister) left the earldome of Arundell entailed vnto William his vncle, in whom afterward it took such root, as that we haue seene it in the male line, to haue brought forth most famous and renowned Earles, euen vnto this our age.

And what wee haue sayd concerning Earles, the same be it said also of Barons created by Charters. But in Barons created by Rescripts or Writs of Summons yet resting vpon most auncient custome, not so.

For in them (one onely excepted, sent forth to Henry Bromflet, wherein it was provided him, that same Henry and his heires male of his body lawfully begotten, only to be Barons of West) women, the heires male failing, were not in ancient time forbidden or embarrased, but that they might be accounted, and by name stiled honourable, with the preeminence of the dignity and calling of Barons. And after they had borne a Childe, according to the auncient fauour of our Lawes, and the reuerend custome of the Kingdome, graced their husbands also with the same honour; & with the same by inheritance ennobled

ennobled their children; yea, euen without the possession of those places, from whence the names of such dignities and honours may seeme first to haue risen. For Fees and locall possessions, circumscribed by the Lawe, are translated and carried from one family to another, and vsually enrich their Lords and owners the possessours thereof: but yet of themselves, neyther bring nor take away Nobilitie, either Dative or Natiue. By Examples to manifest these things were but needelesse; for why, all the most auncient Baronies, and the more auncient sort of the Barons at this day, are in this poynt on my side, and giue voices with me. Now, if any man studious of these things, by chance meeting with some things of other nature, shall more curiously dispute against these matters, vnto him I would oppose, eyther the force of time, or the carelesnesse and lacke of looking vnto. But, Customes are still like themselves, neyther are we to detract from the authoritie of Kings, who although they haue such supereminence, and vnderminate prerogative, as that they may seeme sometimes to haue of fauour granted, some things beside the Lawes; yet shall it not appeare them requested, to haue done, or yet suffered any thing to bee done, contrarie vnto the Customes of Stockes and Families. So they sometime not regarding the solemnities of Ceremonies and Charters, haue onely by their beekes (that I may so say) suffered dignities and honours to bee transferred, as in *Ranulph Blundewill*, Earle of *Chester*, and of *Lincolne* to bee scene. For the Earldome of *Chester*, he permitted after his manner, to descend to *John the Scot* his Nephew, by *Maud* the eldest of his Sisters. But the Earldome of *Lincolne*, (the King thereunto consenting) hee yet aliue deliuered vnto *Hawisa* another of his Sisters, now married to *Robert Quincy*, by his deede, in the seuenteenth yeare of the reigne of King *Henrie* the third, in these words following.

Ranulphus Earle of *Lincolne*, vnto all men present, and to come, which shall see this present Writing, greeting, I would haue it to come vnto the generall knowledge of you all, mee to haue

giuen and graunted, and by this my present writing, to haue confirmed to the Lady *Hawisa* of *Quincy*, my most deare Sister, the Earldome of *Lincolne*, (viz.) as farre forth as it vnto mee belonged, so that she may thereof be Countesse. To haue and to hold the same of my Lord the King of *England*, and his heires, vnto the said *Hawisa* and her heires, freely, quietly, fully, peaceably, and wholly by right of inheritance, with all the appuriances, and liberties vnto the aforesaid Earldome belonging. And that this present Writing may stand in force for euer, I haue thought it good to firme and strengthen the same, by the setting to of my Seale. These being witnesses.

Hawisa with this her brothers writing in this manner endowed, was forthwith Countesse of *Lincolne*, who yet liuing, presently gaue the same to *John Lucie* her sonne in lawe. So also I may not passe ouer *Hugh Courtney* the first of that family and name, in the time of King *Edward* the third: for he, when hee had for many yeares after the death of *Isabell de Fortibus* (whose sole heire hee was) quietly possessed the lands and Fees of the earldome of *Denbire*, without cyther the Title or Inuerture of an Earle, and that at length contention arose betwixt him and the Kings officers of the Exchequer, for the repayment of the third penny, for that hee as yet vsed not the Stile of an Earle, hee hauing written Letters supplicatorie vnto the King, then busied in the warres in *Scotland*, receiued answer, That taking vnto himselfe the Name and Dignitie of an Earle, hee should cause himselfe, from that time forward, to be named and called Earle of *Denbire*, in these words.

The King to his welbeloued and faithful, *Hugh of Courtney* the Elder, &c. Greeting, &c. Whereas you, as appeareth by your Petition exhibited before vs and our Councell, haue of long beene sued for the repayment of eighteene pounds, sixe shillings and eight pence, of the yearly Fee of the Earldome of *Denbire*, which *Isabell de Fortibus*, late Countesse of *Denbire*, whose heire you are, and the heires of her the said Countesse, and yours, Earles of *Denbire*, yearly

yearly receiued by the hands of the Sherifes of that Countie that were for the time being, and which you likewise after the death of the aforesaid Countesse, as her heire for a certaine time receiued: And for that they haue bene from you detained, because you haue in no wise named and stiled your selfe an Earle: as by the Certificate of the Treasurer, and of the Barons of our Exchequer, by our commandement made into our Chancery, more at large doth appeare. Wee, for that the inheritance which was the aforesaid Countesse, and the inheritance of her Predecessours, and yours, the Earles of *Denbire*, vnto you descended by hereditary right, and that you at this present hold the same inheritance; willing in this part to prouide, as well for our owne Dignitie, and the requite of your Kingdome, as for your honour: will and commaund you, in requesting you, that in taking vnto you the name and honour of an Earle, you from henceforth cause your selfe to be called Earle of *Denbire*, knowing that wee will make the aforesaid Fee to bee yearly payed vnto you, as it hath bene wont to bee payed vnto the Earles of *Denbire* your Predecessours. Witnesse the King at *New-castle* vpon *Tine*, the two and twentieth day of February, & in the ninth yeare of our reigne.

Last of all, we haue scene this same not long since, in *Phillip Howard* confirmed. For hee, after the most auncient right of the Earldome of *Arundell*, tooke vnto himselfe the Title of *Arundell*, the *Queene* onely consenting thereunto, and approving the same; no forme of Charter repeated, or of any forme of his Creation being thereunto ioyned.

Hitherto it seemeth also to appertaine, that our most auncient Earles were of auncient time wont (according to the diuersitie of the places) where they for the most part chose to dwell, to to bee called by diuerse Titles of Dignities. For *Reynold* who was Earle of *Cornwall*, for his continuall dwelling at *Bristol*, was oftentimes called Earle of *Bristol*.

Robert of Ferrars the younger, Earle of *Ferrars* in *Normandie*, and of *Derbie* in *England*, sometime wrote himselfe Earle

of *Tisbury*, a Castle (videlicet) in the Borders of *Stafford-shire* built by his Progenitours. *Baldwine* and *Richard of Riuers*, were sometime called Earles of *Exeter*, and sometimes Lords of the *Ile of Wight*, for their continuall dwelling in the same places; when as yet in the meane time, they were both Earles of *Denbire*. *William* also of *Albiniac*, Earle of *Arundell* and *Suffex*, the first of that name, in the Letters of agreement betwixt King *Stephen* and King *Henrie* the second, set himselfe thereto a Witnes, by the name of *William Earle of Cicester*, for that he there oftentimes dwelt. Adde hereunto also if you please, the Earle of *Penbrooke* to haue bene called the Earle of *Strigulia*, of the Castle of *Strigulia*, built by *William Fitz-Osborne* Earle of *Hereford*, and the Seate of the Earles of *Penbrooke*.

These things (I say) were of olde and in auncient time, but now at this day, not so. For such is the force of time, and change in altering of the forms of things, as that it eating out of the olde, bringeth still in new. So vnto Earles, whom we said in auncient time to haue bene rewarded with the third penny of the Prouince whereof they were earles, to maintaine their Honour and Dignitie, a certaine summe of money is at this day yearly payed them out of the Exchequer, and they enioy the Titles of such places, as wherein they haue not any iurisdiction, administration, or profit at all. Barons also, who as the Fathers and Senators in auncient time among the Romans, were chosen by their *Seueritas*; were in like manner wont to bee esteemed and valued by Knights Fees (for why, hee which had and possessed thirteene Knights fees, and a little more, was then to bee accounted among the Barons) are now, more sildome times chosen for their vertue, their great wealth, and large possessions.

Neither is there any let, but that a man may hold and still retaine, the name and Title of a Barony, the head of which Barony (as they tearme it) he hath afterward sold or alienated to some other common person.

In briefe, our kings royall maiesty is alwayes like it selfe, constant, and the same; which hauing regard to the vertue, stock, wealth,

CHAP. XXIII.

Noblemen of the lesser sort.



He named Noble men which our Country of England beareth, and in honour excell- ing, I haue with as much breuitie as I could, declar-

red, and in painting of it forth, propo- sed it vnto the eye: with what Lawes allof they are created, and with whar orders of successions they after our manner liue, I haue in few wordes briefly shewed. Now if I had vnto these also ioyned the Fellowes of the Order of the Garter, I might well seeme to haue ended this Treatise, beeing about to haue written nothing at all, of those whom we call *Noble-men of the lesser sort*, or Vnnamed: but the earnest and continual calling vp- pon of certaine of my friends, ouercame mee. Wherefore, seeing that it is ney- ther altogether strange from our pur- pose, and may be done without strain- ing of the Methode of that I haue taken in hand, both the place, and the requests of my friends haue inuited mee by the way to ioyne heereunto these few things heereafter following:

The Noblemen therefore of the les- ser sort, are in three fortis or ranks diu- dely comprehended.

The first ranke or order, is of Knights: The second is of Esquires: The third, of them we call onely by the name of Gen- tlemen.

Those whom the Frenchmen simplie call *Gentilshommes*, and wee in English Gentlemen, wee thus distinguish into three fortis:

First, hee which deriueth his Stocke with Armes from his Aunccestors, is by bloud a Gentleman.

Secondly, hee which beareth Armes onely, although he be not yet by Stocke a Gentleman, is yet called a Gentleman, and giueth Gentry vnto his sonnes.

Third-

Three de- grees or rankes of Noblemen or Gentlemen of the lesser sort.

Plaine Gen- tlemen, with- out any other addition.

wealth, and substance of any man (where- by hee may with his Councellor seruice, profit the Common-weale) may in euery place freely giue and bestow Dignities and Honours, sometime chusing moe Barons then one, out of one & the same family, the custome of the succession of the former and more auncient Baron, beeing still kept whole, and not in anie hurt: as wee see, *Edward* the sixt wisely to haue done in the familie of the *Wilt- loughbies*; which family (that for breui- tie sake I should not reckon vp moe) be- side the most auncient Barony of the *Wilt- loughbies* of *Eresby*, brought forth ano- ther Barony also of *Parham*. Wherefore wee acknowledge our Kings to bee the Fountaines of Politicall Nobilitie, and vnto whom we may with thanks, referre all the degrees of Honours and Digni- ties; wherefore I may not, without cause, seeme to reioyce on the behalfe of our Nobilitie of *Britaine*, which hath alwaies so had Kings themselves, Authours, Pa- trons, Gouvernours, and Defendours thereof, that when Lands, Fees, and Pol- sessions, subiect to Couenants or agree- ments, are still tossed and tymoyled with the stormes of the Iudicall Courts, and of the Common Lawe; it is onely vnto the Kings themselves beholden, and resteth vpon heroicall orders and institu- tions, proper and familiar vnto it selfe. So that

Per titulos numerentur aui, semp̄q; renata Nobilitate viris, & prolem fatā sequantur: Continuum propriā seruantia lege tenorem.

By Titles great, mens Aunccestors were knowne still as they came, And so their owne posteritie, do still enjoy the same; And flourish long without decay, with euerlasting fame.

For the Noble-men, for deciding of suites concerning their Honours, and for the giuing vnto euery man that which of right belongeth vnto his Farme and Digni- tie, haue their Tribunall or proper Marriall Court, which they are wont to call, The Court of *Chaultry*: whereof, when wee shall come vnto the Order of Knight-hood, wee shall say somewhat more.

The Court of Chaultrie.

Thirdly, hee which is of reputation onely for his learning, or for some Of- fice or function which hee beareth, hee onely for himselfe, is in common esti- mation accounted a Gentleman; al- though he had a common person for his Father, and leaue his Sonnes common persons also.

Esquires.

An Esquire, who sometime is also cal- led *Scutifer*, or a *Shield-bearer*, and in an- cient time *Homo ad Arma* (or a Man at Armes) in French *Esquire*, and in En- glish a *Squire*, or an *Esquire*, is next vnto a Knight: as hee who in ancient time following a Knight, by his side bare his Armes, as a most faithfull fellow-soul- dier with him, From whence perhaps, they whom wee at this day in our Kings houles, account Squires for the bodie, seeme to haue taken their beginning. But that which at first was by institution a militarie Office, is now become a de- gree of dignitie: whereof, Antiquitie it selfe, and the custome of our Kingdome hath brought forth vnto vs foure kinds.

The first doth comprehend all the younger sonnes of Barons, and of other Noble-men, and their first begotten Sonnes also; who together with their being first borne, make the dignitie of Esquireship successorie, so long as their issue male faileth not.

Another kinde (and that most aunc- ient) is of them, which are borne the eldest Sonnes of Knights, and their el- dest Sonnes also.

The third is of them, which of aunc- ient time graced with Armes belonging vnto their Stocke and Family, are the first begotten and chiefe of their house and stocke. And these by a certayne pre- rogatiue of being the eldest or first born, goe before all the rest of the Gentlemen of the same Family aside descended, and are accounted Esquires.

The fourth kind respecteth the com- mon-weale, and the Kings house. For they which beare publique Offices in the Common-weale, are of Gentlemen in reputation made Esquires. Such as are the Iudges, the Kings Attorney, and Prolocutor: the Sergeants at Law, and other Officers of like sort belonging vnto the Exchequer.

Vnto these also wee may especially ioyne, if not preferre, such as proceede

Doctors of Diuinitie, or otherwise in other professions in the Vniuersities. For Doctorship is a Title of Dignitie more noble, then they which are Gentlemen but by their stocke onely: vnto whom al- so after our manner, in the Kings Com- missions concerning the publike affaires, so much preeminence is giuen, as that they may well seeme in dignitie, to bee compared with Knights.

In the Kings house also, the Appari- tors, commonly called Sergeants at Armes, Heralds, and all seruing in the Kings Court, whom for the praemi- nence of their Offices, we also call Ser- geants, are made Esquires with chaines, (viz.) with a Collar made of Silver and blacke S S put about their neckes by the Kings themselves.

Knights (in French called *Cheualiers*) are with vs called either Knights Ban- ners, Knights of the Bath, or Knights Batchellors.

Other there be of the Garter also, but of another sort, then that they are to be comprehended in a kind, to be compared with these as in due place is to be shewed.

■ *Banneret* is a degree of Honour, esteemed the last amongst the greatest (I meane *Nobilitati maiorum*) or the first with those of the second ranke. Three formes of creations I haue obserued, as sometimes vnder the Royall Standard displayed: the person hauing the lower end of his Pennon cut off into a square (such as Barons vse) receiue that Ho- nour: Or as *Edward* the third enioyned *William de la Poole* by Patten, *Per statum & honorem teneret & continueret Banne- retis, To him and to his heires*: Or as *Nicholas de Grey* was declared, by Writ of King *Edward* the second, to be, *De familia Regis tanquam Banneretius*; thereby meaning, both Precedencie and Salary accordingly.

The two other Knight-hoods *Batchel- lors*, and of the *Bath*, admit this difference betweene them, that to the one from ec- lectiue grace of the Soueraigne (to at- tend himselfe or *Quene* in their inaugu- rations, or his Childrens creations) here is annexed a Ministeriall duetie to their knightly dignities; the other, nothing be- ing left but their bare Stile and proper Merite; and therefore they are eyther in the Record, mentioned by none o-

Knights.

Bannerets

Sir Rob. Cott.

Kil. Franc. 13. Ed. 3.

Ex comp. G. r. de W. Ed. 2.

Doctors.

Inglethorpe
Lambert, Ky.
Clayton, How

ther name then *Milites simplici*, yet had in former ages (as well as other degrees of honour) many worthy and religious ceremonies, as also peculiar robes at their Creations (as appeareth copiously both in story and record.) But they by injury of times, and promiscuous admissions (which somewhat declined their reputation) had become fully lost, had not the other preferred the memory and use of such venerable order.

As for right of precedency between these two; or whether such temporal service enlarged to the one more than the other, inueth a perpetuall priority or no, I leave it to the discussion of those, to whom in due of place, and depth of Judgement, it properly belongeth.

No man is borne a Knight, but men vpon their knees receive that Dignity (which is not but together with life lost, or taken away) of the King, or his Lieutenant generally, having regard cyther to his stocke, his vertue, or his fortune, or his actes done at home or abroad; lightly striking him that is to be created, vpon the shoulder with a drawne Sword. The Prince speaking these words in French; *Soyez bon Cheualier d'oresenauant au nom de Dieu*: (Bee from hence-forth a good Knight, in the name of God.) And they which are so made Knights, having kissed the Sword, and this word (*Sir*) being added vnto their names, for tearme of their lues, are euery where (after the French manner in calling of their Kings) distinguished from other men; *Sir John Norris*, *Sir Francis Drake*. A dignity indeede of it selfe so found, apparant, & full of honor, as that it euery where becometh most great Dukes and Earles: and which euery Kings theslues haue not disdained kindly to thanke one another for. For so we reade our King *Henry* the second of that name, to haue made *Malcolm* King of the *Scots*, Knight at *Turwin* in France, for his good seruice at *Thalouise*, in the year 1159. And *Alexander*, the Sonne of *William* King of the *Scots*, being not 14 years old, so haue received the order of knighthood in England, in the year 1212. *Hugh Perre* restored vnto the Earldome of *Oxford*, was by the King made Knight. *Henry of Lary* also in the right of his Wife, and by the resignation of his Mother in law, promoted to be Earle of *Lincolne*, recei-

ued the third penny of his Earldome from the time he was made knight, about ten years more or lesse before hee was created Earle. Beside that, the ancient Register of the Church of *Abingdon* thus reporteth.

Richard Earle of *Chester*, with his mother *Ermentrude*, lodged in the Towne of *Abingdon*; *Farritus* the Abbot, and the Countesse his Mother, earnestly calling vpon him, confirmed for wel done, whatsoever was done concerning the Land of *Wimondisleye*, and with his writing strengthened the same. Which writing, he appointed to bee sealed with his Mothers Seale, for he being not yet knighted, all the Letters by him any whether directed, were closed with his Mothers Seale. And for this cause it is, that it is noted, the writing to be signed rather with the seale of the Countesse, then of the Earle himselfe. Of which writing, this is the forme; *Richardus Comes Cestræ, & Ermentrudis Comitissa Mater eius, Nigillo de Oylly, &c.* *Richard* Earle of *Chester*, and *Ermentrudis* the Countesse, his Mother, to *Nigill* of *Oylly, &c.*

This same thing doe also the ancient formes of the Parliament writs testify. For it is manifest, Kings haue bene wont to summon the Nobility of the kingdom vnto their Parliaments. *Ioanni Marchioni de Montecuto Cheualier* (vnto *John Marquesse* of *Montacute* Knight: And *Henrico vi. Henrico Vicecomiti Bourchier Militi* (*Henry* the vi. vnto *Henry Vicecount Bourchier* Knight.) 1. *Edward 4. &c.* Which manner of calling, although it hath begun of long to grow out of use in others of the Nobility, yet eyther in calling out of new Barons, or in summoning of the olde, it is still right seriously obserued: as *Gulielmo Brooke de Cobham Cheualier* (vnto *William Brooke* of *Cobham* knight.) And *Gulielmo Cecil de Burghley Militi* (to *William Cecil* of *Burghley* knight) when as they both were commonly knowne and called Barons or Lords of *Cobham*, & of *Burghley*: so that a man would almost say, the order of knights to bee the Seminary of the Baronage of England.

I let passe in the meane time, with how great solemnity of the kingdom, and charges of the Subiects, Kings in ancient time were wont to conferre and bestow this Military honour and dignity vpon their

luis Militis.
Pr. The court
of Cheualrie

their eldest Sonnes, (viz.) the Princes of *Wales*, and with what luster and magnificence, Emperours and Kings ioyned in league together, (by a certaine mutuall and as it were natural power of monarchs among themselues, in bestowing Nobility according to the Lawe of Nations) haue dismissed one anothers Subiects & Ambassadors, graced with this Dignitie. I list only heereunto to ioine an auncient forme, with the Rites and Ceremonies thereof, out of an old Chronicle of a certaine namelesse writer; *Anno* (saith he) 1316. *Dominus Richardus de Rodney factus fuit Miles apud Keynsham die translationis Sancti Thomæ Martyris in præsentia domini Almarici Comitis de Penbroke, qui cinxit eum gladio, & Dominus Mauricius de Barkley super pedem dextrum posuit unum calcem: & Dominus Bartholomæus de Badelismere (Baro uterque) supposuit aliud super pedem sinistrum in Aula, & hoc facto, recessit cum honore.* In the year 1316. Lord *Richard* of *Rodney*, was made Knight at *Keynsham*, vpon the day of the translation of *Saint Thomas* the Martyr, in the presence of *Almaricus* Earle of *Penbrooke*, who girt him with the Sword: and the Lord *Maurice* of *Barkley* put one Spurre on his right foot, and the Lord *Bartholomew* of *Badelismere* (both of them Barons) put the other Spurre vpon his left foot in the Hall; and this done, he with honour departed. But now according to the manner of the time, we liue after another fashion; and in this, as in other things, the change and alteration of things hath taught vs, what an alteration of things the long continuance of time is able to make. So in thinking of the beginning of Knights, and as well of the antiquitie of the Order of Knighthood, as of the preheminance thereof above other dignities and honours, I can scarce resolue my selfe, but that this name of olde should seeme to make shew vnto me of some (I wot not what) magnificent and maiestick things contayned in the same, and more excellent then Nobility it selfe: and mounting (as it were) into the royall Throanes, sitteth as it were a Iudge in the Iudgement seate, and the Protectour of all ciuill Nobility. For the deciding of suites concerning honours, and for the preservation vnto euery man the right of his fame or dignity, the natu-

ral tribunall Seate or Court for the Nobilitie, is euery where called *Militaris*; that is to say, the Martiall or Militarie Court, and commonly, the Court of Chivalrie: the forme whereof with vs is this. The appointed place for the holding thereof, is the Kings Hall: wherein the Constable of the Kingdome, and the Marshall of *England* sit as Iudges, where any Plaintife, either in case of dignities or of Armes, or of any other sute or controuersie concerning Nobility and Honour, may sue the Defendant. But the forme wherein the Constable of *England* was wont to call the Nobility and Gentry vnto his Court or Iudgement seate, was on this sort:

Iehan filz du Roy Constable d'Angleterre, &c.

John the Kings Sonne, Constable of *England*, and Warden of the East-marches toward *Scotland*, to our welbeloued *Cozin*, *Sir Rafe Newile*, Earle of *Weimerland*, and Marshall of *England*, greeting. We command and charge you, that you cause to come and appeare before vs at *Westminster*, the ninth day of May next coming, before *Monsieur Edward Hastings*, to answer to *Monsieur Reynold* Lord of *Grey*, and of *Ruthyn*, concerning that which he shall then charge him with in our court of Cheualry, concerning the full using and bearing of his Armes, and to that the Lord *Grey* saith, and as it shall be more fully declared at the same day; and further to doe and receive that which the Lawe and the custome of our said Court shall in this part require. Returning before vs at the aforesaid day with this our Precept, al that you shall therein haue done. Given at *Westminster* vnder the Seale of our Office, the first day of May, in the reigne of my most dread Lord and Father King *Henry* the fourth, after the Conquest, the eight.

Iehan filz, frere, e Vncle au Roys, Duc de Bedford, &c.

John, Sonne, Brother, and Vncle to Kings, Duke of *Bedford* and *Aniow*, Earle of *Richmond*, and of *Kendall*, and Constable of *England*, vnto our welbeloued *Cozin*, *John* duke of *Northfolke*, Marshall of *England*, greeting. We command and

Z z charge

charge you, that you cause to be arrested, and to come before vs or our Lieutenant at *Westminster*, vpon the 15. of *S. Hillarie* next comming, *Williams Clopton* of the Countie of *Suffolke* Esquire, then to answer before vs or our Lieutenant in the Court of Chivalrie, to *Robert Eland* of the Countie of *Lincolne* Esquire, to that which he the said *Robert* shal then charge him with by the way of Arms, as hauing set and put to the Seale of his Armes to a false and forged writing, done to the hurt and danger of him the said *Robert* an hundred pounds, and more then that, as he saith. Returning before vs at the sayd day, with this our *Mandate*, all that which you shall haue therein done. Given vnder the Seale of our Office, the 23. day of November, in the sixteenth yeare of the reigne of our Lord the King, & since the Conquest of *England*, the hundred.

The forme of the prosecuting of the action, is on both sides tryed, by the looking into of Letters Patents, auncient Charters, and of Euidences (as they tearme them) and by Witnesses. All things are (for the most part) acted by their Aduocates, in Writings, in Latine or in French. At length the definitive Sentence, according vnto equitie and right, and our owne heroycall custome, and not after any strange maner, sealed with the publike Seale of the Office is openly read, and afterward is deliuered to the Earle Marshall, to be put into execution. If any thing chance to be vnprouidedly done, or vnaduisedly in the sute ouer-slipped on eyther part, it is lawfull for them to appeale vnto the king, who is wont to referre the whole matter vnto the Bishops, and other Ecclesiasticall persons, vnto the learned Lawyers, and others of most vpright life, to be diligently againe examined & expounded. And euen in this very manner it was argued, adjudged, and appealed, betwixt *Reynold Baron Gray of Ruthen*, and *Edward Hastings* Knight, concerning the Armes of the *Hastings*, in the reigne of King *Henry* the third. Likewise, betwixt the Barons of *Louell* and *Morley*, for the Armes of the familie of *Burnell*. And *Richard Scroope* Plaintiffe, against *Robert Grosvenour* Defendant, in an Action of Armes in the ninth yeare of the reigne

of King *Richard* the second.

But this I leaue to the iudicious labor of that noble person and excellent iudgement, who now can onely repaire the lamented ruines of that Iurisdiction, hauing bequeathed vnto him the *Genius* of those his renowned Aunccestours, that so many yeares lued vp with famous memory, the Iudgement Seate of this Royall Court, referring the eye of further search, eyther to the Kings Records, or to those Registers of Armes and Honor whome it concerneth most to seeke out such Monuments with the Genealogies of Families, and the Armes of Stockes and Kindreds to distinguish the same, to write things done, and to register them vp in Bookes, for the perpetuall remembrance thereof. And who themselves acknowledging the high Constable, and the Earle Marshall of *England* for their Patrons, receiue yearly pensions from the Kings, and are by them with notable priuiledges rewarded.

Heere at length I might haue a large occasion to speake of the solemne Ceremonies of the Heralds; of their institution, immunities (both in time of peace and warre) and of the auncient reputation had of them amongst all Nations: if it were lawfull for mee to roame at large beyond the breuitie I haue vnto my selfe propounded, and whom therefore I had purposed in silence to haue passed ouer. But, lest I writing of so many degrees of out Noblemen, and so great things concerning Politicall Nobility, (in leauing to be spokesmen for themselves) I might seeme to haue spoken vnaduisedly, and not indifferently, I thought it good briefly, and by the way, to touch these things concerning Heralds. They were in auncient time *Feriales*, or as Messengers of the publike faith and credit. But since the time Princes and Monarks, for dispatch of their affaires, first began to haue their Ambassadors resident one of them with another, the reputation of Heralds is so impaired, as that they euerie where liue as men neglected, & quite ouerthrowne. Yet what our Heraldes be, and in what houses, and vnder what Lawes they (by the fauour of our Kings) together with vs in safety dwell, I will heere, as it were, in a short Inuentorie, propound vnto the eye of the Reader.

The

Three Kinges, which of their offices are called

Garter, who goeth first, as cheefe Ringleader of the all: not so much for the antiquity of his creation (for he was first created by King *Henry* the fifth) as for the super-eminence of the Order of the Garter.

Clarentius.
Norroy.

Both of the ordained by *K. Edward* the 3. and are called Prouinciall kings of Armes.

The Collegiate society of Heraldes, consisteth of xiiij. persons, (viz:) of

Six Heraldes, which by the names of their additions are called, *Somer/et.*
Chester.
Windefor.
Richemond.
Lancaster.
Yorke.

Four Purfuantes, which in Heraldrie you may call learners, and followers, vnto whom other Names are given also, (viz.)

Rougedragon.
Portculis.
Blew-mantell
Rouge croix.

All those by the names of Kings, Heralds, and Purfuantes, are by the Kings themselves immediatelic, or by the Constable of the kingdome, or the Marshall with the Kings Authority, crowned with Crownes, graced with Collars, attired with their rich Coates, named by their names of addition, and with certaine appointed Ceremonies created, receiue their yearly stipends out of the Kings Exchequer, to consult and meete together, about Armes and Authentickall Monuments, and helping and profiting vnto the Art of Heraldry. And they by the Kings Charter Incorporate, are endowed with a publike house in London, the cheefe City of the Kingdome: where (besides the Immunities and Priuiledges whereby they liue) they are with the preheminences of their degrees and functions, one from another distinguished.

Z z

Are set to pre-
serve the digni-
ty and reputa-
tion of their so-
ciety, and go-
uern the rest,
as for example.

For some
of them.

Other some
are pointed
to obey (viz.)

Garret King of Armes, for the supereminent Dignity of the Garter, is of the the cheefe; whose peculiar Office it is, with all dutifull seruice to attend vpon the Knights of that order. To aduertise them which are chosen of their new election, to call them to bee enstalled at *Windsor*, and to cause their Armes to be hangd vp vpon their seats. At their burials, to haue a care of their Funerall Rites & Ceremonies. Wherefore, (beside the yearly wages given him by the Knights) he is by the King himselfe rewarded with a Salary double to the rest. In euery new Emperour, King, Prince, Duke, Marquess, Earle, Vicount, Baron, or Knight, to be into this order enstalled, hee challengeth of him the vppermost Garment, which he on that day weareth. He also sheweth vnto euery new Baron, called vnto the Parliament, the place wherein he is to sit among his Peeres, and ordereth other things concerning their order.

Clarentius, who is King of Armes of al the East, West, & South Provinces of England, on this side of the Riuer of Trent.

Marrey, who is also acknowledged for king of Arms through the north part of the kingdom, beyond the Riuer of Trent.

These two haue by charter power to visit the Noblemen's Families, to set downe their Pedegrees, to distinguish their armes, & in the open Market-place, to reprove such as falsely take vpon the Nobility or Gentry. And to order euery Mans Exequies & Funerals, according to their Dignity, & to appoint vnto them their Armes or Ensignes, &c. And in all things gouern the *Heralds* as well as *Garter*.

Heralds and Pursuivants

Who in all things endeavour themselves for the defence of their society, or to their own lawfull profite in private, and willingly depend of the commandments of the kings

And these onely are the Kings *Heralds*, with vs so called, for that they receiue wages of the kings, and with publike seruice, serue all the Nobility of the kingdom.

Howbeit, Noble-men and Peeres of this Land, in ancient time had their *Heralds* peculiar vnto themselves. For *Chester* the Herald, and *Falco* the Pur-

suiuant, liued at the command of the Prince of Wales, and serued him. *Humfrey*, Duke of *Glocester*, and Earle of *Penbrooke*, had the Herald *Penbrooke* his household Seruant.

Richard also, Duke of *Glocester*, hauing now obtayned the kingdom, would needs haue his Herald *Glocester*, to bee called King of Armes for all Wales. *Charles Brandon*

Brandon Duke of *Suffolke*, retained *Suffolke Herald*, and *Marleon* the Pursuiuant, his Seruants. The Marquess of *Dorchester*, kept *Groby* the Herald. The Earle of *Northumberland* kept *Northumberland* the Herald, and *Eperance* the Pursuiuant. *Arthur Plantagenet Viscount L'Isle*, took vnto himselfe *L'Isle* the Pursuiuant: and Baron *Hastings*, *Hastings* the Pursuiuant. These it pleased me to haue out of many others rehearsed, who serued Noblemen in their peculiar and domestically seruices. But the condition of the Seruant is made better, by the dignity of his Lord and Master, so these forenamed *Heralds* liued nor with like authority or priuiledges as with the Kings.

So I breuely touch all things, for the beautifying and setting forth of Politicall Nobility: Now at length (by the *Heralds* leave) let it bee lawfull for mee to ioyn hereunto and insert some few things concerning Armes, whereby Noblemen are wont to be knowne from the vulgar sort, and to be among themselves by families diuided, being wont in ancient time to be more sparingly bestowed, then in this our age, and onely vpon such, as had with their good seruice deserued them.

But such kinde of Armes seeme not to haue taken beginning, but of such military rewards, as were wont to be given vnto well deseruing men, in the Roman Common-weale. For the *Romans*, alwayes most strived for the obtayning of honor and glory, for the nourishing whereof, they with ornaments and rewards, laboured to stirre vp mens mindes, for the performance of noble actions, both at home and abroad. In warres flourished Military gifts, *Trophies*, *Triumphall Arches*, *Letters Laureat*, &c. In time of peace, at home were shewed honourable Titles, Images, Statues, and such like. Things indeed wisely at first deuised, and afterward so together with the Empire encreased, that how many, and what manner of Crowns, Bracelets, Chaines, and Crests, euery man had deserued; what manner of trappings, Spears, Darts, or Belts, they had gotten: these they were wont in their expeditions in the wars, to beate in their Targets and Bucklers, or set vpon their Helms; and againe, returning home, in time of peace, euery good Seruator did hang them vp in their houses; and those Ornaments they

by the name of Armes, were wont by long order of succession, to deliuer ouer vnto their posterity: and hereof those armes of Families, heere and there distinguished by the Nobility, vsed in diuers kingdomes, were (if it please you to thinke) of the *Germanes* called *Wappen*, in our language *Armes*, and in Latine *Arma*, for that with them the enemies were repulsed.

These things the ancient *Roman Coyne* declare, and the credible ancient *Romaine* Writers; the vse whereof so at length preuailed in kingdomes, that as names distinguished men from men, euen so Armes diuided Nations from Nations, and Families from Families: first granted by Kings themselves, but afterward by the *Heralds* (Kings of Armes) by a Royall transmissiue power granted vnto them, they euery where especially seruing the Politicall Nobility, vnto whom I willingly leaue these things. And therefore the name and office of the *Heralds* was euery where notable, and well becoming an honest man; whom they of ancient time wer wont to call the *Fosterers of Politicall Nobility*, the Arbiters of Equity, the Protectors of Verity, the Ambassadors of Princes, and the Writers of mens noble actes.

But woe is me, that I carried with a certaine winde of this Method, haue thus euen against my will landed vpon our *Heralds*, whom (I know not by what destiny) euery man figheth and mourneth to see them working their owne destruction. Although indeed it be not so much to be maruailed at, seeing that the cause is right manifest (for lawfull bee it for mee to say the truth, which the thing it selfe spekech) (viz.) the want of the *Martiall Court*, or *Court of Chindry*, whereof I but now spake. For why, Nobility it selfe beeing oftentimes hurt or impaired, the *Heralds* themselves therewith languish also.

And yet for all that, heroycall truth waiteth another Patroness, euen amongst the most Noble and reuerend Antiquity, although as it were banished, and almost a stranger in her owne house, hath together with the Muses, her most louing, kinde and earnest Patroness, and who were not euen vnto my selfe also wanting in the perfecting of these my endeours & purposes.

These are the Orders and De-

grees, of both our sorts of Nobility, Named and Unnamed. Now into what ranks they are among themselves divided, and what honour they owe one of them vnto another (by a certaine right of precedence) receiue heere in briebe.

- 1 THE Kings Maieesty.
- 2 The Prince of Wales.
- 3 Dukes defended of the Royall blood.
- 4 Dukes not defended of Royall blood.
- 5 Dukes eldest Sonnes defended of the Royall blood.
- 6 Marquesses.
- 7 Dukes eldest Sonnes.
- 8 Earles.
- 9 Marquesses eldest Sonnes.
- 10 Dukes younger Sonnes of the blood Royall.
- 11 Dukes second Sonnes.
- 12 Vicounts.
- 13 Earles eldest Sonnes.
- 14 Marquesses second Sonnes.
- 15 Barons.
- 16 Vicounts eldest Sonnes.
- 17 Earles second Sonnes.
- 18 Barons eldest Sonnes.
- 19 Knights Bannarets.
- 20 Vicounts second Sonnes.
- 21 Barons second Sonnes.
- 22 Knights Batchellors.
- 23 Esquires for the body.
- 24 Knights Bannarets eldest Sonnes.
- 25 Knights Batchellors eldest Sonnes.
- 26 Esquires.
- 27 Gentlemen.

The Sonnes of Knights, which are of the Kings priuy Councell, for the time, hold the places which their Fathers being knighted, were knowne to hold, beneath the Barons Sonnes. But the antiquity of the creation of euery Knight is to be regarded: by which reasons, the Sonnes of the elder Knights, goe before the Sonnes of them that were more later created. Amongst Esquires, the antiquity of their Families, their wealth, and publike offices are considered; whereby it commeth to passe, that the wiues of them of the chee-

fer Families, or of such as beare great Offices take their places before others.

Howbeit, wee see no certainty to be here set downe concerning the places of Esquires or their Wiues, neyther concerning the places of yonger Brothers wiues forasmuch as many such things oftentimes chance, as cannot in any certaine rules be comprehended: like as it vseth to happen in *Named Nobility* (viz.) in Princes, Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, Vicounts, and Barons.

*Now at last let vs passe vnto
Knights of the Order of the Garter.*



E said in the beginning, in the diuiding and reckoning vp of our Nobility, it not to be beside our purpose, if I should vnto them also ioyn the fellowship of the order of the Garter, of others (by farre) the most honourable. For that it maketh Knights, and sometime them of the lesser Nobility also, being met for their vertue and valour, both in peace and warre about others famous, not only equall vnto Noblemen at home, but almost euen vnto Kings themselves & Emperors. An order verily of all the orders of the Christian world (if it be to be compared with any other) most ancient and most famous, wherein the most true Nobility it selfe, together with Religion and vertue, attended vpon with five and twenty most famous Knights, is sene that (I may so say) with vndeified Maiesty to sit in the Royall Throne. Wherefore, seeing that it is an order of so great dignity, and more famous then any other Nobility; & greater, then that it can in ranke with the other orders be included, as which includeth all the other degrees of Nobility, I haue purposed as briefly as I could, here to set it downe alone, and there-withall to conclude this Treatise.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXV.

The Order of the Knights of the Garter, when, and by whom it was ordained.



Edward the third, the most inuincible King of England and of France, a Prince principally endowed with a manner of piety, magnanimitie, and wisdom, in the xxiiij. yeare of his reigne, after he had oftentimes ouer the Frenchmen and Scots triumphed, vnto the honour of Almighty God, whereunto he (as becomed a deuout King referred al things) in his Castle at Windsor, ordained the Military Ornaments and Ceremonies of the Knights of the Garter: whereunto he gaue the name of the *Blew Garter* (but commonly called the *Garter*). and wherein hee appoynted the Kings of England as chiefe, and five and twentie Knights or Fellowes and Companions together. Who being men both for their martial prowesse and birth, most famous, and most chosen Chieftaines solemnely sworne, and binding themselves together with a bond of mutuall and perpetual friendship, for the defence of the honour and dignity of their Colledge and Fellowship, refuse not to vndergoe any danger, no not death it selfe. And therefore they are called *Fellowes of the Garter*, for that they haue the Calfe of their Leg bound about with a little Girdle, set with precious stones, which we call a *Garter*: the speciall Cognifance of the order, whereon it is in French, in golden Letters thus writte: *Hony Soit. Qui. Mal. T. Pense.* All these Knights once yearly attired in the Robes and Ornaments of their Order, meete together vpon the 23. day of *April*, a day dedicated to Saint *George*. The Rites and ceremonies, where-with they for the most great preheminance of their Order, are with most great solemnity chosen and enstalet at Windsor, and the Statutes vnder which these Fellowes and Companions liue, seeing they can in iust Volumes be scarce contained, cannot here in few words be expressed. Wherefore I list onely to rehearse the names of them, which from the beginning, or to-

gether with king *Edward* himselfe, were the Founders thereof, or else haue by our Kings from time to time, for some their vertue about others, bene still chosen to be Fellowes of that most honorable Order, in stead of them that were dead, euen vnto this our age.

Edward the third King of England and of France, &c. *Supreme or Gouvernour of the Order of the Garter, and with him the five and twenty first Founders thereof, which number they neuer exceed.*

Henry Duke of Lancaster.
Peter Capitaine Bouche.
William Montacute, Earle of Salisburie.
John, Lord of the Iland, otherwise called Lisle.

John Beauchampe, knight.
Hugh Courtney, knight.
John Grey of Codnor, knight.
Miles Stapleton, knight.
Hugh Wrothesley, knight.
John Chandos, knight Bannaret.
Osbo Holland, knight.
Sancho Dampredicourt, knight.
Edward Prince of Wales, King Edward his eldest Sonne.

Thomas Beauchampe, Earle of Warwick.
Raffe Stafford, Earle of Stafford.
Roger Mortimer, Earle of March.
Bartholmew of Burgherst, knight.
John, Lord Mohun, Baron.
Thomas Holland, knight.
Richard Fitz-Simon, knight.
Thomas de Wale, knight.
Neele Lorence, knight.
James Andeley, knight.
Henry Efme, knight.
Walter Pauley, knight.

The Founders of this Order being dead, these following were in the time of Edward the third chosen, and being elected into the places of the dead, supplied their roomes.

Richard, surnamed *Burdeaux*, eldest sonne of the Prince of Wales, who was also King of England, after *Edward* the

the third his grand-father, and was second of that name.

Lionell, surnamed of *Antwerp*, the son of King *Edward*, Duke of *Clarence*, and Earle of *Ulster*.

John, surnamed of *Gaunt*, fourth son of King *Edward*, first duke of *Richmond*, and after of *Lancaster*.

Edmund of *Langley*, fifth Sonne of king *Edward*, first Earle of *Cambridge*, and afterward Duke of *Torke*.

John of *Montford*, surnamed the valiant, Duke of *Britaine*, and Earle of *Richmond*, King *Edward* the third, his Sonne in law.

Hamfrey of *Bobun*, Earle of *Hereford*.

William of *Bobun*, Earle of *Northampton*.

John Hastings, Earle of *Penbroke*.

Thomas Beauchamp, Earle of *Warwicke*.

Richard Fitz-Alan, Earle of *Arundell*.

Robert Viford, Earle of *Suffolke*.

Hugh Stafford Earle of *Stafford*.

Ingelram of *Cowcy*, Earle of *Bedford*.

Guiscard of *Engelisme*, Earle of *Huntingdon*.

Edward Baron *Spencer*.

William Baron *Latimer*.

Reynold Baron *Cobham* of *Sterborow*.

John Baron *Newill* of *Raby*.

Raffe Baron *Basset* of *Drayton*.

Gualter Manny, Knight *Bannaret*.

Thomas Viford, Knight.

Thomas Felton, Knight.

Francis Van Hulle, Knight.

Alan Baxhill, Knight.

Richard Fembruge, Knight.

Thomas V'reight, Knight.

Thomas Bannister, Knight.

Richard la Vache, Knight.

Gay of *Brianne*, Knight.

Richard, the second of that name, King of *England*, and of *France*, &c. *Soueraigne* of the *Order of the Garter*, & they which by him were chosen into that *Order*.

Thomas of *Woodstocke*, Earle of *Buckingham*, and afterward Duke of *Glocester*, sixth Sonne to King *Edward* the third.

Henry of *Lancaster*, Earle of *Darby*, & Duke of *Hereford*, and afterward Duke of *Lancaster*, and at length King of *England*, of that name the fourth.

William, Duke of *Gelderland*.

William, surnamed of *Hennault*, was fifth Earle of *Ulster*, and afterward Duke of *Holland*, *Hennault*, and of *Zealand*.

Thomas Holland, Earle of *Kent*, and afterward Duke of *Surrey*.

John Holland, Earle of *Huntingdon*, and Duke of *Excester*.

Thomas Mowbray, Earle of *Nottingham*, and afterward Duke of *Norfolke*, and Earle Marshall of *England*.

Edward, Earle of *Rutland*, Duke of *Albemarle*, and *Edmund* of *Langley* his Father being dead, Duke of *Torke*.

Michael de la Poole, Earle of *Suffolke*, and Chancellor of *England*.

William Scroope, Earle of *Wilbire*, & Treasurer of *England*.

William of *Beauchampe*, Baron of *Berguenny*.

John Beament, Baron.

William Willoughby, Baron.

Richard Grey, Baron.

Nicholas Sarnesfeld, Knight.

Philip de la Vache, Knight.

Robert Knolles, Knight.

Gay of *Brianne*, Knight.

Simon Burley, Knight.

John D'uerux, Knight.

Brian Stapleton, Knight.

Richard Burley, Knight.

Peter Courtney, Knight.

John Burley, Knight.

John Bourchier, Knight.

Thomas Grandson, Knight.

Lewes Clifford, Knight.

Robert Dunstanill, Knight.

Robert of *Namur*, Knight.

Henry the fourth of that name, King of *England*, and of *France*, &c. chiefe of the *Garter*: and they which in his *Reigne* were chosen into the places vacant.

HENRY Prince of *Wales*, the eldest Sonne of King *Henry*, who afterward (his Father being dead) was himselfe King, fifth of that name.

Thomas of *Lancaster*, Duke of *Clarence*, King *Henry* his second Sonne.

John Duke of *Bedford*, Regent of *France*, third Sonne of King *Henry*.

Hamfrey Duke of *Glocester*, fourth Sonne of

of king *Henry*,

Thomas Beauford, Duke of *Excester*, Son to *John* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster*.

Robert, County Palatine, Duke of *Bavaria*.

John Beauford, Earle of *Somerset*, Brother to *Thomas* Duke of *Excester*.

Thomas Fitz-Alan, Earle of *Arundell*.

Edmund Stafford, Earle of *Stafford*.

Edmund Holland, Earle of *Kent*.

Rafe Newil, Earle of *Westmerland*.

Gilbert Lord Talbot, Baron.

Gilbert Lord Roos, Baron.

Thomas Lord Morley, Baron.

Edward Lord Powis, Baron.

John Lord Lovel, Baron.

Hugh Lord Burnel, Baron.

John Cornwell Knight, afterward Baron *Fanbope*.

William of *Arundel*, Knight.

John Stanley Knight, Steward of the Kings house.

Robert Vmfreuill, Knight.

Thomas Rampston Knight, Constable of the Tower of *London*.

Thomas Erpingham, Knight.

John Sulbie, Knight.

Sanctus of *Trane*, Knight.

Henrie the fifth of that name, king of *England* and of *France*, &c. Chiefe of the order of the *Garter*, and the Knights whom he graced with the *Garter*, in stead of them that were dead.

Sigmund King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, Marquess of *Madenburge*, and Emperor elect.

John King of *Portingall*.

Christian King of *Denmark*.

Philip Duke of *Burgundy*.

John Holland, Earle of *Huntingdon*, and afterward Duke of *Excester*.

William de la *Poole*, first Earle, afterward Marquess, and at length Duke of *Suffolke*.

John Mowbray, Earle Marshall, and afterward Duke of *Norfolke*.

Thomas Montacute, Earle of *Salisbury*.

Richard Pere Earle of *Oxford*.

Richard Beauchampe, Earle of *Warwicke*.

Thomas, Baron *Camoys*.

John, Baron *Clifford*.

Robert, Baron *Willoughby*.

William Philip, Baron *Bardolfe*.

Henry, Baron *Fitz-hugh*.

Lewes, Robart Baron *Bourchier*.

Hugh Stafford, Baron *Bourchier*.

Walter, Baron *Hungerford*.

Simon Felbridge, Knight.

John Grey of *Eyton*, Knight.

John Dabrigecourt, Knight.

John Robart, Knight.

Trank van Clux, a German knight

William Harington, Knight.

John Blount, Knight.

Henrie the sixt of that name, King of *England* and *France*, &c. chiefe of the Order of the *Garter*, and the Knights of the *Garter* by him made.

Albert, Duke of *Austria*, King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, and afterward Emperor.

Fredericke, Duke of *Austria*, Emperour, & *Albertus* his Brother.

Edward, King of *Portingall*.

Alphonfus, King of *Aragon*, *Naples*, & *Sicilie*.

Casimire, King of *Polonia*.

Edward, Prince of *Wales*, King *Henry* his eldest Sonne.

Peter, Duke of *Conimbría*, *John* King of *Portingall* his Sonne.

Henry, Duke of *Vifontium*, *John* King of *Portingall* his Sonne.

Duke of *Brunswicke*.

Richard, Duke of *Torke*, Father to King *Edward* the fourth.

John Beauford, Earle, and afterward Duke of *Somerset*.

Edmund Beauford, Earle *Moriton*, afterward Marquess, and at last Duke of *Somerset*.

Laffer Earle of *Penbroke*, and afterward Duke of *Buckingham*.

John Mowbray, Duke of *Norfolke*.

Hamfrey, Earle of *Stafford*, and afterward Duke of *Buckingham*.

Gaston de Foix, Capitaine de la *Bouche*, earle of *Longenile*.

John de Foix, Earle of *Candalia*.

Aluarnus D'almada Earle of *Auerence*.

John Fitz-Alan, Earle of *Arundell*.

Richard Newill, Earle of *Salisbury*.

Richard Newill, Earle of *Warwicke*.

John Baron *Talbot*, afterward Earle of *Shrewsbury*.

John

John Baron Talbot, Earle of Shrewsbury, his Sonne.
James Butler, Earle of Wiltshire and Ormond.
William Nevill, Lord Fauconbridge, afterward Earle of Kent.
Richard Woodvill, Earle Rivers.
Henry Vicount Bourchier, and afterward Earle of Essex.
John Beaumont, Vicount Beaumont.
John Sutton, Baron Dudley.
Thomas, Baron Scales.
John, Baron Grey of Ruthin.
Rafe, Baron Butler of Sudely.
Lionell, Baron Welles.
John, Baron Bourchier of Berners.
Thomas, Baron Stanley.
William, Baron Bonvill.
John, Baron Wenlocke.
John, Baron Beauchamp of Powik.
Thomas, Baron Hoo.
John Ratcliff, Knight.
John Fastolf, Knight.
Thomas, Kirrell, Knight.
Edward Haly, Knight.

Edward, fourth of that name, K. of England and France, &c. Supream Governor of the Order of the Garter, chose these Knights, into the vacant places of them that were dead.

Ferdinand, King of Sicily and of Naples, King *Alfonso* his base sonne.
John, King of Portingall.
Edward, Prince of Wales.
Charles, Duke of Burgundy.
Francis Sfortia, Duke of Milan.
Fredericke, Duke of Vrbin.
Hercules, Duke of Ferrara.
Richard, Duke of Yorke, the Kings sonne.
Richard, Duke of Gloucester, who afterward usurped the Kingdome.
John Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk.
John, Baron Howard, afterward Duke of Norfolk.
John de la Poole, Duke of Suffolke.
Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham.
John Nevill, Marquesse Montacute.
Thomas Grey, Marquesse Dorset.
James Douglas, Earle Douglas in Scotland.
William Fitz-Allan, Earle of Arundell.
Thomas, Baron Malsrawers, the sonne of

William, and afterward Earle of Arundell.
Anthony Woodville, Baron Scales, afterward Earle Rivers.
William, Baron Herbert, afterward created Earle of Penbrooke.
John Stafford, Earle of Wiltshire.
Henry Percy, Earle of Northumberland.
John Tiptoft, Earle of Worcester.
Galliard Duras, Lord Duras.
John, Baron Scroope of Bolton.
Walter Deuenerux, Baron Ferrers of Chartley.
Gualtier Blount, Baron of Montjoy.
William, Baron Hastings, the Kings Chamberlain.
John Ayley, Knight.
William Chamberlaine, Knight.
William Parre, Knight.
Robert Haricourt.
Thomas Mont-gomery, Knight.

Edward, the fift of that name, king King of England and France, &c. Supream Gouvernour of the Order of the Garter, vnder whom was no election of new Knights of that order. For as hee had all the places filled with Knights by his Father, whilst hee yet liued, euen so he left them. Excepting onely the seates of the Prince, and of *John* King of Portingall.

Richard, the third of that name, King of England and of France, &c. Cheefe of the Order of the Garter, & the Fellowes chosen into that Order, during the time of his Reigne.

Thomas Howard, Earle of Surrey, and Duke of Norfolk.
Thomas, Baron Stanley, afterward Earle of Derby.
Francis, Vicount Louell.
John Coniers, Knight.
Richard Radcliff, Knight.
Thomas Burgh, Knight.
Richard Tunstall, Knight.

Henry,

Henry, the seuenth of that name, King of England, and of France, cheife of this most honorable Order, and the Fellowes chosen into the places of them that were dead, during the time of his Reigne.

Maximilian, king of the Romaines, & afterward Emperor, chosen, his Father *Frederick* Emperor then living.
John, King of Portingall.
John, King of Denmarke.
Philip, King of Castile, Arch-Duke of Austria, Son to *Maximilian* the Emperor.
Alphonfus, Duke of Calabria and Naples, King of Sicilia and Iersusalem.
Arthur, Prince of Wales, the Kings eldest Sonne.
Henry, Duke of Yorke, & Prince of Wales, his Brother *Arthur* being dead, and he the same, afterward King of England.
Wbald, Earle of Monferat, and Duke of Vrbin, and of Pesseran.
Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham.
Thomas Grey, Marquesse Dorset.
John Vere, Earle of Oxford.
Henry Percy, Earle of Northumberland.
George Talbot, Earle of Shrewsbury.
Henry Bourchier, Earle of Essex.
Richard Grey, Earle of Kent.
Edward Courtney, Earle of Denfbire.
Henry, Baron Stafford, afterward Earle of Wiltshire.
Edmund de la Poole, Earle of Suffolke.
Charles Somersét, Knight Banaret, and afterward created Earle of Worcester.
Gerard Fitz-gerald, Earle of Kildare.
John Welles, Vicount Welles.
George Stanley, Baron Strange.
William Stanley, the Kings Chamberlaine.
John, Baron Dymham.
Robert Willoughby, Baron Brooke, Steward of the Kings house.
Giles D'Aubeny.
Edward Poyning, Knight.
Edward Widenill, Knight.
Gilbert Talbot, Knight.
John Cheney, Knight.
Richard Guilford, Knight.
Thomas Leuell, Knight.
Thomas Brandon, Knight.
Reynold Bray, Knight.

Ryce Ap Thomas, a Welchman.
John Saunge, Knight.
Richard Poole, Knight.

Henry, the eight of that name, K. of England, France, and Ireland: Supream Governor of the Order of the Garter, notably chose & altered these of the Order of the Garter, into the vacant seates and places of the knights that were dead.

Charles the Emperour, fift of that name, king of Spain.
Ferdinand, king of the Romaines, and hee the same king of Hungary and Bohemia, Brother to *Charles* the Emperour.
Francis the French king, first of that name.
Emmanuel, King of Portingall.
James, the fift of that name, king of Scots.
Henry the Kings Sonne, otherwise called *Fitz-Roy*, Duke of Richmond and Somerset.
Julian de Medices, brother to *Leo*, the tenth Bishop of Rome.
Edward Seymour, Earle of Hertford, and afterward Duke of Somerset.
Thomas Howard, Earle of Surrey, and at length Duke of Norfolk.
Charles Brandon, Master of the Horse, and afterward Duke of Suffolke.
John Sutton, alias Dudley, Vicount Lisle, who was afterward Earle of Warwick, & at length Duke of Northumberland.
Annas, Duke Mont-morancy.
Henry Courtney, Earle of Denfbire, and afterward Marquesse of Excester.
William Parre of Kendall, who was afterward Earle of Essex, & at length Marquesse of Northampton.
William Pualet, Baron S. John of Basing, afterward created Earle of Wiltshire, & at last Marquesse of Winchester.
Henry Earle of Surrey, Sonne to *Thomas* Duke of Norfolk.
Thomas Bullen, Treasurer of the Kings house, afterward Vicount Rochfort, and at length Earle of Wiltshire and Ormond.
William Fitz-Alan, Earle of Arundell.
John Vere, Earle of Oxford.
Henry Percy, Earle of Northumberland.
Rafe Nevill, Earle of Westmerland.
Francis Talbot, Earle of Shrewsbury.

Philip

Philip of Chabor, Earle of New-blanch, Admirall of France.

Thomas Manners, Baron Roos, who was afterward Earle of Rutland.

Robert Radcliff, Vicount Fitz-Walter, afterward Earle of Suffex.

Henry Clifford, Earle of Cumberland.

William Fitz-Williams, Treasurer of the Kings house, and afterward Earle of Southampton.

Thomas, Baron Cromwell, who was afterward Earle of Essex.

John, Baron Russell, afterward Earle of Bedford.

Thomas, Baron Wriothesley, who was afterward created Earle of Southampton.

Arthur Plantagenet, Vicount Lisle, King Edward the fourth, his base Sonne.

Walter Deuereux, Baron Ferrers of Chertsey, and afterward created Vicount Hereford.

Edward Howard, Admirall of England, in Brittain America.

George Neuill, Baron of Abergueny.

Thomas West, Baron de la Ware.

Thomas, Baron Dacres of Gillingham.

Thomas, Baron Darcy of the North.

Edward Sutton, Baron Dudley.

William Blount, Baron Montjoy.

Edward Stanley, Baron Monteagle.

William, Baron Sands.

Henry, Baron Marney.

Thomas, Baron Audley of Walden, and Chancellor of England.

John Gage, Knight, Controller of the kings house.

Henry Guilford, Knight, Master of the horse, & after Controller of the house.

Nicholas Carew, Knight, Master of the Horse.

Anthony Browne, Knight, Master of the Horse.

Thomas Cheney, Knight, Warden of the Cinque-Ports.

Richard Winfield, Knight, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

Anthony Winfield, Knight, Vice-Chamberlaine to the King, Capitaine of the Guard, and after Controller of the Kings house.

Anthony Saint-Leger, Knight, Deputy of Ireland.

John Wallop, Knight, Capitaine of Guyenes in France.

Edward the sixt, King of England, France, and Ireland, Supream Lord of the Garter: by him these men following, were admitted into the said Order.

Henry the second, king of France.

Henry Grey, Marquess Dorset, after Duke of Suffolke.

Henry Neuill, Earle of Westmerland.

Edward Stanley, Earle of Darby.

Francis Hastings, Earle of Huntington.

William Herbert, Earle of Pembroke.

Thomas Seymour, Baron of Sudely.

Thomas West, Baron de la Ware.

George Brooke, Baron of Cobham.

Edward Baron Clinton, Admirall of England, and after created Earle of Lincoln.

William Paget, Baron of Beauchers.

Thomas Darcy, Baron of Chiche.

Andrew Sutton, (alias Dudley) Knight.

Mary, Queen of England, France and Ireland, and Supream Lady of the Order of the Garter, these men (for orders sake) the other Knights being dead, were preferred into their places.

Philip, King of Spaine, husband to the Queene.

Emanuel Philibert, Duke of Sauey.

Henry Radcliff, Sonne of Henry Earle of Suffex.

Anthony Browne, Vicount Mount-acute.

William Howard, Baron of Effingham.

William Grey, Baron of Wilton.

Edward Hastings, Master of the Horse, after Baron Hastings of Loughbore, and Chamberlaine to the Queene.

Robert Rochester, Knight, dyed before the instalment.

Elizabeth of famous memorie, Queene of England, France, and Ireland, Supream Lady of the most noble Order of the Garter, chose into that Order, these men following.

Maximilian

Maximilian the Emperour, King of Bohemia, and Hungary.

Charles the ninth, King of France.

Henry the third, King of France.

Fredericke, King of Denmarke.

Adolph, Duke of Holsatia.

John Casimire, Count-Palatine of Rhine, and Duke of Banaria.

Francis Montmorency, Duke.

Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk.

Fredericke, Duke of Wittenberge.

William Parre, Marques of Northampton.

Thomas Percie, Earle of Northumberland.

George Talbot, Earle of Shrewsbury.

Henry Stanley, Earle of Darby.

William Summerfet, Earle of Worcester.

Henry Manners, Earle of Rutland.

Henry Hastings, Earle of Huntington.

Ambrose Sutton (alias Dudley) Earle of Warwick.

Francis Russell, Earle of Bedford.

Henry Herbert, Earle of Penbroke.

Robert Sutton (alias Dudley) Earle of Leicester.

Walter Deuereux, Earle of Essex.

Edward Manners, Earle of Rutland.

Henry Radcliff, Earle of Suffex.

Robert Deuereux, Earle of Essex.

Gilbert Talbot, Earle of Shrewsbury.

George Clifford, Earle of Cumberland.

Henry Percy, Earle of Northumberland.

Edward Summerfet, Earle of Worcester.

Robert Radcliff, Earle of Suffex.

William Stanley, Earle of Darby.

Arthur Grey, Baron of Milton.

Charles Howard, Baron of Effingham, and Admirall of England, 1575, after Earle of Nottingham.

Edmund Burges, Baron Chandos.

Henry Cary, Baron of Hunsdon.

William Cecil, Baron of Burghley.

William Brooke, Baron of Cobham.

Henry Scroope, Baron of Bolton.

Thomas Sacknill, Baron of Buckburst, after Earle of Dorset, and Lord High-Treasurer of England.

Thomas, Baron de Burgh.

Edmund Baron Sheffield.

Thomas Howard, Baron Howard of Walden, 1597 after Earle of Suffolke, and Lord Chamberlaine to the Kings Maiefty, also Lord high-Treasurer of England.

George Cary, Baron de Hunsdon, Lord Chamberlaine to Queene Elizabeth.

Charles Blount, Baron Montjoy, 1597, after Earle of Denonsure.

Henry Brooke, Baron Cobham.

Thomas Cecil, Baron of Burghley.

Robert Cecil, Earle of Salisbury, after Lord high-Treasurer of England.

Thomas Howard, Vicount Bindon.

George Hume, Earle of Dunbarre.

Philip Herbert, Earle of Montgomery.

Philip Howard, Earle of Arundell.

Robert Carre, Vicount Rochester, after Earle of Somerset.

Thomas Ereskin, Vicount Fenton.

William Baron Knollers de grayes, Treasurer of the Kings house, after Vicount Wallingford.

Francis, Earle of Rutland.

George Villers, after Vicount Villers, Earl and Marquess of Buckingham.

Robert Sidney, Vicount Lyle, after Earle of Leicester.

Henry Brooke, Baron Cobham.

Thomas Cecil, Baron of Burghley.

Henry Sidney, Knight, President of the Marches of Wales.

Christopher Hutton, Knight, Lord Chancellor of England.

Francis Knollers, Knight, Treasurer of the Chancery house.

Henry Lea, Knight, Keeper of the Armory.

James the first, of Great Brittain, France, and Ireland, Supream Lord of the Garter: by him these men following, were admitted into the said Order.

Christiern, fourth of that name, King of Denmarke.

Henry, eldest Son to King James, Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, & Earle of Chester.

Charles Duke of Yorke, second Son to the Kings Maiefty, after Prince of Great Brittain.

Fredericke, Prince Elector Palatine of the Rhine.

Graue Morris, after Prince of Orange.

Lewes, Duke of Lennox, Earle of Richmond.

Henry Wriothesley, Earle of Southampton.

John Ereskin, Earle of Mar.

William Herbert, Earle of Penbroke, after Lord Chamberlaine unto the Kings Maiefty.

Fredericke, Duke of Wittenberge, installed but elected in the year, 1597.

Vtricke, Duke of Alsatia.

Henry Howard, Earle of Northampton.

Robert Cecil, Earle of Salisbury, after Lord high-Treasurer of England.

Thomas Howard, Vicount Bindon.

George Hume, Earle of Dunbarre.

Philip Herbert, Earle of Montgomery.

Philip Howard, Earle of Arundell.

Robert Carre, Vicount Rochester, after Earle of Somerset.

Thomas Ereskin, Vicount Fenton.

William Baron Knollers de grayes, Treasurer of the Kings house, after Vicount Wallingford.

Francis, Earle of Rutland.

George Villers, after Vicount Villers, Earl and Marquess of Buckingham.

Robert Sidney, Vicount Lyle, after Earle of Leicester.

Commilitonum Garteriani Ordinis habitus, à fronte & à tergo.



habitu (vulgo Garterus) genibus & lateribus multifidus auribus. HONI SOIT QVI MAL Y PENSE. do
Ordinis sit. Symbolum pacillare, vestibus cooperum, ob oculos demonstrari requirit.



THE PERORATION, OR EPILOGVE OF THE WHOLE VVORKE.



Hus haue I at last concluded this Treatise of *Nobilitie Politicke, Dative, and Native*, as breecely as I could, and the greatnesse & dignitie of the subiect would permit. First, generally; as applyed to the Customes of Countries, whereto the same is tide; then particularly exemplified, by the Rites and Ceremonies in vse among our selues. Wherein, if seeking to adorne the magnificence of so stately a Theame, with eloquence of words, and beauty of style, as it selfe doth deserue, I seeme to haue failed, I must plead for my selfe, as a plaine meaning man, that sometimes through zeale and deuotion to the Church, vnderooke to craue an Image, representing the Deity and greatnesse of his God, out of trembling and feare, was forced to craue ayde of skilfuller workmen, hauing nothing to excuse the weaknesse of his wit, and expiate withall, the horror of his worke, but pious simplicity. Euen such is my case; For I willingly confesse, that being doubtfull of my selfe when I tooke this Taske in hand, yet my hope and comfort was, that howsoeuer I might erre, and heerein bewray my skill, my faults prouing veniall, I might giue occasion, to stir vp riper wits, to further the perfection of this rude and rough-hewd worke, and Whetston like at least, to set and sharpen others.

If now by the sight and view heereof, (such as it is) any like to take the paines from the sheathe, to the blade; from the

shape, to the substance; & from the shadow, to the body, to wade any further; the Volume now succeeding, as well of all the Persons, as their atchieuements of honour, marriages, alliances, and descents, that euer this Monarchy hath inuested & ennobled with the titles and degrees of *Political Nobility*, from the Earles vpward. (*Vice-Comes* and *Barons* make a Volume of themselves) digested into Catalogues, will further declare.

A worke, though not so perfect as the time may make it proue, for at the beginning, what thing was euer so? (Without pride be it spoken) of extraordinary study, care, and industry. Wherein, if onely for the publike, I haue thus employed my selfe, and done my best endeavour, *To ascribēs one heere to the etai*. Let no mā take occasion to taxe me of double diligence, much lesse of affectation, selfe-loue, or flattery, that propounding thus a Pilgrimage pretended to bee generall, I haue spent my whole deuotion on the Saints of Great Brittain. I was to fit my mould to the matter already framed, and therto wholly bending and deuiling with my selfe, I aymed withall, in secret to redeeme so faire a subiect (subsisting euery where on speciall Lawes and Rites) from the wandring *Ideas* of discoursing Philosophers, and contemplatiue Diuines to her owne proper Station, and peculiar Customes, that others else-where desirous of the like, I might seeme rather to giue, then to stay their good example.

It remains then now, to make good my first diuision into Celestiall, Morall, and Politicall Nobility, that I lay downe

the dignity of each by themselves, that by plaine demonstration and comparing of their Effences mutually together, the world may see, how euen this of Great Brittain (which heere I call Ours) is of it selfe absolutely, the most assured Pat-terne, and best ordered of all others.

By Gods eternall prouidence, it is so fore-ordained, that for ornament and safety of humane life and Nature, wee see and feele daily, some steppes as it were of diuine intelligence, and seeds of Morall vertue, still fostered vp within vs, euen in this lower world.

Est Deus in Nobis agitante calefimus illo.

That (diuine intelligence) by heauenly inspiration, doth teach vs to know God, and moues vs to serue him with all holiness of soule, and religious obseruation.

This (vertuous disposition) by an inbred ingenuity, becomes the Mother of this our Positiue Nobility. For, as these two still ioyned together, first open the way by steps and degrees (though by diuers passages) to come to Kingly Grace, and Soueraigne Endowments, Daintely, so

Ex Ingeniis sunt Eugenia Eugenes, from inbred Ingenuity, men first become Generous, which also leads them on in the selfe-same Nobility Natiuely. For as

goodlinesse or piety, by diuine inspiration, and in-bred Ingenuity, by vertues infusion, makes vulgar men exempted, and so honestly respected aboue their fellows, that nothing may disgrace them, but iniquity and heresie, yielding matter and occasion to this kinde of Nobility that subiects obtaine from Soueraigne grace & fauour, Daintely: Euen so, where grace

becomes so fixed in the person of any, that nothing can remoue it but Death or high-treason; it begets generosity by descending to posterity, Natiuely. So that, as to be gloriously happy in the world to come, by diuine inspiration from God to man, by the name of piety, proceeds from Christianity imputatiuely. And as to be honourably esteemed before God and man, for inbred ingenuity, by the name of probity, proceeds from ciuility insusiuely, so to be lawfully exempted from the vulgar sort, by the name of Generosity, proceeds from grace, Mediate or Immediate respectiuely al worthily ennobled in their severall kindes and places: whereby the meanest Subiect being thus made happy,

becomes aswell *Nobilis* (which wee call a gentleman, and the French found *Gentilhomme*) as the Emperor himselfe, saying, *Foy* de Gentilhomme*. And, *Me vray Gentilhomme aussy bien que le Roy*. Though in English and in French, the word it selfe seeme straightened. For we call no man Noble, but from the Baron vpward, where *Nobilis* in Latine, includes the meanest Gentleman, aswell as Lords and others. The names of Kings, Princes, Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, Vice-Counts & Barons, &c. being titles of prehemence, to distinguish the celebrity of each mans place & function, for orderly precedence.

Thus then, though none become Christians by the rules of piety, carnally; and our inbred-ingenuity, proceed not from our Parents by the rules of probity, naturally; yet a Gentleman, one may be both reputed, and so called by the lawes of celerity, alias Cheualry, alias Heraldry, euen for humanity, and honest conuersation ciuilly, and so become ennobled in himselfe and his posterity Politically. For, *Est aliquid clarus Magnoris splendor Anoris* *Illud posteritas amula calcar habet*.

And as to be a Christian, is the glory of all Nobility, and to be an honest man, is of it selfe most honourable: so to be advanced by the eye of Soueraigne Majesty, with such Ensignes of Nobility, as demonstrate his celebrity in himselfe and his posterity, is properly most Noble; Armes being in this respect ordayned to limit Families, as proper names do men. Whereby (this) stands distinguished fro the other (two.)

For the first, from religious imputation, being hid fro the world, makes Christians only glorious by faith, with God in heaue.

The second, from vertuous infusion, makes honesty most honorable, & vertue still admired by good works among men.

And this third, from absolute affection in Soueraigne loue and grace, makes subiects rise ennobled respectiuely abroad, but properly at home, for seruices performed in the Church and Common-weale.

Now, all that haue the happinesse to be glorified in heauen, or honoured vpon earth, or ennobled at the least, recieue it first or last from God, & his Lieutenants, whose insusiuue grace and greatnesse, are the grounds of all our credits.

The first, by Diuines, being religiously taught

Nobility
Generosity.

The reason
perhaps why
in England
our Nobles
men from the
honour up
ward in
points of ho-
nour, are put
to no other
cathetiden
by laying
their hands
on their
locality pro-
fect vpon
their honours

Glor.
Honour.

Nob.
Arms.

Glorious.

Honorable.

Ennobled.

taught, and the second by Philosophers, being morally disputed, like Twins of one birth, or cousin-germans at least, by piety and probity in a heauenly kinde of kindred, makes mortall men immortal, and by fame to liue for euer. But the third, which this Treatise hath begot, or gladly would restore, being mere positiue with Kings, within their kingdomes, and Orphan-like committed to their care and speciall trust, depends vpon their wils, their Rites and Country Customes. From whence it is, we see such Rankes of Nobility, such feuerall names of dignities, and titles of honor, bestowed vpon Subiects for Piety and Probity, conspicuous in the world by Soueraigne grace and fauour. Vho at first, being but meane, and of slender beginnings, become at last extolled to places of renouwe, from the foot-stoole, aduanced to the type and top of honour, & the same like ebbs and floods, with time againe decline.

These kindes of Nobility thus feuerally laide open, and by a three-fold disposition made apt to be diuided, are not (notwithstanding) so at odds within themselves, that their Natures and their Effences admit no reconciliation, or may not be vnited in one Person altogether.

For the first, being celestiall, and meerly diuine, admits no worldly vanity, whose Soueraigne is God, and whose Robes of perfection wee shall then put on vpon vs, when wee come to be presented before Christ our King in Heauen. This is our cheefest glory, our *summum bonum*, and highest blisse, whereto who strues to rise, and hopes to attaine, must worke it out by faith, and lay his foundation on the true Christian-Catholique and Apostolique-Religion, without which, euen Vertue her selfe, with all her Morall Lessons, auails vs nothing, as pointing onely to this end, ayms at this happinesse, but obtains it neuer.

And they that being heere conuersant with me on earth, haue their mindes so cleare and enlightened from aboue, that fore-seeing this end, they bend themselves thereto, and by a prudent care and constancy, still ayning at Iustice, seeke onely the good of the Church and Common-wealth. These (I say) by their vertues once conspicuous, become for euer famous, and worthily honoured with that

kinde of Nobility, which Philosophers so magnifie and extoll vnto the world.

Now, these also at length being noted by their names, and made knowne to Soueraigne Kings (that as Gods with God. Almightie rule heere the earth in common) are by them ennobled; first Daintely, with that Nobility, which descending to posterity, by right of inheritance, is Native of it selfe, and in all places subiect to peculiar Customes. From whence it comes to passe, that seeing Honesty, the height and type of honour, and vertue the way that leads vs thereunto; wee admire more Nobility Daintely, being truly deriued and raised for it selfe, then that which is Native, and descended from other, as whose person first for vertues sake, being for it selfe beloued, becomes with all illustrious, and layes the foundation of happinesse in others. *Natus Genuit & Praesens, & Quae non fecimus ipsi: vix ea nostra voco*. For though in Nobility Politike and Ciuill, Generosity by antiquity, seeme to be respected: and to be borne a Lord, he more Noble, then so to be created; yet is it not so honourable, though farre more generous. For Vertue of her selfe being euery way magnificent, first honours the Father, then dignifies the Sonne, & magnifies posterity, which by the *Grecians* is more significantly spoken, and better vnderstood, by their *Eugenia* and *genation* applying this to Ingenuity, which belongs vnto the minde, and that vnto Celebrity more proper to the kinde.

This then at the last, is that Celestiall, Morall, and Politick Nobility, that at first I propounded; whereto, when Diuines in their Sermons seeme to speake, and Philosophers by discourses goe about to dispute, they demonstrate nothing but Allegorical *idolum*; and imaginary shadowes, the substance wherof, wee must hope to finde in Heauen; when as heere euen on earth, for the good & furtherance both of Church and Common-wealth, it is cherished and dignified at the hands of Soueraigne Kings, and as fittest for graue Councellors placed next vnto themselves, wherof this rude Treatise contains the truest patternes; that the world affords; namely, The Nobility of this *Athenacy* of Great-Brittain. And therein as *Insuper Omni* *Primum* and *Modell* of the rest, the most Honourably-Table Order of knights of the

A 123 Gate: there

Nobility
Politick.

Honorable.
Generous.

Eugenia.
Genation.

The Epitomy
or Modell of
all three kinde
of Nobility,
in one Order
of the knights
of the Garter.

there being nothing found recorded, for Religion, in them more beleeving a christian; for Vertue more Heroicall; nor for Policy more assured, then this Religiously most Honourable and most Noble Society. For whereas all other of like institution, by growing ouer-vulgar, are become the lesse esteemed; or prouing else but idle, are at all hands neglected: onely This is still so well supplied with the Flower of true Nobility, that euer fresh and springing, by yearly shewes and lusters, it diminisheth the beholders with greater admiration, then the best words of my Pen are able to viter.

For heere, all behold Maiesty her selfe, betweene Greatnesse and Decorum, descend from her Throne, to walke & talke kindly with her owne Nobility: and Nobility it selfe betweene Honour and Reuerence, ascending on the Seate of her own Soueraigne Maiesty.

Heere the Religion of our Church, the Wisedome of our State, and the Nobility of our Court, admiring Kingly Maiesty, meete all in one together.

And heere our King with his Prince, our Prince with his Peeres, and our Peeres with their Worthies, meete and march together in one Bond of Loue, in one Order of Chualty, for mutual defence both of Church and Common-wealth, amazing the beholders with the stately sight and view of one personall Maiesty, in one fellowship of Honour, and one body of vnsustained and true Nobility.

Heere therefore to conclude, as the fittest place to end this weake and slender Treatise. If that which hath bene faide, deserves to be regarded (as Truth sayes it should) why do the Soueraignes and Monarchs of the world, then wrong themselves in their Greatnesse and Authority, giuing way to proud violence, and prophane intrusion, wherby Popes haue put downe Emperors, & Cardinals presume to compare themselves with Kings? For whereas they alone by speciall Commission and Preheminance of place, and Vncommunicable power, and Prerogative of Grace, are made the Moderators of the virtuous endeours, and onely Creators of all Titles of Honour, belonging to their Subiects, they suffer Nobility to be tied, as it were against her owne Nature, to Fees, Houses, Cattles, Cities, and

Lands, sencelesse and transitory, that neyther infuse Religion, nor administer Justice, nor encrease cyther in their prophane Possessors, nor make vulgar Tenants more honest, or more noble. For *Ornanda potius est Dignitate Domus quam ex Domu Dignitas utitur, querenda, nesci, a Domino Dominus sed a Domino Dominus est ubi honestanda.*

And thus hauing ended in the best fort I could, if I were to yeeld a reason of all that I haue done, in a word, it should bee thus: The glory of God, and my Countries honour, to whom all stand indebted in all that we are, or can bee of our felices. Allegiance & Service to my Soueraigne, and his Nobility, and affection by Alliance, to the memory of mine Vnckle and deceased Friend, were the Motiues only moued mee to take this worke in hand.

Hauing therefore now both offered vp, and thus paide all my vowes: mine *Enthousiasme* compels mee to salute his blessed *Genius*, that by louing of Nobility, so hartily & so well, thus happily made happy, lines ennobled now in Heauen.

*Quod tua prima fides visis est tentasse, nec ultra
In Patria complere decem feta fata sinebant:
Ecce O, nos exegi, nostrorum pignus Amorom,
Quid neg, Linar adax quat aut aboleret vetustas,
Quam via illa dies, que iam tibi corporis umbram
Aspirat, incerti spaciun mibi difficiat aui:
Pecis tamen meliore tui, super alia perennis
Astra fruor.*

*Quisquis potest domitis Britannia potentia Terris,
Dolle per ora virum, perque omnia secula viuis,
Si quid habet grati Generosa propago virorum.*

What thou dost once attempt, our Countries worth to show,
But couldst not bring to passe, the Fates to haide thy hand,
Loe here, haue perfo'r'd that (All) our loue may know,
Which easy shall not care, nor withering age withstand.

And though the day be past, that hath thy Soule renew'd
From hence, and bodiles mortall shape be parted cleane away,
And thou'rt the like to me, yet that I euer lou'd,
(I mean thy better part) I hope, I shall againe enjoy.

And now as far as British power, by Fame it selfe is rais'd,
Or coming Swed, by the helpe of my learned Pen,
Thy name shall liue, and Thou by future ages prais'd,
If Honour dwell in Noble blood, or Honesty with Men.

All

Efficient, as without which it hath no Being, namely, soueraigne *Endochy*, or Grace and Fauror, without which, as it could not subsist, so is it not lost, but onlie by *Lele-Maiesty*, high Treason. Therefore, from the soueraigne, as from the fountaine, it is deriued both *Datiue* & *Natiue*, and is bestowed,

For, and during life only
Or made
Hereditarie,
& successiue

Regulatur.

For, as to infamie & baseness, the Gates of dignitie are neuer set open: Is Honor once bestowed by soueraigne grace, is not to be detracted to the Parties shame.

All Nobility political, is deriued, and best knowne by the causes.
Materiall, or the Subject, wherof soueraignes create nobilitie, to wit,

Vertue, that of her self is conspicuously noted,
Fortune, or habilitie to sustaine Nobilitie,
Namely,

Militarily,
or,
Ciuilly.

Which albeie they become diminished and spent, yet is not Nobilitie withall lost or extinct: that of her Nature is Hereditarie.

Formall, as how men become lawfully dignified according to rites and ceremonies, and peculiar custums of Countries, either

(Immediately by the Soueraigne,
Or,
Mediately by Commission)

In England nobility is distinguished into

Greater, called Nobles
Lettres patens, or writs of iourneyn to the Parliament, viz. Barons.
Lettres made by Commission, or without Lettres patens.

The Prince of Wales.
Dukes.
Marquesses.
Earles.
Viscounts.
Barons.
Knights.
Esquires.
Gentlemen.

Banneret.
Baron.
Bachelier.

Finall, to what end,
to wit,

Service done, and to be done, to the King, and Commonweale.

NOBILITY political. is a Dignitie bestowed by Soueraigne Grace, vpon Persons of Vertue or ability, for life, or for euer, whereby a Man exempted and raised by Degrees, becomes lawfully preferred aboue the vulgar Peopie, the better to doe service to the King and Commonwealth.

Est, aliquid clarus Magnorum splendor Auorum,
Illud Posteritas æmula calcar habet.

The

Mattheo Senarega a man of great account among the Geneways, struing to per-
turbation.

There are many to visit as will all agree men, when they are grieved on his ol-
dinate opinion.

The new faction prevailed by generally voice against the old, by the means of Senarega.

All fires and tempests in tumults calmy by overblowing, by the di-
verse endeavours of Senarega.

infinitely displeasing to *Mattheo Senarega*, a Citizen of most eminent authority, and who (at that time) was great Chancellor, and chiefe Secretarie of the Common-wealth; also had beene principall of the new side more then once, and both of the publike & priuate Councell; with very singular Eloquence hee intreated them, affirming, that it was not well, that such diuersitie of interests and priuate respects, should haue life in one and the same City: shewing also by liuely reasons, how auailable it was to euery man, and likewise profitable for the State, that all should conuerse and like mutually together.

But the words and euident reasons of *Senarega*, failing of sufficient efficacie, puffed vp the olde side with greater oblinacie, yet drew a farre better opinion of the new, prouoking so farre to defend them, that oftentimes he was in danger of his life among them. For the old side did greatly enuie, that the authoritie of *Senarega* should reach to such a height, that in him onely should be reposed, the efficacie of the publike and priuate gouernement. Neuerthelesse, *Senarega* opposing their pernicious demonstrations with wonderfull wisdom, mooued especially (as the same went) by a generous dislike, wrought in such fort, that the new side assumed the chiefe place in gouernement, excluding (well-neare) all the olde, constraining them to forsake their Countrey, if they attempted any Armes or violence against the new side.

These words would much haue stirred the Common-wealth, if *Senarega*, foreseeing the weighty perill, and preferring the publike good of all (being most iustly to be affected) before any priuate respect whatsoever, had not bridled the head-strong course of intended hostilitie. Wherefore hee wrought so painfullly with the *Geneways* themselves, the Emperour, the King of *Spaine*, and especially with Pope *Gregorie* the thirteenth, all fauoring him with their helpfull assistance, as the tumults in the City were quered, and after some few depetrate accidents, the furie of Armes was quite blisled, wherein both the faithfullnesse of *Senarega*, and his admirable wisdom euidently appeared. Hee be-

ing appointed (by vniuersall consent) Ambassadour to *Rome*, with infinite prouidence and care (to the honour of the Common-wealth, and his owne great reputation) discretely qualified both factions, already growne to such a head on either side, both by power and maleuolence; as not onely threatened danger to the Countrey it selfe, but likewise to haue filled all *Italy* with innumerable calamities and confusions; whereof the Pope (by his Breues) deliuered most honourable testimonie, writing the allos of *Senarega* to the * *Doge*, as also to the Procurators of the Common-wealth of *Geneway*.

The great Councell.

From the whole bodie of the before-recited Families, is congregated a Councell of foure hundred persons verry, who together with the Duke and the Gouernours, haue the charge of the Common-wealth in their power. This Councell maketh election of the Duke, and of the eight Gouernours, (because the Gouernours are the iust number of eight) and haue care of the State for two yeares continuance. They mannage matters of importance, and concerning generall good, as also for the conseruation of the Seignorie: and these Gouernours (with the Duke) are properly called the *Signoria*. But and if they are at any time to handle some occasions, which are not so important and weightie, but of meaner consideration: The *Signoria* haue a lesser Councell in readie seruice, consisting of an hundred men of the Nobilitie, elected by the *Signoria* by lotterie, and out of the maine bodie of the foresayd foure hundred.

The Duke.

The head or chiefe of the Common-wealth is the Duke, because he hath the Title and Honour which appertaine vnto him: and it is an ancient degree in the City, whereto by varietie of times, diuers persons haue attained, but not by any course of Lawe. He continueth for two yeares, and in all that time of his authoritie,

* A Title long only to the Duke of Venice and Geneway.

A Councell consisting of 400. persons, and what auantage they haue.

The Signoria or dominion of Geneway.

A lesser councell of an hundred Noblemen.

The most eminent Officers in the Common-wealth, as the authoritie endureth but a yeare.

Whereto the Duke hath above all other.

In what manner the Duke is elected on January 3 day.

Whereto is a kind of chiefe by lotterie, one hundred families, while each family is in the ballott, which he should have in the same manner.

thority, he dwelleth in the publike Pallace, hauing five hundred high *Germines* as his Guard, representing heere in the forme of an absolute Soueraignetie. At the beginning of the assumption of his magistracie, for two dayes hee is clothed in his Ducall ornaments; but afterward, and the whole consistence of his regiment, hee weareth other habites, but yet of Velvet or crimson Sattin, and sometime purple. His authoritie is very important, because hee onely, and not any other, may propound what cause hee wil in Councell and in the Senate, which is forbidden vnto any other Senatour. Whereupon, whosoever would record any Lawe to the Common-wealth, or else propound a motion of some important matter, he must break it to the duke, and passe it by his meanes.

The manner of the Dukes elections is thus: The third day of the month of January, the Senate doth assemble with the lesser Councell, without the person of the passed Duke; because hee hauing ended his Office of two yeares, returneth the first day of January home to his own house as a priuate person, and remaineth a Procurator all his life time. The lesser Councell with the Senate, doe elect among them (by ballott) eight and twenty Noblemen, one for each Familie, who so soone as they are chosen, are called into the Pallace, and there shut vpp in a place by themselves, and there, together with those Senatours, who eyther in regard of age, or by continuance of the Families are not capable of the dukedome: they elect eightene men amongst themselves, one for a Familie; and those eightene, together with the same Senatours, doe elect another eight and twentie, which eight and twentie are called, and being lockt vp with the foresayde Senatours, they proceede by ballotting them that are to bee propounded to the Councell to be Duke. But heere you must know, that they may propound no more to the great Councell, but foure persons onely, and in the election of that number, it is necessarie, that the eight and twentie doe agree in two third parts among themselves, with the part of the foresaid Senatours. This being agreed betwene them, before they come forth of the Consistorie, they elect ano-

ther eight and twenty, one for each Familie, who returne together with them, from ballotting the foresaid foure. And they rise from their Election with the two thirds, and put in place of him or them (not formerly approued) one, or more, but of the number of the Senate: which being done, the Councell meete together, and they propound the names of the foure men concluded on and elected by the Electors: whereupon, hee of the foure that hath the most ballotts, is named for Duke. And at the time when I wrote this discourse in that honourable degree of Duke, was chosen the most courteous and famous Lord, *Paulo Baptista Caluo*, sometime a Iudge, a most worthy man, for goodnesse of life, and practise in the worlds occasions.

Of the eight Gouernours.

There sit vpon the Bench (with the Duke) eight Gouernours, as his counsellors, and their Office doth endure for two yeares: and they, with the duke are named the *Signoria*, and gouerne the Common-wealth. All these together cannot deliberate on any thing, where in the interest of the people is concerned, or of any chiefe important busines; but they call for the ayde of the Great Councell. These Gouernours are elected by two at a time, at fixe and fixe months; and their elections made in this manner.

The lesser Councell and the Duke being assembled together, they elect eight and twenty men, one for euery Familie, who being chosen by the Senate and Duke, doe propound sometimes twelue, sometimes foureteeene men to the great Councell; who (by ballotting) doe make election of one of them at a time. The next day following, they obserue the same order in electing the second, to wit, the lesser Councell doe elect another eight and twenty, and that eight and twenty performe the rest as hath bene said. Every one of the eight Gouernours ending his office, remayneth Procurator or Attorney for two yeares space: so that in the Colledge of the Proctors, there are alwayes eight, that stand for the gouernement of the Common-wealth; and all these come into the Senate with the duke, and with the eight Gouernours, delibera-

Paulo Baptista Caluo, the Duke of Geneway.

Counsellors sitting on the Bench with the Duke.

The manner how the Gouernours are chosen by the Duke and lesser Councell.

Procurators alwayes sitting the Common-wealth.

deliberating together on important matters; and thus with these Gouvernours & the Duke consisteth the whole summe of the State. Two of them haue abiding in the Pallace, the other keepe at their owne houses; and they change by turnes two at a time, at three months, and three months.

Of the Procurators or Proctors.

Concerning these Proctors, some of them liuing, doe come to be in the Office of Duke, and some doe remaine in charge but two yeares, and they are such as haue bene Gouvernours. They haue care for procuring all publike occasions, collecting the rents and reuenues, and other such like businesse; being men of chiefe reputation, and of no meane importance.

Of the Potestate or Proctor.

Al the forenamed Magistrats, do attend vpon the gouernement of the Common-wealth. Next now, concerning matters of Iustice and Iudgement (speaking first of criminall causes) they are guided and ordered in common by a Potestate, who is a doctor, and they graunt him an honourable stipend. He hath his residence in a Pallace, which is neare to the Dukes, and he heareth and iudgeth all offences happening; but can assigne no capitall punishment, without consent of the Senate. Two other Doctors, being strangers also, doe assist him; whereof the one is called the Iudge of Malefactours, and the other Fiscalitor Atturney generall; and by the ayde of these two Iudges, all proccesse and suites are formed against guilty persons, dealing also in cases of like nature. Beside these afore-named, the Potestate hath his Vicar, who attendeth vpon Civile causes, onely executiue.

Of the extraordinarie Office.

There is an Office of seauen men, called Extraordinarie, and these do represent (as it were) the Princes person, because he is busied in administration of the Common wealth. Their care consisteth, in reforming and proroung of

variances, and granting tutors to Schollers. And because contention is forbidden betweene Parents and Parents, and betweene poore and rich by ordination: these men doe appoynt what magistrate they meete, to heare offending parent and kindred, as also the strifes betweene poore and rich. Their Office continueth the space of fixe months, and is of much dignitie.

Of the five supreme Sindicators.

There is also a Magistracie, wherein are five men, called supreme Sindicators; They haue authority to arraigne, not onely the Duke, but the Gouvernours also, after the expiration of their charge; and they haue the like power ouer all other magistrats of the Common-wealth, to punish both the Duke and Gouvernours, finding them to bee delinquent.

And when the Duke is out of his Office, and that the Gouvernours haue fulfilled their magistracie; a Proclamation is published by these Supreme Sindicators. That if any man haue ought to charge the Duke withall, or the Gouvernours, let them appeare in their presence, and Iustice shall be done them. In which respect, the Duke and Gouvernours haue eight dayes assigned them for this scindication; which beeing past, and they found in error, they are punished: but being innocent, they haue a Pattennt assigned them of their innocence, whereby they are after called to be Proctors; because they cannot enter as Proctors, except they haue the Pattennt from those Supreme men, to allow their expedition. Finally, the greatnesse of this Office is such, that the Common-wealth is elected for one of these Supreme Sindicators, the Prince *Andrea Doria*, the deliuerer of his Countrey. They are elected by the lesser Councell, with the Senate, and sit in the Pallace next to the Senate, for their respect.

Of the Rota.

Because wee haue formerly spoken of Criminall occasions, now let vs say somewhat concerning ciuile causes. Wherein ye are to know, that the Common-wealth doe make choice of five doctours,

Such as sit and arrange the Offices of higheste moment: for their off use

Care for inuention & such as deale in all professions.

Consults the chiefe men of every vnde.

The Duke and Gouvernours haue eight dayes for this scindication.

The militarie garde & defence of the Countie, and thereto ready preparation in times of needfull want.

Other Doctours being chosen, as pointed out in ciuile causes.

tors, forraignes or strangers, at euery 2. yeares, which bodie of authoritie is called *Rota*. These men attend vpon Ciuile causes onely, and dwell in the Dukes pallace: All such matters as they censure on, are guided by ordinarie course of the Imperiall Lawes, forming their Proccesse and suite, according to the iudiciarie order appointed for the Cittie, which is after the auncient maner.

Of the Censors.

Now, as concerning Arts, Trades and Mysteries, Censors are appoynted to that charge. These men do provide, that buyers, sellers, and all such as trafficke in handi-crafts, shall haue measures, weights, and all things else to them belonging, iust, and according to the auncient Lawes. And here we are to obserue, that euery Art hath chiefe or head men, who are called Confulles, which make election of Artists amongst them. These Confulles haue authoritie in the matters of their Artes, and amongst these Confulles, such as deale in silks, may command much ouer their men: so that their power extendeth, to put them to the halter, to banish them, and perforce fend them to the Gallies, or to giue other cōligations to delinquents.

Of forty Capitaines.

In the Cittie of Geneway there are forty Capitaines, of the number and bodie of the Nobilitie, and they are changed euery yeare. These men haue vnder them an hundred men (for one) of the people, so that they make (in all) foure thousand persons, and the Common-wealth is serued by them at all occasions. For they make a garde in time of the least suspicion; and when the *signoria* is abroad, these fortie Capitaines (bearing them company) are all clothed in Veluet, goodly and honourable ornaments, meete to attend on so great Lords. Moreover, all men in the Cittie, and the whole Burrough, that are apt to carrie Armes, are registered downe, from the age of twentie, to threescor, and are reduced vnder the gouernment of those Capitains, who (with them) stand alwayes obliged to be readly armed with weapons in hand, according to the auncient custome ordained.

Of the Generall.

The Common-wealth hath continually a Generall, who is appoynted for Armes, to serue in all occurrences, and in times of warre. At this instant it enioyeth (well deseruing such a degree, and to the satisfaction of all the Nobilitie, much pleasing to the whole hoast of Souldiers, and vniuersall liking of the people) the Lord *Agustino Spinola*, a most honourable and valiant Gentleman of that Cittie, full of incomparable bountie and knowledge, not onely in the occasions of Armes, but for all managements of the world beside.

Of the Office of Saint George.

The Office and Magistracie of Saint George, most noble among all the rest in the Cittie, was ordained in the yeare, 1407. It is now (by length of time) the conseruation of that Common-wealth, which, in those younger dayes had not any naturall riches or wealth, fitting the qualite of such a Countrey: yet notwithstanding, it wanted not men of quicke and apprehensiu iudgement, to find out the way, and forme some means for procuring of moneys, that might arise to common vse: whereupon, they that liued in those auncient yeares, and gouerned the publike occasions, tooke vp moneys of particular persons, some by constraint, others with much willingness. And true it is, that in this money matter, such private persons as disbursed any summes, the publike vse payed them, tenne, nine, eight and seauen in the hundred, according to the varietie of times, to the end, that they might not suffer any endammaging, by such seruice as they did for publike benefit.

Proceeding in this course, it made men willing, ready and cautious, in seeking security for their moneys, dayly put into the publike Banque, by selling to some (as for example) the power and in risktion of toll for meates, to others, the imposts of wines, and to others the taxations layd on corne. And these contracts made both in publike and particular, was learned among them Bargaining and Buying, as when particular men bought any thing of the common fort, or in generall.

Bbb And

Augustino Spinola, General of the Geneway forces.

At what time the Office of Saint George beganne.

Provision for money at lawes in bank, for the cities vice.

Great stocks of one arising out of meane and pouer beginning.

The Proctors are of the higheste dignitie at all.

The Potestate is an Office chosen also, and not of the city.

Two Iudges more as his assistants.

Seauen men termed Extraordinarie Officers, & who are in charge in.

The begin-
ning of tra-
ding and so
on in Gene-
way, early by
the Banquers
that lent out
monies to vic

And it was ordained, that whosoever disbursed an hundred pounds, hee was said to hold one place among the buyers: he that disbursed two hundred, had two places; and hee for three hundred, three, and so it passed from hand to hand. So that this kinde of commerce and vñance multiplied greatly, and had names of diuers ordinations; as of the Capitoll, of Saint *Pauls*, and others of their profession, by dealing in Sale, and diuers other beside, whose Titles and Names grew by their trading, and helde correspondencie particularly among the best Citizens, hauing care for iust payments, and the dues of the profitees, with consideration of the Banquer, who alwayes ordered the contracts made publicly or priuately. Heereupon, the number of dealers daily encreasing, both by forraigne Nations and home-bred friends, which required diuersitie of Gouvernours and Quer-seers, and which else would grow to great confusion: it was therefore ordered by the *Signoria*, that all the Banquers should bee reduced and vñited into one absolute Societie, and named the Company of Saint *George*.

Eight prote-
ctors or Quer-
seers of the
Banquer,
hauing com-
mending and
allowances

Being thus ordained, they were also appointed to bee governed by eight Citizens from yeare to yeare, who provided and gaue order, how the Banquers should let out their monies, and receive in their interests and allowances, whereby they held the eminencie in the Office of Saint *George*. And in regard they perceived, that this Office governed these matters with wisdom and iustice, businesse daily encreasing, and the number of places supplied by new persons: alienation of profits grew among the Commons, and the charge of the Office euery way to be greater, by reason of lands and communities interested with them, so that the Office attained to many priuiledges: first, by the *Signoria* of Geneway, and afterward of many Popes, Emperors and great Lordes, which came to dominion in the City: So that the Office of Saint *George*, although it depended on the common people, as also the *Signoria* of Geneway: yet all that came to the gouernement or Seignourie of the Citie, were bound to conferre the Priuiledges of the Magistracie of Saint *George*, and to maintaine it. And because (naturally)

The daily in-
creasing of
the Office of
Saint *George*.

things take original of weake beginnings, and so in processe of time attayne to perfection: euen so did this magistreriall Office, being much better ruled now, then it could be at the beginning.

First, in answering the profitees to all Banquers, they are not to determinate nor certayne, as at the original: but yet according to the proportion of former allowances, lesse or more, and according vnto expences for the conseruation of things of especiall care, and according to the fruitfulnessse of tolles and taxations, beside diuers other benefices, assigned by the Commons to the Banquers: they are farre more secure, and more neatly qualified, concerning mens consciences.

Moresouer, this place hath obtrayned Seignoury and dominion by many good and sufficient allowances, which it could not haue at the beginning. Beside, euery way are made new rules and orders, whereby there is farre better expedition of Causes, for the punishing of delinquents, and submission of the people to gouernement.

And whosoever doeth consider the high account of this Magistracie, shall finde the body of the Citie; thereby to containe in it selfe two communities, the one great, the other lesse. The great is governed by the Pallace, and comprehendeth all the City; the lesse is gouerned by Saint *George* onely, as concerning the occasions before remembered, and comprehendeth all the Banquers and changers.

The first Communitie, or the greater, is subiect to variation, and is many times vnder regiment, rather to bee rearm'd Tyrannicall then otherwise: but the lesse is alwayes free, firme, and vnder the Citizens. And certainly, which is a matter admirable, and rarely found, eyther by Philosophers or others, that haue discoursed on causes concerning Common-weales, to obserue: that within the circuite of one and the same wall, and all at a time, there should be tyrannie and liberty, life ciuile and corrupt, iustice and licence.

of

The begin-
ning of any
affaires, and
helpe to be
by the force
of times, and
to at times
to integre.

Two Commu-
nities in Ge-
neway, and
how they are
gouerned.

A note well
worthy to be
remembered.

Of eight Protectors of the Office of Saint George.

The manner
of electing the
new Protec-
tors of Saint
George.

Concerning this Office of S. *George*, there are eight men appoynted to gouerne it, who are called Protectours. They continue for a yeare, and are elected euery six months foure times, by the whole number of the Banquers, or Creditors for lands, & Creditors for letting forth certain sums, after this manner. Among the whole number of City Creditors, by lot are chosen 80. men, who meeting together soone after their election, they make a surmey among al those foure score, and select out of them foure and twenty by balloting, who being that vp in a roome by themselves: they may not sinder or depart, till they haue ballotted for the eight Protectors, and in this ballotterie, fixteene ballots doe confirme the election.

Another Of-
fice called of
four and four-
ty, being cho-
sen out of a
hundred.

In the yeare 1444. an other Office was made of Saint *George*, consisting of men, which was then called the Office of foure and fortie, in regard of a thousand, out of which number they were created. The occasion of creating these eight men, was, that being the space of thirty seven yeres, the Office so encreased and augmented, that the eight Protectors could not (in a whole yeare) terminate nor restrain the busie occasions happening, whereby the emoluments and interells of some creditors arose to great, and other monies in diuerse manners: it was thought fit (for setting downe good order to such Remaines, which were (in effect) the riches and substance of the office) that a necessary participation of the guines should be digested, for the creation of such as should helpe in this prouident care, for generall vñitie of the Office of Saint *George*, and yet to be carried in secret manner, for taking away all occasion of tyranny. And so eight Citizens were chosen: of which two are changed yearly: and they take charge of collecting and gouerning such over-plusses as do arise yearly, by the managements of the eight Protectors.

*An Idle in-
crease of the
City.

This Office hath vnder protection the Ille of *Corfica*, and many other Citties and important places: and thence ensueth the expences layd out for their conseruation.

CHAP. II.

An excellent Relation, concerning the estate of Religion and Common wealth, which was obserued among the Iewes.



It is not to bee doubted; but by the singular counsell of our eternall God, the Father of our Lord Iesus Christ, who created mankind, whereby a Church might bee assembled and congregated: a perpetual historie concerning the creation of things, was given to men.

And although that the Philosopher *Democritus*, and others like to him, dreamed of an eternitie of a former world, or else of innumerable worlds, and made a mockerie at the beginning of things, and thought such a recital to be but fabulous: yet notwithstanding wee holde them to be most true, considering, that Almighty GOD approoued the Writings of *Moses* by apparant testimonies, as by the raising vp of the dead and others.

Democritus
dreaming of a
former world,
not innume-
rable worlds

Now, albeit wee receive the ancient Historie of the Church, and singularly allow it for the Diuine authorities: yet there are many more Euidences of truth besides; for, the ancient names of people, doe agree with the succession of the Fathers that related them, and the order of Empires hath bene such, as they were foretold to be, and so should be in their succeeding times.

The ancient
authorie of the
Church.

The Propheticall Historie then is the truest, and the most ancient of all other; and the reason of that continued Historie, was, not onely to let vs know the beginning of mankind: but much more to nothie vnto vs, the Promises of the Sonne of God, and to giue vs certainty of the first, and no way to be corrupted doctrine of God, and of the reifications to oftentimes rendered to other by that doctrine, what the gouernement of the Church hath bene; for it

The propheti-
cal Historie
the truest and
most ancient.

was preferred in the diuersitie of tumults amongst Empires, like to a Shippe floating vpon raging and tempestuous billows, what the battailes of the Church haue bene, and the exercises of Faith.

Now, it was a great blessing of God, that hee gaue a certaine seating vnto his Church, euen as an Academie, for more then sixteene hundred yeares in a commodious place, betwene two most potent Kingdomes of *Egypt* and *Babylon*, to the end, that throughout them both the voyce of his doctrine might be heard. There the Promises were repeated, and the Miracles adiuſed, which are witness of the presence of God: whose will was to haue those things set downe in writing, to the end that Posteritie might be informed by true doctrine, in the conflicts of the Church, and her manifold recoueries.

And although nothing is found in writing by publike authority, touching the last times yet notwithstanding, our Lord was careful to haue the latter Historie knowne, which hath bene declared partly by *Isephus*, and partly by *Philo*, whereof I haue made a collection, because the more studious might enioy a continuall Historie of the Iewish people, euen to the destruction of *Ierusalem*. And it pleased God, that a continued successe of histories should remaine to men: for seeing that Propheticall histories reached so farre as the reigne of the Persians, or to King *Cyrus*; the Greeke and Latine histories afterward, reported the great mutations of the following Empires, which also was seconded after by the Apostles writings, concerning the Sonne of God, borne of the Virgine *Marye*, crucified and raised againe; and after the Apostles, *Enselmus*, *Epiphanius*, and *Nicephorus* pursued in the Ecclesiasticall History. Wherein I make no doubt, but all such as are well aduised, will confesse, that the knowledge of the order of Times is necessarie, to vnderstand when the Doctrine was reuealed, the Sonne of God manifested, the Church congregated in diuers kinds, sometimes agitated by tempestuous stormes; and yet (after all) graciously deliuered. Wherefore, let vs giue thanks to God, for bestowing on men the continuall Historie of his Sonne; and let vs keepe such Writings religiously: where-

in hauing taken some paines, I hope it will proue pleasing to all Christian Readers.

The beginning of the Catalogue is the continuation of foueraigne Sacrificers, or high-Priests that gouerned the Iewish people, after their returne from *Babylon*, with the princes issued of the race Royall.

The first Familie being the Posteritie of Iesus.

CHAP. III.

A Catalogue of the High-Priests; or foueraigne Sacrificers, beginning with Seraia and his sonne Iosedech.

BOth these were led captiue into *Babylon*, by *Nabuchodonosor* King of the Chaldeans, and dyed in exile.

Iosuah or *Iesus*, the sonne of *Iosedech*, came backe into *Iudea* with the Prince *Zorobabell*, six hundred and thirtie yeares before the Natiuitie of Christ. He liued vnder the Kings of *Persia*, *Cyrus*, *Cambyses*, *Darius* the sonne of *Hystaspes*, *Xerxes*, euen to the twentieth yeare of *Artaxerxes*, *Long-hand*, and presided (as chiefe Priest) first sixe and thirty yeares. Afterward, in regarde that the building of the Temple was hindered, he went into *Babylon* to *Darius*, the sonne of *Hystaspes*, whom the Holy Historie nameth *Assuerus*, and was absent the space of eight yeares. After his returne hee was twenty yeares more in the high-Priesthood. *Philo* is of opinion, that he wrote the Historie of *Iudub*, which others (newerthelesse) holde to be more ancient.

The

The sonne of Iesus was Iosachim.

Iosachim helde the Priest-hood eight yeeres, in the absence of his brother, and eight and fortie yeeres after his death. Hee liued vnder *Long-hand*, and *Darius* the Ballard, vntill the twelfth yeare of *Artaxerxes* *Assuerus*, who was also named *Atanaxer*; hee did set downe in writing the Historie of *Hister*, and the memorie of *Pharim* was by him instituted, as *Philo* writeth.

Eliashib was his sonne, who was in Office of the Soueraigne Priest-hood one and twentie yeares, vntill the foure and thirtieth yeere of the reigne of *Artaxerxes* *Atanaxer*.

Iudas or *Iosida* sonne to him, was high-Priest foure and twenty yeares; vntill the third yeare of the reigne of *Darius*, who succeeded next to *Atanaxer*.

Iohn and *Iesus* were his sonnes, the latter whereof beeing fiered with ambition, insinuated himselfe (by the power of gifts) into the fauour of *Vageses*, Satrape of *Persia*, to take (by his helpe) the chiefe Priest-hood from his Brother: But immediately hee payed the penaltie due vnto his wicked presumption; for in a debate and blowes being moued in the temple, he was slaine by his brother. Heere was the beginning of the enuils in *Iudea*, about an hundred, sixtie and seauen yeares, after the returne from *Babylon*.

Iohn hauing murdered his brother *Iesus* in the Temple, was the cause of bringing the people into a miserable seruitude. For, the Satrape *Vageses* being aduertised of the death of his friend *Iesus*, entred with a mightie Armie into *Ierusalem*, prophaned and pillled the Temple, saying, That he might aswell doe so, as the high-Priest to foyle it with the blood of his owne Brother: he collected the tribute money rigorously for the space of seauen yeares together, proceeding therein to lare, as forcing the Iewes to pay an hundred crownes of the Sonne, for every beast that they sacrificed. *Iohn* held the high-Priest hood foure and twenty yeares, euen vnto the death of *Ochus*, and the beginning of the reigne of *Artanes*.

His Sonnes were Iaddus and Atanassies.

Manasses following the example of *Ieremias*, to strengthen himselfe against his brother, made alliance with *Sannabulat* the Chutean, sent Satrape by the last *Darius* into *Samaria*, and tooke to wife his daughter *Nicoſsa*. But in regard of this vnlawfull marriage, hee was repulſed from the Sacerdotal Office, with diuerſe others for the same cause. Beeing bereft of the Priest-hood, hee made his recourse to his Father in lawe in *Samaria*, who after he had obayne leaue of *Alexander* the Great, builded a new Temple vpon an high mountaine in *Samaria* called *Garizim*, shaping it after the forme and magnificence of that at *Ierusalem*, and there hee caused his sonne *Manasses* to reside.

This diuision of High-Priests, was afterwards the cause of great tumults in *Iudea*; for, as all they which were expelled from *Ierusalem*, for transgressing the Ceremonies of *Moses* Lawe, as also for some other offences, betooke themselves to this new Temple: in a short time after, they grew to such an head and strength, that inciting those Sacrificers, Apostates and Samaritans against the Iewes: it likewise gaue occasion to many riotous courtes and theueries on either side.

Nothing was found by posteritie of this *Manasses*: but two hundred yeares after, the Temple on this Mount of *Garizim* was destroyed from the toppe to the bottome, by *Iohn Hircanus*, sonne vnto *Simon* the *Asmonean*, and Successor to him.

Iaddus administered the high-Priesthood for seauen and twentie yeares, vnder *Artanes*, and the latter *Darius*, euen to the time of *Alexander* the Great. Hee deſerued his brother *Manasses* (and the rest) of the right of Priesthood, because contrary to the Law of Almighty God they had married with strange women. Vnder *Alexander* the Great beleagued the Citie of *Tyre*, hee demanded aide and tribute of this *Iaddus*, such as the Iewes had formerly payed to the Persians. Vnto what he returned answer, That in the life time of *Darius* (to whom hee tooke his oath)

BBb 3 he

The great blessing of God vpon his Church.

Concerning the Iudub of Iosephus.

Prophetically Iosuah reached to the time of Christ King of Persia

The Church from many stormes happily deliuered

Iaddus and Manasses sons to Iohn.

A new Temple build on another mountaine in Samaria.

Great troubles and contentions betweene the two Temples.

Iosuah deſerued his brother Manasses (and the rest) of the right of the Priesthood.

The answer of Iaddus to Alexander the Great concerning aide and tribute.

he neuer acknowledged any other Lord, because that the Iewish Nation had been tributarie to the Kings of *Persia*, almost euer since their returne from *Babylon*. *Alexander* growing angry at such an answer; after the taking in of *Tyre* and *Gaza*, mounted vp to *Ierusalem* with his Armies, intending to subiugate the Iewes by strength of Armes.

But *Iadus* being thereof admonished in a drea^m, tooke his Priestlike garments, and went to mee^t him in great humilitie, accompanied with all the Sacrificers and Citizens. *Alexander* beholding the Soueraigne high Priest, alighted on his feete, and gaue vnto him reuerend adoration. Being demanded what should moue him to reuerence an enemy, that came with submissiue entreatie vnto him: hee replied: *As the time of my abiding in Macedon, and thinking on the Empire of Asia, a man was presented to mee in my sleepe, in the same or like habit as the High Priest weares, who perswaded mee to undertake the expedition of Asia, and gaue mee good hope of prosperous success.*

When hee was entred the Cittie, he was so farre from offering the least talke of an enemy, that, after hee had sacrificed, he adorned the Temple with magnificent giftes, and at his departing hee gaue them libertie to vse the Lawe of their Fore-fathers, and the immunities of the seauenth yeare, wherein the fields were not sowne.

*The sonnes of Iadua were Onias
and Manasses.*

Concerning *Manasses*, we read not any thing, but that hee succeeded next to his Nephew *Iezabaz*, and was a friend to *Seleucus Galliticus*, and that vnder his gouernement, the Samaritanes being displeased at the Iewes in despite of the Temple, and seruices there performed, they put to fire and sword the whole territory of *Ierusalem*. Some are of opinion, that this man was not the brother to *Onias*, but rather the brother vnto his wife, and make thereabout some controvertic.

*A Catalogue of the High Priests Oni, as
called the Ancient.*

IN this mans time, *Ptolomie*, the sonne of *Lagus*, desiring to make the people of the *Iewes* become tributarie; as hee entred vpon a Sabaoth day into the Citie of *Ierusalem*, to offer Sacrifice (the *Iewes* not daring to take Arms, for feare of doing contrary to the Law) vsed great cruelty against the Inhabitants, of whom he led away into *Egypt* some thousand, as captiues and hostages.

*The Sonnes of Onias were Simon
and Eleazar.*

Simon was named *Iustus*, for pietie and benignitie towards his Nation. The Jewes enjoyed peace vnder him, all the while as the Succelours of *Alexander the great*, *Antigon*, *Demetrius*, *Seleucus* and the rest, fought in *Asia* and *Greece* for the Monarchie.

Eleazar succeeded after his brother *Simon*, as Tutor to *Onias* the second, being as yet a child. In his time, *Ptolomie Philadelphus* enfranchised above an hundred thousand Jewish slaves, led into *Egypt*, partly by the Kings of *Persia*, partly by his father *Ptolomie* the sonne of *Lagus*.

Moreover, he sent Ambassadors with magnificent Presents to *Eleazar* the high Priest, requesting to have three score and twelve *Lewes*, that could translate the Writings of *Moses* and the Prophets, out of the Hebrew language into the Greeke. When being done, hee sent them backe againe with great giftes, and a Table of golde dedicated to the Temple, and other Presents of especiall value. His vnckle *Manassés* succeeded after his death; vnckle by the mother only, according to some: for the Greeke word signifieth vnckle both by father and mother.

Simon had three sonnes; *Toloth*, whom *Philo* and *Saint Luke* in his third chapter calleth *Matthias*; *Ioseph*, that pacified *Ptolomie*. And *Annas* *Ithyranus*, the last Prince of the Iewish people, of the Lineage of *Iuda*, and house of *Dauid*: who slew himselfe, for feare of *Antiochus* the Noble.

After this man, the high Priests drew vnto themselves the gouerning in all affaires.

The daughter of *Simon* the high
Priest

The crucible
of its future
against the
law.

Simon affirmed
that he was
gracious
to his nation.

An hundred
thousand Jews
kept in slave y
for at his rig
by Ptoleme
Philadelphus

Onus com-
mended for
pity and ju-
stice.

The 3 sonnes
of Simon, and
a daughter
also.

He intends
to seize
on the wealth
and treasure
of the temple

Priest, was married to *Tobias*, of the house of *David*.

Onias being left a child by his Father, at last, in his age succeeded to *Mannasses* in the High-Priest-hood. By his avarice he offended *Ptolemy*, King of *Egypt*, and raised him in rage against the *Jews*, because he refused to pay the ordinary tribute. For the High-Priests were wont to pay their revenues yearly to the Kings of *Egypt*, for their Citizens, amounting to twenty Talents, that is, twelve thousand crowns of the Sunne. But *Joseph* afterward appeased *Ptolemy*, who was Nephew to *Onias* by the Sisters side, a Prince of the posterity of *David*.

Onias succeeded his sonne Simon.

Philo faith, that he was surnamed *Iustus*. Under him, *Iesus* the Sonne of *Syrach* wrote his Book called *Ecclesiasticus*. And that *Simon* had three sonnes also, who (each after other) obtaigned the Priesthood, which *Iosephus* telltlieth apparently. The Sonnes of *Simon* were.

*Onias. Iesus, otherwise called Iason. Onias,
also called Menelaus.*

The great *Onias* is commended in the second Booke of the *Macchabees*, for his piety and iustice, and is said, that hee was a friend to *Selenechus*, Brother to *Antiochus* the Noble; who sometimes furnished all necessary affaires in the Temple, with the reuenues of the Realme of Syria. But afterward, another man, called *Sinnus*, who had the charge of keeping the Temple, hauing conceyued malice against *Onias*, the high-Priest; reported to King *Selenechus*, that there was an infinite maffe of gold hidden in the Temple, which the Priests applied to their own private vses. And this was the cause, that the king would no longer furnish the Temple with the wonted monyes; but also sent *Heliadorus*, to make seizure on the wealth, and commit it to the Kings Treasury. But as hee would haue audaciously haue entered (with his followers) into the secret place of the Temple, hee was smitten downe, & very neere dead; yet recovered againe by diuine mercy, and by the prayers of *Onias*.

Afterward, the discord to increased be-

tween the Prince of the high-Priests, and the Taitor *Simon*, that many murders were committed by the friends of *Simon*: which made *Omas* to retire himselfe towards the King *Seleucus*, and gave way to the fury of his enemies. But before *Omas* could get thither, *Seleucus* was dead, and *Isafon*, Brother to *Omas*, had obtained by bribes and gifts to *Antiochus* the Noble (succeeding the deceased King) the administration of the high-Priests office. Whereupon, *Omas* doubting King *Antiochus* as much as his Brother; durst not go to him, but went to a free place, neere to *Daphne*, a city of *Syria*, & being drawne thither by deceitfull means, was also slain by *Andronicus*, Lieutenant to the King, and at the request of *Menelaus* who *Isafon* having expulſed, poſſeſſed himſelfe of the high Priests Office, as hereafter ſhall be declared.

*The Sonne of this Onias the Great,
was Onias.*

Onias being left young at his Fathers death, and afterward growing to more ripeness of years; standing in care of *Alcinus* the high-Priest, he fled into *Egypt* to *Ptolomy Philometor*, accompanied with some of his fellow-citizens. There *Ptolomy* gave him permission, to build a Towne and a Temple, in the Territory of *Heliopolis*, in reſemblance of that at *Jerusalem*; which was called *Onion*, five great miles from *Memphis*, now called the great *Cayra*. For in regard that *Ptolomy* waged warre with *Antiochus* the Noble, and stood in need of his neighbours succours, he was persuaded by *Onias* to build a Temple, as if by that means, all the people of the *Iewes* would league with the Kings of *Egypt*, & take their part. About 30. yeares after this Temple was built, at the same time as the City and Temple of *Jerusalem* were ruined it was also despoyled of all her Jewels, and flut vp by Ediel from *Tyrus* into the Emperour.

*The Sonnes of this Onias, dwelling in Egypt,
were Helchias and Ananias.*

These two Brethren, being Colonels
of the *Egyptians* Army, ayded valiantly
Cleopatra, so that her Sonne *Lathur* be-
ing excluded, she obtayned the kingdom.

Jason getting
the High
Priests Office
from his bro-
ther Onias.

The murder
of great Uni-

Onias fled into Egypt, to Ptolemy Philometor.

The building
of a new tem-
ple in Egypt.

The two brethren
Commanders of
the Egyptian
Army.

But after that *Ptolomy* had recollected his forces, and passing into *Egipt* through *Iudea*, *Helchus* putting him to flight with his Army, died in *Syria* of a sharpe disease. For the rest, we reade nothing of the posterity of the high-Priests of *Egipt*.

Iefus, named *Iafon* also, second Sonne to *Simon*, after the death of *Seleuchus*, bought of *Antiochus*, brother and successor to *Seleuchus*, the high-Priesthood, for five hundred Talents, that is to say, three Tunnes of gold, as wee speake vulgarly; promising him beside as an over-plus, forty eight thousand crownes of the Sun, as an annual tribute. And to gaine himselfe more grace with this wicked King, he builded places in *Ierusalem*, for the exercising of young people, in such pastimes as he had instituted; and these were to bee performed, at such times as the people vied to meete in the Temple. He received and magnificently entertained *Antiochus Epiphines* with his Army, with Lamps and flaming fires, & songs composed in praise of the King; and this was at such time as the King departing thence, planted Garrisons of strength in the Fortresses of *Ierusalem*, and this was but a beginning to the intolerable seruitude which afterward followed.

Iafon hauing enjoyed the high-Priesthood three yeares, sent his Brother *Menelaus* with gold and great charge to *Antiochus*; but now hee prouided to be payed with coyne of the same stampe, as before he had done to his brother *Omius*; for by the same crafty contriuing, *Menelaus* fed him quite beside the Priesthood. And *Iafon* standing now in feare of *Menelaus*, with-drew into the land of the *Ammonites*, where he closely concealed himselfe, vntill a false rumour ran abroad, that *Antiochus* entering *Egipt*, dyed. These newes so cheered vp his drooping spirits, that being accompanied with a thousand men in arms, he intruded vpon the City, where being fauoured by the inhabitants, for therapies and cruelties committed by *Menelaus*, he slew many of *Antiochus* his Citizens, and compelled *Menelaus* to saue himselfe in the *Syrians* Garrisons kept in the Ports.

But hearing the returne of *Antiochus* from the Land of *Egipt*, and losing all hope of the Priesthood, againe he retired to comp the *Ammonites*, of whom he could

not now be receiued, standing in feare of *Antiochus*, who was neere at hand with his army. Expulsed also (for the same reason) by *Aretas*, King of *Arabia*, out of his marches, and hauing no access into *Egipt*, & lastly, forsaken of all; he passed by Sea to the *Lacedemonians*, among whom hee was concerned in kindred: and yet, as a iust punishment for his ambition, he dyed very poorly in banishment.

Omius, named *Menelaus* also, the third Sonne of *Simon*, according to *Iosephus* (albeit in the second Booke of the *Macchabees*, he is not said to be the Sonne of *Simon*, the High-Priest, but brother to one *Simon*, of the Tribe of *Beniamin*, who had charge of the Temple, as we haide before in speaking of *Omius*) being sent to King *Antiochus* the Noble, by *Iafon*, Prince of the sacrificing Priests, with money and commission about important affaires, did so cunningly insinuate himselfe, into the good grace of the King and his Courtiers, that by promising three hundred Talents (which is an hundred and fourscore thousand crownes of the Sun) more then all that which *Iafon* payed, and accusing him of diuers crimes beside: he preuailed so farre, that the Soueraigne Priesthood was taken from *Iafon*, and conferred on him in his stead.

This dignity thus obtayned, he pursued the same impieties as *Iafon* did, in the customes and manners of the Pagans, & farre exceeding him in rapines and cruelties. For at the entering into his gouernment, to make himselfe the furer of so ill-gotten honour, he slew *Omius*, eldest Son to *Simon* his brother, as *Iosephus* affirmes, who being exiled, kept close in a franchised place neere *Daphné*, a Towne in *Syria*; there hee caused him to be murdered by *Andronicus* (Gouernour of *Caelosyria*) by fraud and treason, and for which offence, *Andronicus* was sentenced with death by the King.

Afterward, being vnable to furnish the great payment of money hee had promised to the King; he sold many vessels of gold, which he had covertly stolne out of the Temple: which sacriledge comming to be knowne, great mutines were moued among the people. At length, *Menelaus* was accused and condemned by three Ambassadors, sent from *Ierusalem* to *Tyre*. But by the means of a Countrey, named

The cities
and wrecks
end of Iafon.

Macchab.
cap. 3.

Menelaus
haue
commenced
mutines
with
the
King's
Courtiers.

Menelaus
more wild
delights
the
the Priest.

Menelaus
is
releas'd
to
bloody
the
Temple
and
yet
cannot
away
by
any
way.

Ptolomy (soundly corrupted with money) hee was absolved and the King pacified, preuailling withall so farre, that his accusers were executed for calumniators; and he returning backe to *Ierusalem*, began againe to tyrannize ouer the Cittizens.

Much about this time, for the space of forty dayes, there appeared in the Heauens, hoasts or bands of men, fighting both on horsebacke and foote: which prodigious signes, prognosticated the horrible calamities which soone after were to follow. For as *Antiochus* was leading his Army (the second time) into *Egipt*, purposing to vsurpe the Countrey by open warre, seeing he could not do it vnder colour of Guardianship, because *Ptolomy Philometor* (his Nephew) was yet but young; *Iafon* rushed into the City with his Army, againe to repulse his brother from the Priesthood, ouer-comming a great number of the Inhabitants, thatooke part with *Antiochus* and *Menelaus*. Who finding his strength too feeble, fled to the Fortresses and Garrisons of the *Syrians*, dispatching messengers vnto *Antiochus* for better ayde.

And now *Antiochus* being vrged thereto by the rigorous command of the Romans, and deliuered by *Popilius*, left *Egipt*, comming thence in a raging madnes, fearing a further revolt of the Iewith Nation. Hauing brought his Army before the City, hee found the Gates fast shut, and the inhabitants ready to defend themselves. Whereat being vexed, he forced into the City without any great difficulty: because *Menelaus* with his faction, and the *Syrian* Garrisons ran vp and downe in the City, and put to the Sword many Cittizens, and giuing entrance to the enemy at the Gates. Being entred, *Antiochus* charged his people to kill all that they met with in Armes, and not to spare eyther age or sexe: so that within three dayes space, fourscore thousand men (or thereabout) were slaine in *Ierusalem*, beside diuers thousands ledde away captiues, and sold for slaues.

The King, conducted by *Menelaus*, entred into the most holy part of the Temple, touching with his polluted hands the sacred Vessels, which hee caused to be carried thence into *Syria*, with a thousand, eight hundred talents of treasure, as much to say, as eleuen Tunns of gold of our mo-

nie: which treasure had bin partly giuen to the Temple, and partly was put there in trust for the benefite of widowes and orphans, as into the onely surest place both for reuerence and sanctity. So, after *Antiochus* had restored *Menelaus* to the high-Priesthood againe, and had plantd strong Garrisons in the City (whereof *Philp of Phrygia* was Captaine, a man very bloody and cruell) hee returned backe to *Antioche* again with his great booty. Two yeares after, fearing a revolt of the Iewes, he sent the Colonell *Appolennus* to *Ierusalem*, with two and twenty thousand men, who expressed no countenance of an enemy, but encamped without the City, attending for the Sabbath day, and then giuing the determined signal, hee flew & massacred the vnarmed multitude, that came forth to behold the Campe of the *Syrians*. Then entring violently into the City, hee put all to the edge of the sword that withstood him, robbing, spoyling, & burning it in many places, throwing downe the walles and fortifications: yet rampaging the Walles and Bulwarks, in that part called, *The City of David*, and planting there a potent Garrison.

This was a prepetrative, to attaine (in time) to the Kings full ayme, who purposing to turne (perforce) the Iewes from the Law of their fore-fathers (a thing which he knew they would withstand to their vttermost power) first of all he gaue order, to dispossesse them of Armes and Weapons, leaving them naked of all munitions, succour and resistance. This disposition made by *Appolennus* in *Ierusalem*, soone after the King fedtether *Athenes*, another of his Colonels, with an especial Edict, whereby he commanded all Nations that were in subiection to him, to vse (in every kingdome) the same Religion which the *Greekes* did: prohibiting expressly to the Iewes, the vse of circumcision, & other ordinances commanded them by God. He likewise plantd Garrisons atwell in *Ierusalem*, as in other Cities and Townes of *Iudea*, to insell cruell punishment on al them, that did not obtemperate the Kings Edict. Beside, the Temple was prophaned by the Kings Command, and the Image of *Iupiter Olympus* worshippd in the Sanctuary, even in the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, and many pillarizes and whoredomes committed with

Menelaus re-
stored to the
High Priest-
hood, as we
by Antiochus
and Garrisons
plantd in the
City.

The City of
David in Ie-
rusalem.

The Iewes
were naked of
all armes, and
were thereby
vnto resistance,
as hee the
Iewes.

A vntill Edict
sent out by
Antiochus, a-
gainst the
Iewes.

The High-
Priest: Office
bought for
500. Talents.

The enterin-
g of King
Antiochus in-
to Ierusalem.

Iafon is iustly
required for
treachery to
his brother
Omius.

Iafon's
treachery
caused
Antiochus
to send
him
backe.

within the circuite of the Temple. Moreover, by the same Edict Royall, the holy Bookes were forbidden ingenerall, and that man iudged worthy of death, with whom the Booke of the Law should bee found; yea, and seuerie inquisition made for it euery Moneth.

The Citizens of Ierusalem durst make no opposition in their owne defence.

As thus the Citizens of Ierusalem were disarmed, oppressed, & very strong Garisons planted ouer them: euen so were they destitute of any Captain, nor daring to vse force or opposition, against the wicked commands and excesse tyrannies of *Antiochus*: considering also, that *Menelaus* the soueraigne High-Priest, had formerly instituted the behaviours vsed among Pagans in Ierusalem, to keepe himselfe in his dignity, & in the Kings fauour, approving and assisting all his enterprises; in which respect, many that made vertuous profession of the Law giuen by God, were most inhumanely murdered by the Soldiers of *Antiochus*, and their goods confiscated. Others (in great number) forsaking the City, and leaving all their goods behinde them, went to hide themselves in Caves and desert places, as *Mattathias* the *Asmonea* withdrew (accompanied with his children) into the little Village of *Modin*.

The horrible punishment inflicted vpon two women.

In the second Booke of the *Macchabees* is described the horrible punishing of two women, who were accused to the Lieutenant of *Antiochus*, that they had circumcised their children, contrary to the Kings Edict. Whereupon, they were condemned, and (for a terror to other) they were led naked through the streets of the City, their infants strangled, hanging at their breasts, and afterward throwne downe from the top of the City wall. There is also set downe, the seuen Brethren & their Mother, tormented with most exquisite tortures; and yet they held fast the profession of the Law. By which horrible cruelties, judgement may be made, as well of the extreme rigour of *Antiochus*, as also of the miserable estate of Gods people: of whom, some reliques were yet reuered, by means of the *Asmoneans*, raised vp by God, to repress the rage of *Antiochus*, & to maintaine the Law of God by Armes, as hereafter shall be declared.

The *Asmoneans* raised by God to repress *Antiochus*.

In the meane time *Menelaus*, Author, beholder and promoter of these afflictions vpon the people; retayned still the tri-

de of Soueraigne high Sacrificer, euen then when *Judas Macchabeus* tooke (by power) the City and the Temple: he being then hid in the Fortresse, vnder the protection of the *Syrians*, vntill that after the death of *Antiochus* the Noble, his Son *Antiochus Eupator*, hauing seized on Ierusalem, concluded peace with *Judas Macchabeus*, and by the perswasion of *Lysias*, brought him captiue into Syria, as the first brand of all the warre, and of the overthrowing of the *Syrian* Armies by the *Asmoneans*; and there he was also slaine, after he had held the high-Priesthood twelue yeares. This was the last Sacrificer of the posterity of *Aaron*, to whom the diuine right appertained, for administration of the Soueraigne Priesthood. For *Antiochus Eupator* appointed in the place of *Menelaus*, a certaine man named *Alcimus*, who might bee of *Aarons* posterity; but not of the Family of that *Iesus*, who with *Zorobabel* had returned from *Babylon* into *Judea*. This *Alcimus* presided foure yeares, and then dyed of a sudden sickness, two yeares after the death of *Judas Macchabeus*.

Menelaus taken and captiue into Syria.

The last High Priest of the Temple.

Alcimus succeeded in the high Priesthood.

Alcimus being dead, the Temple and the people was leauen yeares without a Soueraigne high-Priest, vntill such time as the power of *Ionathas* encreased, who was the Brother of *Judas*: when the dignity of the Priesthood was transferred (by consent of the people) into the Family of the *Asmoneans*; where it remained so long, as to the beginning of the Reigne of *Herod*, about 116 yeares.

The High Priesthood translated to the Family of the *Asmoneans*.

CHAP. III.

Of the *Asmoneans*, being the second Family.

As much to say, as them of the posterity of *Simon*, so whom the principality, as well of the high-Priesthood, as also of the Jewish people being transferred, is continued from the time of *Antiochus the Noble*, vntill the Reigne of *Herod*.

Simon. Iohn. Mattathias.

THE Sacrificer of the Family of *Iosab* of Ierusalem, dwelling in the Village of

The death of *Antiochus* the Noble.

of *Modin*, did first oppose himselfe against *Antiochus* the Noble; who, by horrible torments constrained the *Iewes* to transgresse their Law, and to deale in those behaviours vsed among the Pagans; in the hundred, forty and five yeares of the kingdom of Syria, a hundred fifty and nine yeares after the death of *Alexander*, and an hundred sixty and five yeares before the birth of Christ. For *Mattathias* seeing a certaine *Iew*, who (to please the King) sacrificed a forbidden beast vpon a Pagan Altar, it being prohibited by the diuine Law: enflamed with a iust and holy zeale (in the presence of the Citizens of his owne Nation, suffering such a wicked acte to be done, as also of the Kings Lieutenant) slew the offender, and then beating downe the Altar, deliuered arms to all them, who (making more account of the word giuen by God, then the threatenings of a Pagan King) had forsaken their goods and liued in the Deserts, from whence many returning daily; hee leuiued a great Army, by whose helpe he deliuered worthily the neighbouring Townes, from the Idolatries of *Antiochus*, and replanted the fence and ordinances commanded by the Law diuine.

Zealotries of *Iewes* for transgressing a forbidden Law on a Pagan Altar.

Mattathias slew the offender, and then beating downe the Altar, deliuered arms to all them.

The death of *Antiochus* the Noble.

But this valiant man, deeply slept in age, after hee had (for a yeares space) led this banished wandring troope, and after hee had exhorted his Sonnes to the study of piety, as also the valiant defending of the Law giuen by God, against the wicked Edicts and torments of *Antiochus*, reconciling them all to concord and mutual reuerence, dyed peaceably, in the year 146. of the Kingdom of Syria; 160. after the death of *Alexander*; and 164. before Christ was borne.

Mattathias had five Sonnes. *Judas*, *Ionathas*, *Simon*, *Iohn*, and *Eleazar*.

Eleazar the son of *Antiochus*.

Eleazar, otherwise called *Amran* or *Amran*, a very hardy young man, after hee had performed many valiant deeds; in the fift yeare after his Fathers death, going to finde out *Antiochus Eupator*, Sonne to *Antiochus* the Noble, with his brother *Judas*; hee saw (among other) a goodly Elephant, exceeding in greatnesse & rich furniture. Whereby, hee imagining that the King should be vpon him, ran towards him boldly, and slaying many Soldiours

euery where about him, got vnder the Elephant, and giuing a deadly stabbe in his belly, the Elephant fell downe vpon him, and thereby was the death of *Eleazar*.

Eleazar slain vnder an Elephant, giuing death vpon him.

Iohn, surnamed *Gabias*, after the death of his brother *Judas*, was sent by *Ionathas* and *Simon* his other brethren into *Arathia*, with the *Iewes* & precious things which they had conquered in warre, to place them in the custody and guard of the *Arabians*: but the *Amorites* layed ambushes by the way for him, and hauing slaine him,ooke also the spoiles away from him and his traine.

The name of *Arathia*, and the death of *John*.

Judas was surnamed also *Macchabeus*, which diction in Hebrew is written *Macabab*, whereof each letter signifieth a word, taken from the Song of *Moses* in *Exodus*. In these expresse words: *ME CASHO CHA BAILEM IEHOVA*? That is to say: Who is like vnto thee (O Lord) among the Gods? *Judas* vsing this sentence for his Motto or device, and making generall phrase of the first Letters of the foure words, caused himselfe to bee surnamed *Macchabeus*. His father being neere his death, appointed him the chiefe guide & Leader of the poore and miserable multitude: who had rather endure all afflictions whatsoeuer, then renounce the doctrine giuen them by God. Soone after the death of his Father, hee ouercame the Army of *Apollonius*, and made vse of his Sword in all the battailes hee fought afterward with a small band of men; hee vanquished the Army of *Saren*, Governour of Syria, who was slaine in the field, and with him 8000. men. These victories obtained the first yeares, made *Judas Macchabeus* highly renowned. The yeare following, which was the 147. of the *Greekes* reigne, *Antiochus* went into Persia with his Army, and left in the kingdom of Syria *Lysias* as Regent and Governour to his Son *Antiochus Eupator*, giuing him expresse charge to destroy the *Iewes*. For the execution of which command, *Lysias* sent into *Palestine*, forty thousand foote, and seuen thousand horse, vnder the conduct of *Ptolemy*, *Acanor* and *Georgis* his Colonels, who entred hostily with their Armies into *Judea*, and encamped before the Village of *Yotam*, *Judas* perceiving perill, led his Army into *Magasa*, a place (long agoe) built before the Temple of *Ierusalem*, and very famous for Religion.

Macchabeus slain by the *Amorites*.

Judas made the chiefe guide & leader of the people.

The valiant victory of *Judas Macchabeus*.

Lysias made Governour of young *Antiochus* the last Epiphanias.

There

The small Army of men that Iudas had with him.

The wonderfull successe of Iudas against Gods enemies.

Lysias continually with a small Army against the Maccabees.

Iudas encountereth the great Army of Lysias.

Antiochus repulled at his defeat, and Persepolis.

There he publickly commanded a fast, praying charge, that by earnest and hearty prayer they should craue of God, that to small a handful of men (for hee had but three thousand apt for warre with him) might valiantly defend themselves against so great a power of enemies. Which being done, he remoued his Campe, and went directly to confront the hoast of his aduersaries, and setting vpon them in the night season, droue them to flight, & slew three thousand with the Sword. Vpon the successe of this exploit, hee went to seeke the other part of the Army, which was guided by *Gorgias*, who intended to steale vpon the *Jewes* in the dead time of night. But *Gorgias* hearing the former defeat, and perceiuing the smoke of lighted fires in the Campe of the *Jewes*, fled away in haste with his forces. So *Iudas*, with so silly a power of people, enforced the huge hoasts of his enemies vnto flight, and got very great booties from them.

Lysias having intelligence of his mens ill successe, being mad with anger, leuied a farre greater power, to make fresh warre vpon the *Maccabees*. And the yeare following, which was the 148. of the *Greekes* reigne, himselfe in person (for hee grew distrustfull of his Captaines) accompanied with three score thousand foote, all of them pickt and chosen men, & five thousand horse, invaded *Iudea*, by passing thorow *Idumea*. And as he was encamped in *Bethsura*, on the Frontiers of *Iudea*, *Iudas Macchabeus* came to meete him with ten thousand men (so much was the number encreased, of them that deresst *Ethnick* Idolatry) and after hee had inuoked publickly the ayde of God, hee fought with the enemy.

Lysias perceiuing how courageously the *Jewes* fought, as men that meereley despised death, breaking furiously through his ranks, his men beginning to turne their backs, & five thousand of them heuen in peeces; rallied together his scattered troopes, and led them backe to *Antioche*, hoping to speede better at another time with a new expedition. Where in he was prevented, by the death of *Antiochus* the Noble, who being repulled from besiedging *Persepolis*, as hee led backe his Army in all order by *Babylon*, and being informed (by the way) what bad successe

his Armies had sustained in *Iudea*: he fell first into a greenous vexation of spirit, & afterward of body, so that his intestines were smitten with horrible diseases. Yet being nothing the milder by this visitation, but rather more vehemently provoked against the *Jewes*: after his returne, he purposed a speedy journey to *Iudea*; there to race their Cities, especially *Ierusalem*, and vnto it to extirpate the *Iewish* Nation. But as he proceeded on in this violent resolution, and making too much haste on the way; the Chariot (wherein he lay sicke) was ouerturned, and his body so bruised against the ground, also the extremity of his impatience so violent; that his blood four-boyled, his entrailes putrified, and his flesh outwardly rotted, yielding forth a most loathsome and intolerable stinke, so that in wonderfull torments, he gaue vp the ghost, acknowledging the diuine vengeance of Heauen. Thus died this most cruell Tyrant, in the 148. yeare of the *Greekes* reigne; of his owne the 12. and the fourth, after those many robberies, as well of the Temple, as the City of *Ierusalem*.

Iudas Macchabeus, much encouraged by this so notable a victory, conducted his Army to *Ierusalem*; where hee cleansed the Temple, formerly defiled and profaned by the seruice of Idols, and offered sacrifices according to the Law, in the yeare of the *Greekes*, 148. before Christs Natiuitie, 162. the 25. day of the Moneth of *Chiffen*, that is to say, November; the very same day, that (three yeares before) it had bene robbed & profaned by *Antiochus*, placing therein Images and Idols. He builded also *Sion*, and strongly munited *Bethsura*, that it might serue as a Fortresse against the *Iudumans*.

Having done this, he kept his Armour daily on his backe, because he was still assailed by the *Iudumans*, *Ammonites*, and other, who laboured to ouerthrow the power of the *Iewish* Nation, which began to exalt it selfe in some good measure. But the brethren of the *Maccabees*, repelled those insulting Nations worthily, diuiding their Armies, & fighting fortunately in many places at a time, yet vsing their victories rudely enough. In the 150. yeare of the *Greekes*, *Iudas* laide siege before the Forts of *Ierusalem*, which from the Garrisons made many courses; killing

such

The great & horrible death of *Antiochus* the Noble.

The returne of *Iudas* to *Ierusalem*, & his purging the Temple.

Iudas went daily with his Armour on.

Antiochus Eupator giueth aide to *Nicanor*.

Antiochus dyeth a very dangerous sicknes to *Syria*.

Nicanor led away captiue bying *Antiochus* into *Syria*.

(such as would sacrifice in the Temple, & very much molested the Citizens. But *Antiochus Eupator*, being urged by *Mene-laum*, to send him aide, for reliefe of them that were besiedged in the forts; sent an army into *Iudea* by *Lysias*, consisting of 10000. foote, and 20000. horse, and besiedged *Bethsura* a long time. In the meane while, *Iudas* being aduertised of the Kings coming in person thither, raised his siege from before the forts, and went to meet the enemy with his Souldiers, of whom hee made some slaughters in diuers skirmishes. Yet finding himselfe to be oppressed by so ouer-great a multitude, retired into *Ierusalem*, where being enclosed within the munitions of the Temple; he endured a long and difficult siege, enforced (vpon the coming thither of *Antiochus*, who followed after *Lysias*) to play vpon advantages.

So long lasted this sharpe besiedging, vntill the King, being certified of *Philips* coming, who, vnder colour of reducing the *Persians* vnder the awe of *Epiphanes*, fought to possesse himselfe (as the time went) of the Kingdomes both of *Asia* and *Syria*: offered peace to them that were besiedged in the Temple, with libertie of liuing according to the laws of their forefathers. But after that *Iudas* had brought his garrison out of the Temple, the King being amazed at the fortifications, beat downe their walls, contrary to the accord made at the Temple, and led *Menelaus* the Soueraigne Sacrificer captiue away with him (according as we haue saide already) instituting *Alcimus* in his stead, who also was named *Isachim*, and so took his way home againe to *Syria*.

CHAP. V.

Antiochus and *Lysias* are put to death by *Demetrius*; the wicked behaviour of *Alcimus* the high Priest; the death of *Iudas*, and the succession of his brother *Jonathan*.

In the 151. yeare of the *Greekes*, *Demetrius* flying from *Rome*, where hee had bin detained in hostage, made seizure on the kingdom of *Syria*: putting to death the sonne of *Epiphanes*, named *Antiochus*

Eupator, and his Gouverneur *Lysias*. Now *Alcimus*, conseruing to retaine full the dignitie of the High Priesthood, conterred vpon him by *Eupator* and *Lysias*: went to *Demetrius*, and there accused all his nation (especially the *Asmoneans*) as Authors of the tumults, and perturbers of the peace of *Iudea*; & that they had throwne him out in banishment. Heereupon, the King sent *Bacchides* with a maine army, to reseat *Alcimus* in his office. Being entred *Ierusalem* with his power, by fraude hee slew many innocent Citizens, & leaving strong forces with *Alcimus* to safe protect him, returned backe into *Syria*. While thus *Alcimus* abused the power and fauor of the King, for putting many to death that were contrary to him: *Iudas* finding these courses to be intollerable, & taking to heart so great cruelty in the soueraigne Sacrificer; vndertoo: the defence of innocents, putting all them to death that took part with *Alcimus*. Whereupon, *Alcimus* fearing the vertue and power of *Iudas*, fled the second time to *Demetrius* at *Antioche*, and there formed a criminal accusation against *Iudas*.

Nicanor then was sent with a puissant Army, who thought craftily to surprize *Iudas* vnder a colour of kind conference, and so leade him along to the King. But this compact being discovered, hee entred into open armes; and being fought with all by *Iudas* in plaine battell, was constrained to retire to the fort of *Sion*. Afterward, issuing forth of *Ierusalem* in great anger, all his forces assembled together; hee threatned all the sacrificing Priests with death and vtter destruction of their Temple, if they did not deliuer *Iudas* a liue to his hands. But *Iudas* having reinforced his Armie, encountered againe with *Nicanor* at *Bethsura*, in which battail he slew the captaine *Nicanor*, & discomfited the whole army, being about 9000. men. This hapned the 13. day of the month *Adar*, which is February; and that day was afterward solemnely obserued, in regard of such a notable victory.

After these successefull adventures, *Iudas* perswading himselfe, that *Demetrius* would seek reuenge on the *Jewes* for this his great ouerthrow, desired to strengthe his power by the assistance of strangers. Heereupon, hee sent Ambassadors to the *Romans*, to capitulate vpon confederacy

The greedie desire of *Alcimus* to retaine Priesthood.

Bacchides entereth *Ierusalem* with his Armie.

Iudas vnder-taketh to reuenge the outrage of *Alcimus*.

Iudas fights with *Nicanor* in plaine battell.

Nicanor slain by *Iudas* in the second battell.

Judas craseth
ayd and fauor
of the Ro-
manes.

Bacchides &
Alcimus sent
with an Army
into Iudaea.

The valiant
death of Ju-
dah Maccha-
beus.

Alcimus stri-
ken with a
sudden palsey
died.

Ionathas fol-
lowed next in
degree to his
brother Judas

with them, requesting (among other particulars) that the Senate would forbid *Demetrius*, hereafter to molest and afflict the *Jewes*. But (as humane succors are deceitful) so the alliance of the *Romanes* was more discommodious to the *Jewes*, then if they had giuen them no ayde at all: because it made them more sleepey and negligent, and also was more offensive to the enemy. Whereupon it hapned, that the year following, being the 152. of the *Greekes*, *Demetrius* sent *Bacchides* and *Alcimus* with a potent army into *Iudaea*. There *Judas* met them with two thousand men onely, and although the most part of the slip away, and forooke his company, eyther thorow wearinesse of so long a war, or fearing the enemies power, or by the praistiles of *Alcimus*: yet notwithstanding, he vented on the Army of *Bacchides*, with eight hundred braue Soldiers, and fighting valiantly, there he dyed with this al, in the fixt year after his fathers death, good old *Mattathias*, and before the Natiuity of Christ, 158. yeares.

The year following, which was the 153. of the *Grecians* Reigne, *Alcimus* caused the walles of the inner house of the Temple to be destroyed, which the ancient facificing Priests had builded: to the ende, that not any munition should remaine, which might serue to retreat the aduersaries to the Kings of *Syria*. And hardly had they begun to beate it downe, but he was smitten suddenly with a Palsey, and therein surrendered vp his soule: but he had continued dumbe some long time before; and this was in the fourth year of his Priesthood.

Ionathas the second Sonne of *Mattathias*. *Ionathas*, or *Ionathan*, succeeded in the principality to his brother *Judas*, and by this occasion. After the death of *Macchabeus*, while the *Jewes* (which had embraced the manners and religion of the Pagans) grew to be more emboldened, and fought for all those well disposed people, that had followed *Judas* & his Brethren, sending them to *Bacchides* to bee cruelly murdered; adding also the famine, which greatly encreased, because, during the continuall warres, the fields had bene left without any tillage, so that the best persons, and which had most vnderstanding in religion, were extremely anguished: they made their recourse to *Ionathas*, en-

treating him to vndertake the defence of the poore afflicted, and to imitate therein the vertue and piety of his brother. *Ionathas* consenting to this, soone after made head mainly against *Bacchides*, and hardly escaping, retired his Soldiers into the desert, where *Bacchides* made no account to pursue them; but fortified some Townes, and planted strong Garisons in them, daily to torment the *Jewes* by sallies & courtes. Which being done, he retreated back his Army into *Syria*, after the death of *Alcimus*. By which meanes, the *Jewes* had some relaxation from warre, for about the space of two yeares, to wit, the 154. and 155. of the *Grecians* reigne.

In the yeare, 156. *Bacchides* was againe incited by the apostate *Jewes*, to surprize (by some sudden aduantage) the two brethren of *Judas*: but the ambushes being reuealed, hee came and openly assaulted them in the Towne of *Bethesen*. Neuerthelesse, perceiving the Towne to be well munited, and the *Jewes* furnished with all fitting matters, as fully resolved to defend themselves valiantly: he made peace with *Ionathas*, and the captiues beeing surrendered on cyther side, tooke his way backe to *Syria*, which was the cause that *Iudaea* had sometime of repose and quietnesse.

The yeare 160. *Alexander* the Noble, who sought to possesse himselfe of the kingdome of *Syria*, which was then vnder by *Demetrius*, Brother to *Antiochus* the Noble, and vnderstanding the power of *Ionathas*; sent Ambassadors to him with worthy presents, to practise with him for to ioyne in his intention, offering him (moreouer) the Soueraigne Priesthood, on condition, that he would ayde him against *Demetrius*. Beside, he solemnly invited him to the marriage, which hee had purposed in the City of *Ptolomais*, with *Cleopatra*, daughter to *Ptolomy Philometor*. *Ionathas* being allured by these offers, vnder hope of enjoying (by this meanes) two neighbouring Kings to bee his friends; went to be present at the royall wedding, and carryed gifts of great value with him. He was entertained by the two kings, so honorably as possible might be, and afterward sent backe againe, with confirmation in the high Priesthood, as also the principality of *Iudaea*, for the people (after the decess of *Alcimus*) had remained 7. yeares without a Soueraigne Sacrificer.

Ionathas vnder-
standeth the
cause against
Bacchides.

Ionathas so-
gered into
the fauour of
Demetrius
Nicanor.

Bacchides
made a peace
with Ionathas

Ambassadors
sent to Ionathas
by Alexander
the Noble.

Ionathas
married
Cleopatra
the daughter
of Ptolomy

Ionathas
was elected
High Priest
by the people

Ionathas
was elected
High Priest
by the people

The govern-
ment of Si-
mon

By this meanes, came the dignity first of High Priesthood to the *Asmoneans*, the ninth year of the principality of *Ionathas*; of the *Greekes* 160. as hath bene said; and before the birth of Christ, 150. But 5. yeares after, as *Ptolomy* had caught the kingdome of *Syria*, with his daughter *Cleopatra*; so he gaue them both to *Demetrius Nicanor*, Sonne to *Demetrius*, & then *Ionathas* had work enough to do, to enter into the good grace & fauour of the new King. Neuerthelesse, by gifts and offerings he prevailed so well at last, as vpon the auouching of his grace towards him, hee recovered a great part of *Iudaea*, & wonne among his own people, no meane power and credite. In the latter dayes of his principality, he fortified the Temple of *Ierusalem*, and renewed alliance with the *Romanes*, contracting kinde friendship also with the *Lacedemonians*. Soone after, he was surprized in *Ptolomais*, by the fraud & treason of *Triphon*, who, although he had promised to release him, if he might haue his two Sonnes sent him as hostages, and an hundred Talents (whereof his brother *Simon* made satisfaction, sending both the money & the children) neuerthelesse, the most cruell Tyrant murdered both the Father and his sonnes. Having done this abominable deed, and thinking no way to be resisted in his wicked courtes; by treachery he slew *Antiochus* surnamed *Sedetes*, Sonne to *Alexander* the Noble, to whom he was Tutor, & for the restoring of him to his Fathers kingdome, hee had enuied *Demetrius Nicanor* out of *Syria*, but got it into his owne possession. In this manner *Ionathas* held the principality of the Iewish people eightene yeares, and was the first administrator of the Soueraigne Priesthood of the *Asmoneans*, which hee held ten yeares.

Simon the third Sonne of *Mattathias*. *Simon* succeeded his Brother *Ionathas*, in the yeare of the *Greekes*, 170. & before the Natiuity of Christ, 140. being elected (by common consent of the people) Duke & Soueraigne Sacrificer: because he had valiantly assisted his Brethren *Judas* and *Ionathas*, for maintaining the doctrine giue by God, & the repressing of persecutions. At the beginning of his gouernment, he surprized some Forts from the *Grecians*, among which was that of *Ierusalem*, which till that time had bene held by the *Syrian*

Garisons, & had wonderfully tormented the Citizens. He furnished them in such sort, that they were constrained to yeelde themselves, and afterward purified prophaned places, the 23. day of the second Moneth, in the yeare, 171. Vnder him, *Iudaea* began to respire and breathe a while, which for the space of 25. yeares after *Antiochus* the Noble, had but terribly shaken and wasted with continuall warres. The fields began again to recouer their former nature; places burnt and destroyed, to be re-builded; and those prophaned with Idols, to be nearely cleanted: In briefe, the voyce of heavenly doctrine began againe to be heard and deliuered in the Temple and Synagogues. In the third yeare of his Priesthood, *Simon* renewed alliance with the *Romanes*, by a Decree from their Senate, was confirmed Soueraigne Sacrificer, & to be styled Prince of the people.

Afterward, *Antiochus Soter*, brother to *Demetrius Nicanor*, preparing war against *Triphon*, who vnder the Kingdome of *Syria*: labored *Simon* with great promises for alliance, as doubting least hee would giue vnderance to his enterprize. But having conquered the Kingdome of *Syria*, and *Triphon* chased thence, in the yeare, 174. hee salified the former alliance, & redemanded diuers Townes and Cities in *Iudaea* of *Simon*, as also the Fort of *Ierusalem*, and a great summe of money besides; or else he would denounce warre against him, if he did not yeeld to what he demanded. Now in regard that *Simon* refused to grant so vniust a demand, *Cendeleus* was sent into *Iudaea* with an Army, whom *Iohn Hyrcanus* and *Judas*, Sonne to *Simon*, discomfited, as he was wasting the champaign Country; and hauing destroyed the Forts built in the Marches of *Iudaea* by the enemy, they returned backe with great glory.

Three yeares after, to wit, the 177. of the *Greekes*, and 133. before the birth of Christ, as *Simon* (growing now ancient) returned, visiting & ordaining the Churches, and the dissipated pollicies in *Iudaea*; he arriued (with his Wife and two of his Sonnes, *Judas* and *Mattathias*) neere to his kinselman *Ptolomy*, the Sonne of *Abubus*, whom he had constituted Gouernour of the whole Region about *Iericho*. But he wickedly murdered him, sitting at the Table of a Banquet, where (most traitorously) he had invited him, onely for that bloody purpose.

C c c 2 Thus

Ionathas began
to recouer
breathing &
quietnesse.

Simon renew-
ed alliance
with the Ro-
manes.

Antiochus
Soter leaue
warre against
Triphon.

Antiochus
beareth his
army pligh-
ted to Simon,
and vttereth
vniust de-
mands.

Simon grow-
eth ancient
in yeares.

Simon mur-
dered at a Ban-
quet by his
Sonne, in law.

Four Asmo-
neans, the Fa-
ther and his
three Sonnes.

Iudas not
wholly recou-
ered from
Paganisme, &
the reason
why.

The writings
of the Pro-
phets faile
predicted a-
mongst ma-
ny persecuti-
ons.

Iudas and Jo-
nathas left
not any issue

Thus four *Asmoneans*, namely, the Fa-
ther *Mattathias*, and three of his Sonnes
(each after other) fighting valiantly three
and thirty yeares, in defence of the Law
giuen by God, against the persecuters of
his people, ended their liues. And al-
though they could not so compasse the
matter, as to cleanse *Iudea* wholly of Pa-
gan Idolatries, because many among the
people were (openly) Epicures, and ma-
ny mightily delected, by seeing the woful
calamities of the people, and others in-
ueigled by the Gentiles prosperities; did
willingly renounce the first received do-
ctrine of their Fathers, and embraced the
impieties of the Pagans: yet notwith-
standing, they prevailed so well by their
power, that the writings of the Prophets
were preferred, the seruice ordained by
God, nor abolished, nor the Iewish polli-
cy any way dissipated. All which ensued
by the singular goodnesse of God, to the
end, that the pollicy and ministry appoin-
ted by him (in some good measure still
maintained) should continue to the time
of Christ, that men might know, when &
how the Messias was to be sent. The prin-
cipality and high-Priesthood continued
(sometime) in the Family of the *Asmo-
neans*, to the successors of *Simon*, because *Iu-
das* and *Jonathas* had not left any issue of
theirs.

CHAP. VI.

Concerning the imprisonment of *Simons*
two Sonnes and their Mother, by their
cruell Vnckle *Ptolomie*; and lastly, their
lamentable death. The valiant actes of
Iohn Hyrcanus, Sonne to *Simon*. The
destruction of *Samaria*, &c.

The Sonnes of *Simon*, were
Iohn Hyrcanus. *Iudas*. *Mattathias* his suc-
cessour.
A Daughter, married to *Ptolomy*, the sonne
of *Alabius*, Governour of *Iericho*; who
murdered his Father, as also his Wife &
two of his Children.

Iudas and *Mattathias*.

The govern-
ment of *Ieri-
cho* giuen to
Ptolomy by
Simon.

HAuing accompanied their Father,
going with his Wife to see *Ptolomy*
their Sonne in law, to whom he had for-
merly spoken, to giue him the gouverne-

ment of *Iericho*: they were imprison-
ed with their Mother, by their Vnckle *Pto-
lomy*, who before had slaine their Father at
a Banquet. Now, while *Hyrcanus*, seeking
to reuenge so horrible a deed, had besieged
a small Towne, whereto *Ptolomy* had
withdrawne himselfe: the Tyrant caused
them there to be pitifully dismembred,
as also their Mother; vntill such time as
Hyrcanus, moued with compassion, & not
able to endure the torturing of his bre-
thren and Mother, raised the siege, albe-
it his captiued Mother, still vrged him
earnestly, to maintaine the assault.

Iohn Hyrcanus.

In the life time of his Father, hee dis-
comfited the Army of *Antiochus Soter*,
which was conducted by *Cendebeus*. Next
after the death of his Father, and the ra-
king of his two Brethren, himselfe hardly
escaping from the ambushes of the mur-
derer *Ptolomy*: hee came to reuenge his
Fathers death, and besieging the Towne
whereto *Ptolomy* was returned, being o-
uercome with pity, by seeing the tor-
ments which his Mother & Brethren suf-
fered, at every time when hee gaue the as-
sault, considering also, that the seuenth
yeare of rest was neere at hand, he re-
treated his Army. Afterward, *Antiochus Soter*
made warre vpon him, so that he was shut
vp within the City of *Ierusalem*, which
Antiochus besieged in seven places all at
one time: being pressed with famine, hee
yielded vp the City, vpon condition, that
he would beare down the Fortifications
of the City, deliuer hostages, & five hun-
dred Talents, that is to say, three Tunnes
of Gold.

But as he was in want of money, or
accidentally seeking for some by vrgent
necessity, or admonished so to doe by a
dream: he opened the Sepulcher of *Da-
uid*, wherein he found three thousand Ta-
lents of Gold, which amounteth to 18.
Tuns of Gold. Being thus readuanced, he
not only made peace with *Antiochus*, but
also entred into amity with him, so that he
entertained him into the City with his
Army, and being well provided of mony,
he was the first (of the Iewes) that had
strange Soldiours vnder his pay. With
whom he accompanied King *Antiochus*,
he going in warre against the *Parthians*:
and yet his company was but slenderly be-
neficciall to the King. For although by the
valiancy

The two sons
of *Simon* and
their Mother
cruelly tor-
mented.

The Army
of *Antiochus*
Soter vanquished
by *Iohn*
Hyrcanus.

Iohn Hyrcanus
besieged in
Ierusalem,
and the City
yielded vpon
agreement.

Three thou-
sand Talents
of Gold found
in King *Da-
uid*'s grave.

Hyrcanus ap-
peared *Antio-
chus* against
the *Parthians*.

The Feast
of *Pentecost*,
during *Hyrcanus*
came from
the battaile.

The Temple
of *Gazium* in
Samaria raz-
ed.

The Iude-
ans receive
circumcision.

Alliance made
with the Ro-
mans.

Hyrcanus ma-
kes alliance
with *Alexan-
der* the victo-
rius.

Antiochus
Cyprianus, and
Antiochus
Cyzicus fight for
the Kingdom of
Syria.

valiancy of *Hyrcanus*, he ouerthrew a part
of the *Parthians* Army, yet soone after,
when *Asaces*, King of the *Parthians*, came
with a new Army, & he should then haue
met and ioyned with him: Religion hin-
dered *Hyrcanus* and the *Iewes* from going
to the fight, because it was then the Feast
of *Pentecost*. By which means, *Antiochus*
being destitute of the *Iewes* helpe, was
slaine, with a great number of his people.

After the death of *Antiochus Soter*, *Hyrcanus*
began to make small account of the
Kings of *Syria*: as being men, that (by ci-
uill warres) had broken the forces of their
kingdomes. Wherefore, bringing back
his host from *Asie*, he tooke many Cities
and Townes in the kingdom of *Syria*,
which had in former times appertained
to *Iudea*. He razed also the Temple of
Gazium in *Samaria*, builded by *Sannaba-
l* the *Cuthean*, (as hath before bin reme-
mbered) two hundred yeares after it had bin
builded in fauour of *Manasses*, Brother to
Iaddus, in the time of *Alexander* the great.
He compelled also the *Iudeans* (after he
had giuen them many chastenings) to re-
ceiue circumcision, and other ceremonies
of the *Iewes*. And to strengthen himselfe
the more against the Kings of *Syria*, who
he thought not fit to make any more sur-
prizing of Cities; hee renewed alliance
(by Ambassadors) with the *Romans*, in
the fourteenth yeare of his principality,
and the 191. of the kingdom of *Syria*:
Cneus Domitius Barbo, and *Caius Fla-
minius* being Consuls, an hundred and
12. yeares before the Natiuity of Christ.

Afterward, as *Demetrius Nicanor* had
bene restored to his Kingdom by *Asa-
ces*, and as quickly againe repulled from it
by *Alexander Zebon*, when he prepared
himselfe to make warre on the *Iewes*: so
Hyrcanus, allyng himselfe with *Alexander*
the victorious, had sustained as little ioy
thereof, if an admirable accident had not
corrected their error. For *Antiochus Gry-
phus*, Sonne to *Demetrius*, seeking to reco-
uer his Fathers kingdom, slew *Alexander*
in battaile, and (after that victory) pur-
posed to invade *Hyrcanus*, the leagued friend
to his enemy. But hearing of another pre-
paration of warre against himselfe, by his
brother *Antiochus Cyzicus*; he was glad
to keepe at home still in *Syria*. So, while
the two brethren did well-fauouredly
contend with one another (a long time)

for the kingdom of *Syria*; *Hyrcanus* and
Iudas remained in quietnes, during which
time, *Hyrcanus* well fortified himselfe by
strong Castles newly builded, re-enfor-
cing at his most commodious munitions,
collecting vp great summes of money, &
providing other necessary matters, to ex-
ploit his warre affaires.

Finally, hee laide siege to the most
strong City of *Samaria*, and left there his
two Sonnes *Antigenus* and *Antibulus* to
continue it, while himselfe attended to
the administration of more important
Oeconomicall affaires. Heereupon, the
Samaritans called to succour them *Antio-
chus Cyzicus*; who repulled the Iones
to *Hyrcanus*, and chased them so farre as
to * *Scythopolis*. Again, the two brethren
brought their Army before *Samaria*, and
again *Antiochus Cyzicus* (being reques-
ted) entred into *Iudea*, pillaging and spoy-
ling wheresoeuer he came. But being re-
pulsed, hee gaue the charge of his Army
to two of his Captaines; one of them be-
ing slaine by the *Iewes*, and the other cor-
rupted with money, surrendered (by trea-
son) *Scythopolis*, and the other neigh-
bouring Cities. So the City of *Samaria*, ha-
uing endured (in great misery) a whole
yeares fledge, was at the last forced and
quite destroyed. Such was the ending of
this most mighty City, which (for a long
time) had paragond it selfe equal with *Ie-
rusalem*; but about an hundred yeares af-
ter, it was builded againe by *Herod*, who
named it *Sebastia*, in the honour of *Augu-
stus Caesar*.

CHAP. VII.

How the rest and prosperity of *Iudea*, began
sundry sects among the people, especially
of the Pharisees, Sadducees, &c. The diuer-
sity of their opinions: and a breife narra-
tion of the doctrine, in use among the
first Fathers.

THE Country of *Iudea*, being thus re-
duced to repose & quietnes, & by the
paines of *Hyrcanus* her prosperity procu-
red enuy & distaste, aswell toward her own
people, as (more especially) to the Phari-
sies. For as Nations grew the in great esteem
among the meaner people, by simulation

Ccc 3 of sanctity,

Samaria be-
sieged by
Hyrcanus and
his forces.

* A City of
Syria, neere
to *Iudea*, cal-
led *Scytho-
polis*.

The City of
Samaria raz-
ed and de-
stroyed to the
ground.

Of the Sect of
the Pharisees
and their dis-
sembled holi-
nesse.

Hyrcanus a
summe of
the Pharisees,
leaneth
toward to the
Sadducees.

Hyrcanus &
his Sonnes
hated of the
Pharisees and
vulgar people

The difference
betweene the
Seets of the
Pharisees and
Sadducees.

Testimonie
of Gods will
giuen to our
first Fathers.

Esay 25. 14.

sanctity, and great swarms of deuised traditions, concerning some kindes of bodily exercises: so that (whensoever they pleased) they could cause the common people to mutiny against the Princes and the High-Priest. *Hyrcanus* had sometime bene a curious fauourer of this Sect; in which regard, the Pharisees did beare him great affection: but at the last, he estranged his kindnesse towards them, finding himselfe offended at the punishment of *Elezazar* the Pharisee, by some outrage offered him. And this was the reason, that hee tooke part with the *Sadducees*, who sharply reprobued the traditions of the Pharisees, and in hate and spight to the Pharisees sect, hee abolished (by publike Edicts) many of their traditions; which made him and his Sonnes to be mortally hated, as well of the Pharisees, as of the people. Whereupon ensued great mutinies among the people: which his Sonne *Alexander* very hardly appeased, but not without great effusion of blood.

Now, because mention is here made of these two Sects, both of the Pharisees and Sadducees, whereof more will be spoken in the following Histories, as likewise in sacred Writ: I thinke it not amisse to make some addition, of matters found in authentical writings, concerning the variance and difference betweene them. For in speaking of their original, we can but follow coniectures onely: except this infallible certainty, that both the one and other Sect were newly forged, by leauing the ancient and pure doctrine of the Prophets. I his firme rule ought euermore to be held in the Church, that there is one sole true doctrine, of the diuine essence & will, made manifest of God by certaine and vnlouebred testimonies, and was giuen to the first Fathers and Prophets: but much more enlightened afterward, by the voice of the Sonne of God, our Lord Iesus Christ, dead, and raysed ypagaine for vs, as also by the voice of the Apostles. And no opinions ought to be embraced, contrary to that first Prophetical doctrine and voyce of Gods owne Sonne: because many sayings of the Prophets doe witness this rule to be true. As *I say* condemneth those Doctors, which propose (as the doctrine of God) opinions forged in their owne braines, and such as neuer were giuen of God. Being armed then, and well

warned by this rule, wee may the better iudge of these Sects.

But in making this recital, I may not forget that most lamentable complaint, which the so mighty infirmity of mankind ought much to bemoane, because euen then, when the Church consisted of so small a number, to wit, in few Tribes of *Israel*, poorely impayred, and shut vp in that narrow country neighbouring to the *Phoenicians*, and that then (with so small pollicy) discipline could scarcely maintaine it selfe peaceably, or doctrine bee kept in good concord: such horrible furies being prepared against it, yea, & they embraced by the greater part of the Governours, publishing them wholly, without dissembling any thing, although they were plainly repugnant vnto the Law of God. The *Sadducees* acquitted themselves of sacrifices, and neuertheless affirmed publicly, that after this present life, there remained no other, nor any iudgement; and that the soule (being separated from the body) should haue no more life, and that men should not rise againe. But the Pharisees were a little more modest, and yet notwithstanding, they had as well corrupted the doctrine giuen by God, as we shall haue better occasion to speake of hereafter.

Neuertheless, God had a true Church all this while, which still re-rayned the light of his doctrine: and yet was it not greatly to be lamented, that in one & the same company, which bare the name of the Church, among a troope that called vpon God in truth; such errors should not onely bee dispersed, but also allowed by the authority of Princes and Doctors? Beside this, the assured and prophaned arrogancy of many (euen in our times) ought greatly to be reprehended, who dreaming of no dispersion of errors in the Church, eyther for satisfaction of their owne ambition, vnder colour of religion seeking after kingdomes, or by heaping superstitions one vpon another, thereby to fit and furnish their owne avarice; doe neuer thinke on (in this case) the ancient and old examples of the Pharisees & Sadducees, who declared sufficiently, the very like euils crept into the Church, euen as apparently then, as those of other times. It is therefore very necessary, to haue one certaine rule, in listening to the voyce E-

The poore
small becom-
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Church in
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the Church
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the Church
in the T. 1. 1. 1.

Concerning
the opinion
of the Saddu-
ces.

The Pharisees
more modest
than the Saddu-
ces.

God alway
had his true
Church: re-
maine all
the light of
his Doctrine.

The errors
elder times
very appar-
ent to be
discerned.

Galat. 1. 8.

The time of
the first do-
ctrine, and
the time of
the second
doctrine.

The harmes
and euils of
the Church
ought much
to be moun-
ted.

Of the first
true Church
in schoole.

The reason
why God cre-
ated mankinde.

The great
sinne and
wickednes
of mankinde
after
fall.

God 3. 15.

uangelicall, according as Saint Paul said: *If any man preach any other Gospell to you, let him be accursed.*

Furthermore, consideration is to be had, of the time of that first Doctrine, agreeing with the voyce of the Prophets, the Sonne of GOD, and the Apostles: and next, of such persuasions as haue crept into the Church, some whereof haue bene confirmed by the superstition of men vnlearned, others haue bene voluntarily receiued, as seruing the ambition of the mightie, and for benefite to the kitchen. Acknowledging then, and bewyling the harmes of the Church; let vs seeke after the springs or fountaines of true doctrine, to the end wee may truly call vpon God, who hath alwayes preferred some part of mankind, where his true knowledge might shine, to bee the Temple of God, and afterwards partaker of his glorious company, because mankinde was not created in vaine. But before I discourse on the original of Sects, and Diuisions of the Church, it is needfull first to say somewhat, concerning the first true Church or Schoole, which from the beginning of mankinde, hath bene gardian and keeper of the true doctrine: from whence hath issued many, who (as seditious) haue scattered diuers corruptions among the truth of doctrine.

Mankind was not borne by accidental chance, neither created without cause: but it pleased God, that he should haue a reasonable nature, embellished with a bodie, wherein the knowledge of him might shine, and to whom he might communicate his wisdom and goodnes, & that hee should enjoy his company once and for euer. Now, although God expressed his wisdom and goodnes, by creating the great workmanship of the world: yet notwithstanding, his goodnes made it selfe much more apparent, in that (after the fall of *Adam* and *Eue*) he sent from his secret seate, that infinite mercie for their recovery, by giuing them the promised Seede to come. And to make it the better knowne and vnderstood, hee would haue men to heare the sound of that sweete voice: *The Seede of the woman shall breake the Serpents head*. Such as receiued graciously this consolation, were receiued of God, and made members of the eternall Church of God. Thus first of

all, the Church was created, and the Schoole instituted, wherein our first Parents taught the doctrine of God to their children: concerning the creation of all things; concerning their owne fall; the paines and punishments to ensue; the trecheries of the diuell; the causes of death and all humane miseries; the promise of the Seede to come, whereby the great and iust anger of God was to bee appeased. Also, how sinne was to be defaced, eternall life restored, the difference of good and euill works, and that such a difference being imprinted in the soules of men, was truly the Lawe diuine, agreeing with the intelligence and diuine will; so to shine in the spirits of men, that it might bee a testimonie of God to men, that he was one God, and how to bee adored: admonishing likewise, that hee would iudge the actions of men, because conscience would else exercise a burdensome iudgement in vs.

There they were taught the difference betweene this naturall knowledge, and the other of higher quality: the pronounced promise of the secret bosome of the eternall Father, touching the Seede; the future iudgement of all mankind: and that such as (by faith in that Seede) attained to beleue therein, were acceptable to God, and in that faith had recourse to him, struing to order their manners by the rule of the diuine Lawe, should liue eternally in the most sweete company of God. Others, who arrogantly contemned God, & the promised Seede to come, running furiously on the bridle of their wicked desires, were like vnto diuells, enemies to God, and after death should liue in horrible torments, whereof they discerned some resemblance in this life, by the terrours of such, whose bodies were aduaged to terrible punishments.

Those first Fathers declared, how God had clothed them with the skins of beasts, to signifie, that (after death) they should bee defenced of their corrupted bodies, and put vpon them (as the garment or robe of the Lambe) that is to say, the promised Seede, which was to be sacrificed, that all mankind might be saved by him. They taught the will of God to bee such, that by this meanes it should bee sought, knowne and called on, as it was made manifest: and that our mindes lea-

The first crea-
tion of the
Church by
God, entrusted
to our
first Parents,
and to their
posterity.

The difference
betweene hea-
uens know-
ledge, & that
which is natu-
rall.

The desires
of God and the
promised
Seede.

The clothing
of our first Fa-
thers in the
skins of beasts
had a further
relation,

ning vpon his promise, gaue vs to vnderstand, that then wee are in the grace of God, when (by fayth) wee relie vpon his promises, and that hee would haue no other gods to be receiued, or Sacrifices offered by them that forgot or reiected this doctrine giuen by God. They also manifested, that God would haue one sole and certaine assemblie, which should be consenting in doctrine, gathered together by inuocation and sacrifices: in which sole assembly, should be the future heires of eternall life with God.

As an Interpreter to their Sacrifices, this predication was often repeated; *This manner of behaviour, and these publique assemblies are instituted, to the end, that this doctrine should be sent to Posteritie.* In them the voyce of the diuine Promise, and the doctrine declared by vs, was to be heard: for god would haue his voyce to be heard of all men. In which respect, it was and is requisite, that there should be honest assemblies, and although the Church will be alwayes tormented with great calamities: yet shall she be exalted as a Caffe on a high mountaine. These our Sacrifices which you see, are the chaines and linkes of such assemblies, and no other paintings haue we to admonish vs, then the diuine Promise fo graciously giuen vnto vs.

Having entrusted their children in these great matters, they added, concerning the Seede to come, That that Lord, who should breake the head of the Serpent; was already (and euen then) assisting to his Church, although he was not (as yet) reuested with humane flesh. That he was the Image of the Eternall and only Father, begotten of him, who prayed to his Father for the Church, and defended it, and (with the Father) comforteth the hearts of Beleueers, euen in their greatest feares, by his Promises, and kindly in them the light of the blessed Spirit, for the beginning of eternall life. Which Spirit proceeded from the Father, and from this promised Lord. By this meanes they taught to know the only true God, wise, good, iust, true, chaste and pure, Creator of heaven and earth, of Angels, and of mankind; to the end, that all might vnderstand, there was one only eternall Father, who had created all with this promised Lord, who is his I-

mage, and with the blessed Spirit, so that no other Diuinitie was to be imagined.

Moreouer, in this holy Schoole, the first fathers taught the doctrine concerning the nature of things, giuing to vnderstand; that there were certayne lawes of Celestiall motions, to deliuer testimony, that this world was not made by aduenture, but created by the intelligence of a super-excellent workman. They taught beside, the course of the yearre to be ordained, because God would haue men to know the order of times; thereby also to vnderstand the order of diuine promises, and how they were to be reuealed, as to know what the first giuen doctrine was, thereby to iudge of the newer afterwar.d. And because men might comprehend, that all things were created by the Diuine Councell and Prouidence: they shewed diuerse vses of Plants, to what end they were created, and for the vse of man. Heereupon they expressed, how God assisted the nature of man by those remedies; thereby also instructing, that offences Innocents are holpen of God by admirable meanes, and yet without the ayde of creatures.

That this was the doctrine of the first or Primitive Church, the narration of *Moses* sufficiently declares, in *Genes.* And it is not to be doubted, that the wisdom of the golden Age, before the Flood, was much greater then that after the Flood, where nature became more weak & feeble. And though that many, both before and after the Flood, might forget or misprize true doctrine; yet notwithstanding, God would not suffer his true Inuocation to be quenched among men: but euermore reserved som company that kept this doctrine, (from one time to another) renued & dispersed it further off by nouell testimonies. Again, when after the Flood, the multitude of men began once more to encrease, though the light of true doctrine might be extinct in *Babylon*: yet notwithstanding the studie of Astrology remayned, touching the motions and effects of the Starres, with the knowledge of things growing in the earth.

And in this meane while, the promise of God was still preferred and kept, renewed and illumined in the posteritie of *Noah*. Afterward, when this pollicie became to be so well ordaind among the people

One sole and certaine assembly instituted by God to bee his Church

The reason why ancient ceremonies were instituted.

What the Sacrifices did represent.

Christ was assisting to his Church long before his incarnation.

The first means of knowing the blessed Spirit according to the instruction of the first Fathers.

Other doctrines instituted by the first fathers concerning nature.

The course of the yearre, and the knowledge of Plants.

The wisdom of the golden Age before the Flood.

God euermore reserved the company that kept this doctrine.

people of *Israel*: all the Colledge of the *Leuites* was as an Academie and place of exercise. There, some Sacrificers and Prophets taught againe the auncient and vncorrupted doctrine.

But afterward, when the tenne Tribes were cut off by the Kings of *Juda*: then great confusions (both in Religion and Doctrine) followed. And yet neuertheless, God raised in the dismembred part of *Judaes* Kingdome, *Eliar*, *Elsens*, and other Prophets, to draw diuers there to the truth of knowledge: which was the reason that the Prophets had great troupes of Auditours, in regarde that *Eliar*, *Elsens*, and the rest had deliuered (from hand to hand) their sacred preachings and interpretations. Some did leaue theirs written, as *Esay*, and they that followed after. This custome did alwayes continue in this people, and especially in the Temple, where the sacrificing Priests gaue the interpretations, or else where among the Doctours, and such as were interpreters of the Writings of *Moses* and the Prophets.

But in the latter times, after the returne from *Babylon*, and after the Prophet *Zacharie*, when the High-Priests beganne to affect familiarity with the kings of *Juda*, and sought to make themselves great and powerfull, the study of true doctrine became contemned, and after that *Juda* was spoiled by *Antiochus*; many places were lost, the companies of Students, and their Masters scattered, and discipline being thus neglected, it is very likely that the studies became to bee wonderfully changed. Howbeit, that alwayes some of the Colledge of the high-Priests, and of the people, kept some sparks of the true doctrine liuing among them: as *Simcon*, *Zacharie*, *Anne*, and other, whose youth neighboured to the warres of *Antiochus*. Notwithstanding, many audacious Expositions of the Propheticall Bookes, wandred farre off from the auncient doctrine.

It is very likely, that at the beginning, the name of Interpreters was common to some men of the best iudgement, and likewise to other, that transfused the doctrine of the Church into Philosophie. By succession of times, as this new Philosophie was most pleasing, and many earnestly fauouring it: the

Schooles began to be so much the more frequented, and a kinde of doctrine was then concluded on. In this manner a profession or Sect (which then was in admiration) was ordained; without changing the name of Pharisee, as much to say as an Expounder, as nowadaies the title of Doctour, is the name of a most honest Office and Profession: for many learned men doe conceiue the Pharisee to be named, rather for Interpretation or Exposition, then by separation or diuision.

Iulphus reporteth some of their opinions, but they are better to bee vnderstood in the Euangelicall Historie, and what their principall errors were. For, although they carried themselves as interpreters of the Prophets: they auouched the Bookes not onely of *Moses*, but also of the other Prophets, adioyned to the holy Histories by publique authoritie of the Ancients, to remaine in their credite and integrity. Neuertheless, they helde false opinions concerning the vse of the Lawe, and transferred the promises of the *Messias* Kingdome, to politicall vse. They helde exterior Discipline, for Iustice satisfying to the Lawe, and denied that wicked affections were sinne, or doubting of God, or courage enkindled by hatefull or lustfull desires: provided that they proceeded not to outward offence. These corruptions are expressly reproofed in Saint *Matthew*, where it is said; *Whosoener looketh on a woman, to lust after her, hath already committed adultery with her in his heart.* And although that many vlearned men in the Church, read these Sentences as Paradoxes of the Stoicks, who painted the Ideas of the vertues, to the end that men should stricke to come nere to them (which is impossible for any man in this world to do) yet are they propounded to the Church to other ends.

The Sonne of God knew, that in the imbecillitie of this nature, no man can be without bad desires; therefore hee would haue the preaching of repentance to be dayly sounded among men, that acknowledging our corruptions in due manner, wee should confesse our owne guiltinesse, and make our recourse to the Sonne of God. The Philosophie of the *Pharisees*, obscured this auncient Propheticall

The name of Pharisee is an Expolour.

The errors of the Scribes and Pharisees, and in what manner they held them.

Math. 5. 28.

No man in this life time can be free from corrupt and vnlawfull affections.

The ten tribes carried by the Kings of *Juda*: and the confusions of Doctrine that followed.

Such how the truth of doctrine grew to contempt and ballardizing.

Some remnant of Gods truth was still remaining.

Concerning the name of Interpreters.

The Pharisees celebrated the promises made to Abraham.

The carnall opinions of the Pharisees, concerning the Messiah and his Kingdom.

Sinners to be pardoned by ceremonies and laws of beasts ordained in the Lawe.

Questions concerning the acting & performing of deified ceremonies.

tical doctrine, as it had been in all times after *Caine* and his Posteritie.

In like manner, the other part of heavenly doctrine, to wit, the promised *Messias* was also obscured. The Pharisees knew and celebrated the magnificent Promises made to *Abraham*, recited by *Isaac*, and often repeated by the Prophets: but they maintained, that they spake only of a political kingdom. They dreamed also, that the *Messias* should come like unto an other *Cyrus* or *Alexander* the great, to vse the whole Empire of the world, the people being subiect unto him: and yet notwithstanding, that this Empire should be more iust, milde and peacefull, then any of them before. They affirmed, that the *Messias* should reigne a thousand yeares; that the Israelites should liue three or foure hundred yeres without feare of warres, seruitude, or famine, or any other great calamities: And that there should bee no other nature in the *Messias*, but humane.

In these idle imaginations, all the doctrine of the Sonne of God, of anger against sinners; of the sacrifice and death of the *Messias* was buried. And yet neuertheless, truth was not wholly quenched in the Church, but (as I haue said) some sparkes remayned with *Simeon*, *Zacharie*, and many such like, who read the Prophets without corruption.

After that the Pharisee had corrupted the words of the Lawe, and the promises thereto appertaining: they dreamed that sinners were to be pardoned by ceremonies and slaughter of beasts, ordained in the Lawe. This perswasion brought in great gaine, for the people (being thus perswaded) multiplied the more their sacrifices. These so thicke mists of darknesse had some apparence of wisdom and pietie; which neuertheless are oftentimes reprehended of the Prophets.

Ceremonies growing to great augmentation and encrease, many questions (as in the like cases happeneth) were moued, touching the manner of performing them, & other circumstances, which (indeede) required many declarations. And as Monks heaped vp together great summes of money, by the buying and selling of humane traditions, with their annexed circumstances: euen so the Pharisees would locke vp and let loose the ce-

remonies of *Moses*, at their pleasure; and adde to them their owne nouell devices, as well for the confirmation of superstition, as their owne gaine. Saint *Matthew* telleth vs, that the lucrative tradition is reprobued: that it was much better to giue somewhat to the Temple, then to norish and relieue their owne poore parents: euen as now adays it is maintained, that a number of slothfull idle Monks, should rather enioy great reuenewes, then any thing spared for the reliefe of poore Schollers.

The tradition of the Sabbath was also in great vse, as *Hierome* alledgeth: for *Alzila* and *Hillel*, both *Rabins*, do say, a Sabbath dayes journey is but two halfe miles. Beside in this Sect remained some studies of doctrine, and some care of governing the discipline. They could well conclude, that there was an eternall and intelligent God, true, good; iust, chaste, well-doing, and a reuenger of offences: whereby they confessed all things to be created, the heavens, the earth, Angels, men and other creatures. They affirmed also (by opinion of philosophy) that there was but one person in the diuinitie, boldly reiecting the Primitiue and Prophetical doctrine concerning the Sonne of GOD and the blessed Spirit: although they had apparent testimonies of the Son of God in *Daniel*, *Isay*, *Micheas* and *Daniel*; and of the Holie-ghost, in many Sermons of the Prophets.

Moreover, they confessed, that God the Creator of all things, was manifested by his Promises, and by publishing his Lawe: surpassing all other in goodnesse, with a most goodly policie, ordayned and warranted by many testimonies of his presence. Wherefore they would not haue any one to call in doubtfull question the prouidence of God, nor to doubt that the posteritie of *Abraham* (to whom God had giuen this ordayned policie) should bee any other then the people of God, or the Church whereof God had a peculiar care. They taught them that God gouerned the principall mutations which happened in this life, as the encreasing and diminishing of Empires, the ruine and building againe of great Cities; because they knew their euents to agree with the prophesies of empires, which are in *Moses*, *Isay* and *Daniel*; adding

Math. 15. 1.

Tradition by a Sabbath dayes journey a halfe mile, apparently the Pharisees.

The Pharisees allowed but one Person only in the Godhead.

Of the Lawe of Moses, and what they observed thereby.

Particular matters taught by the Pharisees.

The Pharisees maintained the freedom of mans will.

They allowed also the resurrection of the dead.

The true vse of the Lawe vnderly abolished by them.

Institution of many ceremonies for ornamentation.

Ceremonies vnderly the Pharisees.

Math. 6. 7.

ding withall, that they knew that their *Citie Ierusalem* had beene diuinely builded.

And yet (for all this) they affirmed, that the affaires and liues of all men, were gouerned by humane counceles; and they magnified the libertie of mans will, as also the faculty of Free-will: yea, and in such sort, that they held a man might satisfie the diuine Lawe, and be iust by his diligence, meriting all goodnesse both present and heavenly. And contrariwise, that such as offended the diuine Lawe by exteriour transgressions, should be punished both in this life and the other. For their opinion was (that the soule separated from the bodie) should liue, and that there should bee a resurrection of the dead, wherein God would reward the iust, and send into euermlasting punishments, such as had soiled themselves with execrable vices. And yet they held withall, that he would punish many crimes by present calamities, adding also; that some might be defaced by sacrifices, and the penalties due to them, made more milde or lessened.

Now, although this doctrine was very passable in appearance; yet notwithstanding, they abolished the true vse of the Law, and with the benefites of the *Messias*, the doctrine of free pardon. Wherefore, cyther they confirmed trust in mens owne iustice, or left their consciences in pittifull doubts: in regarde that mens minds being thus ouertrowne, fled from God, and trembling against him; neyther durst approach neare him, nor call vpon him truly.

For the more sure maintaining these their disciplines, they had instituted many exercises; the most part whereof serued rather for ostentation, then any restraint to their owne bad desires. The manner or forme of their garments was notable; for they wore great long cloakes, with fringes about them, inter-woven with the words of the Lawe. Oftentimes they vsed to wash themselves, hauing at the entering into their houses holy-water, wherewith they sprinkled themselves. They obserued choice of meates in their fasts, muttering long prayers to themselves, which Saint *Matthew* calleth *Barthologie*, much babbling.

Their sacrifices and apparance of piety, attracted greatly the familiarity of wo-

men, which was the cause that adulteries and diuorces grew to be very frequent among them; and to enioy therein the more liberty, they enlarged the law of diuorces. For the ancient custome of diuorces implied, that they were not to be done, but vpon knowledge of the cause, and the instruments to effect them, was, with the knowledge and consent of the magistrate, and seperation might not be graunted for light causes and distambances; but by good reasons induced to the Iudges, who were knowne to bee graue men, and of great integritie.

But the Pharisees (vicerly disannulling this ancient custome) made diuorces vpon their private authority, either without cause, or for causes of no moment: so that the lawe of diuorce serued onely as a baited hooke, to allure and betray other mens wiues; as among the Pagans, and as at this instant with the Turkes, it is in vse.

By this kind of proceeding, men might reiect their wiues when they thought fitly, without any reasonable cause, and contrary to the nature of marriage, which God himselfe instituted at the beginning, to the end, that it might be the alliance of an inseparable company when he saide: *They shall be both one flesh*; that is to say, a male and female shal be ioyned together inseparably. In like manner, the Lawe of *Moses* did not permit diuorce without cause; but rendered a reason whereby seperation might be allowed, to wit, *if any wilensse were found in her*. And the ancient *Atticke* custome intended, that no diuorce should be granted, without knowledge of the cause. Since when, by succession of times, the bands of discipline haue been let loose, by the encrease of lewdnes and incontinencie: so that the ancient *Atticke* custome became quite changed, And since the latter times of the Iewes, all grauity for the maintenance of alliance in marriage, grew greatly extenuated. For these could not be faide to be a true wife, whom the husband might cast off at all times, and whensoever such giddines intoxicated his braine, and without any worthy cause. This vniust custome of the *Pharisees* was the cause of that question in *S. Mathew*, where mention is made concerning the alliance of marriage, and the first institution thereof repeated: also by a

sucre

Women familiarly allured to their sacrifices.

The ancient manner for granting the bill of diuorce.

The lawe of diuorce vsued for the betraying of mens wiues.

Gods first institution of marriage.

Genesis 2. 24.

Moses lawe for diuorce.

Deut. 24. 1.

The Atticke custome concerning diuorce.

The latter times of the Iewes much negligent in marriage caues.

Math. 19. 6. 7.

The vniust
custome of
the Pharisee.

Vices frequent
and common
to superstiti-
ous nations
in all ages and
nations.

Irregular tricks
of the Phari-
sees.

Most of the
Pharisees were
of one mould.
Execrable er-
rors held by
the Pharisee.

Their pride
in opinion of
themselves,
and their ac-
tions, exceeding
all and none
mod enough
to be equal
with them.

seuer declaration, light and triuial separations of marriage, vied both among the people of the Iewes, and Pagans likewise, are forbidden and condemned.

It hath beene common to all superstitious natures, in all ages and nations, to peruert the order of precedent actions; yea, & in such sort, that they grow to be very difficult and rigorous exacters, of multitudes of their owne deuised ceremonies: being (in the *interim* time) very carelesse for the necessary seruices of life, whereof the Decalogue giueth commands, and letting loose the bridle to infinit lewd affections. And many of them appeare merely as Luggers, such as are described in our Satyres, who (by counterfeited grauitie) disguise great vices, whereof is said; *That they show themselves to be wise men, and yet live in dissolution.*

And although among the *Pharisees*, some were more modest then others, as *Gamaliel*; some also vnderstanding the doctrine more purely, renouncing errors, as *Nichodemus*: yet notwithstanding, the most part of them were of this coyned or flampe. They had execrable errors (concerning the Diuinitie) engrauen in their spirits, and touching the political Empire of the *Messias*. They vnderstood nothing of the promise for remission of sins, nor of the true Inuocation. They had a false opinion of the *Mosaicall* ceremonies, and of their owne. Moreover, they added other enorme vices to these; as to esteeme wel of themselves, for they reputed themselves to be wise, iust, princes and pillars of Gods Church; preferring themselves before all modest and religious people indeed, because they affected to haue their carriage more seene and obserued, themselves to be more honoured and feared, then any other. Nevertheless, they were in continuall debates and variances, as well among themselves, as the Citizens, feasting together for pride, ambition, enuy, contempt, hatred, euill speaking and venomous injuries. So that through their private couetousnes, they moued not only many domestical tumults, but ayimed at the yoke of strangers; for they were skillfull in those artes (well knowne among themselves) in seeking to compasse a tyrannicall power.

First of all, they strengthened themselves by the fauours of neighboring kings,

of high Courts, mighty men, and planting factions among the people; forgetting to imitate the ancient saying; *If the Serpent doe not eate a Serpent, hee will neuer become a Dragon*. And either by calumnies, or other like means, they oppressed all such, as (in emulation) were hinderers to their power. About all, they were very spleenatiue against the professors of true doctrine, carefully seeking all occasions whereby to spoile them: as it is said, they slew *Zachary* the Father to *Iohn Baptist*.

Now although (as I haue formerly said) that among the *Pharisees*, some were more modest then other, & some (being there-to admonished) forsooke their errors, and embraced the true doctrine: yet notwithstanding, the following Historie of the Iewish people, and the Euangelicall narrations doe testifie, that the opinions and behaviour of this troupe, and all such as made profession of this Sect, partaking with them in their rites and ceremonies, were none other then as I haue heere set downe.

CHAP. VIII.

Concerning the originall of the other Sect, termed Sadduces, contrary in nature to the Pharisees, and what customes were obserued among them.



Haue beene the larger in discoursing on the *Pharisees*, in regarde that this Sect dazzled or deceived mens sight, by an apparance of farre greater superstition, then that of the *Sadduces*, and going beyond them in authoritie. Now I shall (in brieft) say somewhat of the *Sadduces*, in so much, as this Sect receiued no originall from superstition; but rather from contempt of God, fauouring to be Epicurian.

Forasmuch as the *Pharisees* charged men with numberlesse ceremonies, that neither their bodies or consciences could bear any more like to some other in these later times, whose lawes and impositions haue growne beyond all measure, that many

What many and practices were in obseruation among the Pharisees.

The following historie will make appeare the people.

From whence the Sadduces had their originall.

When many and practices were in obseruation among the Pharisees.

The Sadducees name held to be more glorious then that of the Pharisees.

The diuells might power in these times.

Errors and false doctrine, by means of the Sect.

Many of the Sadduces brought in those practices of the Iewes.

fired (with tears) to be disburdened: so started vp other profane people, who, without any true iudgement, loosing the bids of all restriction (by an *Epicurian* audaciousnes) instituted another Sect contrary to that of the *Pharisees*, naming themselves *Sadduces*. For, to cary some esteem before the people, they tooke this honorable title, deliuered from Iustice: For *Zaddikim* signifies Iustnes, & this name was opposite to that of the *Pharisees*, who were termed Interpreters, and disputed on many things. Now it was a matter more notable and glorious, for men to be styled Iust, and doers of the Law, then Interpreters and Disputers. Others deduce the name from *Sedak*, a *Chaldean* word, which signifies to part or diuide. Because they vnderstood the *Sadduces* to be termed (according as we speake) Schismatikes, diuided from sentence with the rest of the church; but I guesse that their aduersaries forged that Etymology.

It is no great matter, whence the appellation came, let vs rather consider the deed it selfe, & be terrified withall, in thinking on so horrible an example. Wherein plainly appeared the power of the diuell, foraging in this company, which bare the name of the church of God, considering, that (euen then) in people very well conditioned, among whom discipline was easily enterained, because their extendure was so small, & where there were no strangers to intermeddle; many durst (by public authority) propound most execrable errors, and erect; euen in the midst of the Church, a Schoole like that of *Epicurus*. Let vs consider on this also; that after these Churches were spread abroad farre & wide, many mighty errors were sowne in; & by them, as namely the confusion of the Empire, and the conuersion of Pagans, among whom they liued. Wherefore, let vs not flatter our selves, by a vain assurance of the name of the Church, as if that all had bin, or were without sinne.

And although it is not possible to report all the mad pranks of the *Sadduces*, without great griefe and anguish; yet notwithstanding, it is necessary the Historie should be written. For, it plainly appeareth, that some profane Iewes brought a monstrous audaciousnes into *Iudea*, and such wicked opinions as they had learned of Pagans, merely Epicurians, by haun-

ting to them familiarly; for they carried no meane resemblance with them. The Sect of the *Sadduces* retained the name of God, for feare lest it should appeare, that they would dissipate the pollicie, which was singularly maintained by the bands of Religion. But they endeouored to efface out of mens vnderstanding, the true inuocation vpon God, and the true feare of him.

They maintained, that mens soules being (sundered from their bodies, should neuer rest, and that men should reuiue no more after death: neyther that any other iudgement was to be expected, wherein the iust were to be discerned from the vniust. The names of eternall life, & of hell, were to this Sect as meere fables and terrors to affright young children. And because they would make their intention knowne, that it was to ease the mindes of men, from the burden of Pharisaicall traditions, and to teach liberty: they feigned, to recall men back to the writings of *Moses*, and therefore alledged his saying, where it is forbidden to adde to the Law. By this meanes they frustrated all the writings of the *Pharisees*, with all their interpretations and traditions: the release and discharge whereof was pleasing, and affected by many, because that the number of them was well-near infinite.

From thence, and there framing their beginning, they went on further vnder the same colour, & reiected all the Bookes of the Prophets (the bookes of *Moses* onely excepted) auouching, that he neuer meant or spake, but of this present life onely. To maintain the forme and order of their Commonwealth, they sayd; That the law ought to be obeyed, & sacrifices to be performed, because God punished great offenses in this life. Contrariwise, for good actions and obedience, he gaue peace & abundance of goods: confirming all their fancies by the words of *Moses*, where hee speaks both of blessings and cursings.

The breuitie of this Doctrine, agreed and contented light headed spirits highly; and prophane persons were not a little delighted with these opinions: which were confirmed by the iudgement of sense onely, because every man thought that an intollerable burthen, and hardly gaue credite to those Articles, which were out of his present sight & comprehension. And

Eniour and multi-
tudes of
blasphemies
held & main-
tained by the
Sadduces.

All the Phari-
sees writings
made voyde
and of none
account.

All the bookes
of all the pro-
phets reiect-
ed by the Sad-
duces, onely
the books of Mo-
ses excepted.

The Saddu-
ces doctrine
confirmed by
the iudgement
of sense onely

therefore this Sect (how wicked fouer it were) wanted not store of folowers.

Now although it be true, that God is the gardian of political societie; and that he punisheth vniust murders in this life, lest the companies of men should be confounded, as also to the end, that they may be manifest signes of his diuine Iustice to euery eye: yet notwithstanding, God in meane while (by an admirable counsell best knowne vnto himselfe) suffereth many iust persons to be slaine by the wicked; as *Abell*, the children of *Israel* in *Egypt*, *Ionathas*, *Esay*, *Jeremy*, and innumerable other. These examples doe testifie, that there remaineth another Iudgement, wherein God will declare his iustice, by bringing the iust and vniust into iudgement: and the wicked, being sent into torments, shall shew the iust to be victorious, although it continue some time after death. For, seeing that God declared, that he had a care of *Abell*, *Ionathas*, *Esay*, and *Jeremy* during their liues: if after death he should haue made no account of them, it had much diffented from his prefciences; yea, and from his iustice also. It is then most euident, that the *Sadduces*, who denied any other iudgement to remaine after death; did cut off the diuine and iust providence, from a great part of mankind, and especially from such as haue excelled in righteoufnesse.

The sacrificing Priest of the *Sadduces*, beeing at the Altare, conceived, that the *Israelitish* Nation was not chosen of God (who onely had the true knowledge of God on earth); because they had been so often oppressed by Kings of the *Egyptians*, *Chaldeans* & *Syrians*; and, euen when their neighbors (being dispersed throughout *Iudea*) spoiled many thousands of iust persons, compelling them that furnished, to feed on the slaughtered bodies of their fellow-Citizens: in this case, shall there bee no attribution of iustice and providence to God, if instantly hee shewe not himselfe to haue a care of his, and that (therefore) there remaineth no immortality? Thus vnder the shadow of ceremonies, were mens foules abused, by outward and apparant Legier-dumaines, the diuine Providence being exactly taken away, euen as the *Epicurians* did.

Now, considering there were these debates between the *Pharises* and *Sadduces*,

in such great matters, let such as reade, conceiue, not onely how great and frequent the tumults and perturbations of this people haue beene; but also, how rudely both the *Pharises* and *Sadduces*, and diuers other with them (being manifestly Atheists) vsed the true Church, as *Simeon*, *Zachary* and their poore flocke. But as then (among so many wolues and lions) some faithfull guardians of the true doctrine were reserved; so (no doubt) but God will still continue it to all succeeding times; and as hee did to *Simeon* and the rest, so he will euermore stand in the iust defence of his Spouse the Church, supporting her against all miseries whatsoeuer.

CHAP. IX.

Of a third Sect, contrary to the *Pharises* and *Sadduces*, who termed themselves by the name of *Essæans*: their originall Religion and manner of life.



Ordinarly happeneth, that when seditions haue once gotten themselves into actiue motion: many partialities and diuisions will thrust in after them. As *Homer* feigned, that the Storehouse or Armory (wherein *Aeolus* had locked vp the winds) being broken open: the Sea became troubled euery where, the windes flew abroad with such extraordinary violence; euen so in kingdoms & Empires, after that political order commeth to bee once troubled and disioyned; many diuisions must needs follow after. Many Sects exalted themselves, during these debates between the *Pharises* and *Sadduces*. For some, detestling the profane doctrine, and Ethnick licence of the *Sadduces*, and seeing Religion and piety masked by the *Pharises*, and that, to disguise great and grosse vices, such as were whoredome, ambition, malice, enuy, cruelty, lying, rapine, and the like, they set before mens eyes (as a cloude of dissimulation) dreadfull feueritie, and some seuerer ceremonies; beganne

Matters let by the Author to the Readers direct consideration.

Chap. 9.

Of the Essæans.

to diuide themselves from both one and other.

And these Separatists & diuided people, formed a name for themselves, called *Essæans*, workers; by which title, they gaue me to vnderstand, that which they reproued in others, & wherein they would seem more excellent then they: namely, that they fled from the profane libertie of the *Sadduces*, & allowed not the hypocrisie of the *Pharises*, disguised in so many kindes: but that they would doe deeds or workes profitable to other, and commaunded by God, hauing alwayes this vsuall sentence in their mouths, *Euery word without work, is merely vaine and vnprofitable*.

There is no mention made of them in the Ecclesiastical history, either because they had not inuented any new kind of doctrine, but retained the doctrine of *Moses* & the Sacrificers: or in regard they dwelt at the end of *Iudea*, toward the lake *Asphaltida*, as in a retiremēt, & neuer intermeddled with the gouernment of affaires, thunning the contentions of the *Pharises* and *Sadduces*. Their manner of life was like to that of the Monkes; for, either they were not married, or if they were, they abstained from their wiues; hauing their goods in comon, doing such businesses as were inioyned the. They fough: not after riches, voluptuous pleasures, or honors; but digged and delued in gardens, as in a life of solitude, seeking carefully for knowledge in the nature of Plants, and their iuyces, stones and animals, learning their remedies, and exercising Physicke faithfully, which serued more then all other Artes for the life of man.

Moreover, they practised many vertues, as beneficence, patience in visiting sicke persons; such as were not able to helpe themselves, they would feed them, carry them, wash and bathe them, neuer shrinking at grosse sauiors, coming either fro wounds, sweats, or other annoyances. Their cunning, faith & diligence was very commendable, in knowing wel how to prepare medicaments; to know the kindes of diseases; what remedies were apt for them; to know also times & seasons, when physicke ought to be ministred. In briefe, the vertues & welldoing of a learned, industrious and faithfull Physitian appeared in the most of them.

And as it is a good thing, that youth

should be instructed in learning, the doctrine of good maners, the Art of Physick, and to accustom their tender spirits to discipline, & the vnderstanding of vertue: euen so in the assembly of the *Essæans*, the very skillfull were chosen by a certaine number, who instructed many throughout *Iudea*. For all modest men, & such as thunned the managing of affaires in ciuile dissensions, affected rather to haue their children taught by the doctors of this Sect, then any other, which they held in horror, & would haue no acquaintance with them, seeing them so rempless in the Common-wealth, by their owne particular couetous desires, and continually mouing vnecessary contentions.

The *Essæans* addicted their life and religion principally to two heads or points, to wit: In calling vpon God in a priuate kind of life, and in honest bodily labours, which were the expulsion of vices, and profitable to other men. And for satisfaction both to the one and other, they had partition of times, so that they might attend on busines till the fifth houre of the day, that is to say, to eleuen houres before midday. Their labor ending at that houre, certain numbers of people (round about) met there together, according to the places distributed to euery one. In this assembly, some passage in *Moses* and the Prophets was read, the Auncients that sate as Presidents, gaue addition of the exposition: which they would not haue to be written, but retained in the minde, and so transferred to the gouernment of manners, admonishing (according to the exigence of time) what they thought profitable for peace and tranquillitie, for they would haue none of their followers to meddle in the Common-wealth.

After this reading & exposition, they inuoked Gods assistance both in publique & particular. They held those times to be most meet for meditation & prayer, when the body was not charged with meats & fumes, & that inuention is most sprightly in them, whose mindes were fasting from worldly cogitations. Two or 3. houres being employed in reading and prayer, euery one went to supper, or walked in company, or alone by himselfe, according as it stood with his good liking, or as his heart required. The rest of the day, vntill the Euening came, was spent in

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The Art of Physicke is meet and profitable to be learned by young people.

The doctrine and life of the Essæans aimed only at two especial ends.

Concerning their meetings and assemblies.

What times they repud most convenient for meditation and prayer.

A refutation of the grosse and abominable errors of the Sadduces Sect.

The Sadduces denied any other iudgement to ensue after death.

The reason why the people of Israel were condemned by the Sadduces.

Essæans, workers, or reprouers of other men, in regard of their owne excellencie.

No mention made of the Essæans in the Ecclesiastical history.

The manner in which they lived, in the fashion of other men.

Vertuous and charitable qualities exercised by the Essæans.

Distilled in some of both Pharises and Sadduces.

The exercises
after receiving
suffenance.

Discipline ec-
clesiastical or
dayned for
such as offend
ed against
the Lawes of
their colleges.

Math. 18. 17.

The princi-
pall parts of
the doctrine
taught by
the Effæans.

Ioseph in An-
tiquities. cap. 9.
Plin. lib. 15. c. 21.

The habitati-
on of the Ef-
sæans.

learned discourse and talking of God, of Plants, of medicaments, and their experience in euery thing: or else of the historie of their owne nation, and what miseries had bene common to them. Before the darke houres of night, they met together againe, and went to prayer.

Now, although the order of their behaviour and actions were wisely gouerned, and many (in their Colledges) liued modestly; yet notwithstanding it came to passe, that some of them (wonne by their owne couetous desires) forgot the Lawes diuine, and (in the neighbouring towns) fell to voluptuous pleasures. But the rigour of each Colledge was such, as if any one had defrauded another, if hee had lied, or had infected himselfe with whoredome: immediately (by common sentence) hee was excommunicated out of the company. For (among them) was kept the most ancient custome of the Synagogue, whereof is spoken in Saint Matthew. Because there might no question be vttered, for instituting any new forme of Iudicature; but the playne ancient fashion, recited as it was giuen by the Fathers, the traces whereof are remaining in the Church.

This policie of the Effæans, comprehended the principall parts of their doctrine, to wit; the study of learning, the exercises of Inuocation, reuerence to their Gouernors, bodily labors, temperance, and modest maners according to the Decalogue, the nourishing of youth; who were instructed in learning, and the Art of Physicke; paines and punishments also appointed for delinquents. Iosephus commended the Colledge of the Effæans, comparing them to the Schoole of Pythagoras. Pliny also makes mention of them in very honorable maner, terming them Effæans, as (since then) diuers other did; for there he speaketh of no other people, but only the Effæans. Hee placeth their dwelling towards the Lake Alphalida, on the west side, not farre from the City of Ptocho, where were the gardens of Balme. It may be, that this place was chosen to study the Art of Physick, as not being the like in all the world, for abounding in all the principall medicines. By this passage of Pliny, and by Iosephus, it appeareth, that the colledge of the Effæans continued to the time of Vespasian: besides, Iosephus re-

porteth, that they carried themselves very valiantly in warre.

Now wil we returne to Hyrcanus, who after he had held the gouernement, and the High-priesthood 31 yeares, died, leaving 3. children. Hee was accounted singularly happy in 3. things; to wit, that he had bin so long a time a peaceable prince of the people, and the soueraigne Sacrificer: adding thereto, that he was beleueed to haue the spirit of Prophecie, & knowledge in things to come, by the gift of god.

CHAP. X.

Having briefly discoursed on the 3. severall Sects, of the Pharisees, Sadduces, and Effæans: we go backe againe where we formerly left, to speake of Hyrcanus and his Sonnes.

Iohn Hyrcanus had five sonnes, Aristobolus the first, Antigonus the second; a graue yong man, who in his life time, accompanied with his brother Aristobolus: expelled Antiochus Cyzicenus out of Iudea, and tooke Samaria. The father being dead, his brother also was crowned King. But soone after, when hee had exploited the affaires in Galilee, he went vp to Ierusalem, accompanied with braue Souldiers, to be present at the Feast of Tabernacles. His brother growing suspitious of him, and causing him to be entrapped by his warlike troupes; he was slaine by them neare to the Temple.

Alexander the third, called Iamnes also, had two sons, namely, Hyrcanus the first, Aristobolus the second, Absolon the fourth; being of most milde and peaceable spirit, liued by himselfe priuately. A daughter of his was married to his cousin Aristobolus. The fifth sonne of Hyrcanus is not named at all, and yet was slaine by his brother Alexander: because that (after the death of Aristobolus) he affected the kingdom.

Aristobolus, after the death of his father Hyrcanus, being the first that changed the Principalltie into a dignitie Royall; imposed on himselfe the diademe, and sent also for his brother Antigonus, whom he loued. He put his other three brethren in prison, and that which is much more, he starued his owne mother to death in prison; because she deman-

The Authors
returne to the
former History.

The valiant
actes of Anti-
gonus.

Antigonus
slaine by his
brothers
meanes.

The fifth sonne
of Hyrcanus
slaine.

Aristobolus
crowned him-
selfe king
of Iudea.

ded the succession and gouernement of the principalltie, which Hyrcanus had left vnto her on his death-bed.

Afterward, he caused his brother Antigonus to be slaine, he being a braue man, and a bolde warrior, laying diuerse ambushes for him, as hee returned victoriously from Galilee; only because he suspected that he affected the kingdom.

Immediately, beeing highly distasted by this murdering of his brethren, he became seized with a grievous paine in his entrails, and hauing cast vp a great quantitie of blood by vomiting, the Page that carried the Basin from him, fell (accidentally) in the same place, where the ground remained as yet infected with the blood of murdered Antigonus, and there he spilt the cast blood of Aristobolus: which hee vnderstanding, and falling into acknowledgement of the diuine iult vengeance, in excessive torments both of soule and body, yielded vp the ghost. After he had reigned one whole yeare onely, and during which time, hee had augmented the kingdom of Iudea, and constrained the Iherusans to vndergoe Circumcision, hauing formerly vanquished them. He was called Philhellin, because hee vied greatly the familiarity of Pagans.

Alexander, called also Iamnes.

His father Hyrcanus neuer saw him, for as he was in great care about the succession of his children: it was foretold him in his sleepe, that his riches and principalltie, should fall into the power of that new borne babe, whereat hee growing greatly offended, commaunded, that hee should be nursed in Galilee, like to a simple priuate person.

After the death of his father Hyrcanus, he was clapt vp in prison (with his two other brethren) by Aristobolus. But Aristobolus dying at his yeares expiration, hee came to the Crowne, by the means of Alexandra, wife to Aristobolus, to whom he had promised marriage.

Soone after he was crowned King, he slew one of his brethren, who practised nouelties, and entertained the other (named Absolon) honorably, because he was of a peaceful spirit. Then taking order for publicke affaires, hee besieged the citie of Ptolemais round about. The citizens seeing all hope of succour voyde from Syria, in regard of the ciuile warre, which made

mighty haucke there; called from Cyprus Ptolemie Lathyrus, expelled by his mother Cleopatra. He coming to them with 3000 men, Alexander retired his army into his country, and dispatched a messenger secretly into Egypt, desiring ayde of Cleopatra against her son Lathyrus. Publickly he capitulated alliance with Lathyrus, promising him 24 tuns of gold, if, expelling the tyrant Zolius, who vsurped Doris and Cæsarea, he would render those Seigneuries to the Lewes.

But Ptolemie being aduertised of Alexanders secret machinations, breaking all alliances, invaded Iudea with his Army, where Alexander mette him with his forces well appoynted, and after a rude encounter, Alexander was put to flight, and lost 30000. of his men. Lathyrus not a little glorying in this victory, made mightie waite in Iudea, sacking & spoyling all places where he came, killing both women and children in euery village; and after he had sliced them in peeces, he caused their limbes to be boyled and eaten by his souldiers, to make them the more terrible to the Lewes. Very soone after, Cleopatra chased this Tyrant out of Iudea, as doubting lest if he should grow any greater, the he would further insult vpon Egypt. Alexander went to visite her at the siege which he maintained before Ptolemais, where he gaue her great gifts: and after he had bin royally welcomed by her, and combined alliance with her, he tooke his way homeward againe.

Much about this time, while Lathyrus returned to Cyprus, and Cleopatra into Egypt, Alexander tooke Gadera, Amathunta and Anhedon, and hauing held a long siege before Gaza, with losse of a great number of his men: finally, by the treason of Lyfismachus, he entred it, & slaying the Citizens most inhumanely, hee rased it to the ground. Nor would he pardon 500. of the principall persons, who labored to yield the city to him but drew them from forth the Temple of Apollo (whereunto they had fled for freedom) to put them to death. But these iocund prosperities were overtaken with a domestick sedition: for, in the Feast of Tabernacles, he was iniured by the people, as vnworthy of the Priestthoode, because hee was borne of a flauie: And hardly it happened, that (in his sacrificing) he was not slayne

An Ile in the
sea Carpathi-
um, betwene
Cilicia and
Syria.

A country of
Greece, where
the gulf Me-
leaeus.

The great
cruelties of
Lathyrus a-
gainst the
vanquished
Iewes in
Iudea.

Tolomira by
the red Sea.

Cities of
Decapolis in
Syria.

The barbarous
butcherie
of Alex-
ander the High
priest.

Alexander hardly eia-
ped killing, &
bloody re-
venge on
the people.

The Moabite
& Galaadites
conquered.

The Jewes
entred into
civill warre
gainst Alex-
ander.

Alexander
findeth helpe
in his heavy
extremity.

The most part
of the Jewes
in Armes still
against Alex-
ander.

Eight hundred
cheefe Jewes
crucified by
Alexander,
while he ban-
queting with
his Concu-
bines.

by the multitude then about him, who smote him with the boughes and branches, which the Jewes vsed to carry at that Feast. Not a little enraged at this wrong, he called his souldiers together, and entering vpon the vnarmed people, slew about fixe thousand of them: calling diuers strangers from *Perſia* and *Cilicia*, to serue as a Guard about his body. Afterward, marching forth with his Army, he vanquished the *Moabites* and *Galaadites*, compelling them to pay him tribute.

Shortly after, to his great misfortune, hee encountered with *Oboda*, King of the *Arabians*, fell into his ambushes, and his Army being hewen in pieces, hee escaped with much difficulty. Vpon this bad successe, the Pharisees (enraged with hatred against him) tooke occasion to raise the most part of the Jewish people likewise in mislike of him, with whom hee warred (very hardly) fixe whole yeares. For the Jewes that were his aduersaries, drew *Demetrius*, the Sonne of *Gryphus*, to oppose his forces with such troops as hee had called from *Damas*, where hee reigned: against whom *Alexander* fought to his great losse, for all his strange Souldiers layaine in the field, & hee had no means to saue himselfe, but by flight. Yet, notwithstanding his instant calamity, some of the Jewes were hardened to take his part, in turning requitall vpon *Demetrius*: and being assisted with some fixe thousand men, he made a small recovery of his former losse.

Now, albeit vpon this victory, *Demetrius* (perceiuing the revolt of the Jewes) retired his host home into his kingdom: yet notwithstanding, the most part of the Jewes (who were conuined against *Alexander*) continued in Armes still, whose power *Alexander* brake by little and little, aswell through industry, as by vertue. And after hee had sped well in some skirmishes, hee shute vp his very mightiest enemies, in the Fort belonging to the Towne of *Bethom*, which hee enforced with great difficulty, & vsed extreme cruelty vpon his captiues. For he tooke eight hundred of the principal Jewes, causing them all to be crucified, while hee satte banqueting at a Table with his Concubines, and in the presence of all his inuited guests, hauing formerly commaunded their wiues and children to be miserably

murdred. The rest (affrighted by this cruel example) fled out of *Ierusalem* in the night time, being about eight thousand of his enemies.

By this meanes, that dreadfull ciuill warre was appeased, which had continued more then fixe yeares; and wherein, about fifty thousand Jewes were slaine. After these domestick troubles, by continuall courses hee reuenged himselfe on strange aduersaries, who had giuen succour and retreat to the feditious Jewes, winning from them many Townes and Cities. Returning home againe, through his intemperance, hee fell into a Feauer quartane, which held him for the space of three yeares. And yet, hating to abstaine (all this while) from traualle and war, dyed in besiedging a Castle on the Mount of the *Gergeſenians*, in the nine and fortieth year of his age; of his reigne and Priesthood, the seuen and twenty. Before his death, he left his kingdoms government to his wife *Alexandra*, and gaue her charge to pacifie the Pharisees, whom he and his Father had offended, vnto their great detriment.

He left two Sons: *Hyrcanus* & *Aristobolus*.

Of whom we shall haue leysure to speak heereafter; because first of all, we are to say some what concerning *Alexandra*, the wife of *Alexander Iannes*.

Alexandra, wife to *Alexander Iannes*. After shee had instituted in the High Priesthood her eldest sonne *Hyrcanus*, who desired nothing more, then to leade a priuate life: shee succeeded in the kingdom after her husband *Alexander*, being especially aided by the power of the Pharisees, to whom shee gaue authority, to reuocate and erect their ancient traditions, which *Hyrcanus* (her father in law) had abolished, & granted to them many other fauours beside. So that the Pharisees diminished the whole Regiment of the Kingdom at their owne pleasure; onely the bare name of Queene remained to *Alexandra*. Finally, as they vnderooke the boldnesse, to execute (vnder colour of iustice) the cheefest Councillors to the deceased King *Alexander*, who they suspected to haue incited him against the Pharisees Sect: so they proceeded on in many inhumanities. The friends of *Alexandra* going to *Rome* with his sonne *Aristobolus*, obtained (by fauor of the Court)

Six yeares
civill warre
the losse
more then
a fifty thousand
Jewes.

Alexander
ed in war, be-
siedging a
Castle.

The death of
Alexandra.

Hyrcanus, the
eldest sonne to
Alexander
created high
Priest.

A woman
reigneth
over the Jewes.

Alexander
friends got
with *Aristobolus*
to *Rome*.

to goe as Captaines of warlike troopes, to the Castles.

At this time, *Tygranes* King of the *Parthians*, made seizure on the kingdom of *Syria*; because the *Syrian* Kings had consumed all their strength and power by domestick warres. And being entred also into *Iudea*, planted his Campe before the City of *Ptolomis*: whereof (neuertheless) Queen *Alexandra* bought the peace by liberrall bounty of gifts. After the taking of *Ptolomis*, *Tygranes* returning with his Army to his Countrey: heard newes concerning the victory of *Lucullus*, and the flight of *Mithridates*.

Within a while after, *Alexandra* being fallen into an extreme sicknesse, her Son *Aristobolus*, taking in ill part the dominion of the Pharisees: fled to the friends of his Father, who had the guarding of the castles, by whose assistance, he got possession of the principall Cities in *Iudea*. In this feare of the Pharisees, and no great assurance of *Aristobolus*, who (neuertheless) approached neere with his Army; *Alexandra* was called out of this life, in the ninth year of her Reigne, and the Lxxv. of her age, which brought peace to the Land of *Iudea*. But because shee had encreased the power of the Pharisees; it was the reason of many troubles which followed.

The sonnes of *Alexander Iannes*, and of *Alexandra*, were (as hath bene said)

Hyrcanus the second.

Aristobolus the second.

Hyrcanus the second, naturally peacefull, and a lover of quietnesse, was entailed by his Mother *Alexandra* Soueraigne Sacrificer, in the place of his deceased Father. And moreover, after the death of his Mother, by hereditary right he obtained the kingdom. But being vanquished by his Brother *Aristobolus* in battel, he was glad to saue himselfe in the Fortresse of the Temple; commanded there to leade a priuate life, the kingdom and High Priesthood being quitted to his Brother. For some time hee endured these conditions, but being afterward moued by some accusations, which *Antipater* the *Iudmean* (father to *Herod*) put into his head, as also the frauds and fetches of his brother *Aristobolus*, hee was induced to flye thence into *Arabia*, to king *Arctas*, whom *Antipater* had won by liberrall pro-

mises, to attempt the restitution of *Hyrcanus* to the kingdom of *Iudea*.

Arctas invading *Iudea* with a potent Army, and hauing *Aristobolus* at the encounter overcame him, and taking the City of *Ierusalem*, held him so long besiedged in the Temple, vntill by the command of *Scaurus*, Lieutenant to *Pompey*, he was forced to retire with his Army into *Arabia*, and so the enterprize for *Hyrcanus* proved to none effect. After that *Pompey* had vanquished *Tygranes*, & was come into *Syria*, the two brethren, *Hyrcanus* and *Aristobolus*, accused each other before him, touching their right to the Kingdom and High Priesthood. But *Pompey*, more enclining to the part of *Hyrcanus*, by the providence and seruices of *Antipater*; revealed *Aristobolus* vnder certain conditions. Neuertheless, *Aristobolus* meaning nothing but mere mockery to all commands, and trusting to the munitions in the City of *Ierusalem*; *Pompey* (in reuenge) entred it violently, and won the Temple so strongly defended, where were slaine of the Jewes, about the number of two and twenty thousand, and the City (with the most part of *Iudea*) rendered tributary to the *Romaines*. Which tribute they payed for a certaine time, as *Iosephus* confesseth, amounting to the sum of 10000. Talents, which is 60. Tuns of gold. *Pompey* hauing walked in the Temple, and entred into the holiest part of all, called *Sanctum Sanctorum*: at his departing, restored *Hyrcanus* to the Soueraigne Priesthood, but not the kingdom. Also, he led along with him to *Rome*, *Aristobolus* as prisoner, with his two sonnes, *Alexander* (who neuertheless escaped by the way) and *Antigenus*, and his two daughters likewise.

Thus *Hyrcanus*, being possessed of the Soueraigne Priesthood, about foure yeares after the death of his Mother *Alexandra*, succored *Scaurus* (left in *Iudea* with two legions) when hee besiedged *Petra*, a City of *Arabia*. Afterward, hee fell into the fauor of other *Romain* Lieutenants, sent into *Iudea* onely by the perswasion and friendship of *Antipater* as with *Gabinus*, *Craſſus*, *Cassius* and *Iulius Caesar* himselfe, to who hee sent aid, vnder the conduct of *Antipater*, when he was much hindred in the war of *Egypt*. And because *Antipater* had caried himselfe valiantly, *Cesar* confirmed the High Priesthood to *Hyrcanus*: & appointed *Antipater* to be

Arctas invadeth Iudea to restore Hyrcanus.

The two brethren plead before Pompey.

Iudea and Ierusalem made tributary to the Romans.

Iosephus Ant. Iud lib. 3. cap. 7.

Aristobolus led prisoner by Pompey.

Hyrcanus in good fauor with many of the Romaine Lieutenants.

Antipater
protector of
all Iudea.

be Tutor, Curator, or (as we vse now a-
dayes to speake) Protector of all Iudea.
At the same time also, *Cesar* permitted
to *Hyrcanus*, to re-establish the fortifica-
tions of the City of *Ierusalem*, which had
beeene beaten down by *Pompey*.

Antipater
poisoned by
Malchus a
Iewe.

After that *Julius Cesar* was slaine by
the conspirators, a powerfull Iewe, named
Malchus, being offended at the encreas-
ing greatness of *Antipater* the Iudeme-
an, and that the whole administration of
affaires should be in his hand; surprized
his life by poisons. But thereupon, *Iudea*,
beeing destitute of so wife and valiant a
Gouernour, fell to very miserable con-
dition. For *Malchus*, tempesting his
thoughts with mounting hopes, to be-
come sole maister and commander; was
slaine euen in the entrance to his enter-
prises, by *Herode* sonne to *Antipater*, to
whom (though he was as yet very young)
his father had giuen the charge of *Galilee*.
On the other side, the brother of *Mal-
chus*, desirous to reuenge the death of his
brother, theued in the manner of an e-
nemy. Also, *Antigonus* the captiued son
to *Aristobolus*, escaping from the prisons
of *Rome*: leuying men of arms, made him
selfe maister of a great part of *Iudea*.

Malchus
slaine by He-
rode Antipa-
ters sonne.

Antigonus e-
scaped the
Roman pri-
sons.

After that *Herode* had imbarred his
proceedings, *Antigonus* vnder promise of
a thousand talents, which value sixe tun-
s of golde, and offiue hundred most noble
women; procured *Pacorus* and *Barza-
phernes*, Satrapes in the Kingdome of
Persia, to enter with a maine army into
Iudea, to ouerthrow *Herode* and his bro-
ther *Phaselus*, whom *Antionne* (one of the
three Monarches) had before made *Te-
rarchs* of *Iudea*. Which beeine done,
they should perforce render the kingdom
of the Iewes, to the sonnes of *Aristobolus*.
Pacorus thinking it best, that *Herode*
should bee surprized rather by subtiltie,
then by violence; sent *Antigonus* on be-
fore with some bands of men, to get pos-
session of *Ierusalem*; and he (in the meane
while) would follow with his Armie by
Sea, so farre as to *Ptolomais*, where he had
ordered, that *Barzaphernes* should meete
him with a passable Army. Many gaue
kind welcomes to *Antigonus*, running af-
fectionately to him, and promising their
ayde against *Herode*. Neuerthelesse, *He-
rode* and his brother found themselves
the stronger in many encounters, not on-

Herode and
Phaselus Te-
rarchs in
Iudea.

Determinati-
on for the ar-
mies meeting

ly within the City, but also without the
walles.

Finally, *Antigonus* distrusting his for-
ces, called *Pacorus* into the City, vnder
pretence, that (as an Arbitrator) hee
should compound the difference for the
Principalitie, which was betweene him
and *Herode*, vnder conditions more tol-
erable: but his purpose was indeede, to
surprize *Herode* vnprouided. Moreo-
uer, hee laboured with his vnckle *Hyrcanus*
and *Phaselus*, worming it so into their
heads, to go in embassie to *Barzaphernes*
(remaining in *Galilee* with his army) and
to preuaile so farre with him by rich pre-
sents, that he should retriue his power
into *Syria*. To which counsell *Hyrcanus*
the High-priest, and *Phaselus* (brother to
Herode) yeelding, without suspect of ill,
were taken by the *Parthians*, (euen as the
matter was in monopolizing) contrary
to the right of Nations, and deliuered as
captiues to *Antigonus*.

Herode being formerly aduertised of
these plots and compacts of *Antigonus* &
Pacorus; went forth of the City in the
night season, with all his family, some
friends, and 800. women, rich and excel-
lent in beautie, and left the persons and
their goods in custody of *Massada*, a well
defenced City of *Iudmea*: which being
done, he went thorow *Egypt* to *Rome*, e-
uen in the worst time of all the world.

Phaselus, brother to *Herode*, doubting
the cruelty of *Antigonus*, because he was
without armes, and bound; ranne his
head (with great violence) diuers times a-
gainst the wall, and by that means slew
himselfe.

Antigonus, not contented with the dis-
poyling *Hyrcanus* of the High-priest-
hoode, caused him beside to become
deformed, by cutting off his eares, fear-
ing lest he should afterward attaine to the
Priesthood againe. For it was not law-
full, that any gelded man, or defective in
any limbe or member of body, should ad-
minister in sacrificing. Moreover, distrus-
ting that he had not sufficiently enough
provided for his owne security; hee deli-
uered *Hyrcanus* captiue to the *Parthians*,
to carry him out of *Iudea*, as farre as pos-
sibly they could.

The flight of *Herod* being come to the
notice of the barbarous vnciuile people,
and they singularly displeased for the wo-
men,

Antigonus
practisly by
cunning to
compas-
sion which he
remed at.

Hyrcanus and
Phaselus ca-
ptiues to

Herode efa-
peth, and go-
eth secretly
to Rome.

Phaselus do-
sperately kill
himselfe.

The cruelty
of one bro-
ther to ano-
ther.

The spoyle &
haucke of
the barbarous
multitude &
Hyrcanus led
away captiue.

The spoyle &
haucke of the
barbarous
multitude &
Hyrcanus led
away captiue.

Hyrcanus de-
liuered by R-
Pharases, and
sent into Ba-
bylon.

Herode wor-
keth with the
king of Par-
thia for the
mean of Iu-
deas.

Hyrcanus ho-
nourably en-
tertained by
Herode.

The cruel and
bloody mur-
dering of the
Asmoneans
by Herode.

men: which *Antigonus* formerly had pro-
mised to them; pilld and spoiled the ci-
ty and the pallace royall. And yet not fa-
tisfied with this booty, robbed many pla-
ces about *Ierusalem*, without leauing any
thing behinde them. And after they had
ordained *Antigonus* King of *Ierusalem*:
they withdrew their armed troups home
into their owne country, leading *Hyrcanus*
(the soueraigne Sacrificer) along
with them captiue.

It was not long after, that *Pharases* king
of the *Parthians*, beeing informed of the
nobilitie whereof he was defended; did
set him at libertie, and sent him into *Ba-
bylon*, to be President ouer the Iewes in-
habiting there, where, for about five yeares
he was in great honor. But hauing heard,
that not onely *Herode* obtained the king-
dome of *Iudea*, by *Augustus Cesar*; but al-
so, that he was conioined to him in affini-
tie, because hee had taken in marriage his
Niece *Mariana*, the daughter of *Alexan-
der*: he thought on returning him backe
againe, promising him mountaines and
metuilles, for the goodwill of *Herode*.

About this time it fortuned, that *He-
rode*, desirous to beget vnto him the cou-
rage of the Iewes, whom hee knew to
beare great affection to *Hyrcanus*: repea-
led him backe by Lettets and Ambassa-
dors, and forthwith sent great Presents
to the king of the *Parthians*, to pay the
ransome for his captiuitie. Whereupon,
Hyrcanus thinking there would not be a-
ny further question of deferring, contrary
to the counsell of al the Iews which were
in *Babylon* (who entreated him earnestly
to stay there, as fearing that which follo-
wed after) returned into *Iudea*.

Herode welcomed him very magnifi-
cently, and (for some time) vied him ho-
nourably; euen to the appealing of his fa-
ther, and often conferring with him on
the very principall affaires. Notwithstan-
ding, he would not surrender to him the
principality of the high-Priesthood, for
the defect of his eares: but, instead of
Antigonus (slaine before) substituted a cer-
taine man, named *Ananelus*, come from
Babylon, to enioy the Priesthood. Soone
after, he gaue manifest signes of his dead-
ly hatred, against all the posterity of the
Asmoneans. As, when (by a close ambush)
he slew *Aristobolus*, nephew to *Hyrcanus*,
and his most dearly affected wife *Maria*-

na, Niece also to the said *Hyrcanus*.

Finally, after the ouerthrow of *Marke
Antonius*, one of the 3 chief rulers, to whom
Herode had beeene companion, and sent
him succors diuers times in war; as some
sad thoughts ouertooke him, for feare of
Augustus, being Conquerour, and of his
aduersaries thorow the country of *Iudea*,
but especially fearing the people (who
loued him not) should mutiny by this oc-
casion, & transferre the kingdom of their
Ancestors to *Hyrcanus* (who only remain-
ed of the roiall family of the *Asmoneans*)
began to lay snares and clofe contriuing
against the life of the miserable old man.
For, he imposed a false crime vpon him,
that hee would haue vsurped the King-
dome: and to make it probable, hee com-
posed counterfeited Lettets; whereupon
he being condemned by sentence of the
great Consistory, was executed, albeit he
was about 80. yeares olde. All his life
time was troublesome vnto him, being a-
gitated with infinit accidents of fortune,
yet he (naturally) effecting quietnes, and
a meane estate. Only herein reprehensi-
ble, that he was too facile, in listning to
such as hee had him on to the attempt-
ing of sond nouelties.

Aristobolus the second.

Brother to the aboue named *Hyrcanus*
the second, and sonne of *Alexander*:
As young a man as he was, and of hote
and liuely spirit, yet notwithstanding, for
nine yeares space, he left to his Mother
the administration of the Kingdome,
which *Alexander* (dying) gaue to him, con-
taining himselfe with a priuate life. But
at the length, his mother being detain-
ed by a long sicknesse, and very dangerous,
and he (not a little offended) that all ma-
ters were guided according to the fancie
of the Pharisees; by stealth made his re-
course into the city, and conferred with
the friends to his deceased father, who
had the keeping of the Castles. Being ay-
ded by them in bountifull manner, he ga-
thered an army; by whose assistance, hee
possessed himselfe of diuers neighboring
places about *Ierusalem*.

His mother *Alexandra* dying, vpon
this his preparatiue for warre; *Hyrcanus*,
who all the time of his mother as
Queene, had held the High-priest-hood:
being

Hyrcanus on-
ly left of the
noble Asmo-
neans family.

Herod caused
Hyrcanus to
be most wro-
gully put to
death.

Aristobolus
had a gallant,
youthfull and
hote disposed
nature.

His strength-
ning himselfe
by his fathers
friends.

Hyrcanus is
overcome by
Aristobulus
in battell.

The hope of
Hyrcanus to
recover the
Kingdome a
gaile from
his brother
Aristobulus.

Scaurus rais-
eth the siege
which was
laid to Jeru-
salem.

The coming
of Pompey to
Damas.

Pompey en-
tered into Ju-
dea with his
Arme.

being the eldest son, made himselfe King by right of inheritance. And to defend his right by Armes, hee went to affront his brother neare to *tericho*, with an army ordered in good equippage. But being left of his people, who renolted to *Aristobulus*, vnder hope and perswasion of better recompence; he had no other helpe, but to shield himselfe in the munition of the Temple, where he was for some time besieged by his brother, and finally deliuered, vpon condition, that he should leaue the Kingdome and High-priest hooide to his brother, and leade a priuate life by himselfe.

Some while after, hee conueyed himselfe courtly into *Arabia*, by the perswasion of *Antipater*; as hoping to regaine the Kingdome from his brother, by the meanes of king *Aretas*. *Aristobulus* knowing the comming of *Aretas*, King of the *Arabians*, with *Hyrcanus* and *Antipater*, went forth to meete them: and being vanquished in a day of warre triall, hardly fled backe againe to *Jerusalem*, where hee was (for a time) besieged by the enemies, that closely followed his footing, vntill such time, as hauing promised 300. talents to *Scaurus*, Lieutenant to *Pompey*, he prauailed thereby so well, that *Scaurus* sending in the name of the *Roman* people to *Aretas*, commanded him to auoyd out of *Iudea*, except hee would be enemy to the *Romans*. By this meanes the siege was raised; and *Aristobulus*, desirous to be reuenged, assembled men, and made warre vpon the *Arabes*, of whom he slew fixe thousand in one fight.

While these things were thus in working, *Pompey*, hauing pacified the East parts, came to *Damas*, where *Aristobulus* sent him a magnificent Present, accusing his brother *Hyrcanus* very strongly to be a perturbur of the common peace. *Pompey* heereupon appointed, that at the Spring time, both the brethren should be personally present, before him at *Damas*. Where *Pompey* vnderstanding the difference betweene them, was more inclined to the case of *Hyrcanus*; as well for the equitie of his cause, as for his loue vnto *Antipater*. Neuertheless, he suffered *Aristobulus* to depart, vnder conditions, which he cared not to keep, but (by machinations) made a mockerie at the matters commanded him; and (indeed) did

nothing at all. Heereat *Pompey* being highly offended, entred into *Iudea*, with the Army which he had brought against the *Arabian* * *Nabatheans*. And because *Aristobulus* had againe mocked *Gabinus*, one of the Lieutenants to *Pompey*, not furnishing him (according to promise) concerning the deliuering of certaine summes of money: *Pompey* being much incensed by the disloyalty of *Aristobulus*, brought his Army and Engins before *Jerusalem*, and because the Iews would not yield themselves, he tooke the Cittie by force, ayded by the counsell of *Hyrcanus*, on the fasting day of the third month before *Pentecost*; and in the year when *Marcus Tullius Cicero* confounded the Conspiracie of *Cataline* in *Rome*.

In the surprizall of the City two and twenty thousand Iewes were slaine by the Souldiers, and *Pompey* (with his friends) entred into the place called *Sanctum Sanctorum*, and intruded to see such things as were not lawfull, but onely for the Soueraign Sacrificer. And vnderstanding that there were great summes of Golde and gold money in the Treasury, and twelue tunns of siluer coyne; without taking anie thing, he departed thence, and commanded the place to be purified againe. Hee restored *Hyrcanus* to the high-priesthood, and caused the authors of the warre to be beheaded, who had bene motiues to the rebellion of *Aristobulus*. Afterward, he demolished the walles of *Jerusalem*, and made all *Iudea* tributarie to the *Romaine* people. Also he adiudged to the Empire of *Rome*, the Citties and Townes of the *Asmoneans*, which were takē before from the Kings of *Syria*: restoring also such to libertie, as in times past had liued in freedom. By this meanes hee locked vp the nation of the Iews within narrow limits, that before had extended their dominion very farre.

At his departure, hee left two legions in *Iudea*, vnder the conduction of *Scaurus*, taking *Aristobulus* captiue, with *Alexander* and *Antigonus* his two sonnes, to leade them home in triumph: but *Alexander* (hauing deceived his keepers) escaped by the way. Here was the beginning of the seruitude of the Iewish nation, who were thus enthralled to the power of the *Romaines*. The discord of two brethren gaue the first occasion of this calamitie: three-

* People of
Arabia Edey
betweene the
Persian Sea
and the Red
Sea.

Jerusalem was
sacked by the
Iews and the
Romans.

The Sanctu-
arie polluted
and profaned
by the Ro-
maines.

The Citties
and Townes
of the Asmo-
neans adiu-
ded to the Em-
pire of the Ro-
maine people.

Iudea brought
into slavery
by the discord
of a brethren.

three score yeares before the natiuitie of Christ; foure yeares before that *Aristobulus* (his Mother dead, and his Brother *Hyrcanus* deiected from the seate Royall) had taken the Kingdome of *Iudea*. Saint *Ierome* writeth, that *Jakin*, father to the euer-blessed Virgin *Marie*, was borne the same year that *Jerusalem* was surprized.

I thought it fit also, to insert heere the sad issue and successe of *Pompey*, considering, that it seemed to be done diuinely, that hee should be murdered face to face the place which hee had profaned, as well by effusion of bloud, as by foolish audaciousness. For, foureteene yeares after the taking of *Jerusalem*, being vanquished by *Cesar* in the battaile of *Pharsalia*, and thinking to saue himselfe, by flying to the Sonne of *Ptolomie* the Fleutster, whom he had recommended to the *Romaine* Senate, when he was chased and banished out of his Kingdome neare to * *Pelusium*, coming forth of a small Barke, and aged about three score yeares; he was slaine by the command of King *Ptolomy*, in the presence of his wife *Cornelia*. And, as it is thought, *Virgill* wrote these verses on his death:

*A great Trunk lying vpon the Sea shore,
A bodie without head; a head lying
Farre from the shoulders.*

Pelusium is distant from *Jerusalem*, a little more then thirtie *Germane* miles, but iust confronting it, according to the calculation of *Ptolomie*. Seauen yeares after the surprizing of *Jerusalem*, *Aristobulus*, being escaped from imprisonment at *Rome*; came into *Iudea* with his other Sonne *Antigonus*; where againe he fortified the Port of *Alexandria*, which *Gabinus* had destroyed. Many Iewes (affecting nouelties) ranne to him, so that being accompanied with eight thousand chosen men, hee dared to encounter with the *Romaines*, which *Gabinus* (then Proconfull for *Syria*) conducted, who, but a little before, constrained *Alexander*, the other sonne of *Aristobulus* (thinking to possess himselfe of the kingdome) to deliuer him vp those Fortresses, and to craue peace. But *Aristobulus*, sustaining the worst in a sharpe fight, retired with two bands of men, into the most strong towne of *Macheron*, situated on the Lake *Asphalitis*, somewhat a little lower then the place where *Iordaine* entrench into it. In

which towne Saint *Iohn Baptist*, being a long while imprisoned, was finally beheaded. In two dayes the *Romaines* conquered the towne perforce, and *Aristobulus* taken, was led to *Gabinus*, wounded as he was; and so the second time sent bound to *Rome*, with his two children.

Matters thus pacified in *Iudea*, *Gabinus*, attended by his Gendarmery, resealed *Ptolomie* the Fleutster in his Kingdome, he being expelled thence by them of *Alexandria*; in which exploit he was assisted by *Hyrcanus* the soueraigne Sacrificer, and *Antipater* the Idumean. At his returne, he found all in *Iudea* and *Syria* full of troubles and tempests, for *Alexander* rauaged againe throughout *Iudea*: but *Gabinus* ouercame him in a day of battell (where he had worke enough to doe) and chased him quite out of *Iudea*; hauing massacred ten thousand Iewes.

Afterwards hee continued two yeares in the Prouince, governing all matters quietly, according to the testimony of *Iosephus*. And hauing repayed many Townes, which had bene much spoiled in the precedent warre; he left the Army in the power of *Marcus Crassus*, a verie greedy and couetous man, who attempting warre against the *Partians*, arrived there in *Syria*, in the year after his second Consulship, one and fiftie yeares before the birth of Christ.

This man hauing intelligence, that there was a great masse of money locked vp in the Temple of the Iewes, went to *Jerusalem*; and was admitted to the most secret place of the Temple; from whence (contrary to his former faithfull promise) hee carried away more then ten thousand talents, that is to say, three score tunnes of golde; beside a beame of gold, which weighed three hundred Minaes, or (as *Iosephus* expoundeth it) seven hundred and fifty *Romaine* pounds weight, amounting to five Quintalles and more then an halfe of our weight. *Eleazar*, Guardian of the Temple, deliuered that beame to *Crassus* very willingly, because he had promised and protested by oathe, that hee would not touch any treasure of the Temple, nor more then *Pompey* had done tenne yeares before.

Now, concerning this avaritious Proconsull, soone after, hee dearly payed for his wilfull periury and sacrilege; being miserably

Ptolomie the
Fleutster re-
stored to his
Kingdome by
Gabinus.

Io: Cin. Ann.
Iud. lib. 9. c. 15

Marc. Crassus
receiuech
charge of the
Armie.

Crassus break-
eth his faith
pledged to E-
leazar, guard-
ian of the
Temple.

The iustice of
heauen on
Crassus for
his periury &
sacrilege.

miserably slaine by the Parthians, with his son *Publius*, an excellent towardsly yong man, and wel-near thirty thousand *Romaines*, that rather would bee slaine, then taken; *Crassus* was then threecore yeares of age.

In the meane while, one *Pitholus*, a very powerfull Jew, and friend to *Aristobulus* the captiue; after his second surprizall, beganne to raise tumults in *Iudea*, and weakened the side of *Hyrcanus* and *Antipater*. But after the ouerthrow of the *Romaines* by the *Parthians*, when *Cassius*, Questor to *Crassus*, re-assembled the rest of the *Romaine* Armie, who had fled away, and brought them backe into *Syria*, and as he ranfacked the Cities of *Iudea* for want of mony: he was perwaded by *Antipater* and *Hyrcanus* the High-priest, to make triall of his forces against *Pitholus*, whom he vanquished in the field of battell, and brought him captiue with the *Romaine* army into *Syria*, so that thereon ensued peace in *Iudea* for some time.

Five yeares after, the warre was kindled betweene *Cesar* and *Pompey*; and *Cesar* coming to *Rome* (forlaken of *Pompey*) tooke *Aristobulus* out of prison, and sent him into the East with two Legions, to subdue *Syria* & *Iudea*. But being poisoned by the way, by them that tooke part with *Pompey*: hee remayned long time in the Ile of *Malta* vnburi'd, vntill *Marke Anthony*, one of the three Monarchs, sent his body into *Iudea*, and commanded that he should be interred in the Sepulchre of Kings.

Such was the end of *Aristobulus*, after many mutations of fortune, hauing been twice taken and sent to *Rome*, where hee was almost foureteeen yeares prisoner. He was of a factious and seditious spirit, for being moued with ambition, he quarrelled for the kingdome of *Iudea* with his brother *Hyrcanus*: vntill such time as hee caused his death, and brought his Countrey into miserable seruitude, which procured the ruine of all his nation.

He had two sons, and as many daughters; *Hyrcanus* the second his first sonne, soueraigne Sacrificer, who had a daughter named *Alexandra*, married to his cousin *Alexander*: a woman wife, but very vehement, whom *Herode* afterward put to death. *Aristobulus* the second had *Alexander*, *Antigonus* the second, *Alex-*

andra. First married to *Philippion*, sonne to *Ptolomy*, king of *Chalcis*, which is a Region on the coast of *Libanus*. Afterward, *Ptolomie* (inflamed with the loue of his daughter in lawe) slew his sonne *Philippion*, and tooke her in marriage. And after succoured and defended his brother *Antigonus*, against *Herode* and the *Romaines*.

Alexander the second.

Surprized with his father *Aristobulus* by *Pompey*; before he arrived at *Rome*, deceived his guardes, and escaped. Five yeares after, assisted by an Armie, hee invaded *Iudea*, expelled his vnckle *Hyrcanus* from *Ierusalem*, repayed the destroyed munitions, and planted there a Garrison. But *Gabinus*, Proconsull of *Syria*, being called thereto by *Hyrcanus* and *Antipater*, hauing fought with him in battell; held him a long time besieged in the City of *Alexandria*, vntill such time as he was constrained to yeeld himselfe, and put downe the chieftest fortifications. Being pacified by the entreaties of *Alexanders* mother (who alwayes condemned the foolish enterprises of her sonne against the *Romaines*) hee obtained pardon for *Alexander*. Neuerthelesse, *Gabinus* sent him to *Rome* with his father *Aristobulus*, and *Antigonus* his brother captiues: yet writing to the Senate, that it might stand with their good liking, to send backe the children of *Aristobulus* to their mother, because he had made such a promise in name of the Senate; in regard that that valiant woman, had euermore takē good part with the *Romaines*.

The Senate was willing heerein to gratifie *Gabinus*; but *Alexander*, being returned into *Iudea*; returned bad recompence to *Gabinus*, and the Senate, for the great grace which they had granted him. For, seeing *Gabinus* to be hindred in *Egypt*, by much trouble (as hath already beene said) being fauoured with thirty thousand men: againe he stroue to subiuagate *Iudea*, and cruelly murdered all the *Romaine* Souldiers, that he could finde in the garrisons of the surprized Cities. For which cruelty, hee payed the iust punishment about faine yeares after.

Gabinus being returned into *Iudea*, laboured first to appease these matters with *Antipater*: but no way preuayling, he vniited the forces of the *Romaine* Armies, giuing

uing a violent and dangerous encounter to *Alexander*, wherein ten thousand *Iewes* lost their liues, and the rest driuen all in rout. *Alexander* struiuing to saue himselfe, and seeing his attempts so often times frustrated, and his forces broken; lay close hidden for a while, vntill he vnderstoode, that ciuile warre was kindled betweene *Pompey* and *Cesar*, and his father *Aristobulus* (deliuered out of prison) came thither with two legions. Then he bestirred himselfe to leuy Souldiers also; but was taken in *Syria*, euen vpon the very beginning of his enterprife, and led to *Antioche* to *Scipio*. Before him the *Romaines* accused him of cruelty, which he had vsed against the *Romaine* Souldiers in the Garrisons: wherevpon, by Commaund receiued from *Pompey*, hee was beheaded before *Scipio*, who then helde *Syria*, some few monthes after the death of his father *Aristobulus*; forty sixe yeares before the Natiuitie of Christ; and the selfe same yeare as *Pompey* was slaine in *Egypt*, as hath bin said.

This *Alexander* had these children by *Alexandra*, daughter to *Hyrcanus* the second.

Aristobulus the third,
And
Mariana, whom *Herod* after espoused

But we shall speake hereafter of *Alexanders* children, because I am desirous first to relate somewhat, concerning the Actions & fortunes of his brother *Antigonus*.

Antigonus, the last sonne to *Aristobulus* the 2. was twice taken with his father, and sent to *Rome*: once by *Pompey*, and another time by *Gabinus*. But then (by the fauour of the Senate) he was returned into *Iudea* with his brother *Alexander*; & spent some time with his Mother in the City of *Ascalon*. Then hee went to *Ptolomy*, (Lord of *Chalcis*) his kinseman, who refused to assist the fool-hardy and vnhappy attempts of his brother *Alexander*, for feare of the *Romaines*. But after the death of his father and brother, when as *Iulius Cesar* had finished the war of *Alexandria*, & was come into *Spain*: he presented himselfe before him in al humility, and made a great complaint, aswell of the pittifull ouerthrow of his father *Aristobulus*, as also of his brother ther *Alexander*, both being cruelly slaine by the partakers with *Pompey*.

He further proceeded, and taxed *Antipater* with vniust gouerning, who beeing but of a meane descent, and a stranger: had (neuerthelesse) vsurped the kingdome of the *Iewes*, and had left nothing to *Hyrcanus*, but the silly name of Soueraigne Sacrificer, doing all at his owne pleasure, to establish the power of his children, and pretending to take away the principallitie from the *Iewish*: the people (of the royall family of the *Asmoneans*) thereby to transfere it to his Sonnes. He said, that himselfe was the onely man left, to whom the Lawfull succession of the kingdome appertained; who notwithstanding, being spoiled of his hereditarie dignity, was forced to wander as a vagabond, a banished man and left to all distresse. Concluding finally with humble intercessions, hee requested, that the administration of the *Iewish* principality might be restored to him, and *Antipater* dismissed.

Whereunto *Antipater* answering, began to accuse *Aristobulus* and his sonnes before *Cesar*, because (contrary to all right and equity) he had violently rent the kingdome from *Hyrcanus* his eldest brother, and alwayes beene disloyall and an enemy to the *Romaines*: wherein, his sons had well followed his example, filling *Iudea* and *Syria* with tumults and blood: that being the maine reason, why *Aristobulus* was so long detained prisoner, and *Alexander* had his head smitten from his shoulders, for the cruelties he vsed to the *Romaines*. Afterward, hee procured faithfull witnesses, how modestly he had carried himselfe in gouerning, and what fauours hee had euer extended to the *Romaine* Capitaines. *Cesar* beeing thereto moued by these iust causes, licenced *Antigonus* to depart, and confirmed the High-priesthoode to *Hyrcanus*; and ennobling *Antipater* with new titles of Dignity; he constituted him Tutor of all *Iudea*.

Antigonus much displeased with this refusal, returned to his kinseman the king of *Chalcis*, where he contayned himselfe almost foure yeares space, vntill *Iulius Cesar* was murdered by the Conspiratours. For then, when all the world was vp in mutinie, and that *Cassius* (who was foraging in *Syria*, impeaching the warre against *Marke Anthony*) had retired the *Romaine* Armies out of *Syria*: *Antigonus*, assisted by his kinsman *Ptolomy*, and other

Pitholus a Jew raised tumults on the behalfe of Aristobulus.

Cassius takes Pitholus prisoner.

Aristobulus poisoned and buried in the Sepulchre of kings.

The seditious spirit of Aristobulus.

The Sonne murdered by his owne Father, to enioy his wife.

Alexander escaped from his keepers before hee came to Rome.

The expulsion of Gabinus Syria.

The kindness of Gabinus for the sonne of Aristobulus.

The ill request of Alexander to Gabinus and the Roman Senate.

Antipater and Antipater's ally in waiting for opportunity.

Alexander accused of cruelty before Scipio, and beheaded.

Alexander's children.

Antigonus was twice taken prisoner to Rome.

Antigonus complies with Julius Caesar against the government of Antipater.

The allegations interred against Antipater by Antigonus.

Antipater recovers Aristobulus and his sons before Cesar.

Antigonus dismissed from Cesar without any successe.

Anthonus in-
uaded Iudea
agayne with
treth forces.

neighbouring kings, invaded Iudea with his Army againe; where *Herode* (his father *Antipater* being dead) being very powerful and strong, repelled and gaue him sharpe repulse, after the fighting of a battell with him.

An office for
gouerning the
fourth
part of the
Realeme.

Some yeares after, when *Anthony* one of the three Monarchs, had encreased the power of *Herode*, hauing ordaind him (with his brother *Phaselus*) Tetrarches of all Iudea: *Antigonus* enraged with anger, thought it not tollerable, that the kingdome of Iudea should bee deuolued vnto strangers in this manner. Wherefore, to leuy a new Armie, hee had found out a yong man of a fiery temper, named *Lysanius*, his kinsman and hoste; into whose hand the kingdome of *Chalcis* was fallen, by the death of his father *Ptolomy*, vnto whom (as hath afore bene sayd) *Alexandra*, the Sister of *Antigonus*, was giuen in marriage. As they were working vpon these conclusions, another occasion (very apt and opportune) offered it selfe, because (as then) the *Parthians* insulted ouer the Prouince of *Syria*, vnder the conduct of *Pacorus* and *Barsaphernes*. *Lysanius* hauing sent great presents to them, and a thousand Talents promised by *Antigonus*, as also fise hundred women, excellen in nobility and beauty; they were hereby incited, to releate *Antigonus* in possession of his fathers kingdome.

What cannot
gold and wo-
men procure?

Before, in the life of *Hyrcanus*, we haue expressed the stratagem of the barbarous people, to surprize *Hyrcanus* and *Phaselus* (being Ambassadors) captiues, and how wickedly *Antigonus* did cut off his vnckles eares, sending him also captiue into *Parthia*, to the end, that hee might the more safely enioy the High-priesthood and the Kingdome. But this authoritie, gotten by such wicked cunning and practises, could not keepe firme, or last any long while. For soone after, *Herode* going to *Rome*, declared there to *Marke Anthony*, his fight and calamitie, complaining on the outrages and disloyaltie of *Antigonus*. In briebe, hee sped so well in his purpose, that instead of Tetrarch, he was proclaimed King of all Iudea, by consent of *Augustus*, *Anthony* and the Senate, and *Antigonus* adiudged enemy to the people of *Rome*. And although some *Romane* Capitaines, being sent with Legions into *Syria*, had charge to expulse *Antigonus*, and

Authoritie
gotten by vn-
iust meanes
must needs
inioy the lesse
continuance.

Anthonus
bribes the Ro-
maine Cap-
taines.

put *Herod* in possession of the Iewish kingdome: yet notwithstanding, by bribes and gifts, *Antigonus* kept them off from coming into Iudea.

Sulius Cam-
with an arde
to releate An-
thonus King
of Iudea.

At length, *Anthony* vndertaking warre against the *Parthians*, *Sofius* was sent into Iudea with a potent Army, to replant *Herode*; wherefore he and *Herode*, their forces being ioyned together, besieged some few moneths the Cittie of *Ierusalem*. Finally, they tooke it by force, the seuenth yeare after the death of *Caesar*, or of the Empire of *O. Iulius Augustus*, and the selfe same day that *Pompey* (seauen yeares before) had taken it.

At that time, as the Souldiers (indifferently on either side) slew and murdered one another, without sparing cyther age or sexe: *Antigonus*, not able to endure the sight of such a slaughter among the Citizens, came willingly forth of the munitions of the Temple, and fell before the feete of *Sofius* the *Romane* Capraine, crauing pardon for his offences, and desiring (aboue all else) that hee would remit the common people, who were no warriors, and to spare the Temple. But the proud Conquerour, making a mockerie of the suppliant King, called him oftentimes (in derision) *Antigonus*, and after sent him captiue into *Syria* to *Anthony*, who was returned from the warre of the *Parthians*.

Anthonus
yeeldeth him-
selfe to Sofius
who french his
captiue into
Syria.

Herode sup-
plies the re-
ad-
ment of An-
thonus; who
keeth his death

Herode being possessed of the whole Kingdome, was aduertised, that *Anthony* purposed to leade *Antigonus* with him in triumph to *Rome*. And fearing withall, that in due consideration of his nobilitie, or in compassion of his miserie, *Augustus* and the Senate would free him from imprisonment, and send him backe agayne into Iudea: with much ado, he obtained of *Anthony*, by many reasons alledged, and great gifts bestowd, that *Antigonus* was staine.

The principal argument that made *Anthony* yeelde thereto, beyond all others, was, that Iudea would neuer be peaceable, so long as *Antigonus* liued. Considering, that many *Iewes* were so displeased by being subiects to him; as it was not possible, by horrible and extreamest torments, to force them acknowledge him the name of King. And therefore hee conceiued, that there would neuer want companions in seditions and mutinies, where such a Commander as *Antigonus* should beare rule,

The reasons
that procure
the death of
Antigonus.

rule, against the liking of the people.

And thus *Antigonus* the last King of the *Asmoneans*, was slaine by the *Romains* in *Antioche*, after that *Herode* had expulsed him, and led away his vnckle *Hyrcanus* hauing obtained about fise yeares the kingdome of Iudea, by helpe of the *Parthians*: twelue yeares after the death of his father *Aristobolus*, and of his brother *Alexander*; thirty foure yeares also before the Natiuitie of Iesus Christ our Saviour.

The Sacerdo-
tall Familie
of the Asmo-
neans ended

Afterward, the Principalltie of the Iewish people, taken from the Sacerdottall Familie of the *Asmoneans*, and especially, from the nation of the *Iewes*: fell into the hand of *Herode* the sonne of *Antipater* the *Ismenian*, and of his sonnes, and sonnes sonnes. So that from the first yeare of *Iudas Machabeus*, whom his Father *Mattathias* (dying) appoynted Duke of the warlike troupes, vntill this yeare that *Herode* beganne to reigne, after the taking in of *Ierusalem*, and death of *Antigonus*, was an hundred and thirty yeares. *Antigonus* left not any heire male, but only one daughter, who afterward was wife to *Antipater*, the sonne of *Herode*. But his brother *Alexander*, by *Alexandra*, the daughter to *Hyrcanus*, had these children.

{ *Aristobolus* the the third
{ *Mariana*.

Antibolus
ascendeth to
enoy the hie-
priesthood.

This *Aristobolus*, was but foure yeares olde, when his father *Alexander* was beheaded at *Antioche* by the *Romaines*. Afterward, coming to the age of 17. yeares: hee obtained at the beginning of *Neroes* reigne, the hie-priesthood by this occasiō.

Herode being fully confirmed in the kingdome, would not establish in the hie-priesthood, his brother in law *Hyrcanus*, reuoked from his banishment in *Babylon*: as fearing to contrary the Lawe of God, that denied imperfect or dismembered people, to minister in the holy Temple, and such a one was the care-lesse *Hyrcanus*; but exalted to the dignitie of Soueraigne Sacrificer, another Iew of meane condition, named *Ananelus*, who was lately come from *Babylon*. *Alexandra* daughter to *Hyrcanus*, taking it to heart, that *Herode* made none account of her father, nor of her sonne *Aristobolus*, but had conferred the high-priesthood vpon a strange man; laboured by letters and gifts, to in-

The practises
of Alexandra
to exalt her
sonne.

cite *Cleopatra*, that by the means of *Marke Anthony*, the High-priesthood might be conferred vpon her sonne *Aristobolus*.

Herode hauing intelligence hereof, & receiuing letters from *Anthony*, where-by he was charged to send him *Aristobolus*; fearing lest *Anthony* (although a wicked minded man) would be inueigled with the beautie of the youth, and iudge him, not onely worthy of the Priestthoode, but likewise of some portion in the kingdome, made a modest denyall to *Anthony*, vnder colour, that if *Aristobolus* should be sent out of Iudea, it would be the occasion of many mutinies to arise in the kingdome, as in hope to enioy a new King: Neuerthelesse, to pacifie *Alexandra* and *Mariana*, who hee sawe trauelled so earnestly on the behalfe of *Aristobolus*, and to the end, they should compasse no more contriuings, with working new cales to *Anthony* and *Cleopatra*: of his owne goodwill, hee deposed *Ananelus* from the High-priesthood, and inuested therein *Aristobolus*: Notwithstanding, being highly offended against his mother *Alexandra*, for working such close and vnder-hand practises: he gaue order, that shee should be arrested, and more warily attended within the Pallace, because (hereafter) she should not attempt any thing in the like maner.

Herodes cum-
ning denyall
to Marke An-
thony, for not
sending Ari-
stobolus to
him.

Alexandra
kept with
watch and
ward.

Shee being a Lady of great resolute, scorned this suspition and distrust in the King, holding it most dishonourable in him, to be so watchfully kept and obserued: by a saythfull and secret Messenger, signified all her misfortunes to *Cleopatra*; who againe commaunded, that *Alexandra*, accompanied with her sonne *Aristobolus*, should be sent to her in *Egypt*.

To compasse her intent the more cunningly, *Alexandra* had caused two Coffins and Beeres to be prepared, such as the dead are vsed to be carried vpon into buriall: wherein shee and her sonne should be carried to the Sea side; and there a Shippe attended ready for them, for transporting them thence to *Cleopatra*.

The subtilie
deuise of A-
lexandra, to
escape from
the custodie
of Herode.

Alexandra imparted this deuice of her owne wit, to a certayne Courtier, named *Sabbion*, whome shee knew to be farre out of fauour with *Herode*: because hee stood suspected as one consenting to the death of *Antipater*, father to *Herode*, who formerly had bene poysoned; and therefore shee made no doubt, but

Sabbion would bee the more fire and secret, in furthering of her escape from thence.

But hee considering, that now hee had an apt occasion thrust euen into his hand, whereby to treade downe the conceiued suspicion of poysoning, and make good prooue of his loyalty to the King; declared the whole intent and purpose vnto him, and how it was to be perfourmed.

Especially Spies and Guardes were appointed, to take knowledge of anie appearing accident, but most of all, when the Coffins and Beeres, should be transported away, and in such artificiall order euery thing was carried: that *Alexandra* and her Sonne were both surprized, euen in the very bearing thence in the Beeres. Sharpe and seuer threatnings were vttered by the King, to the no small affliction of *Alexandra* and *Aristobolus*, to be so treacherously preuented in the verie height of all their hopes: yet pretending pittie and commiseration, hee promised his free and gracious pardon for this offence, provided, that (afterward) they should not practise any such attempt againe.

This clemencie hee then vsed, fearing lest if he should haue inflicted any other execution on them: hee might thereby runne into the displeasure of *Cleopatra*, who was consenting to the manner of their escape. And yet hee would gladly haue punished this feminine boldnesse in her, but (about all) faine he would haue *Aristobolus* dispatched out of the way: because hee was the High-priest, and highly affected of the people, in regard of his Royall descent, and many singuler graces in him.

In the proiecting of these wicked deuices, it chanced to be the Feast of Tabernacles, when *Aristobolus*, being richly adorned in his Priestly garments, performed the office of soueraigne Sacrificer, with such extraordinary grauitie and decencie: that both in respect of his age, stature, and beautie of body, he appeared wonderfully pleasing in euery eye, so that the people standing about him, shewed out aloude with ioy, applauding euery gesture, and any thing that hee did or said, with clapping their hands, expressing the fauour and inclination of all the

people to *Aristobolus*, and what desire they had, to enioy a King of their owne Nation, in regard that their hatred to the present estate of the Kingdome, therein plainly appeared.

Herode ill digressing this loue to his enemy, which he imagined would increase daily more and more; began to seeke into all contriuings, whereby he might (forthwith) compass the death of *Aristobolus*. And it came to passe, that the Feast being ended, *Alexandra* seasted him in the citie of *Jericho*, as hoping to qualifie all displeasure in the King. *Herod* there shewed him selfe so chearefull and gracious to the women, as possibly might be, and (about all) to the youthfull Lord,) so that the whole day was spent in sports and delights of diuers kindes. At euening, *Aristobolus* walked with his company in the Kings Garden, where (after he had somewhat extraordinarily heard himselfe with running and leaping) the Guard of *Herode*, there to appointed by the King, prouoked *Aristobolus*, to coole his sweating by swimming in a fish-pond neare adioyning.

Such was his gentle & flexible nature, and no way suspicious of anie intended treacherie, as hee was thereto soone perswaded. And as he came swimming neere to the bankes side: they threw water on him in ieausting manner, holding his head diuers times vnder water, vntill at last he was quite stifled thereby, while *Herode* (walking by himselfe alone) seemed not to thinke on any such matter. But when one of the guard came, and informed him thereof, and in what maner it happened, without any mallice intended towards him: one while hee grieved, another while raged, threatening the guard with death, for being so ouerbold with him. Before the Mother and Sister of *Aristobolus*, he presented himselfe in most woollmaner, wringing his hands, and tearing the haire from his head, as if he had truly mourned for the Princes death; preparing a most magnificent funerall for him, and whereat there wanted no cost and pompe. By this hellish fraude in *Herode*, was *Aristobolus* the third innocently murdered, aged 18. yeares; and after hee had one yeare enioyed the High-priesthood, which *Herod* restored *Ananias* againe vnto, *Hyrcanus* the second, yet liuing, who remayned the onely male of the *Asmonean* race, and was

Herode conspired the death of *Aristobolus*.

Outward she was not at all times to be trusted for honesty and mining.

Herode cunning treachery in procuring the vniuersed death of *Aristobolus*.

Pompe and cost do many times cost monstrous & horrible additions.

The last male child of the *Asmonean* race.

was not fit to administer the Priestthoode, as hath already beene declared.

Mariana.

Sister to this *Aristobolus*, daughter to the second *Alexander*, the youngest sonne of the second *Hyrcanus*, was most excellent both for beauty and chastity. *Herode* espoused her, after he was declared King by the *Romanes*, a little before the surprising of *Ierusalem*, and the death of *Antigonus*: hee hauing repudiated his wife *Doris* of *Idumea*, by whome hee had a sonne named *Antipater*. This diuorce was the cause, that *Mariana* was continually in the dislike of *Cypri*, mother to the King, of his sister *Salome*, and of some other women beside. Her selfe also (afterward) encreased this hatred, because she, standing vpon the Nobilitie of her race, being issued and descended from Kings: despised the Mother and Sister to the King, they being strangers, and deriued but from meane condition.

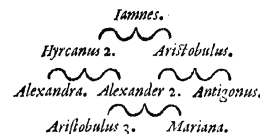
It may be, that shee grew the lesse familiar with the King, acquainting herselfe but seldom in his company; because hee had taken the Kingdome of *Iudea* from her father *Alexander*, and put to death her vnckle *Antigonus*, and had also (by treason) murdered her brother *Aristobolus* the third, a worthy innocent young Prince: Adding withall, that hee had executed her grandfather *Hyrcanus*, a good olde man, imposing vpon him, that hee affected the Kingdome. It was no great matter of maruell then, if this noble and high spirited woman, disdained amiable conuersation with him, who had giuen her so many occasions of extreme affliction; considering also, that the cares of this young Lady were daily pestered, with shamefull injuries and complaints, which her Mother *Alexandra* continually made against the house of *Antipater*.

Finally, she grew to be suspected by the King, for matter of adultery (as I shall hereafter more at large relate in the life of *Herod*.) And *Salome* the Kings sister, confederated with other Ladies of the Court (abounding in hatred more and more against her) maintayned strongly the suspicion; adding moreover, an intent of poysoning him. Wherein she

taking no care to cleare herselfe, relying vpon *Herodes* intimate loue vnto her, and her owne innocencie: shee was accused by *Herode* before his friends, and layne by the sentence of them. Shee left five children liuing, which shee had by *Herode*, three sonnes, and two daughters, of whom afterward came the two *Agrippas*, to whom the Royall power in *Iudea* remayned, vntill the destruction of *Ierusalem*.

All the other race of *Herode*, which hee had by nine other wiues, and in great number, layed, as shall be declared, in their due places.

Almost all the whole family of the *Asmoneans*, being thus expresse, there remaineth now for me, that I should write of the posteritie of *Antipater*: but *Alexandra* yet resteth of the *Asmoneans*, who was daughter to the second *Hyrcanus*, and wife to the second *Alexander*. And although we haue already sayd somewhat of her, and are yet to speake of the actions of *Herode*: yet notwithstanding, I haue thought good to descipher heere summarily, the wooll misadventures of this Lady: for, amongst all other miserable women that we reade of, she seemeth to me the most vnfurnate, as well by accident, as thorow her owne defects. And that they may be the better vnderstood, I haue in order here inserted her parentage.



First of all, this *Alexandra* being but a young maid, saw, after the death of *Alexandra* her grandmother (who reigned but nine yeares after the decesse of her husband) the hereditarie Kingdome and High-priesthood, taken perforce from her father *Hyrcanus*, by his brother *Aristobolus*, who had long time besieged him in the munition of the Temple.

Afterward, being very young, she was married to his cosin *Alexander*; and the Citie of *Ierusalem* being surprized by *Pompey*: she saw the pittifull fortune of her father, most vnhappy performed, to the

Ecc 3 great

The death of *Mariana*.

Herodes issued five more wiues vnto his failed.

Alexandra remained of the race of the *Asmoneans*, and most vnfurnate.

The kingdom and High-priesthood taken from her father.

Mariana wife to King *Herode*, and his other wife *Doris* put away.

Reasons alleged why *Mariana* did not affect King *Herode*, such a mother and sister.

Mariana molested with many complaints.

Mariana suspected by *Herode*, and accused of adultery.

Sabbion procured false, and betrayed *Alexandra* to *Herode*.

No miserie more tedious to finde treason where trust is faithfully reposed.

Aristobolus highly pleased the people in the feast of Tabernacles by euerything that hee did or said.

The diuers
adulteries, &
calamities
happening to
Alexandra.

great harme of the country and her selfe, being accomplished with horrible massacres, foule prophanation of the Temple, slaughter of infinite Citizens, beside robberies of their goods. Moreouer, the destruction of the Cittie walles, insupportable exactions, with a perpetuall yoke of most seuerer dominion of the *Romaines*: beside the captiuitie and transport of her vnckle *Aristobolus*, her husband *Alexander*, and her cosin *Antigonius*, to be led villainously (in derision) through the Citie of *Rome*, to grace *Pompeys* triumph. No doubt but these mighty misfortunes, were causes of no meane griefe to *Alexandra*.

Shee likewise beheld the escape of her husband *Alexander* by the way, who came to make new tumults in *Judea*: but being ouerthrowne in many encounters, and beside depoyled of all enabling forces: the sawe him againe sent captiue to *Rome* by *Gabinus*, with his father *Aristobolus*, and his brother *Antigonius*.

A second sub-
jection of A-
lexander to the
Romaines

His expulsion
out of iudea
like a poore
exile, and
shamefull ex-
ecution.

Againe, shee sawe him sent into *Judea*, where growing as tempestuous and troublefome as before: he was agayne chased out of the Countreys limits, wandering from thence as a poore vagabond and banished man. At length, he heard that (by the command of *Pompey*) he was shamefully executed at *Antioche*, and that (but a little before) his father *Aristobolus*, after a long detention of his person, being (with great difficulty) deliuered from imprisonment, was poysoned.

Next, shee sawe the Cittie of *Ierusalem* taken by the *Parthians* treacherie, and her father *Hyrcauus* (by fraude and deceit in *Aristobolus*) apprehended, his ears cut off, and led away into the enemies land. Shee, in this perillous surprisall of *Ierusalem*, got forth by night with her Mother, the wife, the siter of *Herode*, and many other Ladies, hauing her son with her, aged a dozen yeares, and her daughter little more then he: but both exposed to infinite injuries, as well of Souldiers violence, as of great wrongs to their tender yeares, the barbarous people spoyling and rauishing all wherefoeuer they came.

Hard and vo-
luntarie ex-
tremities for a La-
die to suffer
and endure.

From thence she was sent (with the other Ladies) to a strong fortresse in the Citie of *Masada* in *Iudaea*, in great feare and danger of *Antigonius*, then reigning: where shee remayned about two yeares, vntill such time as *Herode* (hauing obtai-

ned the title of King by the *Romaines*) returned into *Judea*; and finding there his power to be strongest, deliuered her and the rest from imprisonment.

A third time also she sawe the Citie of *Ierusalem* taken, ransacked, and filled with murders, by the Souldiers of *Herode* and *Sofius*: her cosin *Antigonius* led prisoner to *Marke Anthony*, and afterward put to execution.

Alexandra sawe and felt all these extremities, before the Kingdome of *Herode* could be confirmed: which being once effected, she likewise beganne to breathe, seeming fully acquitted from all calamities. Nay, which is more, she might haue seeld hir estate in the height of happines, if shee could haue made vse of Fortunes fauours, as they showed themselves in plentifull manner vpon her.

Ierusalem
taken, ransack-
ed, and filled
with murders.

The gifts of
fortune shoul-
d haue some-
times made of these

For *Herode* being King, had diuorced his first wife *Doris*, and deleated his sonne *Antipater*, from all hope of succeeding after him; hauing married *Mariana*, the daughter of *Alexandra*, whom hee most singularly affected, as wel for her beautie, as many other graces of spirit wherewith she was plentifully endowed. Hereupon ensued, that her Mother *Alexandra*, being called to the Court, was worthily respected, and had great credite with the King and all other. Her Father *Hyrcauus* also (already returned from exile) was reuoked home into his countrey: to him *Herode*, and the rest (by the Kings example) yielded great honour, as vnto their Father.

The great
mourne
ment
dore
Alexandra
in the Court.

But *Alexandra* ouerthrew all this happines, by her vehement ambition, fierceneffe and impatience; so that (at length) she became to be enuelped with mighty calamities, and was the cause of her owne death. For, taking in high displeasure, that *Ananels* was authorized with the High-priesthood, without any regard of her sonne *Aristobolus*, to whom it appertained by hereditarie right: she grew to machinate many dangerous matters, to exalt her sonne to that dignitie of the Priesthood, procuring (by the meanes of *Cleopatra*) to incite *Marke Anthony* against *Herode*. Which being discouered, the yet attayned the felicitie, that her son was made soueraigne Sacrificer: but her selfe was not in so noble estate as before, because shee was heedefully guarded, as

Alexandra
ouerthrew
all her
happines,
and
caused
her
owne
death.

Aristobolus
advanced
to the
high-priest-
hood.

one

Her secret
publick
of sight to Cle-
opatra and
discouerie.

one dangerously enclined, and much suspected by the king.

She, not able to endure this intollerable rigor of the King, being shut vp from the vse of her libertie; practised secretly to escape to *Cleopatra*, as hath already bin said, and being taken with her sonne in the very act, wel vnderstood, that she was then runne into the vnrrecoverable hatred of *Herode*. Shortly after, the extreame sorrow she suffered, to see her sonne *Aristobolus* so treacherously murdered, might well haue admonished her: that it much better auayled, to conquer Iniurie by Patience, then roughly to wastle with a Kings courage, naturally addicted to wickednesse.

Then againe, bringing *Herode* into danger, by accusing him before *Anthony*, for the murdering of her sonne: shee won nothing thereby, but much more contempt and hatred in the King. Inasmuch, that her daughter (otherwise choicely cherished by the King) found his affection to waxe coole; but not without cause and suspition, in regarde of her Mothers cunning contriuings. Adding withall, that her father *Hyrcauus* was not so much honoured, neither respected by the king, as he was wont to be. Whereby *Alexandra* tooke occasion, to incite her father against *Herode*, aduising him to flie to *Malichus*, King of the *Arabians*, euen then, when (after the battaile of *Actium*) the King was in great danger, standing then in no meane feare, because *Augustus* was Conquerour. For the wily woman did thinke, that if shee could procure displeasure in *Augustus* against *Herode*, for his friendship to *Marke Anthony*; the Scepter would be taken from the *Iudmean*, and restored to the true heires of the house of the *Asmoneans*.

Shee accus'd
him before
Marke An-
thonie for his
sonnes murder.

Shee counsell-
led her father
to flie from
Herode.

Augustus con-
queror in the
day at Actium

Hyrcauus put
to death, be-
ing aged, 80
yeares.

This vnhappy counsell being discouered, by the meanes of intercepted letters; was the cause of putting to death the good olde *Hyrcauus*, aged foure score yeares, and bringing *Alexandra* into the very depth of sorrowes. Neuertheless, her stomak broken with so many wounds; and, euen hardened (as it were) against all grieuances whatsoever, was scarcely sensible of any of these oppressions; after the losse of so many neare kinned, dispatched by diuers kindes of strange and vnworthy deaths. Among whom, her husband *Alexander*, and *Antigonius* his Brother were beheaded. Her vnckle *Aristobolus*, who was likewise her father in law, was poysoned: her onely sonne *Aristobolus* trayterously drowned, by the procurement of *Herode*. Her father *Hyrcauus* (so neare to his graue) dispatched by an ignominious infliction.

Her onely daughter *Mariana* remayned, who being married to the King, might somewhat comfort her in these extremities. But this violent woman, swelling in hatred against the King, declared herselfe most strangely troublefome vnto her husband, by continuall reproaching the *Iudmean* house, and complying of the Kings horrible cruelties: So that, after she became to be suspected of adulterie; and a false crime imposed on her, that shee practised to poison her husband: *Herode* was the easier wonne to her death, albeit hee loued her intirely, and shee had borne him five children.

Now, notwithstanding so great calamitie, in the miserable & vnworthy death of her daughters; *Alexandra* could not yet be conquered, neyther vnderstand, how many incumbrances her attempts turned by misfortunes to her and hers; yea, to many other that truly piersed her indifcretion. Nor could she be admonished, moderately to beare precedent and present mishaps (whereof continually shee gaue the occasion) but rather prouoked nouell extremities, by her impatience and peeuish folly: for, after the execution of *Mariana*, *Doris*, mother to *Antipater*, and formerly diuorced: six yeares after was recalled to the Court, and her wonted lodging in the Kings Chamber, and it appeared, that her sonne *Antipater* was now become accepted, and entertained by the King, in hope of succeeding after him; and the sonnes of *Mariana* excluded quite.

Alexandra perceiuing, that shee onely remayned of the *Asmonean* royall family, and that shee was to take care of her daughters children: affected rather to runne into extremitie, then after such frequent causes of griefe, to liue in the despite and contempt of *Doris*, *Salome* and *Antipater*, who was to reigne after his father, and to see the same *Antipater*, borne of *Doris* the *Iudmean*, and not noble (euen when *Herode* lived but in priuate condition) to be preferred

The kinned
of Alexandra
put to death
in diuers man-
ners.

Mariana most
inimious
against her
husband.

A woman of
an vnder-
stood and vn-
conquerable cou-
rage.

Herode recal-
led home to
Court his
former diuorced
wife *Doris*.

Such ykelom
and offensive
fights as Alex-
andra was not
able to endure

preferred the sons of *Mariam*, who was a Queene, and they borne in the time of *Herodes* reigning. Hereupon, she began to consider on some apt opportunity, to exploit a certaine disleigne, which shee imagined to be diuinely instructed to hit foule; in regard that the King (being very greatly perplexed in mind, grieved extraordinarily for his wifes execution) was sicke; euen to death, in the city of *Samar*: which made her (by faire promises) sollicite the Kings Garrison to revolt from him, whereof there were two, one in the Cittie, the other in the Temple, and these being reduced to partake with her, it would be a very easie way for her to enjoy the Kingdome.

Alexandra exhorted those warrellike bands by faithful messengers (considering the incertitude of the Kings life, or rather the assurance of his death) to possesse themselves of the Pallace, before that *Antipater*, or any other should invade the kingdome, and to preserve the succession thereof, for the sonnes of *Herode* by his Queene *Mariam*, till they came to lawfull age, because they were the legitimate heires, and the Kingdome (by right) belonged to them. But the Souldiers, hauing duely considered on the matter among themselves: concluded, not to follow the perillous and ill-advised counsell of this audacious woman, whom they knew to be most maliciously enclined to the King. For (indeede) they greatly feared the Kings dangerous nature, most couetous of reigning and commanding, and accustomed to reuenge (very feuerly) any attempts, in such as hee held the least suspicion of, being any way affected to the kingdome: as he witnessed most euidently, in the punishments inflicted vpon his owne children.

One of the Souldiers thinking, that by reuelling the aduice of this woman, hee should winne great grace and fauour of the King: posited to *Samar*, and there disclosed to the sicke King, all the machination of his mother in law: which grew the more tedious to *Herode*, in regard of very impatiently enduring the anguish of his disleale: and therefore (wholly overcome with rage and choller) hee sent instant command to *Ierusalem*, forthwith to put his mother in law *Alexandra* to death, as a trayterous conspirator against

his life; and it was accordingly perforced.

Thus after infinite calamities, *Alexandra* ended her dayes in this tragical manner, for, being neuer contented with any present fortune, she daily begate nouell miseries, one still in the necke of another, only through distasting any instant condition. Otherwise, she was a woman graue, discreet and ingenious, but ouer violently giuen vp to ambition, hatred and anger (very vile and bad counsellors) more then needed. She had out-gone the compass of three score yeares, when she was thus put to death; and so became the family of the *Asmoneans* quite extinct: but onely what remained in the heires of *Mariam*, deriued from an *Idumean* father.

Let this Discourse suffice, concerning the noble house of the *Asmoneans*, which from a small beginning (in the defence of a most honest and good cause) became exalted to soueraigne glory and dignity, by their owne industry, but (more especially) the helpe of heaven. Afterward, hauing left the principall cause, they began to seeke after power and riches, according to the fashion of Pagan Kings, and to stirre in many vnecessary matters: partly trusting to their owne might, and partly relying on the assistance of strangers. Whereon ensued, that, being first distracted by domestick discordes, and next, admitting entrance to strange enemies: they beganne (by little and little) to diminish; and finally, to leaue the whole possession of the *Iewish* kingdome, to the dominion of strangers. Euen after they had held the principality of the people, from *Judas Macchabees*, vnto the beginning of *Herodes* kingdome, for an hundred and thirty yeares, and had kept the High-priesthoode an hundred and seuenteen yeares.

CHAP. XI.

A briefe entrance into the description of the posteritie of *Antipater*, holding the principalltie of *Iudea*, but not the High-priesthoode.

Now wee should come to describe the third Family, that obtained the posterity of *Antipater* the *Idumean*, who (in different

differently) held the principalltie of *Iudea*, but not the soueraigne Sacrificers Office (for it was not lawfull, that so sacred a charge should bee admittred by strangers) vntill the destruction of the Cittie, and the Temple of *Ierusalem*.

For the High-priesthoode was in the hands of others, who indeed were *Iewes*; but yet of diuers and obscure Families, enlisted by *Herode* and the *Romaines*, cyther by fauour or rewards.

It is no easie matter to describe their succession, neither doe I hold it any way necessary for this discourse: considering that afterward, the soueraigne Sacrificers were neuer potent or powerfull; and beside, the soueraigne gouernement remained in the hands of *Romaine* Captaynes and Princes.

Josephus also was not very carefull, curiously to number the soueraigne Sacrificers; but rather satisfieth himselfe, with declaring, that in the kingdom of *Herode*, accounting from his reigne, vntill the destruction of the *Iewish* nation; there had beene nine and twentie High-priests, which space of time continued little more then an hundred yeares. For, from the beginning of *Herodes* reigne, vnto the second yeare of the Empire of *Vespasian*, I finde by computation, an hundred and fixe yeares.

But in the first Familie of *Iesus*, which held the High-priesthoode, after their returne from *Babylon*, vntill the time of *Antiochus* the Noble; there are accounted fiftene soueraigne Sacrificers onely, although the time was thrice as long as the latter. For, as we haue already elsewhere related, that from the first yeare of *Cyrus*, vntill that of *Alcimus*, are found three hundred eightie and fixe yeares, or thereabout. The cause of this multiplictie of High-priests, grew by so often and frequent changes, one still defeating and ouerthrowing another: one while by the power of money, fauour, or both; another while by might, and assistance of enemies.

The third Family.

CHAP. XII.

Concerning the posteritie of *Antipater* the *Idumean* of *Ascalon*, transferring the High-priesthoode (at their pleasure) to strangers: hauing violently got it from the *Asmoneans*, and held the principalltie of the *Iewish* people, vntill the destruction of *Ierusalem*, vnder the reigne of *Vespasian*.



Dumea is the vtmost part of the Land of *Canaan*, confining *Egypt* and *Arabia*, and closing vp the coast of *Iudea* towards the South, holding on that part, which the Tribe of *Iuda* had by lot in their inheritance. In elder times, it was inhabited by the posteritie of *Esaus*, (brother to *Isaac*) who was also named *Edom*, that is to say, *Red-hayred*. Of him they came to be called *Idumeans*, and hauing lost the true doctrine, and holy feruices commanded them by God: they fell to the worshipping of Idolles, with their neighbouring nations.

King *Dauid* first of all brought them into subiection, and made them tributarie to the Kings of *Iuda*.

About an hundred and fiftie yeares after, they reuolted agayne vnder *Soram* King of *Iuda*, sonne to *Iehosaphat*, and rebelled against the *Iewes*, diuided into two kingdomes. And although the succeeding Kings compelled them diuers times, to vnder-goe againe their former feruilitie: yet notwithstanding, they defended their libertie by armes, vntill such time as *Iudas* was led captiue into *Babylon*. And then, they tooke many Citties from the *Iewes*; which afterward (by the Edict of King *Darius*) they were enforced to restore vnto them agayne, when they were returned from *Babylon*.

Not long after, *Iohn Hyrcanus*, sonne to *Simon* the *Asmonean*, hauing overcome them in a very difficult warre: constrained them, to make profession of the same doctrine and religion with him, causing them

A description of the situation of *Iuda*.

The *Idumeans* descended of *Esaus* brother to *Isaac*.

Dauid first made the *Idumeans* tributarie.

Diuers reuolts and rebellions of the *Idumeans*.

The *Idumeans* vanquished by *Iohn Hyrcanus*.

She laboured the kings garrisons to revolt from him

Her endeavors for aduancing her daughters children to the kingdome.

Herde verie jealous of any that affected his kingdome

The enterprise of *Alcimus* was disclosed to the King, and the plot to defeat.

The follies & errors no more rising in *Alexandra* which brought her down

Concerning the noble Familie of the *Asmoneans*.

The whole possession of the *Iewish* kingdome given once to strangers.

A taxation laid vpon *Iosephus* the high-priest, for not duly minding the soueraigne Sacrificers.

The first Familie possessed the name of *Ioseph*, and how long they held the High-priesthoode.

Thereafter ensued a multiplictie of High-priests.

them to vndergoe Circumcision. Here-
hence it ensued, that they trafficked the
more freely with the *Jews*; so that they
were called to their warres, and to the
Courts of the Iewish kings.

Antipater came of this *Idumean* nation,
whose sonne, named *Herode*, hauing after-
ward obtained the Iewish kingdome, and
fearing to vse himselfe with them as a
stranger: would be esteemed a Jew, be-
cause (as hath bene said) the *Idumeans* had
receiued Circumcision vnder *John Hyrcan-
us*. *Iosephus* thus recordeth this family.

Antipas the Father

The issue of
Antipater the
father.

Cephallion (sine
in warre by A-
ristobulus.) Antipater the fa-
miliar of Hyrcanus Turour
of all Iudaea. Cyprus an Idu-
mean wo-
man.

These children came of Antipater.

Antipaters
issue.

Phasclus Herode Sospitus Pheroras Salome a
gouernour King of gouernour
of Ierusa- Iudaea. of Iudaea.
Iem.

Antipas the *Ascalonite*, father to *Anti-
pater*, was appointed *Gouernour* of his
Countrey of *Idumea*, by *Alexander Jam-
nes*, and beside afterward enjoying it still
(sometime) vnder the Queene *Alexandra*,
he gathered great store of wealth, and ob-
tained the principall authority in that Re-
gion.

Antipater go-
uernour of
Idumea.

Antipater.

Succeeded in the government of *Idu-
mea*, after his deceased father, during
which time, he not only wonne the hearts
of his owne nation, augmenting and con-
firming his wealth, by alliance with neigh-
boring Kings, and Cities, but also strong-
ly insinuated himselfe into good grace
with *Hyrcanus* the second, by many ac-
ceptable seruices. For he being instituted
Soueraigne Sacrificer by his mother, who
then ruled the kingdome. *Antipater* had
great hope, that the fauour of *Hyrcanus*
would (in time) aduance him to higher
degree. Now, he perswaded himselfe, that
the mother being dead, hee should come
to inioy the kingdom by hereditary right.
Wherefore, *Antipater* was very diligent
towards him in all kindes of courtieis,
making no account at all of the younger
brother: which made him wonderfully

Thereason
why Antipa-
ter laboured
to keepe him-
selfe in fauour
with Hyrcanus

hated by *Aristobulus*, as it fell out after
in open apparance. For, their mother be-
ing dead, *Aristobulus* hauing fought with
his brother *Hyrcanus* in a field of battell,
& afterward held besieged in the temple:
he was at length constrained, to dismis-
se himselfe, both of the kingdome and high-
Priesthood. And then (by flowe and po-
litike degrees) he deposed *Antipater* from
the gouernement of *Idumea*, for his so
many good seruices to *Hyrcanus* in war.

This iniurie more and more enflamed
the hatred of *Antipater* against *Aristobu-
lus*, and because hee could not reuenge
himselfe by power: hee incited the great-
est Lords of the Iewes against King *Ari-
stobulus* by secret accusations. Above all,
he handled *Hyrcanus* in diuers kindes (hee
being of his owne nature, modest and
temperate) one while terrifying him
with strange feares, another while chear-
ing his hopes, with vndoubted comming
to his Crowne againe. He told him that
his brother *Aristobulus*, (a man meere-
ly vile by complexion) sought all occasions,
either by close contriuings, or open vio-
lence, to preuaile against his life: for his
more secure enioying of the kingdome,
whereto hee had aspired by such wicked-
nesse. Hee auaunched, to haue certayne
knowledge, of diuers enterprises in *Ari-
stobulus* by euident signes: either because
they were truly so indeede, or for the
more prouoking *Hyrcanus* against his bro-
ther. Moreouer, he shewed the meanes
and wayes, whereby *Hyrcanus* might re-
gayne the Kingdome belonging to him,
to wit, if they both fled thence to *Aretas*,
king of *Arabia*, with whom he had ancient
amitie and alliance, and who (he doubted
not) could satisfie their desires.

Hyrcanus was at last wonne by these
speeches, being formerly wounded with
the wrongs which his brother had offered
him; so that accompanied with *Antipater*,
and some other, who not a little despised
the dominion of *Aristobulus*; he secretly
went to *Aretas* in the city of *Petra*. There
humbly himselfe before the King, hee
desired assistance of him against his wic-
ked and cruell brother, who not only had
deprived him of the High-priesthood,
(contrary to all right and equitie) which
hee had peaceably enioyed nine yeares in
his mothers life time; and not onely also
bereft him of the kingdome, which by the
lawe

Antipater de-
posed from the
gouerne-
ment of Iudaea

The cunning
dealing of An-
tipater: with
deceitful hyrcanus.

Incitation to
flight to Aretas
king of A-
rabia.

Hyrcanus go-
eth with An-
tipater in se-
cret manner
to Aretas, and
maketh his
complaint to
him.

King Aretas
assailed Iu-
daea with his
thousand men

Aristobulus
required suc-
cour of Scaurus
against the
Arabes.

Diuer Iewes
followed their
goods, & fled
into Egypte.

Onias a holie
man, excommu-
nicated
by the Iewes
and stoned.

law of Nations belonging to him, as being
the eldest sonne: but (beside) layed daily
trappes and traines for his life. Where-
upon he promised, that if hee should be
restored to his Kingdome; he would sur-
render to him ten Citties, which his fa-
ther *Alexander Jamnes* had taken from the
Realme of *Arabia*, and other honourable
recompences beside.

Aretas, more moued by the perswasions
of *Antipater*, then all the prayers and
promises of *Hyrcanus*, invaded *Iudaea* with
fiftie thousand men. *Aristobulus* encoun-
tering with him, was vanquished, chiefly
by the valiance of *Antipater*: and being
abandoned of his souldiers, the most part
yelded themselves to *Hyrcanus*. *Aristobu-
lus* got closely into the Citie, and there
(with some of the Sacrificers and Citti-
zens) kept within the fortresse of the tem-
ple, being provided of all things necessa-
rie to endure besieging. But yet before
this extremite, he had sent an ambassage
(in great haste) to *Scaurus*, Lieutenant, a-
biding then in *Syria*, intreating succour
of him against the *Arabes*: promising him
four hundred Talents, that is, two hun-
dred and fortie thousand crownes of the
Sunne.

Aretas pursuing *Aristobulus* with his
Armie, entred into the Citie, to lay his
siege before the Temple; the Cittizens
yelding themselves to *Hyrcanus*, and the
Cittie also. But some Iewes foreseeing,
that this debate betweene the brethren, a-
bout possession of the kingdome, would
cause the ruine of the whole country; lest
there their goods, and fledde into *Egypte*.
Other of the Cittizens ioyned with the
Arabes, besieging the munition, and pres-
sed the inclosed Sacrificers very narrow-
ly; yea, much more nearly then the ene-
mie, using deceipts and subtilties with their
cruelty. For they drew out of the secret
Sanctuarie (where this ciuile warre was
most vnciuilly maintained) a holy man,
named *Onias*, who in an extreme drought
and dread of sterility, made his prayers
to God, desiring raine in that needfull
season: and would haue compelled him,
to curse and damne the besieged to the
duell, because they would not yelde
themselves. But hee (on the contrary)
made his prayers aloud to God, that he
would neyther heare the Sacrificers, or
Priests besieged against the people, nor

the people besieging against the Priests,
for which cause the Iewes stoned him.

And when the feast of Easter was come,
when there was neede of many beaſts for
Sacrifices, the Priests required, that such
store might be deliuered them, as was ne-
cessarily to be vsed in such solemne Sac-
rifices, agreeing to pay a thousand drach-
mes for each beaſt; that is to say, an hun-
dred crownes of the Sunne. But after that
the Iewes had receiued so great a summe
from the Priests: they descended from the
walles, and would not performe a iore
of that which they had promised, but
mocked the sacrificing Priests, who were
ouer credulous in beleeuing them.

But the Lord God being offended with
this wickednes, and taking vengeance for
their foule transgressions; sent a sharpe
winde on the Corne then almost ripe,
which being vtterly spoyled, the famine
was so great, that a bushell of wheate was
solde eleuen times more deare, then vſually
it was wont to be; to wit, at cleauen
drachmaes, whereas before (in euerie
yeare) it was sold for a drachma, and lesse.

The besieged beginning to feele the
want of fooode, and that nothing hindred
them from yelding, but onely to heare
an answer from *Scaurus* (vnder the hope
whereof, *Aristobulus* encouraged the
Priests, to endure all difficulties of the
siege): it fortuned (very successefully for
them) that *Scaurus* sent Ambassadors
to King *Aretas*, that he should withdraw
his Army out of *Iudaea*, except hee meant
to proue the displeasure of the *Romaine*
people. *Aretas* obeyed this command,
and so much the rather, because his army
was in great distresse for fooode. By which
meanes, (without doing any thing else)
Hyrcanus and *Antipater* returned backe to
Arabia with the King.

Soone after, *Pompey* came out of *Arme-
nia* into *Syria*, whereupon, *Antipater* pro-
cured many of the most potent Iewes, to
accuse *Aristobulus* before him. Himselfe
likewise, as an Ambassador sent from *Hyrcanus*,
went to *Pompey*, and pleaded the
cause of *Hyrcanus* against *Aristobulus*, and
entred into such respect with *Pompey*; that
after the surprizing of the Citie, *Hyrcanus*
was restored to the High-priesthood,
but not to the Kingdome. And from
thence forward, *Antipater* beganne to
grow great, gouerning (well neare) all
occaf-

False and
fraudfull dea-
ling in the
Iewes with the
sacrificing
Priests.

The iustice of
heauen on the
Iewes for their
wickednes.

Ambassadors
sent to King A-
retas.

Antipater
procured Ari-
stobulus to be
accused be-
fore Pompey

The cunning
intimations
of Antipater
with the Ro-
man capitaine.

occasions whatsoever, because *Hyrcanus*, (being a lover of quietnesse) left all to his rule. And so gracious was he with the *Romaine* Capitaines, in all such seruices as possibly he could do for them: that he intimated farre into their friendship, causing *Hyrcanus* daily to bestow magnificent gifts, and himselfe receiued all the thanks and profite for them.

First, he was very diligent, to furnish *Scaurus* with all kinde of munition, when he was left in *Iudea* with two legions, and made warre vpon the *Arabes*. Next, being sent in embassage by the same *Scaurus* to the king *Aretas*: hee procured peace, in regarde of his auncient amitie with the King, and perswaded *Scaurus* to bring his Army out of *Arabia*, after he had receiued of the King three hundred Talents, as much to say, as an hundred and fourescore thousand crowns of the Sunne. Afterward, he assisted *Gabinus* against *Alexander*, sonne to *Aristobulus*, but especially in the restitution of King *Pholomey* the Fleustier: where he made passage for *Gabinus*, to goe from *Iudea* into *Egypt* by *Iudaea*.

By the like subtile and cunning means, he qualified rich *Crassus*, and his General *Cassius*, being removed from the *Parthian* warre; fearing lest any thing should be attempted, that might be hurtfull to *Hyrcanus*, who (from time to time) was accused to the *Romaine* Capitaines, as well by the sonnes of *Aristobulus*, as by diuerse powerfull Iewes, that were of the same faction.

But, for the more sure establishing of his power, hee ayded *Julius Caesar* more then all the rest, to whom he performed faithfull seruice in the *Alexandrian* warre, in bringing him three thousand Iewes, & procuring the *Arabes*, *Iudaeans*, and *Iews* dwelling in *Egypt*, to be his companions in that warre. And when *Mithridates* of *Pergamum* (who went with a great Armie of *Cilicia* and *Syria* against *Caesar*) was repulsed in *Egypt*: *Antipater* (*Dameira* being subdued) brought helpe to *Caesar*, and fauored him by the way; when he was compelled (in an encounter) to giue place to the enemy, his men being ready prepared for flight.

For these defects (the *Alexandrian* war being ended) *Julius Caesar* confirmed the High priesthood vnto *Hyrcanus*, permit-

ting him to build vp the City walles a gayne: Moreouer, he appoynted *Antipater* to be Tuteur of all *Judeans*, and sent him into *Iudea*, honoured with the title of a *Romaine* Bourgesse, and perpetuall immunities beside.

Antipater seeing himselfe exalted to such dignitie, deuised also how to aduance his sonnes. Whereupon, *Phelms* (being the eldest) he appointed him to be gouernour of *Ierusalem*, and the neighbouring places about it: in regarde of the negligence and carelesnesse of *Hyrcanus* in the gouernement. Next to him was *Herode*, and he as yet but yong: yet he gaue the charge of *Galilee* to him. Both of them very commendably performed their seuerall offices, which caused their father to become more esteemed generally, and won the fauour of many powerfull persons, by both his owne, and his sonnes liberalitie.

Hereupon it hapned, that some Iews grew iealous and suspicious of *Antipater*, seeing him (purposely) to maintaine the remission of *Hyrcanus*, onely for the exaltation of his owne sonnes: abusing all his riches and reuenues, to bestow great fauours and gifts vpon the *Romains*. In this respect, some of the best aduised Iewes, and of the better sort, feared not to reprehend *Hyrcanus* publicly, for his neglect and slouthfulness, in referring the totall administration of all things, onely to *Antipater* and his sonnes, who were scarcely started out of childhood. Having already gathered such heaps of wealth and cheuifance, onely to curry fauour with the *Romains*, that they were become dreadfull to the whole nation. They bad him to be well aduised, whereto tended this power in the *Iudaeans*, shewing him withall, that he dealt vniuilly and indifferently, hauing so many Iewes, excelling in valour and expertnesse of armes: to reiect them from managing publike affaires, reposing his whole trust in the defence of a stranger, who intended no profite to the Iewish nation, but only how to leaue the kingdom of *Iudea* to his owne sonnes.

Now, albeit these speeches did a little moue *Hyrcanus*, himselfe also fearing the power of *Antipater*: yet notwithstanding, he could not forget, what benefits he had receiued by him, and what loyalty he had declared towards him, hauing alwayes kept him in extreame dangers. Beside, he feared

Antipater ex-
alting his
sonnes to
seuerall
dignities.

Diuers Iews
began to be
suspicious of
Antipater.

Hyrcanus re-
prehended by
some of the
best Iewes
his great
negligence.

Hyrcanus
carefull of
Aristobulus
and his Iouis.

Conspiracie
how to com-
passe the
death of An-
tipater by
Malichus a
rich Iew.

The horrible
rapines of
Collins in
Iudea so pos-
sessed himselfe
of money.

The readines
of Antipater
to please the
Romaines.

feared *Aristobulus*, and his sonnes, against whom he thought he stood in need of a powerfull defender, which made him answer, that he could not dismisse *Antipater* from gouerning the generall affaires, in regard he had receiued his authoritie from the *Romains*; who he might by no means offend, without both hazarding himselfe, and the whole Country to vnuoidable dangers.

When the accusers of *Antipater* perceived, they could worke nothing on the slow and neglect nature of *Hyrcanus*, they began to consider on some subtile means, whereby they might put *Antipater* to death. And one of them being named *Malichus*, excelling all the rest in wealth, wisdom, and courage, fought how to intrap *Antipater*, by secret plots and ambushes prepared. But *Antipater* getting intelligence thereof, withdrew himselfe beyond *Jordane*, where he leuied an Army, by aide from King *Aretas* his deare friend, with full deliberation to reuenge this injury. Neuertheless, he was appeased by *Hyrcanus*, because *Malichus* purged himselfe by oath, that he neuer intended any treason against him.

This hapned immediatly after that the Conspirators had slayne *Julius Caesar* in the Senate house, when *Cassius* (Author and chiefe in the coniuration) was come into *Syria*, and from thence into *Iudea*: where he villainously ranfacked the Cities and Townes, onely to get money, so that he sold the Magistrats of some places, with their whole families, and pillaged foure great cities in *Iudea*, selling all the Citizens for slaves: because they had made refusal, to giue such a large summe as this insatiable beast demanded. As he asked of the Iews seven hundred talents, (which summe amounted to foure thousand Crownes of the Sunne:) *Antipater* gaue charge to leuy this money, partly of his Sons, and partly of the most powerfull Iewes; so that the whole summe being suddenly payd in: *Antipaters* sonnes were the better welcomed among the *Romains*. And so farre it proceeded, that *Cassius* (euen then) made promise of the kingdom of *Iudea* to *Herode*, who ouer & above the summe whereto the taxation mounted, carryed store of gold to the campe in *Syria* when he had ended the war against

Marke Anthony and *Octavianus*. But for the present he commanded the Prouince of *Syria* to *Herode*, and the Army by Sea.

Malichus well obseruing, that the power of *Antipater* lo mightily encreasing, was not (by any patient meanes) to be indured; practised & dealt with the Taster or Cup-bearer to *Hyrcanus* the High-priest, by great gifts and summes of money: so that one night, as *Antipater* was at Supper with *Hyrcanus*, the Taster poysoned him; albeit the sayd Taster had twise bin deliuered from death by *Antipater*, & held his life of him. Thus was *Antipater* murdered, in the yere following the death of *Julius Caesar*, he being (vndoubtedly) a man very excellent, wife, and prouident. Some imagined, that *Hyrcanus* was not ignorant of the deed doing, or (at least) it was not done in any despight of him: although *Antipater* by the means of *Pompey*, got him restored to the Soueraigne Priesthood, and afterward (for the space of 22. yeres) alwayes kept and defended him against the violence of his enemies.

Perhaps one way he had offended *Hyrcanus*, that (to satisfy the covetous desires of *Cassius*, and to forestall perills incident to himselfe) he was somewhat ouer-rude in virging money from him, he being an old man, sparing by nature, and the more gripple in holding, in regarde of his age. For which fault, *Hyrcanus* declared no great distaste in the murdering of his Benefactor. Because many times it comes to passe, that some men, hauing receiued good benefices for a large length of time, and yet growing (at length) to be displeased: they forget all good desertings past, and resting not so contented, proceed to diuers dangerous practises against them. Of such ingratefull men, *Philip Melancton*, my worthy master, & good father, wrote certaine Verses to this effect:

Some men there are, if thou transport their states
With pompe to Rome, and plant them in the gates:
Such fauour they require not with due grace,
But (like ingratefull wretches) all deface.

Not long after, *Hyrcanus* payd dearly for this his foolish ingratitude, because (the yere following) *Antigonus* compassed the meanes to bring the *Parthians* into *Iudea*; when *Hyrcanus* being taken, & led into a strange land by the enemy, well found (but ouer-late) what defence he had lost by the death of *Antipater*, and then in

F f f vaine

Antipater be-
ing as supper
with Hyrcanus
the High-
priest, was
poysoned by
his Taster.

Some reasons
wherby Hyrcanus
might be
offended with
Antipater.

Philip Me-
lanctons
verses on in-
gratitude.

Hyrcanus
payd dearly
for his ingra-
titude to An-
tipater.

Antipater
procured
peace betwixt
Scarus and
Aretas, king
of the Arabi-
ans.

Rich Crassus
and his gene-
rall Cassius.

The actions
of Antipater
in Egypt, and
his faithful
seruice to Ju-
lius Caesar.

Antipater
made a Ro-
maine Bour-
gesse by Iulius
Caesar.

vaine lamented his owne folly, in listning to *Malichus*, and other *Boute-feux*, against so deare a friend as *Antipater* had alwayes bin to him.

CHAP. XIII.

A further entrance into discourse, concerning the race and Posteritie of *Antipater*, for the better clearing of some obscure doubts in diuers Authors, and full satisfaction of the Reader.

Of the Sonnes of *Antipater*.

Phaselus the eldest.

The worthe performance of *Phaselus* in his charge.

He being constituted by his Father, to be Governor of *Ierusalem*, and the round neighbouring places, to assist *Hyrcanus* (carelesse, and very vnapt for administration) in regard of his age; discharged his Commission

most commendably for sixe yeares space, during the life time of his father. He being dead, hee appeard (by his vertue) a great trouble arising in *Ierusalem*, in regard that a certayne man, named *Felix*, driuen by *Cassius* into *Ierusalem* with Souldiours, being corrupted with money from diuerse *Iewes*; laboured to ouerthrow it. But this *Felix* was vanquished by *Phaselus*, and for a while kept in prison; but afterward released vpon certayne conditions.

Next, it was no little ioy to him, to see *Malichus* (the murderer of his father *Antipater*) punished for his wickednesse: who labouing to invade the Principality of *Iudea*, was slayne by the Souldiours of *Cassius*, and by the industrious meanes of *Herode*.

Cassius being conquerd, *Marke Anthony* came into *Syria*, and made *Phaselus* & *Herode* Tetrarches of *Iudea*: notwithstanding all the criminall accusations, alleaded by the *Iewes* against them. But *Phaselus* enioyed not that dignity any long while; for the yeare following the death of his father, the City being furysied by the *Parthians* and *Antigonus*: he was (by subtilty) taken with *Hyrcanus*, and slew himselfe remayning prisoner, as I haue already related in the life of the fecond *Hyrcanus*.

Felix libred to con- found Iudea- tem.

The death of fectionis *Malichus*.

Phaselus and *Herode* made Tetrarche of *Iudea* by *Marke Anthony*.

Phaselus left a sonne named

Herode King.

Mariana the Asmonean.

Phaselus, to whom *Salome*, daughter to *Herode* and *Mariana* was married, by whom he had these children.

Antipater, of whom *Herode* and *Alexander*, both dying young children. *Alexandra*, married to a *Iew* of *Cyprus*, afterwarde married to king *Cyprus*, being *Agrippa* barren.

Isippus the third Sonne of *Antipater*.

Concerning the brethren of *Phaselus*.

Herode cometh next after *Phaselus*, in respect of his age. But I holde it more conuenient to speak first of his brethren, whose actions were of lesse fame and esteeme.

Isippus (called by some *Gisippus*) the third sonne of *Antipater*, was appoynted Gouvernour of *Iudumea* by his father, who

had obtained the Principallitie of *Iudea*. After his fathers death, he valiantly defended the family and affaires of his brother *Herode*, they being driuen into exile by *Antigonus* and the *Parthians*: withdrawing them into the City of *Massada*, against the sayd King *Antigonus*, enduring there a very difficult siege, vntill that his brother

Isippus defended his brotheres cause and all his friends.

brother *Herode* (being returned out of *Italiane*) deliuered him and them, and was afterward proclaymed King by *Octavianus Augustus*, and by *Marke Anthony*.

Within a while after, when his brother *Herode* went to *Marke Anthony*, who besieged the City of *Samofata*, neare vnto *Euphrates*; the charge of the Army was giuen to him. But going inconsiderately forraging for the *Corn*, with sixe silly bands of Souldiers: he was taken in the Straits of the mountaines neare to *Sericho*, and there slain with all his men by *Antigonus*, about foure yeares after the death of his father.

His head being smitten off, was carried vp and downe in a mockery, and finally bought of *Antigonus*, by his brother *Pheroras*, for fifty Talents, that is, 30000 Crownes of the Sunne. He had a sonne named *Isippus* also, to whom his winkle *Herode* gaue in marriage, *Olympia*, the Sister of *Archelaus*, of whom he begat *Mariana*, afterwards married to *Herode* the lesse, King of *Chalasis*.

Antipater

Isippus Pre- Herode King *Marthaca* a
sident of I. of *Iudea*. *Samaritanes*
dumca. his wife.

Isippus, his wife *Olympia*.

Of them was borne *Mariana*, wife to *Herode*, son to *Aristobolus*, King of *Chalasis*.

Pheroras, the yongest sonne to *Antipater*, when his brother *Isippus* was slaine being as yet but young, he continued alone, yet ayded his brother *Herode* valiantly, managing dangerous warres (on his behalfe) against *Antigonus*. At the request of *Herode*, *Augustus Caesar* made him Tetrarche, and vied him very honorably; yet returning but bad recompence therefore to his brother: For, hauing procured him; to put his wife *Mariana* to death, and his two sonnes *Alexander* and *Aristobolus*: he at the length compacted with *Antipater*, to compasse the death of his brother also. But being preuented by sudden death, hee escaped punishment. He dyed some few yeares before his brother *Herode*, and left two sonnes, to whom *Augustus* married two daughters of de-

ceased *Herode*, *Roxana* and *Salome*, endowing each with five and twentie thousand Crownes of the Sunne. Hee had a daughter also, married to the sonne of *Antipater*, yongest sonne of King *Herode*.

Salome, daughter of *Antipater*, Sister to *Herode* King of *Iudea*.

In her first marriage, shee was giuen to one named *Isippus*, who being constituted guardian of *Mariana*, wife to *Herode* was slaine by the Kings command, because hee would not reueale some matters of secrecie. Afterward shee was married to *Cothabarus*, Gouernour of *Iudumea*, from whom shee perterated her selfe by diuorce, contrary to the Lawe of *Moses*: which permitted Husbands to leaue their Wiues for some cause of importance; but not Wiues to leaue their Husbands. Neuerthelesse, *Salome* vsed this licence, confiding in the power of her brother: and afterward was the cause, that the sayd *Cothabarus* dyed miserably. Finally, in despite of her selfe-will, *Herode* made her marry one *Alexander*: although she was almost made in loue with a potent *Arabe*, named *Sylens*, an vtter enemy to *Herode*, and one that would not be circumcised.

This *Salome* was a meere Fury in the Court of her brother, and a flaming firebrand of domestick discordes, whereon many murders ensued. For, being wholly overcome with hatred against *Mariana* the *Asmonean* (who despised her, because she was not nobly borne) shee ceased not to enflame the spleene of her brother: contriuing false crimes of adultery and poisoning against her, vntill *Herode* had put his dearely affected wife to death. Which being done, and *Salome* fearing some reuenge to be inflicted on her: beganne to prouoke the father against *Alexander* and *Aristobolus*, the sonne of *Mariana*, seruing her turne here in with *Antipater*, the sonne of *Herode*, who stood in feare, that these two yong men should be aduanced and preferred before him to the kingdome.

Shee prayled so well by her cunning plots and practises, that they both standing accused, for affecting the Kingdome, and preparing of poysons, they were condemned; and, notwithstanding all their excellent partes and perfections, they

Eff 2

were

Her first husband slaine by *Herodes* command.

Salome separated herselfe from her husband.

Salome was wed in her third marriage

Salome a fire brand of confusion in the Court of king *Herode*: her brother.

Alexander & *Aristobolus* both executed.

were strangled by their fathers command.

Moreover, by her secret and subtil reports, she wrung *Antipater* into his fathers ill opinion and disgrace, although hee had beene her companion in all her wickednesse; plotting and preparing all the treasons against his father, whereof he had falsly accused his most innocent brethren, the sonnes of *Mariana*, vntill himselfe was caught in the same snare, and (by his fathers command) dispatched also.

Shée, the minister of so many monstrous cruelties, did suruiue her brother *Herode*, who left her (by his last will and testament) three most opulent Cities, to wit, *Iamnia*, *Asot* and *Phaselus*; beside two millions and an halfe of siluer coine,

which amounts to fifty thousand crowns of the Sunne.

Moreover, she being familiar (by Letters) with *Linia*, wife to *Augustus* (whom *Iosephus* continually calleth *Iulia*) the said *Augustus* gaue her the Castle royall in the City of *Asalon*. And she receiued annually out of the fore-named Cities, three score Talents, which arise to thirtie fixe thousand crownes of the Sunne.

Having liued twelue years after the death of her brother *Herode*; shee dyed a yeare before the departure of *Augustus* out of this life, and left (by her testament) to *Linia*, wife to *Augustus*, those Cities which she formerly held. She left a sonne named *Antipater*, and a daughter singularly beautifull, called *Berenice*, of whom came these children following.

Caftabarus President
of *Iudæa*.

Salome sister to
King *Herode*.

Cypris daughter *Antipater* espou- *Berenice* married *Aristobulus* Son
to King *Herode* by sed her, albeit she to her cousine *A-* to King *Herod* by
Mariana the *As-* was his cousine. *ristobulus*. the *Asmonean*.
monean.

Cypris. *Alexas* son in *Agrippa* *Herode* *Aristo-* *Herodias* *Mariana*.
law to *Salome*, King of *King of* *bulus*. *mentioned*
sister to *Herod*, *Iudæa*. *Chalcis*. in the go-
by the 3. hus- *bell*.
band.

Cypris. *Agrippa*
The second, succeeded in the Kingdome of *Chalcis*, after his
Vnckle *Herode*.

Herode, the second sonne of *Antipater*; whom some doe call
the Great, was the first King of *Iudæa*, being of a contrary
Nation.

Ezechias the
Iew and his
complices
vanquished &
slayne by *He-*
rode in his
yong dayes.

Herode being as yet but young, was ord-
dayned President of *Galilee*, by his father
Antipater, soone after *Iulius Cæsar* had fi-
nished the warres in *Egypt*. He gaue im-
mediate probatation of his industry and va-
lour, hauing destroyed and slaine *Eze-*
chias the Iew, and a troop of theeues that
wasted *Syria*: for the which being highly
commended by the *Syrians*, hee found
great grace and fauor with *Sextus Cæsar*,
who then gouerned the Prouince of *Sy-*
ria. It fortuned, that by the infliction of
them that enuyed *Antipater*, *Hyrcanus* the,

Soueraigne Sacrificer (contrary to his
will), gaue personall summons to *Herode*,
in regarde of the *Iewes* by him taken and
slayne in *Syria*, without listning to the
sentence of soueraign Iudgement, which
then was termed *Sanhedrin*, of the Greek
word *Synedrion*, as I conceiue, and consi-
sted of seauenty and two Iudges, who
were called the seauentie Ancients. *Philo*
writeth, that before the kingdome of *He-*
rode, the Iudges of that Councell were
chosen out of the posteritie of *Dauid* on-
ly. *Herode* hauing aduertisement (by Let-

The royall
castle of *As-*
alon gaue
to *Salome*.

The belted
Salome and
whar shee
sawe left.

ters from his father, appeared at *Ierusalem*
on the day of Assignation, accompanied
with a reasonable guard, and recommen-
ded by *Sextus Cæsar*.

Hyrcanus perceiuing, that the Iudges
were heauily incensed by the aduersaries
of *Antipater*, and that they would not
faile to giue sentence in sharpe manner:
desiring to gratifie his friend *Antipater*,
he secretly admonished *Herode*, to with-
draw himselfe out of the city, before he
were condemned by the *Iewes* sentence;
and thereupon conuained to prisonment.
The yong man returned backe into *Syria*,
very impatiently bearing the iniurie,
which hee conceived to be doone him by
the Iudges, declaring to *Sextus Cæsar* the
treachery of the Citizens, and hauing
receiued from him part of the *Romaine*
Army, and the regiment of the lower *Sy-*
ria: hee resolved to reuenge the wrong
which the Councell had offered him: So,
going vp to *Ierusalem* with a maine Ar-
my, hee could hardly be with-held by his
father, and his brother *Phaselus*, who met
him by the way, and made him to retreat
his army into *Syria*. But yet he could not
remouee his mallice, which still he con-
tinued against the Conistorie: and which
he vtterly quailed and ouerthrew, after
his coming to the Crowne.

Not long after the death of *Iulius Cæ-*
sar, by a close ambush, and ayde of *Cassius*,
his Souldiours, he procured *Malichus*
to be slaine, being the murderer of his
father *Antipater*. Which beeing done,
once more hee expelled out of *Iudæa* *Ant-*
igonius, the sonne of *Aristobulus*, whom
hee ouercame in warre, albeit he had re-
couered part of *Iudæa*.

After that *Cassius* and *Brutus* were van-
quished neare to *Philippi*, when *Marke*
Anthony was come into *Syria*; Ambassa-
dours went from the *Iewes* to meete him
at *Bithynia*, accusing there *Phaselus* and
Herode to him, because the lawfull heires
of the kingdome were expelled, and they
(by force) holde the whole gouernement
of *Iudæa*. *Herod* also met them there, wel
furnished with rich and sumptuous gifts,
to beslow on *Marke Anthony*: of whom
he was entertained most benignly, for
the loue hee had borne to his father *Anti-*
pater, when being Lieutenant to *Gabi-*
nus, hee was still in warre, during the
peace of *Syria* and *Iudæa*. Wherefore,

howsoeuer he listned to the *Iewes* accu-
sations, yet he ordained *Phaselus* and his
brother *Herode* Tetrarchs of *Iudæa*. And
because the *Iewes* ceased not to send Em-
bassie vpon Embassie, and continually in
great number, amounting to a thousand
men in the end. *Marke Anthony* punished
them with imprisonment. And because
they neuer would giue ouer, but daily in-
treated, that (by no means) they might
be subiected to *Herode*; hee caused some
of them to be put to death.

Hyrcanus descended to *Anthony* in *Sy-*
ria (already conioyned with *Herode* in af-
finitie, to whom hee had giuen his youn-
ger sister *Mariana*, daughter of *Alexander*
and *Alexandra*: who was honourably
entertained by *Anthony*, and confirmed
in the possession of the High-priesthood:
and obtained those cities and persons (re-
duced by *Cassius* into seruitude) to be de-
liuered and enfranchised; and that the ra-
pined goodes should be restored to their
first owners.

The yeare following, *Pacorus* hauing
subdued *Syria* (attracted by great promi-
ses) brought *Antigonius* backe againe to
Ierusalem, as hath formerly bene sayde.
Where *Herode* (hearing that his brother
Phaselus and *Hyrcanus* the soueraigne Sa-
crificer were detained prisoners, contra-
ry to the lawes of Nations, knowing al-
so, that the *Iewes* were affected to *Anti-*
gonius, fearing both his enemies and the
Citizens) he departed forth secretly in the
dead time of the night, with his Mo-
ther *Cypris*, his wife *Doris*, his sister *Sal-*
ome, his affianced *Mariana*, his mother
in lawe *Alexandra*, and eight hundred o-
ther women, beside a great company of
friends, and (with much adoe) got not
safelie into *Iudæa*. For his mother was
foure wounded by the way, by reason of
the Waggon ouerthrow vpon her: so
that *Herode* (as halfe desperate) thought
to haue slaine himselfe, because he was o-
uer-closely pursued by the barbarous peo-
ple, whom (neuertheless) hee valiantly
droned backe, and quite ouercame.

There he left all his company, and such
goodes as they carried with them, in a
strong Cittie named *Massada*, vnder the
charge and protection of his brother *Jo-*
sippus: and went very secretly (attended
but with a few Souldiours) to King *Are-*
tas, relying vpon the loue and friendship

The kindnes
of *Hyrcanus*,
in thickning
him from the
Iudges sen-
tence.

Herod goeth
with an army
against *Ieru-*
salem, but is
repelled by
his father &
brother.

Herod reuen-
geth the death
of his father.

Brutus and
Cassius slay
Philip. *Herode*
brought *Ant-*
igonius to
him.

Herode for-
moued to per-
sonal apper-
eance by *Hy-*
rcanus.

Anthony, im-
prisoned *Ant-*
igonius and
put to death
the Iewes Am-
bassadors.

Hyrcanus go-
eth to *Ant-*
hony in *Sy-*
ria, & is kin-
dly welcomed
of him.

Herod flieth
himselfe Iy
night, and a
great compa-
ny with him.

Herode lea-
ueth his com-
pany in *Mal-*
lada, and go-
eth secretly
to King *Are-*
tas in *Arabia*.

which was betwene him and his father *Antipater*. But being hindered from entering into *Arabia*, hee passed (with great difficultie) into *Egypt* to *Cleopatra*, who furnishing him with needfull things: hee tooke shipping in the worst season of all the yeare, and shap'd his course directly for *Rome*; where being arriv'd, hee acquainted *Mark Anthony* with the fraud of *Antigonus*, his owne flight, and perill of the people hee had in charge; humbly entreating him, that hee would not suffer him to be thus trampled on by his enemies, to whom hee had expressed kinnesse, and oftentimes exalted them.

Anthony reported the complaint and request of *Herode*, to his companion *Augustus* in the Empire, and both they together commended their suppliant friend to the Senate. remembring the perpetual devotion & loyaltie of his father *Antipater*, towards the Caprains and Souldiours of *Rome*, and especially to *Julius Caesar*. In briefe, they prevailed so farre, that (by common voice) *Antigonus* was iudged enemy to the people of *Rome*: and the kingdom of *Iudea* conferred on *Herode*, the seaventh day after his coming to *Rome*. He was conducted to the Senate house, going in the middle betwene *Augustus* and *Anthony*; *Domitius Calpurnius*, and *Afinius Pollio*, Conlulles, going before him, accompanied with other Magistrates and Senatours, even all the way thence to the Capitole, where the Sacrifices were performed. And this being the first day of his reigne, hee was magnificently feasted by *Marke Anthony*: foure yeares after the death of *Julius Caesar*; two yeares after them of *Cicero*, and thirty feuen before the birth of our Sauour Christ.

Herode being returned into *Iudea*, had a very difficult warre against King *Antigonus*, which continued the space of foure yeates: because that the *Romaine* Caprains (as *Ventidius*, *Silo* and some other, who had the charge of placing *Herode* in full possession of the kingdom) were corrupted by gold sent from *Antigonus*, desiring nothing more then deferring, and neuer earnestly assisting *Herode*. Besides, many *Iewes* (ill affected to the house of *Antipater*) moued many troubles against him.

The beginning then of *Herodes* reigne

was wonderfully difficile, and yet (notwithstanding) by his industrie, diligence and vertue, and sofly, steppe by steppe, hee overcame all hinderances, and possessed himselfe of *Galilee*, *Samarita*, and the very greatest part of *Iudea*.

Afterward, *Ventidius* sent some bands to succour him, conducted by one named *Macherus*; but *Herode* perceiving him to be dull and slowe, and that hee went but coldly about the businesse, as expecting, that *Antigonus* should still furnish him with fresh handfulls; without expecting any further ayde from such Captains, hee undertook great iournies, to encounter with *Antigonus*, who besieged *Samofata*. And (by the way) sped very successfully, against diuers theues that hindered his passages.

As thus he drew nearer to his enemy, *Marke Anthony* came to meete him, and did him such honour as became a King, with the greater part of his Armie. After hee had heard his complaints, concerning the disloyaltie of some Caprains, who (corrupted by the gifts of *Antigonus*) had executed no part of the command from *Augustus* and the Senate: hee sent two legions of olde Souldiours into *Iudea*, and commaunded *Sofus* (one of his faithfull Caprains) to follow them with an other Armie, so soone as the City of *Samofata* was surrendered.

In the absence of *Herode*, his brother *Iosippus*, fighting to his owne disadvantage, was slaine with his Armie, by the Souldiours of *Antigonus*, neare to *Tericho*. Also, the *Galileans* revolted, and many rebelled in *Iudea*: wherefore *Herode* returned with those olde bands, and hardly appeased them of *Galilee*. Afterwards, by many encounters, wherein hee had one while the best, and another while the worst, he so weakened the forces of *Antigonus*: as (at length) hee withdrew into the fortresse of *Ierusalem*.

Herode brought his Armie against the Cittie, and after hee had raised his munitions, and builded diuers engines needfull for batterie: hee left the Armie vnder certaine Caprains and iourned in to *Samaria*, to espouse *Mariana* the *Assyrian*, who (as I haue formerly tolde you) was daughter to *Alexander*, the yongest sonne of *Elyrcanus* the second, who (four yeares before) was affianced to *Herode*, that

that is to say, before that the *Parthians* had inuaded the Countrey.

In the meane while, *Sofus* being sent from *Anthony* with his Souldiers, marched on diligently, and ioynd his armie with the other belonging to *Herode*, whose nuptials being ended, and he returned to *Ierusalem*: the two Caprains beganne to assaile the Cittie manfully in diuers places. The besieged *Iewes* had great want of principall munitions, and yet notwithstanding, hauing embraced an imaginary hope, they thought, that they should be diuinely deliuered. For they continually vied to say, that they fought for freedom of the people for their lawfull king against strangers, for the Temple and Religion against Pagans; sustaining (for some length of time) a very sharpe besieging, and much molesting the enemy by their sallies. But finally, the City was surprized in the moneth of Maie, the very same day as (ten and twenty yeares before) *Pompey* had conquered it, as hath bene said, *M. Agrippa* and *Cnidius Galus* being then Conluls.

The *Romaine* Souldiers being much displeased at so long a siege, and losse of many of their people; made pittifull slaughter, not onely of the armed *Iewes*, but also of such as had no defence at all. King *Antigonus*, throwing himselfe at the feete of *Sofus*, humbly desired pardon: but he was inuiously reiected, and being strongly bound, sent to *Marke Anthony* at *Antioche*, where, at the request of *Herod*, he was slaine.

In this Militarie furie and combustion, *Herod* had worke enough to do, to hinder the *Romaines*, from entering into the most secret place of the Temple, to robbe and carry thence the sacred treasures. Moreover, hee was glad to promise an infinite summe of mony, to obtaine such fauour, that the goods of the Citizens might not bee imbezeled, and borne away by the Souldiours. And in this troublefome tempest, we will giue conclusion to this Chapter; because we enter now into the reigne of *Herode*, and are to speake of matters concerning those times.

CHAP. XIII.

How *Herode*, after all these tumultuous troubles and molestations, attained to the sole Government of the Kingdom of *Iudea*.



After that the Cittie was taken in this manner, and *Antigonus* (the last King of the *Assyrians*) slaine: *Herode* enioyed the Kingdom of *Iudea*, three and thirtie yeares before the Natiuitie of Christ. Hauing taken order for the Realmes affaires, hee cruelly murdered all those great Lords, that had ioynd themselves with *Antigonus* against him. And seeing that hee had consumed and waited all his goods, as also those of his kined and friends, in gifts and charges of the warre; by an especiall Edict, he compelled the Citizens, to bring all their Iewells of gold and siluer to the kings castle, and all such money as they had beside. He appointed likewise Guardes at the gates, to search all such as passed in or out: yea, such as carried the dead to buriall, fearing lest (in any manner) they should conuey thence coine, or any precious thing whatsoeuer.

At this time happened a famine, in regard of the seuenth yeare of rest, wherein it was not lawfull to sowe the grounds. And in the former yeares past, the fields remayned (in many places) vntilled, by reason of the continuall ciuile warres. So that the estate of the Cittie was very miserable, being fallen into wofull seruitude; whereof the better sort of people, as *Simon*, *Zachary*, *Ioseph* and some such other tooke part: who neuertheless, in these sad spectacles and miserable calamities, cheered vp their diuising spirits, by hope of the *Messias* his coming, who should saue them. And they perceived it to draw neare, because they obserued, that the Scepter was now wholly taken from the house of *Iuda*.

Herode standing in feare of the displeased people, by his horrible rapines and cruelties: to appease and quiet them, repealed

The arrival of *Herode* at *Rome* with *Marke Anthony*.

The grace & fauour that *Herod* found with the *Romaine* Senate.

Antigonus declared enemy to *Rome*, and the old proclaimed King of *Iudea*.

The Roman Captains corrupted by gold sent from *Antigonus*, still hindered *Herode*.

Herod overcame all hinderances whatsoeuer.

Herod he sought against *Antigonus* being King of *Samaria*.

Marke Anthony met with *Herod*, and vied him very honouably.

Ierusalem conquered by *Herode* and *Sofus*.

Antigonus sent to *Antioche*, and there slaine by *Herodes* instigation.

Herodes brother *Iosippus* slaine, and *Galileans* rebeld from him.

The furie of Souldiers is truly tolde to robbe and destroye.

Herode got to *Samaria* to marry with *Mariana*.

At what time the reigne of King *Herode* beganne.

Herod cruelly exacted money vpon the people.

A great famine among the people.

Hope of the coming of the *Messias*, a great consolation to the faithful.

Hyrcanus re-
called from
banishment
by Herode, &
highly hono-
red.

repealed (by his letters) from banishment Hyrcanus the second, who lived then in *Babylon*, because he had married the daughter of his daughter, and sent presents to the taking of *Parthia*, for the ransom of his captiuitie. When he was come to *Ierusalem*; hee did not make him soueraigne Sacrificer, because hee was mutilate or imperfect: but in recompence thereof, bestowed great honours vpon him, so that in publique assemblies, he caused him to sit in the highest roome. At the same time he substituted (in stead of *Antigonius* in the High-priesthood) another *Iew* come from *Babylon*, named *Ananelus*, a matter greatly offensive to him and the people. Which *Herode* perceiuing, hee depoued *Ananelus*, and placed in his stead *Aristobolus*, brother to his wife *Mariana*: whom hee caused to die by detestable fraude a year after, rendering the High-priest-hood to the sayd *Ananelus* againe. Whereupon, *Alexandra* accused him of this crime to *Cleopatra*, and he being appealed by *Anthony* to *Laodicea*, to render an account for this imputation; rather pacified him by golden giftes, then any vaine and vnauidible excuses.

Ananelus de-
poued and *A-*
ristobolus
made high-
priest.

* Towne and
Promontorie
of Epire,
where Augu-
stus, after hee
had conquer-
ed Anthony
and Cleopa-
tra built the
citie Nicopo-
lis.

The warre at * *Actium* being now on foote, as *Augustus* and *Anthony* prepared themselves, to contend who should remaine the master: *Herode* conueyed himselfe to *Anthony*, and voluntarily made him offer, of whatsoever he could doe against *Augustus*, hauing forces in readinesse for him. But *Anthony* made him answer, that he had not any neede of such succour; giuing him charge (by the perswasion of *Cleopatra*) to make warre on the *Arabes*, who would not pay the annuall pension of two hundred Talents, whereof, he had made promise to *Cleopatra*. At the very entrance into this war, he ouerthrow the *Arabes* in one day: but Fortune afterward changing her fauour, hee lost (well-neare) all his armie, and was taken likewise in the field.

Fortune both
fauourable
and aduersi-
te to Herode.

An earth-
quake, which
killed many
people in Ju-
dea.

Beside this calamity of the *Iewes*, a sudden Earthquake happened, which slew a bouen thousand persons in *Judea*: euen when the Armies by Sea of *Augustus* and *Anthony*, encountered together at *Actium*, in the fiftenth yeare of *Herods* reigne. Hee hauing (so well as he could) vniited his forces together againe; repulsed the *Arabes*, and compelled them to returne

home into their countrey: which other-
wise had conuerted to the *Iewes* heauier
calamitie, because they (encouraged by
their wofull miseries) put all to fire and
sword throughout *Judea*. And this earth-
quake, as also the inroades of the enimie
were followed by a dreadfull pestilence:
which made lamentable spoyle and ha-
uocke, both in the fields and cities, and
likewise in the Kings campe.

One misde-
edde follow-
ing: in
the next to
another.

After these apparent and publique ca-
lamities, meeting together in such grie-
uous manner; *Herode* felt into a great per-
sonall danger. For, after the day at *Acti-
um*, wherein *Anthony* (the chiefe friend
to *Herode*) was foyled, and dying there-
vpon: *Herode* was in no meane dismay,
for feare of *Augustus* the Conquerour;
and the people well perceiued his feare,
because hee knew not how to determine
of himselfe. Whereupon, some of the
people (vnable to endure this dominion
of a stranger) beganne to exalt their spi-
rits, vnder hope of some sudden nouelty,
and ioyed at the danger wherein *Herode*
was. About all the rest, his mother in law
Alexandra (imagining the time to be now
come, wherein shee might reuenge the
death of her sonne, and retrace the king-
dome againe to her own family) solicited
very strong and firmly her father *Hyrcanus*
(now very aged and decrepitate, and
one that alwayes affected quietnesse) in
regard of his many iniuries; to flie into
Arabia, to the end, that if *Herode* were ill
entreated by *Augustus*; he might the eas-
ier inuade the kingdom, being assisted
by the *Arabes*.

Herode hit
Mark Antho-
ny by his best
friend.

Herode in
great feare
of Augustus.

The proceed-
ing of Alex-
andra against
her sonne in
law Herode.

Dositheus, a most disloyall seruant, de-
liuered the Letters (intended for this pur-
pose), and sent by him to the King of *Ar-
abia*) to King *Herode*: who desiring to be
more fully informed in the fact, sent *D-
ositheus* into *Arabia* with the Letters, and
after hee had receyued answer from the
King, concerning the Letters sent vnto
him: he caused *Hyrcanus* to be condem-
ned, by the sentence of Iustice as a tray-
tor, and so put to death. Some others
write, that *Herod*, fearing the peril where-
in hee sawe himselfe to be fallen, and the
multitude of the *Iewes* (of whom hee was
deeply hated) might easily be moued by
such an occasion, to transerre the King-
dome to *Hyrcanus*, who onely remayned
of the *Asimoneans* race: imposed a false

All her hope
frustrated by
Dositheus an
vnfaithfull
seruant.

Hyrcanus
condemned
and executed,
as a traytor,
by the cum-
ing treache-
rie of Herod.

crime

crime vpon him, and preuayled so well
by counterfeited letters, that the good
olde man was condemned to death.

Alexandra
and Mariana
sent to the
best Alexan-
drian, and his
meat for the

This being done, hee sent his mother,
his sister, their other kindred, and all their
attendants, as also his brother *Pheroras*,
to a strong munit Cittie in *Idumea*, cal-
led *Masfada*. But withdrew his mother in
lawe *Alexandra*, and his wife *Mariana*
(who hee thought could not well agree
with the other women) to another Fort,
named *Alexandria*; giuing the charge of
them to *Tisippus*, General for the finan-
ces of the kingdom, and to *Soemus* his
most certaine and singular friends. And
this trust also he imposed on them, that if
Augustus offered any ill to him: they
should kill the two women instantly, and
conferre (so much as in them possibly
lay) the kingdom for his sonnes, vntill
they were come to age, by the assistance
of his brother *Pheroras*.

The coming
of Herode to
Augustus, and
the voluntary
confession he
made before
him.

These matters being thus ordered and
appointed, he trauelled on to *Augustus*,
who then heard all Ambassadors in the
Isle of *Rhodes*, where leaving off his dia-
deme and kingly robes, keeping all the
rest of royall liberty, as trusting in his
cause and the Emperours clemencie; he
confessed, that hee had beene a friend to
Mark Anthony, and would haue sent him
succour, if he had required it; but that he
was diuinely withdrawne from his com-
pany (in how miserable condition soe-
uer) by the warre which hee then made
vpon the *Arabes*: Wherein he had sustai-
ned so many losses and misfortunes, that
he was sufficiently punished for his friend-
ship to *Anthony*, and for the seruices he
had done vnto him. But if now it pleas-
ed *Augustus* to experiment his faithfull-
nesse, hee would make it apparent vnto
him, by as true seruices.

In what gra-
tious and ho-
norable man-
ner Augustus
reioysed Herode.

Augustus tooke such delight in the
magnanimous confession of *Herode*, that
hee embraced him amiably; restoring
him to his Crowne, and assuring him;
to expect as many kinde benedictions
from him, as euer hee had receiued by
Marke Anthony.

Herode finding *Augustus* so gracious,
tooke courage from the former despayre
wherein hee was, assuring now the pos-
sibility of his Kingdom the more firme-
ly to him. Wherefore hee exceeded his
ability in gifts to *Augustus*, as also to his

friends and the Army. Hee bare the Em-
perour company beside, at his laying in
to *Egypt*; and when he came into *Syria*:
hee receyued him with entertainment
more then royall, hauing borrowed all
necessarie prouision, throughout all the
parts of *Iudea*.

Augustus finding so many great re-
spectes, meerey flowing from *Herode*, re-
fused that part of *Iudea* to him, which
Anthony had giuen to *Cleopatra*: adding
thereto likewise *Samaria*, and other Cit-
ties on the Sea coastes, whereby the
wealth of his kingdom was greatly aug-
mented.

Herods boun-
tie to Augu-
stus, and his
power & ability.

Augustus en-
larged the po-
wer and au-
thoritie of
Herode.

Herode hauing mette with all this hap-
pinesse and felicitie abroad, at his returne
home into *Judea*, found all things there
very bitter and troublesome, by private
and domestick hatreds: For, his wife
Mariana had already gotten intelligence
(two severall times) by the Guardes, that
they had charge to kill her and her mo-
ther; if eyther *Anthony* before hand, or
Augustus now in this doubtfull time, dis-
posed otherwise then well of him. Where-
upon, at their meeting, *Mariana* by no
means would come neare him, notwith-
standing all the flatteries or signes of ar-
dent loue hee shewed to her: reproouing
him for such cruell commands, and
plainely telling him, that they were no
testimonies of a true husband. *Herode*
entred into suspicion, that it was not pos-
sible for him to be disclosed, or his secrets
knowne to the Guardes: but eyther it
must be by *Tisippus*, or lastly, by *Soemus*,
wherefore he grew very chollericke, and
studied how to taxe and punish her for a
dultery. And yet such was the power of
his loue, that he could not redde all that
he suspected; neyther exercise any crueltie
against so faire a woman, of great No-
bilitie, endowed with all graces belong-
ing to a body of such singulartie.

Mariana in-
formeth
Herodes in-
temion by the
Guardes.

Herodes sus-
picion of his
secrets disco-
uering, and pra-
ctising, gress
his wife.

At length, his sister *Salme* remoued
all these hinderances in him, and prouok-
ed him on to an execrable execution;
for, finding apt occasion to reuenge her
owne contempt, she kindled a fierce fire
in him of suspicion; namely, in the mat-
ter of adulterie, adding withall, an intent
of poyson prepared for him, which shee
approoued to the King; by testimonye of
his owne Taster or Cup-bearer, whome
she had wonne thereto by liberal gifts of
money.

Deadly is the
enueile of one
woman to an
other.

Mariana the wife of King Herod wrongfully executed, for which he repented heavily afterward.

A grievous pestilence in Iudea, King Herode himself lying deadly sick in Samaria.

The death of Alexandra.

Herode cruel to his familiar friends.

Theaters erected in Jerusalem for lewd and dissolute sports.

money. Hecreupon, the King grew outrageously incensed against her; and having caused her to be condemned by the sentence of his friends; commanded her to be immediately executed, although she had been the mother to him of five children. But soon after he repented his vnauided rashness, and so extremely desired his wives company againe; that he fell into an extraordinary languishing, shunning all societie whatsoever. And, vnder colour of riding on hunting, hee would secretly steale into Caues and Dennes in the Forrest, as hoping there to finde some asswaging of his sorrow; and being vnable to withstand the extremities of melancholie, hee fell into a deadly disease.

At the same time, there was a great plague or pestilence in Iudea, whereby multitudes of people were consumed: so that many men were perswaded verily, that God had sent this punishment for the Kings cruelties. And as the King himself lay extremely sick in Samaria, where every one was in mightie despaire of his life: *Alexandra* (his mother in law) strove by large promises, to winne the Guardes of the Temple and Citie to partake with her. But the conspiracie being reuealed, *Herode* gave order for her sudden execution. The King then seemed outwardly to be somewhat recovered, but yet carried himselfe most cruelly against those friends, that were of greatest familiaritie with him; because his sickness (howsoever shaddowed) increased daily impatience, which made him the more inclined to all villenies and tyrannie.

When he perceived, that there remained not any one of the *Asmoneans* Family, or of any other side, to interrupt him in his power, onely the multitude excepted; hee grew to such assurance of himselfe, that he did many things repugnant to the lawes of God, and the customes received by the *Jewes*. For, in the Citie of *Jerusalem* it selfe, hee builded a Theater and an Amphitheater, wherein were performed foule and dissolute plays, huntings, and combats of Fencers, according to the manner of the Pagans. He instituted also, (at every five yeares end) a lout and Tournament, in the honour of *Augustus*, propposing there publicly the *Cæsars* Images, and the Victories ob-

tained by them. But vnderstanding, that the people were greatly offended with these vn-vsuall things, prohibited by the Lawes of God, and prouoking many to practise his killing, as also conspiring meanes whereby to effect it: he fortified diuers places very respectiue, against all ambushes and seditions; as *Alexandria*, *Heradion*, *Hyracanon*, and others, and planted strong garrisons in the most commodious places.

Hee builded also newly (or else magnificently repayed) diuerse Citties and Townes, which hee stiled by the names of Emperours, or of his friends: the principall whereof was the Tower of *Straton* on the Sea side, which hee called *Cæsarea*: and *Samaria*, distant a dayes iorney from *Jerusalem*, which hee called *Sebastea*, that is to say, *Augustus*, according to the Emperours name. Also, he repayed *Athedon*, which hee called *Azrippion*, of *Agrippa*, the kinsman to *Cæsar*. Hee builded *Antipatrida*, by the name of his father, in the field of *Capharsalania*. Also *Phasélida*, by the name of his brother, neare to *Jericho*: and *Herodion*, by his owne name, on the Marches of *Arabia*.

In the thirteenth yeare of his reigne, there happened a great dearth throughout the Land, by reason of an extraordinary drought; which was the cause, that a great famine did accompany the preceeding mortalitie of men and beasts: during which time, *Herod* caused diligent search for corne, & brought great quantities out of *Egypt*, and other neighbouring Regions beside, which he distributed (by the poule) to the people. But, because money grew short for such a distribution, in regarde that the royall treasure had bene wasted, about those sumptuous and excessive buildings; hee employed all his vessels of golde and silver, and all his Jewells besides, in the buying of corne. By which bounteous liberality, hee not onely redeemed the losse of his credite, by the offences done to his people, but also drew great fauour and affection from them.

In the fouenteenth yeare of his reigne, *Augustus* comming into *Syria*, gaue the Kingdome of *Chalcis* to *Herode*; adding also thereto **Drachonitis*, and **Batanea*. Moreover, he gaue him power, in this his long sickness, to appointing auditors, which

Fortifications of Herode, standing in feare of his life.

Citties and townes newly builded or repayed by Herode.

A wonderful famine, together with the pestilence of men & beasts.

Herode from all his pleasures and Lewes, came to looke the people.

* A region of Syria betwixt Libanus and the Lake Thibston.

A place neere to Ephrates.

A Temple dedicated to Augustus.

Spies and Intelligencers appointed to stirre the people what speeches were vnto him.

The oath of obedience & fidelitie exacted by Herode of his subjects.

The Pharisees excepted from the Oath.

The Effraims sheweth the place of the Oath.

which of his sonnes he pleased, to be his heire and successeur. In recompence of which large bountie, *Herode* dedicated a goodly Temple to *Augustus*, which hee builded in *Panæda*, neare to the fountes that feede the river *Jordane*. Which Pagan flattery of his, estranged agayne the multitude of the *Jewes* from him; and therefore to please them, hee quitted the third part of their taxations. Notwithstanding, as he could not containe some of them, crying out incessantly, that it was intolerable, to erect temples to mortal men in *Iudea*, and there to reuerence them as Gods: so hee sought to restraine other by violent torments, sending Spies and Pickethankes into publique and private Assemblies, who reported vnto the King whatsoever was spoken of him. It is further reported of him, that himselfe (sickely as hee was) in a common habite or disguise, would often walke abroad in the night time, listening in such companies as conferred together, to know what they said, concerning the present estate of the kingdome.

At length, finding neither loue nor fidelitie in the people, hee strove to binde them fast to him by oath; wherein hee preuayled, attracting some by large and goodly promises, to giue him their oath of Allegiance and Loyaltie: others hee constrained by feare of torments, putting some to death in diuers kindes, that peremptorily refused to sweare. Onely the *Pharisees* tooke excepted, whom hee pardoned, in loue to a few aged men, that hee reuerenced for their sanctitie of life, and which made them deare to the people. Neuerthelesse, hee condemned them in great fines and amercements, which were payed by the wife of *Phariseas*, to binde that Sect in loue to her. He quitted also the *Effraims* from taking the Oath, holding them in no meane admiration: as following a manner of living most holily, and farre exceeding humane nature; beeing singular in fore-telling things to come.

In the eighteenth yeare of his reigne, beeing desirous to vnit his subjects to him by farre greater benefices, and to abolish the remembrance of his precedent excesses: hee undertooke to builde the Temple of *Jerusalem* most magnificently, the former building (if heerein wee

may beleue *Iosaphus*) beeing vtterly beaten downe, which building had continued five hundred yeares, after the returne from *Babylon*. This worke, admirable in greatness, sumptuousnesse and cunning, was finished in eight yeares, and dedicated with great solemnitie: wherein hee gaue three hundred Oxen for the Sacrifices, seauen yeares before the Natiuitie of Christ.

Afterward, the Disciples declared the magnificence of the building. And, as Christ fore-tolde, after that the Temple had continued about foure-score yeares, it was vtterly ruined by the *Romans*, from the top to the bottome.

The building of the Temple being ended, hee would needs be carried to *Rome*, to salute the Emperour *Augustus*: from thence hee brought with him his sonnes *Alexander* and *Aristobolus*, whom hee had by his murdered *Mariana*, and had sent them renne yeares before to *Rome*, to be brought vp in the house of *Asinius Pollio*. And the reason of his bringing them thence into *Iudea*, was, to quicken and cheare their hopes; that they were to succcede him in the kingdome. And first of all, he bestowed wines on them; giuing to *Alexander*, *Glaphira*, daughter to *Archelaus*, King of *Cappadocia*; and to *Aristobolus*, *Berenice*, daughter to his sister *Salome*.

These young Lords and Ladies, were very gracefull both in minde and bodie, which made them the more choicely affected of the people. But *Salome*, and some other (who had induced *Herode* to murder his wife, fearing if they should come to the Crowne, they would reuenge the death of their mother) laboured, by litle and litle, to kindle hatred in *Herode* against them, deliuering assertions abroad; that they disdayned their fathers company, because hee had put their mother to death.

Herode growing into health, by weak degrees, and these wicked deuices proceeding on; newes came, that *Agrippa* (neare kinsman to *Augustus*) was arrived in *Asia*, and *Herode* iourneying to meete him, quickly perswaded him to visite *Iudea*. Having giuen him there most honourable entertainment, and shewne him the munitions and other buildings; he returned to his Campe, making

The Temple of Ierusalem newly builded by King Herode.

Matth. 24. 1. Marke 13. 1. Luke 21. 5.

Herode is carried to Rome to see the emperour.

Asinius Pollio a noble Romaine.

The marriages of Herodes two sonnes.

They that haue once dealed in blood, are alwayes suspicious of themselves.

Agrippa kinsman to Augustus came into Asia.

king great haste in going thither. The winter being over-past, *Herode* followed him, when he crossed to *Pontus* his armie by sea, and kept him company during the time of that expedition. Returning soon after to his owne home, hee found all in disorder, by domestike hatreds purposefully prepared. For his sister *Salome*, and his brother *Pheroras*, immediately accused *Alexander* and *Aristobulus* (being the sonnes of *Marians*) affirming, that they had openly complayed on the vniust death of their mother, and threatened to be reuenged for it. Heere to they added, that winning the Vulgars fauour without any dissimulation; they had prepared a traine for their ancient father: trusting to the power of *Archelaus*, father in lawe to one of them, and to the friendship of the *Romains* on the other side, which they had long both wrought to this intent, with the very mightiest in the Court of *Augustus*.

False accusations imposed on Alexander and Aristobulus, by Salome and Pheroras.

Herode layes trains to entrap his innocent sonnes upon the treacherous speeches of his brother and sister.

Herode enduring continually any thing, much rather then the least suspicion of vndermining his kingdome; became amazed mightily at these allegations, appointed some of his intimate friends, to be present at banquets, and other familiar conferences with his sonnes, to be the better assured of their words & attempts: When (perchance) the young Lords (neither proiecing or suspecting any ill) might utter some one word more liberally then other (being thereto prouoked by crosse language in the vrgers) purposefully deliuered forth, to draw somewhat from them, in extolling the nobilitie and vertue of their Mother, which is the bounden duty of any childe to doe. But this serued the turne sufficiently, for *Herode* to credit, that whatsoever his sister had reported, was true. First of all therefore, he reprehended them very seuerely; next, to induce their better modesty and reuerence to their father, by feare and ieaousie; he beganne to countenance, and carefully respect his sonne *Antipater*, (who was borne of *Doris*, when she liued a person of priuate condition) that they might thereby gather his intention, for making him to bee his successour in the kingdome.

A man willing to credit his sonne periwaded of their truth in any thing to his owne advantage.

This did more vehemently distaste the young Lords, and made them now to complaine more bitterly of their father,

as also of their owne unhappinesse and vltage; all which behaviour in them, was imparted to their father by the afore-sayd intelligencing spies. Beside, *Salome* compelled her daughter *Berenice* (by frequent iniuries incited betwene her and her husband) to disclose what secrets passed betwene the two brothers, and what priuate conferences they had together. All which she made in much greater manner to the King, then they were indeed, onely by hir vile additions, and falsifications, incensing him still so extremely against them, that he tooke them both with him to *Rome*, and accused them of treason before *Augustus*.

A mother worketh a daughter against the life of her own husband.

There, after the infortunate Gentlemen had made satisfaction to *Augustus* and some other Iudges, by euident purgations, teares and intreaties, they were reconciled again into their fathers grace, and returned home with him to *Iudea*: where the Multitude being met together, he declared before them the cause of his iourney, and to what happie success it had sortd. Adding withall, that (by the liking of *Augustus*) *Antipater* was next to succcede after his death, as being his eldest sonne; and then afterward, *Alexander* and *Aristobulus* should enioy their right, in reigning each after other; all which hee reported to the people in a long discourse, which we haue formerly related in our Militarie Orationes.

Augustus reconciled the sons to their father.

From this time forward, *Antipater* insisted the more audaciously, in whetting the fathers spleene against his brethren, by false, forged and crafty calumniationes; beside diuers other reports of nouelties, meereley deuised for the purpose. He being highly displeased, that they should haue any title or claime at all to the kingdome: as fretting extremely, that their credite held more specially with the people then theirs did, for the mothers sake of whom they came. In briefe, he neuer ceased, till (by the helpe of *Pheroras* and *Salome*) till he had periwaded his father, that his two sonnes *Alexander* and *Aristobulus*, were growne proude vpon their reconciliation, and practised (instantly) to possesse themselves of the Kingdome. *Herode* being further informed of those accusations, by such as were employed for the purpose; by racking, torturing and other cruelties, put to death many of his

Antipater's words were so loudly against his brethren, that they thought thus.

Herode put to death many friends of his own, and of his sonnes upon false accusations.

his owne friends, and of his Sonnes. And yet no other harme could bee approved against them, but onely youthfull and vnadvised complaints, of excessive cruelty in their father; and his ouercastie facilitie, in lending eare to false reports, only through the detestable impietie of their brother *Antipater*, and them of his lineage.

The two brethren accused againe by letters to Augustus.

Herode impatient at so many suspitions, and fiered hourly with the diuells of his house, *Salome*, *Antipater* and their complices: once more, by his letters sent to *Augustus*, hee flatly accused *Alexander* and *Aristobulus* of treason. Now, because *Augustus* had giuen him permission, to punish his sonnes according to the exigence of their crimes: hee accused them before *Saturninus* and *Volumnius*, Governours of *Syria*, and other *Romaine* Citizens his friends there present, whom hee had caused to come from *Iudea* to *Beritha*, a Cittie of *Syria*: Alter that they were condemned by pluralitie of voyces, he sent them to be strangled in *Sebasta*: where likewise were executed three hundred persons more, who were said to giue consent, to an imaginarie flight imposed vpon the two innocent Princes. *Aristobulus* at his death left three sonnes and two daughters, which hee had by his wife *Berenice*; and *Alexander* two sonnes by *Glaphyra*; besides some daughters, whereof we will speake in their due place and time.

Herode murdered his two sonnes & 300 persons besides.

The wife of Alexander and Aristobulus.

Antipater, periwaded the death of his father.

Pheroras poisoned by his wife.

From this time forward, *Herode* beganne to be very vnfortunate, because all his Court was troubled with bitter hatreds, disdaines, suspitions and treasons: so that *Antipater* (compacting with *Pheroras* and some other Courtiers) determined to kill the King his father. And as hee was plotting priuily, how he might be called to *Rome* by *Augustus*, for better strengthening himselfe with the Emperours power, and winning friends in his Court by gifts: it came to passe that *Pheroras* dyed, whose wife was accused before *Herode* by some of her owne friends, to haue poisoned her husband. *Herode* making inquisition after this offence by tortures, chaunced (by little and little) to come to the knowledge of farre greater crimes, and the treasons of his sonne *Antipater* plainly appeared.

Heereupon, the King being extremally

enraged, spared not any of his Court from torturing cruelly; no not so much as the women and their daughters, very neare in loue and kindred to him, if hee could suspect them in the very least manner. And as hee stroue to informe himselfe, by all his best and diligent meanes, so much the more hee grew to be hated of all his followers, so that (consequently) he became worse then miserable.

Herod tortures his courtiers cruelly.

Onely his Sister *Salome*, was faithful to him, who compassed the means by craftie Spies, to finde out the plots of all the Conspirators, which shee still revealing to her brother, enflamed his fury extraordinarily: making him to distrust them that were most familiar with him, by forged tales and faithlesse suspitions. So that *Herode* accused *Antipater* (who was taken with the poyson readily prepared for his father) before *Quintilius Varus* (who was slayne by *Arminius Cheruschus* in *Germanie*, twelue yeres after with Legions) and being convicted of the sinne of parricide, and condemned; hee commaunded him to bee kept prisoner, vntill by Letters and Ambassadors, hee vnderstoode the will and pleasure of *Augustus*, concerning his punishment.

Salome only constant to her brother Herode.

Antipater taken with poyson prepared for his father.

In the meane while, hee executed many, both men and women, as being consenting to *Antipaters* attempts: amongst whome were diuerse innocents, wrongfully accused by malicious enemies, and meereley swallowed vp in *Herodes* furie, as in the roaring billowes of the Sea.

Mallice will hardly want matter to worke on.

Soone after, being about the age of seauentie yeares, quast and confounded with domestike calamities: his former sickenesse grew now to farre greater violence vpon him, which made him ten times more cruell towards his subiects. For now hee was verily periwaded, that the Iewes reioyced as much at his homebred miseries, as they did at the extremitie of his disease. Wherefore hee deuised very cruell punishments, for matters of filly or small offence: for hee burned alie fortie young Schollers, of the very chiefeest houses in *Iudea*, with two Masters that were excellent men: because (being moued with iust griefe, to see the Temple of God prophaned) they had ouerthrowne (somewhat violently) an Eagle of golde, placed in the Portall of

Herods sicknesse increased vpon him.

The cruel tyranny of Herod in his last sickenesse.

G g g the

Forty scholars and their maisters buried alive.

Sanhedrin the ancient lawes of Iudea layne.

The husband of Salome flaine.

The murdering of the young infants in Bethlehem and other places.

A witty saying of Augustus.

A most horrible intention in King Herode.

the Temple, and in the honor of *Casar*; a thing very costly and magnificent; but contrary to the customes of the Iewish nation. The monstrous crueltie inflicted vpon these yong men, was the cause of great troubles in the Cittie, after *Herodes* death.

Hee exercised also other great cruelties, amongst which, *Philo* the Iew recordeth, that in the thirtieth yeare of his tyrannicall reigne, he slew the *Sanhedrin*: to wit, the ordinary Iudges of the house of *Danid*, and substituted other (newly conuerced to Iudaisme, or skillfull in the Lawe) in their stead. Moreover, he slew the husband of his sister *Salome*, who was of the Tribe or Linage of *Iuda*, and a Sonne, which hee himselfe begate of a woman of the same Tribe; because hee had sayd, that Christ our Sauour was already borne, who was promised in the Lawe, and by the Prophets, to be of the house of *Dauid*.

Also *Saint Matthew* the Euangelist, in the second chapter and fixteenth verse, maketh mention of an other notable example of his crueltie, where he writeth, that being aduertised by the wife men of *Persia*, that the *Messias* was borne: hee gaue strict commaund, that all the male Children should be murdered, in the Towne of *Bethlehem*, and all the villages round about.

Macrobius is a witnesse of this most inhumane act, who recounteth (amongst the witty conceits of *Augustus*) that hearing report of the Infants slaughter, from two yeares olde and vnder, caused by *Herode* to be done in *Syria*, and his owne sonne, being also slayne among them, hee sayd: That he had much rather be *Herodes Hogge*, then his Sonne.

Moreover, feeling his entrails to rot and putrifie, his blood and flesh boyling, and vermine creeping all ouer his bodie, despayring of liuing any longer: by Edict, he assembled the chiefe of the *Iews*, such as excelled the rest in wisdom, wealth and authoritie; causing them to come from all parts of the Kingdome to *Iericho*.

Being there arrived vpon his commaund, they were thither vppen in the place appointed for Triumphs, as if hee purposed to conferre with them before his death, of some important matter con-

cerning the State of the Kingdome. But hee gaue charge to his sister *Salome*, and to her husband *Alexas*, that so soone as hee had giuen vp the Ghost: they should dispatch the liues of the mightiest Iewes by the Archers of his Guard, coueting by this meanes, to make a wofull lamentation amongst the Iewes, who else would reioyce at theyr Kings miserable end.

Besides, that they should thus keepe (without any manner of impeachment) the possession of the Kingdome for his sonnes, when they of greatest power were dead and gone.

Now, albeit *Salome*, and her husband made promise to the King, for the execution of his bloody will: yet after his death, and before they made any declaration thereof, they let loose all the Iewes, without offering them the least iniury, accounting it to be neither safe for them, nor the children of *Herod*, to obey such a barbarous and inhumane injunction.

A little before his death, the Ambassadors which returned from *Italy*, did bring him Letters from *Augustus*, whereby hee gaue him power ouer his Sonne *Antipater*, eyther for life or death. But the rage of the Father was now somewhat cooler, wherefore hee commaunded, that his Sonne should be brought to *Iericho*; but yet to keepe him still in bands.

It fortuned, that *Herod* (liuing in such horrible and extreame torments, with stinking putrification of his body:) sodainly caught a knife, and sought for the fittest place to ridde himselfe out of those paines.

But *Archelaus*, one of his kinsmen, and other seruants (being by) hindered his violent intent of murdering himselfe: wherewith, a great tumult and out-cry ranne throughout the whole Pallace; euen as if the King had bene dead. *Antipater* being prisoner, and vnderstanding, why these cries came thus from euery place: beganne to be very iocund and mirthfull, euen as if his father were dead indeede, and would haue induced the Guardes to let him haue liberty, vpon very liberall promises he made to them.

But he that had the especiall charge of him, fearing the crueltie of the King, went

A commaund more then barbarous, & ill becoming the house of death.

Antipater scarcely faile in prison.

The shamefull and ignominious death of Herode.

The leastre leasted with out any harm done to them

Herode receiued letters from Augustus concerning his death.

Herod intended desperately to kill himselfe.

A Tyrant is alwayes suspicious & hardlyneth a tyrant may himselfe.

Antipater secretly keeps.

The nauigatours of our Lord and Sauour Iesus Christ in Bethlehem

to see whether he was dead or no: reporting to him his sonnes merry disposition, and the matter which he had so earnestly moued him vnto.

Herode mightily offended at these tidings, commaunded, that (without any delay) his son *Antipater* should be slayne in prison. Which being done, himselfe liued but fiewe dayes after his sonne. So that, what with the violence of his sickness, encreasing the torments of his soule, he died: hauing reigned foure and thirtie yeares after the surprizall of *Ierusalem*; and fawen and thirtie yeares after the *Romaines* had proclaimed him King. A man equally euell to all men: from base and lowe degree, exalted to eminent places of honour, by industrie, bountie and friendship: very happy abroad, and vnfortunate amongst his owne, and hated (both of his subiects and domesticks) for his crueltie.

All the time of his gouernement, hee had contention and quarrell principally with three aduersaries. First of all, against the Family of the *Asmoneans*, which hee strove vtterly to extirpate by all his policies: Secondly, against the Iewish people, who could not endure the dominion of a stranger: and although they kicked continually against him, yet finally they were charged with a hard yoke of seruitude. The third aduersarie, more troublesome and difficult then both the rest, was his owne household people. For, as hee slew one part of them (being no way guilty or offensive towards him) by listening to false reportes of the enuious, and according to his owne suspicions, still to support his greedie desire of rule: so did hee punish others taken in the fact, who indeede conspired against him, vntill such time, as being more broken and battered by his domesticke encumbrances, then by extremitie of age; he payed the tribute due to Nature. *Philo* the Iew writeth, that hee reigned fixe yeares lawfully, and one and thirtie yeares tyrannically.

In the three and thirtie yeare of his reigne (as it is auouched by *Epiphanius*) vnder the first description of the Word: *Iesus Christ*, our blessed Sauour and Redeemer, was borne in *Bethlehem* of the Virgine *Mary*. At the age of two yeares, by the Angelles admonition, hee was

with-drawne from the crueltie of this wretch, by his father and mother, who fled with him into *Egypt*. Afterwardes, hee was brought backe againe into *Iudea*, at the beginning of the Primacie of *Archelaus*.

Herode altered his Will three severall times: The first change was, after hee had put to death his two sonnes by *Marians the Asmonean*, and then hee sent it by the hands of *Antipater* (hee going to *Rome*) to *Augustus*. That Will confirmed as his heire in the Kingdome, *Antipater*, his eldest sonne by *Doris*: but yet with this condition, that if he dyed before the time, his sonne *Herode*, whom hee had by the daughter of *Simon* the high-priest, should succede him. To whom (vpon this occasion) according to the opinion of *Iosephus*, hee had giuen in marriage *Herodias*, the daughter to *Ariobolus*, sonne of *Marians* the *Asmonean*.

After the death of *Pheroras*, brother to *Herode*, the treasons began to be discovered, and the King being informed, that the Mother of *Herode*, his destinated successor (and daughter to the Soueraigne Sacrificer) had consented in wicked counsell with *Antipater*: hee razed the names both of *Antipater* and *Herode* out of his Will, frustrating them from all hope of euer coming to the Crowne.

Beside, he expelled the two mothers, *Doris* and *Mariana*, out of the Pallace, despoyling also his father in lawe *Simon*, of the High-priesthoode.

In his second Testament, hee left the Kingdome to his last sonne, named *Herode Antipas*, and hee to succcede after his death, being borne of *Martha* a *Samaritane*. Therein hee made no mention at all of *Archelaus*, nor of *Phillip*, who were elder in yeares then hee: because, by the suggestion of *Antipater*, some of his friends had falsely accused them by Letters, in the time of their studying at *Rome*.

By the same Testament, he left a thousand Talents to *Augustus*, which amounteth to three score runnes of Golde. To *Liua* the wife of *Augustus*, and to the children and enfranchised friends of *Augustus*, hee gaue fiewe hundred Talents, that is to say, thirtie runnes of golde.

Last of all, after that (a little before

The testament of Herode changed by himselfe three severall times.

Ioseph in Ant. Iud. li. 4. ca. 10

Antipater & Herod razed out of their fathers testament, & their mothers excluded the Crowne.

The second alteration of his Will.

A thousand talents given by Herode to Augustus.

The third
and last alter-
cation of his
testament.

his death) hee had caused *Antipater* to bee slayne, for diuerse conspiracies against his father and brethren: he grew into good liking of his two elder sonnes, which was the reason of altering his will the third time, leaving the Kingdome of *Iudea* to *Archelaus*; provided also, that it might bee as pleasing to *Augustus*.

In stead of King, hee made *Antipas* Tetrarch of *Galilee* and *Perea*, that is to say, of the Region situate beyond *Jordane*.

Herode Anti-
pas and Phil-
lip made both
Tetrarchies.

In like manner, hee appoynted *Philip* Tetrarch of *Gallonitida*, *Traconitis*, *Balanea* and *Paneda*. To his Sister *Salome* (who amongst all his kintred) he had onely found faithfull to him, and helpfull in all his aduertities, hee left three wealthy Citties, *Tumia*, *Azot* and *Phaselida*, with fiftie thousand Crownes besides.

Hee assigned great reuenues to his other sonnes, and to their children, whom hee left in priuate condition, and augmented the Legacies which he had sent to *Auquitus* and other at *Rome*. But *Auquitus* (afterwards) distributed all the money to him appoynted to *Herodes* kintred; retayning nothing to himselfe, but onely certayne costly vessells, as a token of remembrance for the dead.

Herode bound
the in his leg-
acies to Au-
quitus and o-
ther.

CHAP. XV.

A briefe Collection, concerning the children of Herode the Great, which hee had by his tenne wiues, as also the order of their severall successions.

Iosephus var-
rieth from
the Euangeli-
call historie.



Thought it verie neces-
sarie, heere to set downe
the order and succession
of *Herodes* children; be-
cause it doth giue great
light to the Euangelicall

Histoire, in regarde that the Descrip-
tion made by *Iosephus*, is somewhat dif-
ferent. Especially in *Herodias*, whom
Iosephus sayth, to be sometime married,

not to *Phillip* the Tetrarch, as the Euan-
gelist *Saint Mark*, in the sixteenth chap-
ter and seauenteenth verse of his Gospell
auoucheth, but to *Herod*, sonne to the
daughter of *Simon* the High-priest, who
soone after was aduanced, and ioyned
with *Herode Antipas* Tetrarch of *Galilee*,
that slew *Saint Iohn Baptist*.

He sayth besides, that the dauncing
daughter of *Herodias*, was married to
Phillip: But the authoritie of the Euan-
gelists ought to be of greater weight with
vs, then to that of *Iosephus*, who in this
Genealogie of *Herode*, speaketh things
very contrary, which is not much to bee
maruelled at, in a Familie of so great ex-
tendure. For King *Herode*, according to
the ancient manner of the Kings of *Iu-
dea*, had many wiues together, in all be-
ing tenne, two whereof were barren,

Doris his first wife.

Her he married in priuate condition,
taking her from a place of slender repute,
her father beeing as then liuing. Of her
hee begate *Antipater*, whom hee dis-
inherited, his mother *Doris* beeing dior-
ced, after he was married to *Mariana* the
Asmenean: nor would hee permit her to
be present in *Ierusalem*, but onely at three
famous solemnities.

But after that *Mariana* was put to
death, hee receiued *Doris* againe into
his Court, and gaue her admittance to
his bedde, re-calling home the sonne
also: beeing fully resolu'd, to haue left
him heyre to the Kingdome, if hee had
not bene the cause of his owne ruine
and death, by wicked machinations, con-
tinued against his father and brethren;
beside, hee brought his owne mother in-
to the dislike of his father.

Antipater tooke to wife the daughter
of *Antigonus*, the last King of the *Asme-
neans*, by whom hee had also *Antipa-
ter*, to whom hee was married the daughter
of *Pheroras* his great vnckle. Afterward
hee married *Mariana*, daughter vnto his
brother *Aristobulus*, whom he caused to
be murdered.

The gene-
alogie of He-
rod very great

Antipater the
sonne of Dor-
is the first
wife of Herod

Doris recei-
ued into graue
againe and
her sonnetee
pealed.

Antipater
had a sonne
named Anti-
pater also.

By

The issue to
Herode by
Mariana, and
their matches
in marriage.

By his second wife *Mariana* the *Asme-
nean*, he had many heires, thus following
in order.

Mariana,
Glaphyra, daughter to *Archelaus* king of
Cappadocia; *Alexander*, slaine by his fa-
ther.

Herode,
Aristobulus, slaine by his father, left siue
children by *Berenice*, as followeth after.

The third dyed immediately.
Salome was married to *Phaselus* sonne
of *Phaselus*, brother to *Herode*, of whose
children we haue spoken before.

Cypriu was married to *Antipater*, the
sonne of *Salome*, sister to the King.

Alexander,
Tygranes, who was sent by *Nero* King
into *Armenia*.

Tygranes was King of *Armenia*, and af-
terward accused at *Rome*, dyed without
issue.

*The names of Aristobulus his chil-
dren, by Berenice.*

Aristobulus, strangled by the command
of his father *Herode*.

Berenice his wife, daughter of *Salome*,
sister to King *Herode*.

Agrippa the first King of *Iudea*.
Herode the fourth King of *Chalcis*.

Aristobulus, to whom was espoused
Isotapa, daughter to the king of the *Eme-
sians*, by whom hee had *Isotapa*, a deafe
daughter.

Herodias, who left her husband, and
had a daughter *Salome*; who for the re-
ward of her goodly dauncing, required,
and had the head of *Saint Iohn Baptist*.

Mariana, affianced first to *Antipater*
the sonne of *Antipater*; but afterward *An-
tipater*, sonne of great *Herode*, tooke her
to wife.

Mariana daughter to *Simeon* the four-
raigne Sacrifice, the third wife to *He-
rode*, of whom came.

Herode the second, who had a daugh-
ter named *Salome*, married sometime to
his vnckle *Phillip* the Tetrarch; and af-

The issue by
the third wife
to King He-
rode.

terward to *Aristobulus*, sonne to *Herode*
king of *Chalcis*.

Herodias his wife, yoongest daughter
of great *Herode*, and also the daughter of
Aristobulus, slaine by his father.

Herode affecting this *Mariana* for her
rare beauty, who was the daughter
to a silly sacrificing Priest, he perceiuing
that he could no otherwise enjoy her, but
by lawfull marriage; made her father *Si-
meon* (sonne to *Boethus*) High-priest, by
deposing *Iesus*, the successeur to *Ana-
nelus*.

Of her hee begate *Herode* the second,
whom he had instituted (in his first Will)
second heire after *Antipater* his eldest
sonne. But growing offended (afterward)
for some fault in his mother: hee altered
his Will, and deprived him of all hope
of succeeding.

Iosephus writeth, that this *Herode* the
second (who alwayes afterward liued pri-
uately) tooke to wife *Herodias*, the daugh-
ter of *Aristobulus*, slaine by his father; who
afterward was exalted by his brother *He-
rod Antipas*, contrary to all right and rea-
son. But (as I haue already said) this Ge-
nealogie of *Iosephus* agreeth not with
Saint Marke, who ruleth it in this manner.

Herode, the second, borne of the High-
priests daughter, liued without publike
charge.

His wife *Herodias* that left him, mar-
ried with the brother to her husband.

Herode Antipas, Tetrarch of *Galilee*.
Phillip the Tetrarch, who died
without children.

The daughter *Salome* was married to
both, each after other, and engendred by
the last;

Herode, *Agrippa*, *Aristobulus*, of whom
I finde nothing at all recorded.

The fourth wife of *Herode* was *Mar-
thaca*, or *Malthaca*, a Samaritane; of whom
were borne,

Archelaus, who by the last Testament
of his father, was ordain'd to be his suc-
cessour. But by *Auquitus* he was institu-
ted to be * *Ethnarche*.

Herode the third, called also *Antipas*,
Tetrarch of *Galilee*; the rauiher of *Hero-
dias*, and murderer of *Saint Iohn Baptist*:
he was called also, the Fox for *Christ*.

Ggg 3 *Olympia*,

Mariana the
daughter to
Simeon, ad-
vanced to the
High priest-
houde.

Herod the se-
cond depri-
ued from suc-
ceeding in the
kingdome.

Iosephus re-
proued in his
Genealogie.

The Genea-
logie accord-
ing to the de-
scription of
Saint Marke.

The issue of
Herode by
his fourth
wife

Olympia, married to *Iosippus*, sonne of *Iosippus* the brother to King *Herode*: Of whom came this Posteritie following:

Mariana, espoused to *Herod* the fourth, King of *Chalcis*, and had a sonne named *Aristobulus*, who (by *Nero*) was instituted Gouverneur of *Armenia* the lesser. He had to wife *Salome*, the daughter of *Herodias*, as formerly hath bene declared.

The fifth wife of *Herode* was *Cleopatra* of *Jerusalem*, whose children were

Phillip, who (by the last Testament of his father) was appointed Tetrarch of *Trachonitis*.

Herode, of whom I finde nothing recorded in any Historie.

But, considering that *Iosippus* saith, that this *Phillip* was brother to the father and mother of *Archelaus*; I make some doubt of diuers other places before mentioned by him, where (perhaps by want of memory) he wrongeth himselfe in the numbering of *Herodes* children; as in the second Chapter of the same Booke. And that of the same mother *Marthaca*, were borne *Archelaus*, *Phillip* and *Olympia*: And that of this *Cleopatra*, issued only *Herode*, called *Antipas*. From whence it proceeded (as I thinke) that *Iosippus* attributed two sonnes vnto this *Cleopatra*, *Phillip* and *Herode*: of whom (nevertheless) he maketh not any mention in his Historie.

I thinke then, that *Antipas* should be placed for *Phillip* vnder *Cleopatra*; for, because he nameth *Herode* also: some (not very skillfull) haue attributed two sonnes to *Cleopatra*: euen as if I should say, that *Iulius* and *Cæsar* had bene two Consuls. Assuredly, this coniecture seemeth to be confirmed, because *Archelaus* (being vpon his departure to *Rome*, after the death of his father) left all the care and managing of the kingdome affaires to *Phillip*, as to his nearest and dearest brother; and not to *Antipas*, whom he ought to haue preferred before *Phillip*, if hee had bene his germaine brother by the same mother. But this shewes it selfe much more evidently, in regard that *Iosippus*, in the thirteenth and foureteenth Chapters of the same fouenteenth Booke, saith: That *Archelaus* journeying to *Rome*, tooke a-

long with him his mother *Marthaca*, who dyed there, before the suite (concerning the succession) was decided; and that (soone after) *Antipas* followed him, who likewise was accompanied with his mother. It must needs follow then necessarily, that they had diuersitie of mothers. Wherefore it somewhat amazeth mee, that *Iosippus* repeateth in the Historie of the Iewes warres, to haue spoken ill in his Antiquities: to wit, that *Archelaus* and *Antipas* were brethren by one mother.

The sixth wife of *Herode*, was *Pallas*, who had a sonne named *Phafelus*, of whom *Iosippus* writeth nothing.

The seauenth wife was *Phadra*, who had by *Herod* (being then ancient) a daughter named *Roxana*.

The eighth wife of *Herode*, was *Elpis*, by whom hee had a daughter named *Salome*.

Afterward, *Augustus* married the two sonnes of *Phororas*, to these two sisters, *Roxana* and *Salome*, beeing but young when their father died. To whom (beside the Legacies of their father) hee added (of his owne) in their dowrie, two hundred thousand peeces of silver money: which summe, if *Iosippus* doe vnderstand *Drachmaes* thereby, as I imagine, it amounteth to five and twentie thousand crownes of the Sunne.

The ninth wife, was the daughter of his brother, whom *Iosippus* nameth not.

The tenth, was his Cousine germane, ynnamed also.

By these two wiues *Herode* had not any children.

All this so great lineage of *Herode*, failed (well-neare utterly) within the space of seuen yeares, the most part of them liuing in private manner. Such as attained to gouernement of affaires, and succeeded in some small portions of their fathers dignitie; were only three sonnes of *Herode*, to wit, *Archelaus* the Ethnarch, *Phillip* and *Antipas*, Tetrarches, and two younger sonnes; the first *Agrippa*, King of *Iudea*, and *Herod* the fourth King of *Chalcis*; *Agrippa* the last, in whose reigne was the Iewish warre, and the destruction of *Jerusalem*. I will speake briefly of them all in order.

CHAP.

Antipas and his mother went alio Rome.

Pallas, Thracia and Elpis with their issue by Herod.

The house of Augustus the marriage of Roxana and Salome.

A greene vnto the King in a small compass of yeares.

Of them that succeeded in gouernment.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the Ethnarchie of *Archelaus*; and the plea of him and his Brother *Antipas* before *Augustus*, for the right of *Gouernment*.

BY the last Testament of the Father (as I haue already sayd) *Archelaus* was appointed successor with royall power; provided, that *Augustus* would be so pleased. But scarcely was the fathers body interred, when a great mutiny arose in the City, and he lost his peoples affection by cruelty. For some of the kindred & parents of the yong scholars that wer burned alio, about bearing down the golden Eagle, returning to the Feast at Easter, mouing the people by their teares and complaints to challenge reuenge of certaine slanderous persons, and deposition of the Soueraigne Sacrificer, whom *Herode* had established in the ending of his dayes: *Archelaus* sent his Light horsemen against the people, and made a bloody slaughter, to the number of three thousand, beside diuers put to flight. After that, the tumult was for a time appeased, hee left the charge of his kingdome affaires to his brother *Phillip*, and tooke his journey to *Rome*, accompanied with his mother *Marthaca*, and some other friends, to require of *Augustus* the full establishment of his Fathers Will.

By the suggestion of their Aunt *Salome*, *Herode Antipas* followed after his Brother, to contend with him for succession in the kingdome before *Augustus*. There hee accused him of cruelty, approouing, that the Crowne should rather bee his, then any due to *Archelaus*; because by the second testament, he was onely ordained heyre to the Royall dignitie; when his father *Herode* was found both in bodie and memory. And such a Will so made, ought to bee of farre greater respect and weight, then the last so neere his death; when both body and mind were vncapeable of sense and reason.

Soone after, fifty Ambassadors were sent from the people of *Iudea* to *Rome*, to

entreate, that they might no longer be gouerned by a King: but rather that *Iudea* (being reduced to the form of a Province) might be vnder command of the Romane Captaines (as afterward it was, but to the Iewes no great aduantage.) But if hee needs they must haue a King, and of *Herodes* posterity: they openly confessed, that they much rather affected *Herode Antipas*, then *Archelaus*, who (at his very entrance) gaue them sufficient vnderstanding, what mildnesse and moderation they should afterwarde expect in him.

While this sute was thus in hearings, and *Augustus* consulted thereon, with some of his most intimate friends; greuous tumults chanced to be moued; first, by *Sabinus*, Procurator for *Cæsar* in *Jerusalem*, and afterward in diuers other places of *Iudea*. For some people (of no worth) emboldened by the Kings absence, hauing gathered together certaine companies of Theeues; durst attribute vnto themselves, both the Royall dignity and Ornaments. During which time, *Iudea* was wonderfully waisted in manie places with fire and sword; vntill (by the vertue of *Quintilius Varus*, who scattered the armies of the Theeues, and hanged vpe about two thousand, such as were cheefe Leaders in the sedition) the danger was well ouer-blowne.

These troubles being certified by Letters to *Rome* by *Varus*, caused *Augustus* (hauing ended the sute concerning the succession) to send backe the Sonnes of *Herode* to *Iudea* againe. But he had diuided the whole kingdome of *Herode* into two partitions: one whereof hee gaue to *Archelaus*, whom hee named Ethnarche, which dignity he afforded to be greater then that of Tetrarche, & yet much lesse then Royall power. Promising (nevertheless) that he would make him King, after he had made triall of his industry & moderation in this gouernment. Moreover, hee diuided the other part into two Tetrarchies, which he gaue to the two Brethren to *Herode Antipas*, *Galilee* and *Pærea*; the reuenewes whetof amounted to two hundred Talents; that is fixe score thousand Crownes of the Sun. But the Ethnarchie of *Archelaus*, which containd *Iudæa*, *Iudea*, and *Samaria*, valewed fixe hundred Talents in reuenewes.

Arche-

A request made by the Iewes, to bee no longer gouerned by a King.

Seditious and tumults happening in *Jerusalem*, and other places of *Iudea*.

Herodes sons sent backe to *Iudea* againe, and the kingdome diuided into partitions.

The diuision of the two Tetrarchies.

The issue of Herod by his fifth wife.

Ioseph, in *Antiquit. Iud. lib. 17* cap. 10.

Iosephus said contradictory to himselfe.

The journey of *Archelaus* to *Rome*; after the King his fathers death, and his mother with him.

A commotion or mutiny, rising in the City.

A bloodie slaughter of the people made by *Archelaus*.

Herode Antipas followed after his brother *Archelaus* to *Rome*, to please his Father in the Crowne.

The cruel be-
haviour of Ar-
chelaus to his
subjects after
his returne a-
mong them.

Archelaus being come backe into *Ju-
dea*, enflamed with hatred against his sub-
jects (by whose accusation, hee had not
only lost his Kingly authority, but almost
the halfe part of his government) began
to carry himselfe cruelly towards them,
and (for small or no causes at all) did put
to death such persons, as hee imagined
had desired the alteration of the State.
Moreover, he highly soyled his reputa-
tion, with marriage prohibited by the laws
of God. For at his returne from *Rome*, as
he passed throw *Cappadocia*, to visite his
kinsman king *Archelaus*; hee found there
Glaphyra (widowed the second time)
who had bene first married to *Alexander*
that was put to death by his Father *Herod*
with his broder *Aristobulus*. After his
death, her Father in law *Herode*, sent her
(with her dowry) vnto her owne father,
where she was remarried to *Imba* King of
the *Numidians*; who being likewise dead,
she came and lived with hir father again.
Archelaus (inueigled with her beautie)
tooke her to wife, notwithstanding shee
had bene married to his brother *Alexan-
der*, divorcing his owne wife, named *Ma-
riana*. This *Glaphyra* died a little before
Archelaus was sent into exile, being a-
frighted with a dreame; wherein shee
seemed to see the ghost of her first husband,
reprooving her for this wicked marriage
with his brother.

Finally as he ceased not from commit-
ting extraordinary cruelties; so hee chan-
ced to be accused at *Rome*, by some of the
principall Jewes; after he had nine yeares
held the principality, from the death of
his Father *Herode*. Whereupon, *Augus-
tus* summoned him to his appearance; &
after hee had bene conuicted by sufficient
Witnesses, hee was sent into *Dauiphne*,
where hee died; without leaving any chil-
dren that were knowne. His goods were
confiscated to the Romaine Emperour,
and the Countries of his Ethnarchie
were (for a time) ruled by the Romaine
Governours: as by *Copanius*, *Marcus*, and
Annius Rufius, who governed the Coun-
treies (each of them) two yeares, even vntill
the death of *Augustus*, whose succes-
sor *Tiberius* sent *Valerius Gratus* into *Ju-
dea*. Eleasse yeares after, hee sent *Pontius
Pilate* also, who behaved himselfe cruelly
in *Judea*; and (amongst other notorious
matters) hee condemned our Lord & Sa-

Archelaus
sent for to
Rome, his co-
uiction and
death.

Pontius Pilate
sent governing
into Iudea.

uour Iesus Christ to be hanged vpon a
Crosse, in the seauenth yeare of his Go-
uernment, and the eighteenth of the Em-
peror *Tiberius*.

CHAP. XVII.

Of Phillip, sonne to Herod the Great, & how
hee governed in his Tetrarchie.

Ing Herod, by his last Will
and Testament, leste his
sonne *Phillip* Tetrarche of
Tracottis, & of the neigh-
bouring Regions beyond
Iordane; euen from the Springs of *Tyberias* or
Genesareth, to the Springs of *Iordane*, and
the foot of Mount *Libanus*. Hee governed
this his Tetrarchie the space of seuen and
thirty yeeres (with great commendation
for iustice and modesty) which hee also
beautified with many goodly Buildinges:
For in *Panemda*, neere to the sources of
Iordane (where sometime his Father *He-
rod* had erected and dedicated a Temple
to *Augustus*) hee builded a Cittie, which
he called *Cesarea of Philippi*: and another
vpon the lake of *Genesareth*, named *Beth-
saida*; which encreasing and growing in-
to great wealth, hee called it *Tullida*, after
the name of the wife to *Augustus*.

Iosephus writeth, that this *Phillip* tooke
in marriage *Salome*, the daughter of *He-
rodias*, whereas Saint *Marke* the Euan-
gelist, in his sixt chapter and the seauen-
teenth verse writeth, That the Mother
Herodias was espoused vnto *Phillip*: and
afterward being carried away, was con-
iointed with his Brother.

He dyed without any heyre, in the 20.
yeare of *Tyberius* the Emperour, that is to
say, two yeeres after Christ was cruci-
fied, rose from the dead againe, and the
Gospel was spread abroad by the Apo-
stles, from forth *Iudea* to Neighbouring
Nations. His Tetrarchie was annexed
(by *Tyberius*) to the Prouince of *Syria*.

CHAP.

The largest
revenue of
Phillip's Te-
trarchie.

The building
of Cesarea
of Philippi
and Beth-
saida by
Phillip.

At what time
Phillip the
tetrarch died.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the life and death of Herod Antipas, bro-
ther to Phillip, and Tetrarche of Samaria
and Peraea, &c.



His *Herode Antipas*, by the
second Will was instituted
successor to his Father. But
the Testament being altdred,
hee was ordained Tetrarche,
and had (for his partage) *Samaria* and *Pe-
rea*, which is a most fertile Region be-
yond *Iordane*, betweene the Lakes of *Ty-
berias* and *Alphalsida*. Neuertheless, be-
ing not contented with his Fathers gift,
and trusting to the precedent Will; hee
contended at *Rome* with his Brother
before *Augustus*, touching the possession
of the kingdome. All which notwithstanding,
hee obtained nothing else but the
Tetrarchie left him by his father, & then
again confirmed to him. Hee took first to
wife the daughter of *Aretas*, King of *Ar-
abia*, living with him more then fiftene
yeares. But afterward, being called to
Rome, passing along by *Phillip* the Tetrar-
che, or (as *Iosephus* writeth) by *Herode* the
second, borne of the daughter to the high
Priest: being enamoured on *Herodias*,
daughter to his brother *Aristobulus*, hee
contracted marriage with her, promising
to repudiate his Arabian wife.

Being returned from *Italy*, hee tooke a-
way from his Brother, *Herodias* and her
daughter *Salome*; whereat the daughter
of *Aretas* finding her selfe offended (se-
cretly disguised) fled to her father in *Ar-
abia*; whereupon ensued a lamentable war.
For *Aretas*, purposing to reuenge this vn-
iust diuorce of his daughter, sent a potent
Army against *Herode*; which did vtterly
ouerthrow all his Forces, notwithstanding
their strength and multitude in num-
ber.

This *Herode Antipas*, detained *S. John
Baptist* sometime prisoner in the strong-
defenced City of *Macheron* (situated on
the Marches of *Perea* and *Arabia*, neere
to the lake *Alphalsida*): because hee hadde
boldly reprooued him for this incestuous
marriage; where the Adulteresse found

the meanes (afterward) to haue his head
smitten off. The same *Herode* laboured
subtly to entrap Christ, as he was teach-
ing in *Galilee*; and afterward, when *Pilate*
sent him prisoner to him, hee sent him
backe againe opprobriously, because (at
his request) Christ would not worke any
miracle before him.

He likewise embellished his Tetrarchie
with faire buildinges; for (to his great
charges) hee builded *Sepphorim*, a Cittie of
Galilee, which hee caused to bee called *An-
tocratorida*. Hee called another *Tullida*, by
the name of *Augustus* wife, which before
was named *Betharama*. After the death of
Augustus, because hee had bene a kinde
friend to *Tyberius*; hee builded a new City
in honour of him, neere to the Lake of
Genesareth, which hee commanded to be
called *Tyberias*. But because the place
was prophaned by great heapes of dead
bodies there buried, so that (by *Moyse*
Lawe) it was not lawfull to dwell there,
hee allured some (by diuers commodities
and immunities) to builde there, making
habitations for poore people; compell-
ing the rich and mighty, to inhabit (with
their families) in this new City.

In the second yeare of the Empire of
Caius Caligula, when *Agrippa* the Brother
of *Herodias* returned from *Rome* into *Ju-
dea*, adorned (against all attempters) with
the royall dignity: *Herode*, by the conti-
nuall injuries of his wife, was enforced to
vndertake a iourney to *Rome*, to entreate
the royall dignity of the Emperour. For
this woman (burning with ambition) said
it was vn-sufferable, that her Brother *A-
grippa* (being but a while before poore &
beggerly, and so farre indebted, that hee
was made seruite to his Creditors) should
now triumph with a Kingly Crowne, sur-
mounting his Vnckle in power and dig-
nity, hee hauing bene to him as a nursing
Father, and adiudged (by the second tes-
tament) worthy of the kingdome.

Antipas, prouoked by the incessant in-
tigations of this arrogant woman, went
vnto *Rome* with her; desiring of the Em-
peror *Caius*, to enioy the name and dig-
nity Royall: beside, by manie greuous
accusations, hee practised to make *Agr-
ipa* hateful to the Emperour. But *Agrippa*
(aduertised of his Vnckles voyage and in-
tent) preuented him, and sent letters be-
fore him by an intimate friend: wherein

Citties that
were builded
by Antipas in
his Tetrarchie

The new cite
of Tiberias.

Agrippa the
Brother of
Herodias,
highly respect-
ed by the
Emperour, and
allowed royall
dignity.

Antipas ac-
cused his Vnckle
Brother A-
grippa before
the Emperour
Caius Cali-
gula.

Agrippa presented his brothers accusations to the Emperor.

Herod intrap in his own swiftness, and sent into perpetual banishment at Lions in France.

The subtle answer of Herodias to the Emperor.

The punishment inflicted on Herod and his wife Herodias.

he informed *Caius*, that *Herode Antipas* was confenting in the conspiracie of *Seianus*, against *Tiberius*, and that now (having close intelligence with the King of the *Parthians*) there was some noetic intended against *Caius*. A matter easily to be conieured, by the great preparation for Armes which *Antipas* made: whereby, in an instant, he could be suddenly furnished with an Army of three-score and tenne thousand able fighting men.

Caligula, incensed by this report from his friends, demanded of *Herode*, what prouision hee had in a readinesse for his Tetrarchie; Where to hee answered: That he had all things fitting for a King. Whereupon *Caius* instantly commaunded, that hee should be carried prisoner to *Lions in France*, and there kept in perpetual exile. Moreover, by his Letters, hee gaue all his goods, with the Tetrarchie of *Galilee* and *Perea*, to *Agrippa*: except what appertained in proprietic to his sister *Herodias*, whom he reputed innocent, and for her hee would haue all to be intirely referred, if she would returne into *Iudea* againe. But *Herodias*, thanking *Caius* for his liberality, replied: That presently she could not make any vse of this great fauour, because she held it vnreasonable, to leaue her husband in this calamitie, whom she had alwayes accompanied in his flourishing prosperitie, and raised thereof very royally.

Thus spake this subtle woman, as hoping thereby, that the Emperor would alter his rigorous sentence, concerning the condemnation of *Herode*, and that shee should not vndergoe the selfe-same censure, considering his supposal of her innocencie. But *Caius* (being highly displeased at her haughtie stomacke) commaunded, that being dispoyled of all her goods, shee should walke with her husband in the same nature of exile. Thus *Herode* was the instrument of his owne harme, by listning (ouer-lightly) to the persuasions of this ambitious woman: for, if he could haue contented himselfe with his estate, hee had longer time enjoyed peaceably his dignitie of Tetrarch. But they both deferred iustly this heauie penaltie; because, being ioyned together by incestuous marriage, and charitably admonished in the greatnesse of

their sinne: they did put to death the most innocent man *Saint Iohn Baptist*, vnder colour of a rash oath, pretending conscience.

This great downe-fall happened vnto them, about tenne yeares after the beheading of *Saint Iohn*; eight yeares after *Herode* had hunted *Iesus Christ*, and sent him bound (clothed like a foole in white) as vnwilling to endure his presence. There is not any thing recorded of his Posteritie, but that the Principallitie of *Iudea* went from the sonnes of Great *Herode*, to a younger sonne of another sonne *Aristobulus* and *Marians an Asmonean*, to wit, to *Agrippa* and *Herode*, of whom I haue here let downe the Ancestors and Posteritie.

Marians, an *Asmonean*.

Cypri, daughter of *Salome*, sister to *Aristobulus*.

Agrippa the second King of *Chalcis*. *Drusus* dyed in his youth.

Herode the Great.

Salome his sister.

Berenice his wife *Aristobulus*. *Herodias*. *Marians*.

Aristobulus slayne by his father.

Agrippa the first King of all *Iudea*.

Herod, the fourth King of *Chalcis*.

Berenice, married to his vnckle *Herod*, king of *Chalcis*, who being dead, she remained with *Polemon* king of *Sicily*.

Marians ioyned with *Archelaus Helichias*, and begate *Berenice*. Leauing him, she wedded *Demetrius of Alexandria*, by who she had *Agrippina*.

Drusus most faire, being but yoong, sixe yeares olde, was affianced by her father to *Epiphane*, sonne of *Antiochus*, king of *Comagena*. But he making refusal to be circumcised, her brother *Agrippa* gaue her to *Haziazem*, King of the *Emesians*. Afterward *Felix*, brother to *Palas*, *Gouernour* of *Iudea* (by power of Promises) made hir to leaue hir husband, and tooke her to wife. By whom she had a sonne, named *Agrippa*, who dyed with his wife. at the burning of the Mountaine *Vesenus*: which made an inestimable spoyle and waste in *Terra di Lauoro*, otherwise called the Great *Campania*. Saint

The iudgement death of Iohn Baptist.

Translation of the principallitie of Iudea.

The line of the different cases, falling in the sonnes of Herod the Great.

A Congress is a part of Syria, about Cilicia well-wed. Eudemon.

Mount di Somma in Campania, near Naples, out of the top whereof issues fire & smoke.

Saint Paul maketh mention of this *Drusilla*, in the foure and twentieth chapter of the *Acts* of the Apostles, and the foure and twentieth verse, affirming her to be wife to *Felix*.

CHAP. XIX.

The life of *Agrippa*, the first man of that name, coming to be King of *Iudea*.



Little before the death of his grand-father *Herode*, being as then but eight yeares olde, this *Agrippa* was sent to *Rome*, and there nourished with *Drusus*, the sonne of *Tyberius*. Hee was greatly affected by *Anthonia* mother of *Germanicus* and *Claudius* the Emperour, in regard of his mother *Berenice*; whom she loued as if she had beene her sister.

Being come to age, he retired into *Iudea*, after the death of *Drusus*: because *Tyberius* expelled from his court, all them that had beene friends to his deceased sonne; as fearing lest the sight of them, should bee the renewing of his sorrow. But *Agrippa* became charged with great doubts, wherinto he had entred at *Rome*, after the expence of all his owne meanes. Wherefore he wandred abroad for (some times) with his wife *Cypri*, beggerly, poore, and vtterly abandoned of his friends; so that at length, shame and pinching pouertie would haue prouoked him to shorten his life. But his wife *Cypri*, making humble supplications to *Herodias*, the sister of her husband: she preauailed so farre, that *Herode Antipas* the Tetrarche, builded a house for him in the city of *Tiberias*, and assigned him there a yearely reuenue. Not long had *Agrippa* enjoyed this benefite by his brother in law, but *Herode* growing offended at his table, for some wordes spoken by *Agrippa*, ouer-boldely reprovoued him angrily, terming him a begger, and a vagabond, and that he liued by his bounty.

Agrippa grieuing at this reproach, forooke this fauour afforded by *Herode*: and borrowing some small store of money, of

one that respected him, but at extracme interest; once more hee intended to visite *Rome*, and there againe to make triall of his fortune. Hee went to salute *Tyberius* in the Isle of *Capree*, where he found gracious entertainment for a few dayes: vntill some Agent for the Emperour, wrote backe from *Iudea*, that *Agrippa* did owe thirtie thousand Crownes of the Sunne, to the Receiuers of the Emperour. Beside, that he had formerly made many escapes, euen when the dayes for repayment came, vsing nothing but subtle and colosing shifts.

Tyberius much offended at these rydings, commaunded *Agrippa* to auoide his Court, vntill hee had made full satisfaction: which hee did (with great difficulty) by the meane of *Madame Antonia*. Wherewith *Tyberius* was so well pleased, that hee appoynted him the guardian of his twinne sonne *Tyberius*. But a little before the death of *Tyberius*, once againe he fell into his disfauour. For, being at supper one night, with *Caius*, the yoong adopted sonne of *Tyberius*, among other speeches passing at the Table; *Agrippa* wished, that olde *Tyberius* might quickly die, to the end that *Caius* should enioy the Empire.

This wish comming to the eares of *Tyberius*, *Agrippa* (by the Emperours commaund) was clapt vp in close prison, and there so kept, vntill such time as *Tyberius* deceased. *Caius*, well assisted by his warlike troupes, and by his father *Germanicus*, came to enioy the Empire, and hauing released *Agrippa* out of prison; adorned him with the habits becomming a King, subiecting also those countries to him, which *Phillip* the Tetrarch, and *Lysanias* formerly had commaunded. Moreover, he gaue him a chaine of gold, of equalitie in weight to the yron chaine, wherewith he was bound lying in prison. Hee remained a yeare with the Emperour *Caius* at *Rome*; and then tooke leaue of him for his returne to *Iudea*, to take possession of his kingdom.

Thus you see, that hee who (before) was not onely despised, in regard of his necessitie and great debts, but also durst not abide in any place, for the importunite of his creditors; was (to the admiration of all such as sawe him in that wofull miserie) raised to the magnificence royall, which

Miserie forner meeteth with enemies than friends.

The strange and variable condition of Agrippas fortune.

The coming of Caius to the Empire, and readi-ment of Agrippa.

The returne of Agrippa to possesse his kingdom.

Honors heaped more and more upon Agrippa by the Emperor

Agrippa makes a journey to Rome.

Philo the Jew sent Ambassadors for the Jewes.

A great complaint made to Caius against the Jewes.

A command to erect the Emperors statue in the holiest place of the Temple.

Petronius overtaken with a powerful army to Ptolemais, to execute the Emperours command.

which caused some to tremble, that denied and refused to aide him, or had iniuriously repulst him, while he lived in private estate and extreme poverty. Soone after, *Caius Caligula* gaue him *Gabrie* and *Berca*, with all the cheuifance of *Herode Antipas* his emulatur, and of his sister *Herodias*, as in our last Chapter we haue related: wherefore, after he had taken order for his kingdome affaires, hee tooke his journey towards *Rome*, with gifts and presents, to declare (on his owne behalfe) what seruices and acknowledgement hee made, for so many gracious fauors done to him by *Caius*.

During the time that *Agrippa* was at *Rome*, there happened a strife betweene the Citizens of *Alexandria*, and the Jewes dwelling in the same Citie: so that (by lottes) Ambassadors were sent on eyther part to the Emperour. Amongest whom was *Philo* the Jew, whose testimony we haue diuers times made vse of, in the course of this present Historie. There the Jewes were sharply accused by a Greeke named *Appian*, for many faults, and especially, for oblitinate contempt of the Imperiall dignitie: because in all parts of those Citties where the Jewes dwelt, they would not suffer any Statues or Images of the Emperour *Caius* to be erected; but if any were set vpp, immediately they would throw them downe very opprobriously.

Caligula being very furiously moued with this complaint, repulst the Iewish Ambassadors, somewhat rudely, and wrote to *Petronius*, (who from the beginning of his Empire, he had sent Gouvernour into *Iudea*) that with all the haste he could possibly vse, hee should erect the Emperours Statue, in the most holy place of the Temple of *Ierusalem*, if not by consent of the Jewes, yet in despite of them, and (by force of Armes) whether they would or no.

Petronius, willing to obey this command, yet knowing the execution would not be easie; called the Legions from all parts, & being prouided of sufficient succor, went from *Syria* to *Ptolemais*, carrying a braue army along with him. But first he made knowne to the Jewes (by Ambassadors and Letters,) wherefore he came in such dreadfull manner, as grounded vpon the Emperours command; desiring the peo-

ple, that he might rather perforce it by their good liking, then by the course of force & violence. The Jewes, not a little affrighted at these news, came from a great number of Townes and Citties, into the fields before *Ptolemais*, bringing no arms or weapons with them: but entreating *Petronius*, not to fulfill so wicked a command, protesting, that they would rather endure a thousand deaths, then suffer the Temple to be prophaned with the Statue of a man.

Contrariwise, *Petronius* admonished them to take heede, lest this their stiffnecked opiniõ, should procure the countries desolation by fire and sword; alleging shil vnto them, the sterne commands of the Emperour, how gracious hee had bene towards him, and (being angrily moued) would admit no mercy, to such as disobeyed him in the least manner, approving his speeches by examples, of diuers tormented in strange kinds. He further desired them to pardon him, in not denying to execute the Emperours charge imposed on him: because they knew well enough themselves, that neuer any refused to fulfill his command, but was extremely punished for it. Wherefore, hee rather intended to aduenture his life, in fighting against their whole Nation: then to bee held remisse or negligent, in what the Emperour had enioyned him.

Heereupon the multitude resolved to insist, entreating him to pardon their religion and iust constancie, if (more fearing God, the Creator of heauen and earth, and hauing often experimented his heauy wrath, by their transgressing his commandements) they did now oppose themselves against the Emperours will, being full of impietie. Considering also, that *Petronius* himselfe confessed, that he stood in such feare of a mortall man (whose life was vncertaine) that he held it no safetie for his person, to transgresse the least of his commandments.

Petronius, amazed at this obstinacie in the people, and (after that the assembly was disperfed) finding himselfe in great perplexitie, what hee should doe in this dangerous case; paused a while vpon it. For, hee had bene particularly admonished by *Aristobolus*, brother to King *Agrippa*, and some other Princes of *Iudea*, with earnest imprecations, not to foyle himselfe

What intemperate passion betweene the Jewes and *Petronius*.

Petronius perswaded the people to stand feare of the Emperours this commandment.

Arguments alleged to *Petronius* by the Jewes multitudes.

himselfe, with the innocent blood of so great a multitude, by the wicked command of the Emperours; because in so doing, hee should brand the Romaine Empire, with so infamous a note of cruelty, as the like was neuer heard of before, destroying a whole Nation, for refusing to suffer the Image of a sinfull man, to be aduanced in their most holie Temple. Which diuine honour, no man (of vnderstanding or good iudgement) did euer couet before: but contrariwise, many, to whom such an offer had bene made, did holde it in no meane detestation.

They further aduised him, that hee would write to the Emperour, and let him vnderstand the peremptorie resolution of the people, in defence of the doctrine and ceremonies given them by Almighty God, calming his displeasure so well as hee could, from proceeding in so cruell a sentence. But if it should come to passe, that the humour of the Gouvernour might not bee altered: yet then hee had enough to goe on in, and (when hee did please) to proceede in Armes.

Petronius desiring to consider in these matters more maturely, and to trie the peoples inclination yet a little further: went with his Army to *Tyberias*, where an infinite number of Jewes met him, incessantly entreating him, that their sacred Temple might not bee prophaned. Why? answered *Petronius*, Dare you warre with the Emperour? Feare you not the power of the Romaine Empire, knowing how weak your strength is, to contend against so mighty a Monarch? Wee resist not by Armes so great a power (cried out the Jewes) but humbly lay downe our lines at *Casars* foote: rather then, against the Lawe of our God, we will see the Statue of the Emperour, to bee erected in the holiest place of our Temple. Which words were no sooner spoken, but they all fell flat vpon their faces, prostrating their neckes to any that would finite them.

Petronius perceiving them so resolute and inuincible, that they rather would die, then suffer their Temple to be violated; considering also, that already (for the space of fortie daies, they had not toucht the earth with any labor, although

it was the onely apt time to sowe their seede: after he had consulted with some of his friends, hee concludet, that hee would write to the Emperour. Yet, before he would make any publication thereof, he meant to presse those people somewhat further. So, causing a mighty multitude of the vnarmed Jewes to meete at *Tyberias*; and to feare them in most dreadfull manner; he engirt them on all sides with warlike troupes, and his horfemen ready prepared to ouer-runne them. Once more hee declared to them, the rigorous command of the Romaine Emperour, the obedience of all the people in the like case; the daunger wherein hee and al his were, if they did not effect what hee had commanded. Wherefore hee exhorted them, that the Emperours anger might be endured: because such fayled not to reuenge cruelly, the breach of any thing commanded by him.

But when the Jewes cryed out all with one voyce, that hee ought to make more account of Gods commandment, then of any mortall mans whatsoever, to trample them vnder his horfes feete, or slice them in peeces with their Swords, that so all the Jewes being extirpated, he might vse the Temple at his owne pleasure: *Petronius*, entirely moued to mercy, his heart throbbing, and his eyes ouer-flowing with teares, commanding silence by a Trumpet, thus he spake.

¶ The Oration made by *Petronius*, to the Jewes assembled at *Tyberias*.

Seeing you are so resolute, that you desire rather to die, then violate the Lawe giuen you by God, I am not the man, that (by a wicked kinde of obedience) will foyle your Temple; for which I see you endeavour so much. Nor will I doe seruice to the Emperour my Maister, in a matter so monstrous and inhumane; but rather will be a partaker in your perill, then purchase my life, by the innocent blood of so great a multitude. Be comforted then in this your Religion, and returne to your labour, which (for so many dayes) you haue omitted. For mine owne part, I will labour by my friends and mine owne Letters, to alter this opinion in the Emperour. If hee command me to *Rome*, and condemne mee

H b h

A further trial vrged by *Petronius* vpon the people in warlike manner.

The answer of the people to *Petronius*.

The honourable disposition & great piety in *Petronius*.

A noble resolution in so powerful a Commander.

to death, I will gladly endure it: knowing, that by my death, a people living in great danger, may yet preserve their Religion to themselves. For your part, pray to God, that what I enterprize for your safetie, may have a good issue for us all.

When the Jewes had heard this Oration; as people extraordinarily ioyfull, they beganne (with loude voyces) to extoll the pietie of *Petronius*, wishing to him all felicitie. And sodainly, vpon the Assemblies separation, there fell a mightie shouwe of raine (all the day before, and the whole moneth fore-going, the Heauens were so cleare and bright, that the earth was burnt by extremity of heat) and this the Jewes interpreted to bee a signe of their happinesse.

While matters proceeded thus in *Iudea*, King *Agrippa* being at *Rome*, vnderstoode the troubles in his kingdome, and the occasion from whence they proceeded. Whereupon, he made a magnificent feast for the Emperour, consisting of all the delicacies that possibly could be devised. *Caius* wel knew, that *Agrippa* would not launch out in such liberall expences, but that hee intended some especiall suite to him: wherefore, with a gracious countenance and franke spirit, hee bade him boldly ask what he would, protesting, that he should not be denied. In a long & well prepared Oration, *Agrippa* resolved the Emperour, that he desired not any enriching of his kingdome; but humbly craved pardon for the Jewish people, if, in feare to be punished by God; they had not receiued his Statue into their Temple of *Ierusalem*.

Caius accounting it a shame and disgrace to him, if heerein he should refuse his friends request: wrote to *Petronius*, commending his care for the execution of his command. Adding withall, that if (with the peoples liking) the Image was already placed in the Temple, so to let it rest: but if the people would not voluntarily suffer it to bee doone, by no means to offer them any violence. Soone after came the Letters sent from *Petronius*, concerning the stowte resolution of the Jewish Nation: which quite altered him from his former minde, and made him highly displeased with his Captaine, for not performing what hee had enioy-

ned him.

Wherefore hee wrote againe to him, that if he would not be brought to *Rome*, and there be massacred with most horrible torments: hee should make choice of what kinde of death himselfe pleased, as a punishment for the contempt of his command.

It came to passe, and (no doubt) diuinely, that the ship which carried these cruell Letters, was greatly tardied by boysterous tempests: so that another shippe (bringing the newes of *Caligula*'s death) arrived there in *Iudea* before it. Fearefull indeede was his death, but well worthy such a monster, who shortly after hee had written these terrible menaces to *Petronius*, was massacred, with his wife and daughter, by *Chereas* and his confederated conspirators. Whereupon *Petronius*, being inshoured of the Emperours death, and thereby exempted from all feare, receiued the other Letters of his death. Thereby he plainly perceiued, that almighty GOD had miraculously preferred his life, for the good hee had doone to the Jewish Nation.

About the same time, *Claudius* was saluted Emperour by the Souldiours: who, because hee had bene both councelled and assisted by *Agrippa*, at such time as hee remayned in *Rome*: he confirmed vnto him (by publique Edict) the Kingdome of *Iudea* given him by *Caligula*, adding also *Samaria*, and all the other parts and portions, which his grandfather *Herode* the Great formerly possessed.

Moreover, hee gaue him the Tetrarchie of *Lyfania*, called *Abella*, with a part of *Cilicia*, and *Comagena*, which hee had taken from *Antiochus*. He conferred also on *Herode*, brother to *Agrippa*, the Kingdome of *Chalcis*.

Agrippa being in this manner richly recompenced, returned to *Iudea*, in the first yeare of the Empire of *Claudius*, and ascending vp to *Ierusalem*, gaue thanks to the Lord for his good successe. There hee made a sollemne great feast, hanging vp in the Temple, the Chaîne of golde which *Caligula* had given him in memory of his miseries, and diuine deliuerance.

Afterward, he beganne to fortifie the Cittie

Caius Caligula is thus with his daughter murdered together, and his cruelty is thereby more evidently prosecuted.

Saint James is put to death, and *S. Peter* is put in prison.

Luke 11.7.
Luke 12.13.

The description of *Iosephus* concerning the miserable death of *Herod Agrippa*.

Claudius made *Lepidus* & *Agrippa* consuls by him in his kingdome, with other seditions before.

* A Towne Campana in Italy now called *Bella*.

The Chaîne of golde hanging vp in the temple.

Cittie of Ierusalem, and with such sufficient furniture, that *Claudius* (feearing a reuolt in the Jewes, vnder trust in such a well ordered fortification) forbade *Agrippa* by his Letters, to finish the work hee had begunne. Hee was also most liberall towards his subiects, and (about all) a superstitious obseruer of the traditions, receiued in the forefathers lawe. So that, hearing the Apostles to vaile them of no reckoning to winne the good liking of the sacrificing Priests, and fauour of the vulgar people: Hee executed some of the Disciples of our Saviour Christ, and namely *James* the brother to *Iohn*, they being the sonnes of *Zebedee*. Hee also caused *Saint Peter* to bee put in prison, during the dayes of vneleauened Bread, to bring him forth to the people after the Feast. But the Euangelist *Saint Luke* amply declareth, that *Saint Peter* was deliuered by the continuall prayers of the Church: where hee also declareth, the miserable end of this *Herod Agrippa*.

Now, concerning the description of *Iosephus*, speaking of his death: it agrees with the Historie of *Saint Luke* in this manner. After hee had reigned ouer all *Iudea* for the space of three yeares; in the fourth, hee came to *Cæsarea*, where hee celebrated the Feast with a great company of the Jewes; causing Playes to be acted, in honour of the Emperour *Claudius*, and for his health.

The second day of the Feast, he entred the Theater in the morning, attired in a Roabe of cloth of siluer, tissued, and made most sumptuous and artificiall: where, on when the bright beames of the Sunne did cast their radiance, it caused such a lustre by their reuerberation; that all eyes were dazeled with the splendour of the garment. Whereupon it happened, that some of his Flatterers, interrupting him in his Oration; tolde him, that he spake like a god; nay, and (with a loude voice) called him God, craving mercy of him, because (vntill then) they had feared him but as a man onely; but now they plainly perceiued, that hee farre excelled all humane nature.

As the King gloried in these flattering clamours, no way reprooing them for such impious behauiour: hee was suddenly smitten with a most grievous

paine in his entrailes, so that very hardly hee could bee carryed to his Pallace. Where, after many horrible torments, his life expired the fifth day: being iustly punished for the cruelty, which hee had exercised against the members of the true Church of Christ, whereas otherwise, he was very benigne and gracious towards all men, especially to strangers and Gentiles. Hee reigned (in all) about seauen yeares; for hee helde the Tetrarchie of *Phillip* (vnder *Caius Caligula*) three yeares, and foure other yeares, the whole Kingdome of *Iudea*. He dyed in the foure and fiftieth yeare of his age; the third of the Empire of *Claudius*, and the twelfth yeare after the resurrection of our Lord and Saviour Christ Iesus.

His posteritie hath already bene related, whereof *Agrippa*, being his eldest Sonne, and of the age of seuen yeares when his Father dyed; albeit *Claudius* the Emperour gladly desired, that hee should haue bene successour in his Fathers kingdome: yet some other preiudged so farre with him, that all the Regions (subiect before to his Father,) were againe reduced into the forme of a Province; and the first Governour sent thither to rule in *Iudea*, was *Cuspius Fadus*, or *Fadus Cuspius*.

CHAP. XX.

Of *Herode*, the fourth King of *Chalcis*, youngest sonne to *Herode* the Great, brother to the first *Agrippa*.



Hanc heretofore named this man, *Herode* the fourth, for his better discerning from other, who led a priuate kind of life, vntill *Claudius* (moued by the intercession of his brother *Agrippa*) bestowed vpon him the Kingdome of *Chalcis*, in the first yeare of his Empire, which he enioyed the space of eight yeares, suruiuing onely fve yeares his brother *Agrippa*.

Hhh 2

After

The terrible & iust iudgement of God vpon King *Agrippa*.

The yeares of *Agrippa*'s reigning.

Agrippa some succeded not his father in the kingdome.

Cuspius Fadus.

Claudius made *Herod* king of *Chalcis*, in the first yeare of his Empire.

The Jewes interpreted on concerning a shewe of raine.

King *Agrippa* feasteth the Emperour, and maketh intercession for the Jewes.

Agrippa winneth pardon for the people of the Jewes.

The Emperour sooone changed from his promise made to *Agrippa*, & wrathfully incensed against *Petronius*.

A debate or
contention
for keeping
the ornaments
of the high
priests.

The libell
grunt of
Claudius to
Herode.

Thendus the
Soverer his
abusing the
people, and
put to death
by Culpas
Fadus.

Act. 15. 36.

A great fa-
mine in Ju-
dea, whereof
by Agabus.
Act. 11. 28.

* A people li-
ving beyond
Armenia.

Act. 11. 29.

The death of
Herode king

After the death of his brother, *Cuspius Fadus* being sent into *Iudea*, throu to have the custodie of the Roabes and other ornaments, which belonged to the Soueraigne Sacrificers, and to transerre the Sacrificers to Romaine Gouvernours: whereupon, *Herode* transported himselfe to *Rome*, at request made to him by the *Jewes*, whose cause he maintained there so well; that he obtained, that the garments belonging vnto the High-priest, should be kept in the custody of the High-priest. Moreouer, hee obtained of *Claudius*, that he should haue the charge and care of the money, consecrated to the Temple of *Ierusalem*. Having power also, to depose the High-priest, for some causes of importance, and to substitute an other more sufficient. A Graunt which brought great gaine and profite to the Kings; because the Priests fought by power of money, who should haue that soueraigne dignitie.

Cuspius Fadus gouerned the Countrie of *Iudea*, when a certaine man, named *Thendus*, abused in such sort the vulgar people by his enchantments: that hee brought them to *Jordane*, promising to make them passe (dry-footed) ouer the diuided river. But *Fadus* following, took him by his horse-men, and hauing put him to death, scattered all the heapes of his followers. *Gamaliell* maketh mention of this *Thendus*, in the fifth chapter of the *Actes* of the Apostles.

Tiberius Alexander was sent by *Claudius*, to succcede *Fadus* in the gouernment; vnder whom happened that terrible famine in *Iudea*, which *Agabus* had foretold in the eleauenth chapter of the *Actes* of the Apostles; and which was about the sixt or seuenth yeare of *Claudius*: which extremitie was somewhat asswaged, by the liberalitie of *Helena*, Queene of the *Adiabanes*, who caused great plenty of corne to bee brought out of *Egypt*, and heges from *Cyprus*. Also the Churches of *Greece* and *Asia*, gathered much money, which they sent to succout the brethren, that endured the famine in *Iudea*.

Herode, King of *Chalcis* dyed in the eight yeare of the Emperour *Claudius*. Hee had two wines, each after other; the first was *Mariana*, daughter to *Olympia*, the youngest daughter to Great *Herode*, by whom he had *Aristobolus*. Afterward,

he married *Berenice*, daughter to his brother *Agrippa*, who brought vnto him two sonnes. And this was his issue or posteritie, which was reputed quite consumed, by the calamities hapning in the warres of the *Iewes*.

Aristobolus, slaine by his Father
Herod the Great.

Agrippa the first
Mariana, daughter of *Olympia*.
Herode, the fourth King of *Chalcis*.
Berenice, daughter of *Agrippa the first*,
who had by her vnckle,

Berenicima, *Hyrcanus*.

Of these we reade nothing.

Agrippa the last.
Salome, daughter of *Herodias*, first married to *Phillip the Tetrarch*.

Aristobolus, to whom *Nero* gaue the gouernment of the Lesser *Armenia*; and had by *Salome*,
Herode Agrippa Aristobolus.

Iosephus maketh no other kind of mention (concerning them) that I can finde.

CHAP. XXI.

¶ Of *Agrippa the last*, Sonne to the youngest sonne of *Herod the Great*, the last King in any part of *Iudea*.



His *Agrippa*, being aged seuenteen yeares, was at *Rome* with *Claudius* when his father dyed; and succeeded not immediately after his father, because of some enemies about *Claudius* therein were his hinderance: who alleged; That his youthfull yeares were not apt to gouerne so great a kingdome, neither to bridle a people so rebellious. But indeede, their pretence was, to enrich themselves by gouerning the Countrey.

Fiue

of Chalcis
40 of that
name.

The issue of
Herod the 4.

Agrippa
made King
of Chalcis,
and enabled
with his vn-
ckle power.

Cumanus
next gouer-
nor of Iudea
to Tiberius
Alexander.

The varren-
red belittling
of an in-
gent Sould-
iour to the
people.

A most cruel
and bloodie
act of Cumanus,
whereby
10000. lost
their liues.

Agrippa his
death it was
mediat fac-
ceeding after
his father.

A Booke of
Moses & the
Prophets writ-
ting abused
by wicked
Souldiers.

Five yeares after his fathers death, his vnckle *Herode* being dead also: *Claudius* conferred on him the Kingdome of *Chalcis*, at the age of 22. yeares. He gaue him also the same power his vnckle had, to keepe the treasure of the Temple of *Ierusalem*, and to create the High-priests. Of which authoritie *Agrippa* made verie good vse: for (in a short time) he depose diuers, and substituted other at his pleasure.

At such time as *Agrippa* beganne his reign, *Cumanus* was sent into *Iudea*, to succede *Tiberius Alexander* in the gouernment, who greatly tormented the country, which already fauored of the succeeding ruine. For, at Easter, the fourth day of vnleauened bread, a Romain Souldier kept a garrison about the Temple; vnreuerently shewed his base backe-part to the people, they being dutifullly busied in the seruice of God.

The *Jewes* not a little moued at this iniurie, gaue very bitter speeches against the Gouernour *Cumanus*, because hee did not punish this wicked act of the Souldiour.

Cumanus taking in disdayne their bold words, and fearing some violence by the malicious multitude: sodainly (but very secretly) summoned his armed Legi-
ons and horsemen together, who discou-
uering themselves before they could be
suspected; made such an affright among
the vnarmed popularity, that they fled a-
way so confusedly crowding, that more
then twenty thousand men and women,
were trodden and crushed to death in the
Streets and other places, to the great
and grieuous lamentation of all the peo-
ple.

Another tumult also followed soone
after, the issue whereof was not yet so
pitifull. For some theuing *Jewes*, had
(vpon the highway) shrewdly beaten and
wounded one *Stephen*, a seruant to the
Emperour *Claudius*, stripping him out of
all that he had about him.

Cumanus heereat highly offended,
and not finding them that had done the
deed; tooke all the neighbouring parts,
where the fault was committed: Which
being done, a Souldiour finding a Booke
in his booty, which contained the writings
of *Moses* and the Prophets, made a pub-

like shew thereof in derision, & after tore
it to peeces, in presence of the chieftest
Jewes. Sodainly a great multitude of the
Jewes ranne (by troups) to *Cesarea* (where
then was the ordinary abiding of the Ro-
maine Gouvernours) and required, that ius-
tice might be inflicted vpon him for this
wicked act: whom if *Cumanus* (by the per-
suasion of some) had not beheaded, to
satisfie the enraged peoples anger; this
tumult could not haue bene appeased,
without very great effusion of blood.

Afterward, some of the *Gabulens* ascen-
ding vpp to *Ierusalem* to the Feast, were
slaine by the *Samaritanes*; which was the
cause of many murthers committed on
both sides. For, eyther part being en-
couraged to reuenge, ranne into fresh in-
juries, by way of robberies, putting to fire
and sword all they met withall. But, be-
cause *Cumanus* (corrupted with money)
did not repress those theueueries done by
neighbour-on neighbour. *Quarrecus*, Pre-
sident of *Syria*, was called thither by the
contrary side, who (hauing receiued in-
formation of the fact, and executed the
authorits of the mutinies) sent *Cumanus*
to *Rome*, to render a reason for the Pro-
uinee committed to his charge. He being
convicted of auarice and crueltye, was
sent into exile by *Claudius*, & in his place,
was appointed gouernor of *Iudea* and *Sa-
maria*, *Claudius Felix*, brother to *Pallas*,
who (long time before) was sent into *Pa-
lestine*, to gouerne the Tetrarchy of *Ph-
lip*, as is affirmed by *Cornelius Tacitus*.

Almost at the same time, that is to say,
in the twelfth yeare of his Empire, *Cla-
udius* gaue to King *Agrippa* the Tetrarchy
of *Phillip* (being destitute of a Gouernor)
which contained *Trachonitis* and *Batanea*,
giuing him also *Abella*, the Tetrarchy of
Byzantium. Then he gaue to his vnckle pa-
ternal *Aristobolus* (brother to the first
Agrippa, and *Herode of Chalcis*) the king-
dome of *Chalcis*.

After these assayres thus passed ouer,
the condition and estate of the *Jewes* grew
worfe and worfe; and now beganne the
gouernement of *Felix*, who being re-
prooued by *Ionathas* the High-priest, for
his rapines and other wicked actions by
him perfourmed, and yet not daring to
depole him from the Sacerdotal digni-
tie, because hee stood in feare of the
people: suborned diuerse *Ruffians*, who

Diuers Gali-
leans slaine by
the Samaritanes

Cumanus
sent to Rome
by Quarrecus,
after whom
succeeded Fe-
lix.

The libell
bountie of
the Emperour
Claudius to
K Agrippa.

Ionathas the
high-Priest
reproued the
rapines of Fe-
lix, and was
secretly mur-
dered.

(entring into *Ierusalem* at the feast with the multitude) slew so secretly the High-Priest *Jonathas*, and others marked for the same purpose with him; as very easily they were concealed in the troupes.

This attempt speeding so well as the Ruffians could desire, fell out to bee the occasion, that (at every feast) they made a market or merchandise, of killing the honestest of the people: sometimes being hired there-to by other, sometimes out of their owne spleene and mallice. So that every man stood in feare, because no one knew how to secure himselfe; audacious boldnesse dreading no punishment, in regard of the Governours carelessse negligence.

Troupes of theeves ranne every where making spoile, though many were apprehended by *Felix*, and executed: yet wickednesse had taken such deep roote, onely through neglect in the precedent Governours, as it could no way be holpen; no, not by the greatest severity of iustice. And the worst of all was, that these theeueries were maintayned by the High-priests authority: amongst whom, such as were best stored with money, kept bands of desperate villaines about them, by whose meanes they oppressed such as they pleased, laying close ambushes to kill and murder them.

In the thirteenth yeare of *Claudius* his Empire, *Paul* the Apostle was taken in *Ierusalem*, and being led thence to *Casarea*: pleaded his cause before *Felix* and *Drusilla*, as *S. Luke* declareth in the foure and twentieth of the *Actes*. Afterward, *Felix* called for him diuers times, and heard him answer for himselfe, hoping that *Paul* would redeeme himselfe by money. But after hee had kept him two whole yeares in prison; at his departing from *Iudea*, hee left him there, to please the Iewes.

Claudius died in the foureteenth yeare of his Empire, and *Nero* (at the beginning of his government) encreased the authority of *Agrippa*, adding thereto part of *Galilee*, with the Cities of *Tyberias*, *Tarichea* and *Iulada*. Forthwith he sent *Porcius Festus* into *Iudea*, calling home *Felix*, whom they of *Casarea* followed, and accused him of cruelty, rapines and other vniuſt dealing, but he escaped by the cunning of his brother *Pallas*. So soone as

Porcius Festus was arrived in *Iudea*, hee gaue audience (at *Casarea*) to *Paul* and the Iewes his accusers: and as he intended to send *Paul* to *Ierusalem*, he (feareing the ambushes of the Iewes) appealed to the Emperour *Nero*.

Some few dayes after, *Agrippa* went to *Casarea* with his sister *Berenice*, onely to salute the new governor: which sister (after the death of her husband *Chalcus*) liued so familiarly with her brother, that there was great suspition of incestuous acquaintance. *Paul* was brought before them to pleade his cause, and (in a wel couched oration) so approved his innocence; that, according to the Kings owne opinion, he might haue gone at liberty, if hee had not appealed to *Casarea*. Not long it was, but *Paul* was sent (with other prisoners) to *Rome*, in the first yeare of *Neroes* Empire, as is auouched.

Agrippa returning to *Ierusalem*, offended the Priests very grievously, by a building erected in the Pallace royall, and somewhat neare to the Temple: for hee could thence discerne, whatsoever the Priests did in the inward parts, and when they loytered in the sacrifices and diuine Seruice. The Priests holding this action vnlawfull, erected a wall (on the Temple side) of the like height; whereby *Agrippa* was not onely hindered from seeing the Temple, but also a great part of the City. The King insisted, that the wall should be beaten downe; but the Priests so preuailed (by means made to *Poppa* the Emperours wife) that *Nero* allowed the wall to remaine as it did.

Heereat *Agrippa* being exceedingly offended, deposed *Ioseph* the foueraigne Sacrificer, placing *Ananias* in his roome, who was of the Saduces Sect, a man very bolde and cruell. He (*Festus* dying in *Iudea*, and *Albinus* his successour staying somewhat long ere he came) tooke occasion to exercise cruelty against many worthy persons; especially against *James* the sonne of *Ioseph*, brother to our Lord Iesus Christ by an other mother, a man (in the iudgement of all them dwelling in *Ierusalem*) excelling in innocence of life and pietie, who was throwne down headlong from the highest wall of the temple; and (by command of the said *Ananias*) ouerwhelmd with stones, about threescore yeares after the birth of Christ.

For

Actes 24. 11
Paul appeared
to audience
before Cels

Paul pleads
before Felix
Agrippa and
Berenice.

A contention
betweene A.
grippa & the
Iacobsing
Priests about
a building.

Ioseph the
high Priest
deposed, and
Ananias ex-
talled.

Ananias con-
fessed James to
be murdered.

For this wicked deed, he was accused before *Agrippa*, who feared the Roman Emperour, named *Albinus*, now neere approaching; and also stood in feare of the peoples fury: wherefore *Ananias* was dismissed from his Office, exercised by him but three monthes onely. And yet he ceased not to commit great cruelties, against them that were of his owne condition. For, in regard of his great power, hee had many Theeves (kept at his charges) of whom he made vie to murder his enemies priuily. Beside, hee made them breake into the Garners of corne, to steal the Tythes therein enclosed: which beeing often done without any punishment, was the cause of starving to death manie of the poore Priests.

Albinus being overcome with insatiable courtoisnesse, cared for nothing else but onely to get wealth together, by any vile meanes whatsoever: wherefore, such of the Priests as gaue him Gold, hee winched at all their wickednesse, and permitted Theeves to doe what they listed, if their kindred or friends would redeeme them with money. By which meanes, in short time, all *Iudea* was full of Theeves, all things turned topsie turvy, no Iustice exercised in any place: and there was no acte so horrid or execrable, but it might quickly be pardoned for money.

Gestius Florus was sent as successor to this Horfe-leech, who farre exceeded the rapines of *Albinus*, by insinipit other wicked courses; so that the Iews reputed *Albinus* a Saint vnto this other. For *Florus* proceeded not couerly, nor after the cunning manner of his predecessour: but by open violence, scorning, stealing, rudely taking, and doing whatsoever he pleased; for will onely was a Law to him. And surely it seemed, that he was meely sent by destiny to the Iewes, so to irritate them by open iniuries, and blinde them from all desire of reuenge, as finally to be their vtter ruine. For, the whole country being ouer-runne with Theeves, and the people growne desperately desirous of warre; had a hope of some other Dominion, groaning vnder the tyrannical Roman rule, and (in insatiable zeale) were perswaded to recover their liberty.

In brecfe, the time was come, which Christ and the Prophets had foretolde, concerning the destruction of the whole

Priesthood, and policy ordained by *Moses* and diuine authority: considering, that the Messias had already bene sent, for the loue of whom, both the Priesthood and policy had bin (till that time) diuinely preferred. Wherefore, vnder *Gestius Florus*, threescore yeeres after the Natiuity of Christ, five and thirty yeeres after hee was crucified and risen againe, the twelfth of *Neroes* Empire, the founteenth of this *Agrippa* now in question; and three yeares before *Paul* was put to death by *Nero*: the warre began to waxe tempestuous, because the Iewes reuolted from the Roman Empire, and entred into mutiny against *Casarea*.

Florus could easily haue quenched this warre in the beginning; but that hee rather affected, to nourish and feede the flame newly kindled, by provoking the Iewes dayly more and more, still adding iniury vpon iniury: vntill the fire slewe fourth both farre and neere, that finally, it wrought the destruction of all *Iudea*.

At the beginning of this reuolt, *Agrippa* labored very seriously, to stay the Iews from this furious desire of warre, and to regaine peace and tranquillity, by requiring pardon of the Romanes for their offence, which they might haue obtayned on meane conditions, in regard it was very euident, that they had some iust causes of rebelling, by the outrages done vnto them by *Florus*. But he came so short of their expectation, they hating nothing more, then to heare of peace or equity (as very hardly) he escaped theyr violence. Perceiuing then the Nation so enraged for fight, & (like men blindfolded) throwing themselves impetuously into perdition; he retired from their furious enterprize, and sent ayde to *Vespasian* in *Iudea*, to tame the head-strong course of those Rebelles, foreseeing already in his soule, the sad ruine of all the Iewish people.

Heere I could weaue vp the sagge-end of this History, with report of the Iewish warre, which *Iosephus* and other authors haue described; but that my heart vill not serue me, to discourse those strange & miserable ouerthrows, which (in their pitifull events) did exceed humane beleefe. For no History is found of any nation whatsoever, that was so long time

shut

Mens liues
bought and
sold as rans-
oms; with-
out any pu-
nishment.

The misera-
ble affliction
of the Iewes,
noway to be
redressed.

Paul impris-
oned, pleads
before Felix
and Drusilla.
Actes 24. 24.

The death of
Claudius and
reigne of
Nero.

Porcius Fe-
stus sent to
gouern Iudea

Florus a bloody
desire of
the vtter ruin
of the Iewish
Nation.

Agrippa labo-
red to recon-
cile the Iewes
to the Romanes.

The lamenta-
ble horror of
the warre be-
tweene the
Iewes and the
Romanes.

The time fore-
prophesied of
the destruction
of Ierusalem,
was now fully
come to passe

The Lewes re-
solved in the
15. year of
Nero the em-
peror.

The misera-
ble estate of
Ierusalem, fix
whole yeeres
together.

Bands of par-
tiality and fa-
ctions in Ie-
rusalem.

The richest
Citizens in
most wofull
peplexity.

Such matters
as they ac-
counted in
their malice
to be Treason
& conspiring
with the Ro-
mans.

shut vp from all succour, wofully tormen-
ted, and finally (wholly confounded, with
numberlesse calamities) almost altoget-
her quite raced out, and destroyed. For
after that the Lewes were reuolted in the
twelfth year (as is affirmed) of *Nero*, the
army of the Romanes neuer ceased for six
whole yeeres together, cruelly to raiage
the country of *Iudea*, because from time
to time, the Lewes (by their inuincible
obstinacy) prouoked the victorious fold-
ers to such tyrannies, as the like were ne-
uer heard of.

But though I spare to relate the deua-
station of the whole country: who can
conceiue (with true iudgement) but the
miseries of the City *Ierusalem* it selfe?
Which, before it beheld the *Romane* ene-
my, for the space of sixe whole yeeres, felt
(within it selfe) farre more cruell dome-
sticke aduersaries: as beeing diuided and
torn in peeces, by Sects, Factions, and
Seditious of Theeues, fighting amongst
themselves (when they had none else to
quarrell withall) for rapines, murders,
and other mischeefe, every Faction think-
ing to support it selfe, by dooing iniurie
vnto it selfe, and surmounting one ano-
ther in number, and manner of nouel vil-
lanies and extremity.

Furie grew on to such horrid perfe-
ction, that if any Man or woman were
esteemed holy, religious, and modest:
these were arguments sufficient, to yeld
a pregnant reason for their death; and
the goodes of the richest Citizens,
must be brought forth, and layde be-
fore their doores, while the Faction
fought who should enioy them. To kill
people of meane or simple condition,
was but to ridde them out of the turbu-
lent crowdes, for they were esteemed
but as a charge to the City, and hinde-
red the way when the siege should be-
ginne: for this they accounted their wis-
est course, and best meanes, to abide a
long lingering siege.

If any man durst but speake a word,
or expresse by any apparant signe, that
hee disliked the present License vnto all
Villanies, it was presently termed Treas-
on, and flatte conspiracy with the Ro-
manes; yea, it was a sinne deserting
terrible punishment. And as great an
offence it was, to mourne or lament for
Parents or Friends, being slaine or mur-

thered in these vprores.

To prophane the verie holiest part
of the Temple, with Rapes, Murthers,
and Massacres; they sayde, it was fighting
in defence of the Temple, and for the
Religion of the country. To beare a-
way violently the riches out of the Tem-
ples Treasure, and to waste them in all
Villanie and abominable excefse: this
was teamed, borrowing money, where-
with to defend the seruice ordained by
G O D. And vpon paine of death, no
man durst flye, or get him gone, from
these horrible, diuellish, and dangerous
courses.

Moreover, such as dwelt in the Citie,
beheld (beside these publike miseries)
their owne bodies, their wiues, children,
and goods, exposed to the violent & vn-
bridled attempts of those mercilesse Vil-
lanes. In breefe, there could not be
thought or deuised any iniury or oppro-
brious behaviour, which the miserable
Lewes might feare or expect from the E-
nemy, but they first made triall thereof
vpon themselves, vsing no resistance at all
against it. Wherefore, the coming of the
enemies army was no way dreadful vnto
them, but rather gladly desired; and euen
but as a sollection, or rather a recreation
(when the City was sharply assailed) the
seditious factions were enforced to ioyne
their forces, for repulsing the enemy, and
to breath awhile, from their owne dome-
sticke theeneries and warres.

The last six moneths of this warre, af-
ter that the City was round engirt with
enemies, and themselves had piled, pol-
led, and miserably spoyled all that they
could by their intestine robberies: they
began to feele a famine in the heighth of
extremity, which was accompanied like-
wise with so greuous a Pestilence, that in
the time of the siege, above eleauen
hundred thousand men died by the plague
and famine. During this war also, great
multitudes were daily murdered within the
wals, by the iynituous and rebellious fac-
tionists: & in the assaults, surprizals, and
sacking of the city, many millions of peo-
ple lost their liues. Also in the war time,
there were taken 97000. persons, who
were partly sold as slaues, and partly di-
stributed to rounde neighbouring great
Citties, there to bee giuen and deuoured
by wilde beasts, in publike Playes,

Calamities of
the Lewes such,
as Iudas any
nation was e-
uer subiect to.

Men forced
to vicary ri-
olence vpon
themselves.

Pestilence &
famine in all
extremity,
whereof thirtie
died, 150000.

Ninety seven
thousand sold
as slaues, and
discouraged by
brutish beasts

and fantastick spectacles. Some other
were compelled to fight as Fencers in the
Theaters, with the like fury as hostile e-
nemies: and some were sent into *Morea*
(by huge troopes) to cut out a Channell
betweene the *Egyptians* and *Ionian* seas.

By these pittifull examples of Gods
heauy wrath, against the contemnners of
his Sonne Christ, and the doctrine Euan-
gellicall; almost all this nation was vter-
ly exterminated. Happning by the Diuine
permission, that at the Feast of vnleau-
ened bread, when the Lewes were wont to
meete at *Ierusalem*, from the farthest parts
of all *Iudea*, the City should be thus be-
siedged, and all the desperate Robbers,
Theeues, & Ruffians, disperfed through-
out the whole Regions, should (euen
then) be retyred to *Ierusalem* to shelter
themselves in her fortifications.

After that *Pespassian* (for about the
space of five yeeres) had first of all subdu-
ed well-neere all *Iudea*, conquering ma-
ny strongly munit Cities, yea, destroy-
ing and burning them, onely through the
wilfull obstinacie of the inhabitants; in
the last halfe yeare, *Titus* brought his Ar-
my to the City of *Ierusalem*, and there
planted his sledge, in the second yeare of
the Emperor his Father; and the sledge
continued for the space of fixe moneths,
which *Iosephus* teameth by *Macedonian*
names.

<i>Xantiqua.</i>	} which in our	April.
<i>Artemision.</i>		May.
<i>Dention.</i>		June.
<i>Panemon.</i>		July.
<i>Loion.</i>		August.
<i>Gorpiation.</i>	led:	September

The names of
the six moneths
wherein Ieru-
salem was be-
siedged.

CHAP. XXII.

A breefe Collection, of the principall Acci-
dents which happened in the time of the
siege.

The beginning
of the siege.



He fourth day of the first
moneth, *Xantiqua* (which
is April with vs) the Citie
of *Ierusalem* was besiedged,
nere to the feast of Easter.

The two and twentieth day after, *Titus*
essayng (in vaine) to haue it yielded, rai-
sed his bulwarkes, and prepared his En-
gines to batter the City.

The fteenth day of *Artemision*, which
is May, *Bazetha* (that is to say, the new ci-
ty, the first wall being taken) which was a
part of the City beyond the Temple to-
wards *Bisla*, newly annexed, and enuiro-
ned with walles by the first *Agrippa* was
seized on by the Romanes.

The twelfth day of the said month, the
second wall was taken, and yet the same
day it was recovered againe.

The sixteenth day, the Romanes ha-
uing taken the other wall again the second
time, enioyed the base or lower part of
the City, which the Lewes called *Acra*, &
was seated beneath on a little hill.

The one and twenty day, two parts of
the City were lost, when the Lewes (be-
ing graciously entreated by *Titus*) did dai-
ned to embrace peace. Then the Souldi-
ers began to mount their scaladoes, nere
to the Towre called *Antonia*, ioyning to
the third wall, where their Ensignes and
Bulwarkes being raised in twelue dayes,
they were againe as quickly burned by
the Lewes.

All the whole moneth of *Dention*, the
which answereth to that of Iune, the Ro-
manes were seriously busied, in engirting
the whole City with a Wall, to hinder
the bringing of victualles to the Lewes,
and also to bereaue them from all means
of fight.

The first day of *Panemon*, which refer-
eth it selfe to our Iuly, *Titus* taking com-
passion on the people, whom he knew to
dye by the extremity of the Famine and
Pestilence, onely through the obstinacie
of some among them; being desirous to
deliuer them without long delay, he ere-
cted new Terrasses vp aloft, and began to
batter the third wall, called *Antonia*, verie
difficult to be surprized. This *Antonia*,
was a most magnificent building, and ve-
ry strongly munit nere to the Temple,
four square in forme, and carrying the
greatness of a very large Castle. *Herod*
the Great had builded it, in fauour of the
Soueraigne Sacrificers, and gaue it the
name of *Marke Anthony* the Triumire.
Within that goodly Monument the Orna-
ments belonging to the High-Priests
were continually kept.

Preparation
for battay.

The taking of
the first wall
by the Romanes

The 2. wall, &
another part of
the city taken

Two parts of
the City lost.

A wall built
round about
the City.

Battery play-
ing on *Antonia*
the thirde
wall.

Herode the
Great builded
this *Antonia*.

The

The Antonia
wonne.

The sixth day, the *Antonia* was wonne, because the walls fell downe of themselves, on that side where the Iewes hadde vndermined, to get forth of the Citie, with intent to burne the enemies rampiers.

The eight day of *Loion*, which is the moneth of August, after that the Iewes had beene many times exhorted, to desire peace of so gracious a Conquerour; after they had repulsed his often Ambassages by base injuries, and wicked abuses: the Temple was forcibly taken, being a worke well worthy of admiration. And (contrary to the Edi& of *Titus*) it was set on fire by the offended Souldiers. So that it burned the very same day, when as (six hundred, three score, and nineteen yeares before past) it was burned by *Nabuchodonosor*, Colonell of the *Chaldeans*.

The surprizing
and burning
of the Temple.The batterie
of the City of
David.

The twentieth day, was the batterie of the high Towne (called the City of *David*) begunne: after that the Iewes (once more admonished to lay downe Armes) refused peace, being gently offered vnto them.

The seuenth day of *Gorsipion*, which is our September, the high part of the City was taken: the Fortresse whereof was the Temple, as the *Antonia* was Bulwarke to the Temple.

The high town
taken.All the Citie
burnt.

The eight day, all the City of *Ierusalem*, (pill'd & rancked before) was conuerted all into ashes.

The foure and twentieth day of October, *Titus* celebrating the birth-day of his brother *Domitian* in *Casarea* (a Citie on the Sea-coast) had Playes there of sundry kindes: wherein were brought forth three thousand Iewes captiues; some of them being deuoured by beasts, the rest killing one another, fencing and fighting each against another.

The Natiuity
of Domitian
celebrated by
Titus, with
the death of
3000. Iewes.Titus honou-
red his fathers
birth day.

The seuenth day of Nouember, *Titus* went to *Berytha*, a City in *Syria*, where he celebrated the Natiuity of his Father *Vespasian*, & where (in sports & pastimes presented before the Romans and Grecians) a great number of captiue Iewes, were some trodden to death, others hackt, hewed and torne in peeces.

The cheefe
reason why
the Author
made the col-
lection of
these histories

I haue collected this small discourse, concerning the wofull consummation of this City, which sometime was the principall seat of Gods people, and of his diuine Doctrine: from the eight yeare of

King *Dauids* reigne, vntill the finall destruction, being eluen hundred, thirtie and seuen yeares. The due Obseruation whereof, may serue to testify the mighty anger of God, against the despisers of his Sonne, and of his word in him reuealed; exampling vs, from falling into the like calamities, either by a violent appetite of oppressing the true Doctrine, or to darken & obscure it by false interpretations, or (vnterly contemning it) by wandering into euery wickednesse.

Now I returne againe to *Agrippa*, who (according as hath bene sayde) detesting the furious madnesse of his Nation, and evidently fore-seeing their wofull ruine sent ayde to *Vespasian*, making VV arre against the Iewes, and by that means partly saued his owne Countries, from the lamentable spoile happening in this warre. *Nero* being dead, and *Galba* chosen Emperour, he proiected a iourney to *Rome*, with *Titus* the sonne of *Vespasian*, to entreate the confirmation in his kingdom by the new made Emperour. But contrary winds intercepting them, they could not compasse what was intended: but receyued tidings neere vnto *Achisia*, of *Galbas* death: which was the reason, that *Titus* returned towards *Syria*, *Agrippa* holding on his course for *Rome*. But *Italy* being embraced with ciuill warre, because *Otho* (successor to *Galba*) being slaine, and *Vitellius* presuming to the Empire, *Agrippa* was very hastily called backe to *Iudea* by Letters, where he assisted *Vespasian* to bee saluted Emperour by his soldiers, and safely to conduct a well provided Armie towards *Italy*, with purpose to encounter the Captaines of *Vitellius*. So he left his sonne *Titus* (with some legions) to beate downe the Iewes, especially them of *Ierusalem*, as hath bin said before.

His returne
backe to the
former habi-
tury of King A.
grippa.The death of
Nero, and the
occasion of
Galba.Agrippas in-
tended iour-
ney to Rome.Vitellius con-
tending Vespasian
for the Emperors
throne.How long Agrippa
reigned, and when he
died.Agrippa, son
and successor
to King Agrippa.

I finde no other matter of *Agrippa*, or any other of the posterity of *Herode the Great*: but onely *Philo*, writing of *Agrippa*, saith: That he reigned seuen and twenty yeares. He dyed then (by *Philo*s account) in the threescore and eighteenth yeare of Christ, the seauenth of *Vespasian*, and the fifth yeare after the destruction of *Ierusalem*.

Philo further saith, that this *Agrippa* had a sonne, named *Agrippa*, who reigned thirty yeares after the death of his father: wherefore he attained to the year an hundred

dred and eight after the death of Christ, and to the eight of *Traiane* the Emperour, which yeare *Philo*, being ouer-spent with yeares, foretold would be the last of his reigne.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of three great and notable Doubts, which the ancient Philosophers knew not how to resolve, and for what cause.

The naturall
illumination
of Ancient
Philosophers.

THE ancient Philosophers, illumined by the gifte of God, made curious search into all things belonging to nature: and verified all their propositions (without contradiction or repugnancy) by other propositions meerly naturall. Notwithstanding, they neuer knew how to resolve three things, verie doubtfull and of importance, neyther could yelde a reason for the causes of their originall.

The first doubt
naturall de-
cline man
to dye.

The first was, that they well knewe a desire giuen to man by nature, that hee would neuer dye, neither feelee any paine or greauance whatsoeuer: but to liue happily in the pleasures of this world, without the want or neede of any thing; and yet hee could neuer attaine to the end thereof. On the other side, hauing made this proposition, that God and Nature neuer did any thing in vaine, & that this appetite in man enliued thence, whereof they coueted to finde the cause; considering beside, that in all other naturall effects the proposition alwayes did verifie it selfe: they were vtterly confounded in infinite perplexities, being neuer able to compasse the end.

The second
doubt, why
liberty
and small
desire
in man to
the
death.

The second was, they said & affirmed naturallly in like manner, that euery man felt in like manner, that euery man felt in like manner, a peruerse carnall inclination, or sensuality, quite contrarie to the former appetite of vnwillingnesse to dye: and yet this carnall lustful desire, causeth a man fall into diuers diseases, which are the abridging of life, yea hasteneth on death, wherto his other appetite is an vtter enemy.

Moreouer, many couet after riches

and pompe; seeking to winne them courageously in the field; where soonest of all they meete with death, or else bear away wounds, maimes, afflictions of mind, & other misfortunes, quite contrary to their desire indeed.

The third doubt proceeded from the order of nature, all inferiour things being gouerned by their superiour: as wee see the elements obedient to the celestiall bodies; the Orbes and Spheres to the mouing intelligence, and all the intelligences to the cheefe of all, which is God loued and desired. Onely in man is this order peruerted; for he being composed of a soule and a body, the flesh which is the vilest part of all other, stands repugnant to reason, yea and to the soull, which is the very noblest part of all: and (which is farre worse) draweth it to the bent of his owne wicked will. And therefore the Apostle saide; *That hee felt a Lawe in his members, repugnant to the law of his thoughts, and attracted him to sin.*

The Philosophers that were before the coming of Christ, neuer knew how to find out the occasion of this disorder: yet making curious search for it, fell into many and sundry errors. Wherefore *Anaxagoras* saide: *This exorbitant irregularity, happened at the beginning of the world, and when all things were confused in the ancient Chaos. For the intellect being separated by discord, and reioyned by concord, all things were created good, and well ordered in their kinde: onely man excepted, whose flesh hee saw to be ill disposed, and disagreeing with the reasonable soule. And therefore, euen as in that Chaos these two things were discordant: so in like manner afterward, they still continued repugnant, contrary to the rule & order of all other things in the world.* In this manner, this poore Philosopher imputed the blame of all, to the diuine intellect, which is God himselfe.

Others saide: *That this proceeded from the celestiall constellations, vnder the which man is engendered, and receiueth birth.* For *Aristotle* durst neuer bee so bolde, as (openly) to yelde a resolution of this doubtfull difficulty; but seemed (as it were) to contradict himselfe sometimes, saying; *Sensuality is naturallly inclined to evil, howbeit (with great difficulty) it may sometimes be ruled or tamed by the moral vertues.* And in another place he saith, *That the felicitie*

The doubt,
they meet
with death
order in the
body of man.The first is
the most no-
ble part of all
other in man.The opinion
of Anaxagoras,
concerning
the discordance
of things in
the Chaos.The iudgement
of some
other Philo-
sophers, and
Aristotle him-
selfe.

licity which is atcheued by the vertues morall, is the gift of God. By consequence then those morall vertues, in whose operation the happinesse of man doth consist; must be the gift of GOD, and no way naturall.

Contrarywise, the Manichees, desirous to render a reason for this peruerse disorder, saide : *That there were two soules in man, the one good, made of the substance of the Prince of Light; and the other badde, made of the substance of the Prince of darkness, and these do cause this continuall combat in man.*

Origens afterward saide; *That before the creation of the world, all things were conferred in Heauen which sinned against God: by therefore (as a punishment) they were disposed into ill complexioned bodies, and from thence ensued this controuersie in man.*

All these detestable opinions were confuted by Saint *Augustine*, writing against the Manichees; where, by long & pregnant reasons, hee proueth the occasion of the fibuerion of this order; and that because they had no vnderstanding in the sacred Scriptures, they vterly lost that light. For in them is declared to vs, the full resolution of these doubts, and there may plainly be discerned, that these two propositions are good and true, and both of them in the order of Nature. To wit, that God and nature neuer did anything void of purpose, and that it is very conuenable, that a man (by nature) should not desire to dye, but to leade a happie kinde of life, and yet without power of attaining thereto; nor because he hath this desire giuen him in vaine, for it is truly naturall: but to obtaine the end and effect thereof, is a matter accidental to man, and not naturall.

For it is plain and apparant, that God created man immortal, in such sort, as effectually (according to the very foundest opinion of all Diuines) he could not haue dyed, nor be subiect to any miserie, if hee had obserued his commandement. But having transgressed, hee ought iustly to suffer death, and the miseries of the world; therefore, because he obeyed not his command, he incurred death and all afflictions. So that by the sinne of disobedience (as the Apostle saide) death came into the world. Herby it appeareth the, that death was not (at the first) naturall to

our prime father, neither successively ensuing to vs, but accidental; because it was not the intention of God.

Thus come wee then to resolve this doubt, that desire not to dye, nor endure any paines; is giuen to vs by nature, and not in vaine: because the power was giuen vs to obtaine the effect, but in regard of our disobedience, the desire still remaineth, and cannot be taken from vs. By the selfsame reason is the second doubt answered: for of our felues, by carnall obscenity, and glutinous gourmandize, we purchase death, and make way to this disorder.

In like manner, the third is resolved by *Adams* sinne committed, whereby hee lost the original righteousnesse which God had giuen him, which serued him as a bridle to moderate himselfe by iust order, and so this harmony fell into confusion. For the soule, which ought to govern the body, as beeing the thing most noble and excellent; came afterward to bee governed by the sense, and by the bodye. And so wee see evidently, that this subuersion is no way naturall, but accidental.

By this meanes then, the proposition remaineth firme & true, that those things most worthy and most noble, ought to govern them of lesse noble and inferior quality: which sayleth not, neyther can, as well wee may obserue in the celestially bodies. And if in man it falleth out otherwise, it is by accident of the faulte, deserting this and worse, but not by Nature.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of such Ceremonies as were used by the Romaines, before they moued any warre.



uch as haue read the sacred Ceremonies, and Religious obseruations which were used by the auncient Romaines, as well in matters concerning peace, as attempts and enterprizes of warre: doe not make any wonderment at all of the great Victories

These doubts resolved.

Answer to the second.

Resolution of the third.

The confuts of the first concerning harmony.

Attempt of Origens, to proueth the soules in man.

The Manichees maintained a man to haue two soules.

Origens conceit of this irregularitie in man.

Aug. in lib. 1. De duob. eum. Et in lib. 2. de Nat. boni.

Both the propositions appeared to be good and true

God created man immortal, and not to dye.

Death not naturall to our first father, nor successefull to vs.

by them obtained, against so many furious people, and most potent nations. On the contrary also, they maruell not at the decadence of that Empire, which began, when they began to equisume those Ceremonies and religion. For we may obserue by infinit histories, full of examples, that so long as they were best obedient to religion; their Common-weales prospered so much the more happily, & the enterprizes of their Captaines fell out then successively. As was well noted in *Pompey*, *Brennus*, and infinite other, who albeit they were idolaters, and neuer knew the true God: yet it seemed (neuertheless) that by certain meanes of terrestrial distribution, God fauoured them that were religious. And it might be perhaps to this end, that like as the people were, then zealous in a religion, whereof they had neither foundation, or any perfect beleefe; they would (by far stronger reason), bee good obseruers of the true faith, if it had bin reuealed to them, as now it is vnto vs. The effects then make it euident, that heauen neuer left them, without some apparance of good prosperity, & fortunat success in their temporal affaires.

The Ceremonies which the auncient Romaines obserued in times of warre, or peace, were many and diuers; wherein I must needs be silent, because the relating of them all, would require more time than I am allowed; and it might offend to speak of some, and not of other. My intent therefore is, to make relation of such only; and especially by them obserued, before war was moued against any Prouince. To the end, that moderne Princes may perceiue, how farre out of the way they wander, in attempting war inconsiderately, & making no consultation first to GOD: wherein (if they iudge rightly) they may conceiue, that ill success happeneth to them by no other occasion, they living in Religion so farre inferior to Ethnickes and Idolaters.

When newes came to *Rome*, concerning the rebellion of some Prouince, or of any trouble giuen by some barbarous Prince to their countries, or to any of their confederates: they sent ambassadors to him, by whom the Senate gaue to vnderstand, that they would know, in what manner the wrong receiued should be repaired, with refraining from offering the

like afterward, wherein finding obstinacy then war was intimated. The Senate hauing created a Captain for this expedition, called the Sacrificers, who were commanded to invoke the Gods with their prayers for the Romans; neuer went forth to shed the blood of their enemies, vntill the Priests had first wept, and made their solemn prayers in the Temples. Afterward, the Senate being assembled, went to the temple of *Iupiter*, where they swore a most solemn oath. *That at all times when the enemy (against whom the instant warre was published) would require a new consideration with them, or desire pardon for the offence, past & present, should neuer be denied him.* This being done, the Consul (elected for the enterprize) went to the Capitole, and there made a solemn vow, to such one of the Gods, in whom hee reported confidence, to offer some singular thing vnto him, if he returned home victorious from the warre. And were the offering of it neuer so great a value, yet the people tooke obliged to pay it. Then the banner of the Eagle, being the ancient ensigne of the Romans, was brought forth into *Campus Martius*, which they did, to let the people vnderstand, that in *Rome* there might no feast be celebrated, so long as their fellow Citizens and kindred were in warre; & so bringing out the ensignes, delivered them to their feuerall Captains. But first, a Prætor mounted on the gate called *Salutis*, causing a Trumpet there to sound, while the soldiers received their pay. Whereby may be gathered, that they sturd not their armies at any time, till they had first appeased and honored their Gods, and likewise made their orisons for the prosperitie of their Captains, and vertuous carriage to their enemies in conquering them. For, if their Consuls (appointed for war) in conquering any Prouince or city, made not euident testimony, as well of their vertue as valor, they were greediously punished by the Senat. Hereof we haue many examples, but two only shall serue my turn: the one for vsing vertue in his campe; the other, for due punishment inflicted vpon him, who (being victorious) soiled his reputation in base manner. *Fabritius*, being endampned with his army of Romanes before *Fidena*, a Schoollmaster of the Citie came forth with the Sonnes of diuers principall Citizens, as intending to gratific

The Senates going to the temple of Iupiter, & their Oath there taken.

The Consuls vow made in the Capitole.

The Ensigne of the Eagles, delivered to the Consul in Campus Martius.

The other ensignes giuen to their captains

The honorable act of Fabritius vpon a disloyal and treacherous schoolmaster.

tific the Consull with them, and so presented them vnto him. The Consull (albeit hee might haue detain'd them, and thereby haue made himselfe Lord of the Cittie) not onely refused to accept them: but stripping the Schoolemaister naked, and binding his hands, hee gaue a Rod to euery Scholler, and so sent them (whipping him) backe to their fathers. This benignitie tooke such preuayling power in the foules of the Citizens; that they yielded themselves instantly to the *Romaines*.

The other was thus. In the yeare of *Romes* foundation, 318. warre was deliberated by the Senate and Consules, against the *Sarmates*; and other people inhabiting by the Mountaine *Caucasus*, which (according to Cosmographers) deuiding *Asia* in the middest, terminateth *Syria* on the one side, and finissheth *India* on the other; where, by extremitie of cold, the Vine hath no ability to grow. *Lucius Pius* was created Consull, and appointed for this expedition; where, waging cruell warre against them: Fortune was one while fauourable to him, & then againe frowning. But in the time of a truce concluded betwene them, *Lucius* very friendly entertained the *Sarmates* Captaines, and hauing diuers times banquetted them, perceiuing that they were

lickerously affected to wine, because it was a rarity among them; at last he made them a bountifull feast; wherein he fitted them with great plenty of wine; that they (in drunken loue to him) yielded the whole Prouince tributary to the Roman people. The warres so concluding, & the Consull being returned to *Rome*, hee demanded Triumphes; which not only was denied him by the Senate; but also his forme of victory so abhorred by the people, that they did put him to death, and for his greater defamation, engraued an Epitaph on his Tombe, speaking in this manner.

The Epitaph appointed by the Romaines, to be engrauen on the Tombe of

Lucius Pius.

Here lieth the Consull *Lucius Pius*, who, not by Armes in the fildes, but by carowing at his Table; not by the Lance, but plenty of wine, conquered the *Sarmates*.

And yet the Senate, not satisfied with this his disgrace, caused publicly to bee proclaimed throughout *Rome*, that all (whatsoever) had bene wonne in the *Romaine* peoples name, by *Lucius Pius*, should be accounted as nothing. And wrote (moreouer) to the *Sarmates*; that they denied any Conquest of them; but referred them vnto their former priuiledge and liberty.

Wine brooke that to pade, which warre had nor the power to do.

An Epitaph fit for a quelling Conqueror.

Lib. 1.

Concerning the Country of *Luca*.

The situation, compass, and number of the people, and their chiefest trading in silkes.

The working of Cloth of gold & silke.



THE SEVENTH BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Of the Gouvernement and Administration of Justice obserued in the Commonwealth of Luca.



Luca is a noble Cittie (seated in the Country of *Tuscany*) so called of *Lucomenus*, King of the *Tuscanes*. *Strabo* saith, that *Luca* is a Citie neare to the mountaines of *Luna* (and nowadayes the Country is called *Lunigiana*) and that the Region yeeldeth very woorthy men, apt and able in valour for Armes: there being a multitude of knights, from whom the Senate receiued the Military order.

But because we are to discourse of our times, I say, that *Luca* is now found to be about two miles in circuite, seated singularly, and in a good place. It containeth about foure and thirty thousand persons within the walles; and there are rich families, because the men of this Citie do trafficke greatly in merchandise, and especially in matters of Silkes: for which (amongest all Christians) they haue no meane name. In the time of *Castruccio Castracani* (who was of the *Interminelli*) he became Lord thereof, there being a diuision of many families, that would not obey a Tyrant; they vied the Arte of making silke together, deriuing great wealth from diuers parts of *Italie*. They brought also into *Florence*, the Artes of making cloth of golde and silke, whereby they attained to inestimable riches. The men are (naturally) very courteous and modest, not niggardly, but bountifull, and therefore prosperitie commeth the more freely vpon them. The *Luacan* tongue in *Tuscany*, is held to be very sweete and pure,

because they haue no meddling with noyous accents, which are common to all other cities of the Prouince. This so small a cittie, hath a long time maintained it selfe in freedome, and so still doth, with good and substantiall orders.

The Councell.

Her maine foundation (as it is in all other Common-wealths) consisteth of the Councell; because on them depend, and from them are deriued all the other Magistrates, that are members of a bodie so well ordered. These Councellers do discourse on the State occasions, and are (indeede) Fathers of that Common-wealth. It is compounded of three kinds of persons, because some are ordinarily of the Councell, and they continue a whole yeare. Some others are invited *ad bene placitum*, and are not ordinary. Some others are subrogated in the place of such as die, and so endure for a full yeare. This Councell consisteth of an hundred and three score Citizens, but ordinarily are in number an hundred and twentie.

The Signoria.

The City of *Luca* is diuided into three parts, which (there) they vse to tearme *Terzieri*: The one is of *S. Saluadore*, the second of *S. Pauline*, and the third of *S. Martine*. The Councell doe elect the Signorie from the three forenamed *Terzieri*, that is, for euery *Terziero* they create three men, which are nine in full number. Beside these, they elect the *Gonfaloniere*, who is the head, or chiefe of the Common-wealth, & (for examples sake) he is first elected from the *Terziero* of *S. Saluadore*; next from that of *Saint Pauline*; and the third time from that of *Saint Martine*: and the *Terzieri* being once so gone ouer, the *Gonfaloniere* returneth

The Language is sweete and delicate.

The power for creating all other Magistrates.

Three severall degrees of Councellers.

Three diuisions of *S. Saluadore*, *S. Pauline*, and *S. Martine*.

Some hold this Office to be the cheefest Standard-bearer.

The end of the sixt Booke.



for election to S. *Sanjur*, and so successively (each after other) according to the foresaid order.

By these men, and by the *Gonsaloniere* living abroad, other are to be elected, called *Antiani*, and the election is made in this manner. Three men are chosen, who they teame *Affortitori*, one for each *Terziera*. These, have the charge of counting the Ballots of them that are elected, culling out such as they think fittest, after that the Council have made choise of many men, and then they elect the *Gonsaloniere*. And in making this election, the *Affortitori* sit in Council separately in a place, and accomie the Ballots vntill they come to the number: which being not complete, they reballot them over againe, vntill they be an hundred & eighty in number. And neither such as are slobogated, nor the other balloted, are published to the Council; but only are made knowne to the *Affortitori*. And because no fraud or deceit may ensue by the *Affortitori*, two principall chosen Fryars are of their assistants; one of the order of S. *Dominicke*, and the other of S. *Francis*.

These *Affortitori* have Authority, to bring the men elected to the Magistrates, at such time as they think fitting in several months; and this deputation done by the *Affortitori* (who are the prime men of *Luca*) it is kept by them in secret, & they are sworn not to reueale it. The *Affortitori* created, then they create the *Seignior*, who cannot bee vanquished, if they have two third partes of the Ballots, although the foresaid Ballots are to be seen by none but onely by the *Affortitori*. The charge of the Seignior is to hear (freely) matters of iustice and punishment, being alwaies present in the Palace, & may not depart thence vnder capital penalty: the publike purse payeth their expences.

By this forenamed body of ten, one other officer is chosen, whom they call *Comandatore*, and this new man they make nere vnto them, his gouernment lasting no longer then three daies: in which time he hath liberty and authority to commaund all the other, yea, and the *Gonsaloniere*, & is Patron in euery busines. And although the supplications which com to the Signory, are presented to the *Comandatore*, & if he wil not present them to the college

of the Lordes or Signiors, they remaine with him: yet notwithstanding he cannot dispose of them without the authoritie of the Signior. And if the *Comandatore* propounde the supplications to the Signorie, & there they passe two thirds, the *Gonsaloniere* propones them afterwards in the Council. The authority of the Signorie extendeth vnto strangers, but not ouer the Citizens: and they propound al things, but conclude nothing.

The Secretaries Office.

The Office of the Secretaries (who are three in number) is very important. These men haue authority, onely in matters of sensue to the maiesty of the Commonwealth, being absolute in that case, & are about the *Gonsaloniere*. But true it is, that they can do nothing without the *Gonsaloniere*; and before they conclude any action, they must tender the cause vnto the Council. Sometime it falleth out, that seeking iudiciously into the matter, they accomplish it, & afterward render a reason for it to the Council, when they haue done it: either, because they could not congregate the Council in the instant, or in regarde the cause necessarily required, to haue such sodaine expedition.

The Council of Conference.

The Colloquie, or Council of Conference, is composed of 18. Citizens, and they are elected by the Council. These men, if the Lordes are doubtfull in any matter, and that the case cannot be easily deliberated: they meet together, and discourse on the cause propounded to the Council, and after they haue discussed it pregnantly, then they determine together, whether it is to bee granted by the Council, or no.

The Council of sixe.

These six men (being of found reputation) haue charge of the expences & profits for common employment. They provide and command all things, which passe in many accounts, and are as Gouernors of the rents and reuenues. They haue also a Chamberlaine, who is the executer of their deliberations. And all these are likewise chosen by the greater Council.

The Rota.

In many Cities of *Italy*, this office is ordinary, consisting of three forraigne Doctors, within the compasse of fiftie miles. One of them hath the Title of *Potestata*, the

the second is Iudge of malefactors; & the third is Iudge in ciuill causes. By turnes they haue their feuerall changes, and euery sixe moneths, one of the Centers as Potestare, being first Iudge of malefactors; and his Office of Potestare being past, hee becommeth Iudge in causes ciuill. So that each one of them is Potestare, Iudge for Malefactours, and Iudge in ciuill occasions, as it comes to his turn. If the Potestare haue (perhaps) a Citizen in his power; he doth no more but forme the Proceesse, and sets downe (in writing) his owne opinion, what is the merite of the delinquent, and so it passeth vnto the Council, who either commend, teare, or temper the opinion and sentence of the Potestare; and then in such a case, the Potestare entrench into the Council. On strangers, the Potestare may absolutely determine, without any other: And in breefe, these three men do also discourse on ciuill matters.

The Marchants Court.

These Officers are nine in number, being elected (by threes) out of the *Terzieraes*. They haue a forraigne Doctor for their Iudge, being their Assistant. They iudge in causes appertaining to merchants; their authority stretching (in the said matters) to blood.

The Office for Store.

In like manner there are nine Officers; & so chosen out of the *Terzieraes*. These men are the providers of Come, that the City may continually be furnished therewith, and they hear all causes concerning the matter. Prouision still being made for euery three yeares, and the Garners diligently respected where the Come is kept, being full supplied, that there may be no want.

Six Commissioners.

And because throughout the whole Countie, certain assemblies are ordained of such persons as are meete to manage armes: for this especiall businesse, and such occasions as may happen in times of warre; these sixe Commissioners haue authority to muster and make ready bids of Souldiers, and all such things as are requisite for them. Whatsoeuer belongeth to this businesse, passeth thorough their power, and their sentence in them carieth allowance.

For Health.

There are likewise three especiall Presidents, for matters concerning the countries health. These Officers do regard, that all the food may be found and good; that all filth and vncleanesse may be sent out of the City, and men employing all diligence, to conserue the people from being offended by any pestiferous accident, or whatsoever annoyance may be preiudiciall to health.

The Council for disobedience.

And because in euery City, there are found too many persons, not enclineable to any goodnesse, but praictising to liue viciously, adding themselves to lewde courses, and are merely opposit to all well instituted rules, for liuing ciuilly, & in good order; therefore the men of *Luca* haue a Council, which they entitle, for disobedience, and inflicting punishment on such (as by their vile example) may be the ruine of a well-policied Commonwealth. And the forme of their discipline (in this case) carieth some correspondence with the *Ostracisme* vsed amongst the *Athenians*; only herein is this difference, that the *Athenians* banished such, whose greatnesse and power grew suspitious to the people, and so sentenced them for ten yeares, whereas here it extended but to rascality onely, and the sentence lasting but three yeares.

The Office for Lodgings.

Eight Gentlemen are appointed to this Office, who haue charge for vnderstanding the affaires of all strangers comming into the City, and what businesse they haue there. All hosts stand bound to giue in writing the names of such Guests, as come from any part abroad, and are not of the City, and those names they must deliuer to these officers. And if perchance some one tell a lye, reporting one thing for another; he is then examined by the strappado, because the truth of his businesse there, ought to be knowne. Such as approue themselves good and honest, being no spies or teachers to the Citie, are kindly entertained, their Lodgings orderly appointed, and their expences well respected.

The Guard.

The Signorie electeth an hundred Souldiours, liuing within fifty miles compasse, to bee as a Guard for the Pallace,

Elders, Counsellors, or Companions.

Account made of the Ballots to their full number, or els reballoted ouer againe.

The authority of the *Affortitori* in bringing the elected persons to the Magistrates.

Their abiding in the Palace.

The power of the *Comandatore*.

For example, a man presenting to the *Comandatore*.

The extent of the Signior's power.

Three Secretaries, and the importance of their authority.

Matter of the Potestares power.

Nine Officers and a forraigne Iudge.

18. Citizens in the Office of Colloquie, & their duty.

Officers for the Citizens plenty of citizens.

As Customers or Receiues of rents, & to accomie the generall vte.

Commissioners for occasions of warre, and their prouision.

The Doctors liuing out of the Citie to visitation.

Presidents appointed for wholesome dyet, and cleane keeping the Citie.

Slothfull Rogues and idle vagabonds.

Banishment giuen for 3. yeares.

A good and prouident care and meete to be vsed in euery well gouerned Citie.

Citizens are the watch and guard for the walled.

Two citizens Commisaries & their charge

Beauty of body is no mean blessing in a Prince.

The saying of Pythagoras, concerning a crooked body

Cicero in Tu. Cal. lib. 1. cap. 7.

and out of this hundred are chosen Captaines and Collonels. These men haue good Wages, if they be called to guard the Wall in the night time: whereas otherwise, the guard for the wals consisteth of Citizens artificers, such as haue wiues and children, and are waged with three Crownes each man euery month. At the gates stand men of the country, and each gate also hath two Citizens Commisaries: one of them being there early in the morning at the gates opening, & so continuing til dinner time; and at his parting commeth the other, who stayeth there til Evening, when the gates are shutte in againe.

CHAP. I I.

What benefite and honor it is to a Prince, to haue a comely bodye, a gracious countenance, and venerable aspect.



NE of the parts (in mine opinion) which maketh the Maiestie of a Prince to be most venerable (speaking of exterior graces) is beautie of body: which wee see to be accompanied with singular grauity, and which yeeldeth argument of wisdom and knowledge.

And although the rule of *Pythagoras* hath often bene noted to faile, affirming, *That in a crooked body there can neuer dwell a right soule* (because we haue seene in an ill shaped body, to reigne diuers choyce vertues) yet that which is most frequent and ordinary, is to see the contrary. And if an honourable aspect and representation, serued to no other end in a Prince, but to encrease his authority and reuerence, yet are they much more dignified, if some signes of vertue and bountie doe beare them company. As on the contrary, they are diminished by ill shape and deformity. For *Cicero* sayeth, *The habitude of vertue is of such efficacie, that it maketh vs to loue him that is possessed therewith.* Euen so, Maiestie in the person of a Prince, hath a veneration meere in it selfe, which attracteth the hearts

of his subiects vnto loue: vrged thereunto (perhappes) by no expresse fantasie, that a Prince ought to be vertuous, and conforme his actions to the beauty of his body.

This reason (it may be) hath induced many barbarous people to iudge, that there was no man capable of a good spirit, to bring any great attempt to successefull end; but onely such a one, as was endued (by nature) with a goodly proportion of body, and an honorable presence. *Macrobius* declareth, that in the life of *Merce* on *Nilus*, the inhabitants (who are said to liue halfe againe as long as we do) vse to elect as their Prince, him whome they know to be the strongest, and of far goodlier presence then any other. There is no man, but will repute a deformed Prince, yet vertuous; ought to be preferred before him of goodly person, and vicious: but when wee come to make equality of them, our affection will rather leane to the comely body, then vnto the counterfeit.

Demetrius, the sonne of *Amigonius*, was of such a goodly and honourable representation, that there was neither Painter or Caruer that durst attempt to portraire him: for there was in him both a sweete complexion, and terror mixed together, yet ioyned with such manuetude & grauity, as it plainly appeared, that hee was meere borne, to be affected, feared, and reuerenced altogether. VVee read of *Marius* (who had so many Triumphs) that he was of such a venerable aspect, as being prisoner to his enemy *Silla*: a French man was sent by him to murder him. Who entering into the prison, with his weapon ready drawne, and noting in him a verie graue and dreadsfull aspect; he became to dismayed and terrified, that hee returned backe, leauing the prison open, and (by that means) was the cause of preserving his life. *Alexander* the Macedonian (being but of meane stature, and not ouercomely countenanced) walking with his deereley affected Friend *Ephestion*: the Mother of King *Darius* (being verie desirous to salute *Alexander*) offered her courtesies to *Ephestion*, making him many humble reuerences. For, seeing him to be so goodly a man of person; he verily thought, that (of necessity) hee must be *Alexander*.

Diminution in v. Princes

The opinion of diuers barrow nations.

Macrobius lib. 1. cap. 7.

Example of deformity in Philopomenes Governor of the Achayans

Affection to their fauored comeliness, then animity.

The excellent feature of Demetrius, the son of Amigonius.

The countenance of Marius is said to be in great perill.

The Citizens who opposed Philopomenes to be some more slightly persons then he appeared to be etc.

Ephestion honoured instead of Alexander, only by his comely personage.

Histo-

The benefite of a comely appearance to Countries & Commonwealths.

Example of deformity in Philopomenes Governor of the Achayans

A City of Achaea on the borders of Sicilia.

A pleasant history of Philopomenes hunting.

The Citizens who opposed Philopomenes to be some more slightly persons then he appeared to be etc.

Historics make report, that *Alcibiades*, *Scipio*, and many other, did highly honor and make great the dignitie of their authority, onely by their sightly appearance: wherewith also their innated vertues being combined, did inestimable benefite to their severall Countries and Commonwealths. On the contrary, we finde that many Princes and Captaines, as well auncient as moderne, haue bene despised for their lowe stature, and other defects of honourable presence, euen to the perill of their liues, whereto I purpose to produce two examples onely.

Philopomenes, Duke of the *Achaians*, and much renowned, was of so lowe stature, misshapen presence, and deformed countenance, that when he arrayed himselfe in mechanike habire (as oftentimes he vsed to doe) he seemed rather to be of vile and vulgar place, then woorthy to haue gouernement of the people. He was greatly addicted to hunting, and therefore resorted very often to *Megara*. It so chanced on a certaine day, that this desire of hunting carried him further off, then hee had any willing intent to goe: so that hee arrived at the house of a Citizen neare adioyning, who was a singular friend of his, and had lately before bene married. He had but one seruant in his company; because the rest hee had sent to other places, and being come to his friends house, he knockt at the doore: and the women looking soorth at their window, demanded what they would haue; when the seruant replied, that *Philopomenes*, Duke of the *Achaians* came to haue entertainment there.

The woman being much amazed, that a man of such worth, and so much unexpected, should come on such a sodaine thither, and (having neuer seene the Duke) reputing thele to be but two of his seruants, which came before to giue knowledge of his coming, because they were thus alone: without returning any other answer, came and opened the doore to them. When they were entred into the house, she sent one of her seruants to aduertise her husband speedily (who was then abroad at the next village:) requiring *Philopomenes* & the other with him, to sit downe in the meane time, while she bestired her selfe to prepare supper. About the house trots she and her maid,

her thoughts much busied and molested, beginning one thing, and then another, but neuer going thorow or finishing any, though she had but little time of allowance. At last, looking on *Philopomenes*, who sate muffled in his cloake, and might be more cold then hee would make (he of wherbeat (happily) the more smiled, then at his deformitie) she, somewhat roundly (like a nimble stirring hufwife) prayed him to lay by his Cloake, and help her to make a good fire, because her other seruants were else where imployed, and that supper might be made readie in due time, against the coming of his Lord and maister.

Heereupon, he tooke a hatchet which she gaue him, and fell to cleauing wood for the kitchen: having formerly giuen order to his man, to take no other knowledge of him, lest the woman should discern any scruple of the deceit. While hee stood stoutly to this employment; home came the maister of the house, who knowing *Philopomenes*, and wondering to see him so homely busied; did him humble reuerence, saying, *My Lord, this is no office for you to undergoe.* Whereto (smiling) hee replied: *Worthy friend, let mee alone, I doe but pay the penaltie due to my deformitie.*

In our time, *Ferdinand* King of *Spaine*, who had the title of *Catholike*, a verie wise and discreet Prince; but of stature, rather too lowe, then of any mediocrity, and although hee had a royall face, and was a man of great gouernement, yet it appeared plainly in him, that it was not correspondent to his other members. Besides, hee vsually wore his garments of cloth, whereby he was rather thought to be a Citizen, then any way taken to be a King.

The King traailing (on a time) to *Naples*, accompanied with Queene *Isabell*, and being there longly expected; by occasion of weather, hee arrived at a haue towne on the Sea coast (called *Pentoli*) with his onely Gally, the rest being much better prepared, remaining behinde. Landing there, he was honourably received by the Inhabitants, according to the extent of their power in such a place. While the Pallace was furnishing, and prouision for his diet preparing, hee walked alone by himselfe in a Hall, where

This doubtlesse the world not haue done, but that shee sought him for some meane seruant.

Philopomenes cleueth wood for the Kitchen, to make ready supper.

A free confession of his own deformitie.

Another History of King Ferdinand, called the little King of Spaine.

* A Towne in Campania, eight miles from Naples

The conference between a blun Fisher-man and the King.

The Fisher-man would not credite outward app-earance.

The Kings pleasure words to his Lords.

Another History concerning the same King, but in a more diffi-cult manner.

The King in danger of life by his de-formity.

where (very soone after) a poore blun fisherman came to him, who (by chance) had taken a goodly fish, wherewith he intended to present the King. The Fisherman, not knowing him, desired to vnderstand where the King was: he presently answered him; I am he. The Fisherman brake fourth into loude laughter, imagining that hee had mecrely mocked him; wherefore hee prayed him agayne, to tell him where the King was: and he againe affirmed himselfe to be hee. But the Fisherman, discerning in him no maiestie-call resemblance, either for his person or habite, and no attendants about him sitting for a King; returned backe, and carryed away the fish with him. Hereat the King could not chafe but smile, and some of his especiall Lords and Favourite immediately entering (after they had saluted him with their wonted reuerence) laughing outright, thus hee spake vnto them. *Lords, did yee not meeete a Fisherman going forth? If you doe not goe and giue him assurance, that I am your King, wee shall loose the best Fish that euer I saw.* Instantly the Fisherman returned backe againe, and beholding him (whom he so much neglected) to bee so duectfully reuerenced by such worthy persons; he beganne to conceiue in his soule, that (vndoubtedly) he was the King, and falling vpon his knees before him, he humbly presented the fish vnto him.

Wee may account this for a merry accident, in regarde of another which happened to him, and by the same occasion of mis-censuring his person. For, at another time, the same King being at *Barcelona*, going in Procession with his courtly attendants, as wayting on the Sacrament, on the day dedicated to that solemnity: hee was suddenly set vpon by a *Spaniard*, who gaue him so mightie a stroke with a great Dagger on his necke, as had bene sufficient to smite off his head; but that the blow was rebared by a great chaine of golde, being then (accidentally) about his necke. This *Spaniard* being taken, and suspected that hee had some other complices in the action; was put to the tortures, where he would confesse nothing else, but onely that he was moued out of his owne mind to do it, in meere hatred he bare to the King. Heere-upon he was demanded, what occasion

should so prouoke him to hate the King? He answered; Truly nothing else, but because his countenance did not please him, for, it appeared so vngainly vnto him, that if they did set him at libertie, yet he would kill him, whatsoeuer came of it. Questionlesse, it was a strange case, that a man should so desperately endanger his owne life, because a King was not formed to his liking.

CHAP. III.

Of the inhumane actions, and monstrous cruelties of Aristotimus the tyrant; a subject well becoming a Tragedy.



Aristotimus, vnder the fauours, and forces of King *Antigonus*, tyrannically vsurped ouer the *Eleans*, exercising his power so intemperately, that he omitted not any kinde of iniury or cruelty, whereby he might afflict the miserable Cittizens; for he was (by nature) more inhumane and cruell, then any man liuing in his time. Hee added to this his cruel disposition, the counsell of barbarous men, to whom hee not only gaue the rule of the kingdom, but also the gardance of his owne person. Among all the extraordinary cruelties, that which he inflicted on *Philodamus*, a very honourable Cittizen, deserueth to be recorded for a most especiall example.

This *Philodamus* had a daughter of admirable beauty & singular graces, named *Mica*, on whom a soldier called *Lucius* (an especiall fauourite to the Tyrant) became so extremely enamored; that (in a bold & imperious manner) he sent to her father, commanding him to send him his daughter. *Philodamus*, much afflicted at so lawcie a command, & knowing what power *Lucius* had with the Tyrant, fearing also what might happen to him and her mother, laboured by perswasions, that his daughter should go to him. But the yong Virgin, who more prized honor then life, by meere instinct of her noble education, fell on her knees before her father, & embracing his knee very strictly, humbly entreated, that hee would not expose her to such monstrous dishonour, but rather to see her dead before his face, then deliuer her to such shame and indignitie.

The

Lucius goeth to the house of Philodamus, where, in an inhumane manner, he searcht Mica.

* Eleusina City in Aetolia, where the Ceres was a Temple.

Tyrant are commonly gouerned by barbarous persons.

The famous library of Philodamus, and his first daughter Mica.

The tyrant Aristotimus, Mica in his father.

The father being moued by her teares to compassion, fate downe by his wofull wife, and sorrow now sung grieue in three sad parts, which admitted no leifure for a finall resolution. Whereat *Lucius* growing impatient, through the violence of his hote and fiery lust, seeing the mayd not brought, according to his wicked expectation: he ran himselfe to the house, where finding her on hir knees before hir parents, fall holding her fathers legge in her armes; with heavy threatnings, hee commanded her to arise, and goe thence along with him immediately. Shee continuing her wofull complaints, refusing to rise, or listen to his menaces; the cruell man, tearing off her garments to her naked skinne, did strike and beate her in most vnmanly manner; all which she endured with a most constant courage, not breathing fourth so much as a sigh, but as one prepared to suffer his vttermoost cruelty.

On their knees fell the mournfull father and mother, before the wretched man, not able to abide so rufull a spectacle, entreating him, to take pity on the Virgine, and their age. But seeing they could not preuaile with this mercilesse barbarian; they called for helpe to the gods, and men, whereat hee waxing extremely displeased, drew out his sword, and slew the Virgine, as thus he embraced the knee of her father. Although this horrible cruelty moued not the Tyrant a iote, yet the Cittizens so distasteth the deede; that some of them hee punished with present death, and banished some other, so that eight hundred fearefully fledde into *Aetolia*: who afterward writing backe to the Tyrant, desired so much fauour of him, that their wiues and children (with some part of their goodes) might bee sent thither to them, to liue with their husbands.

The women, not a little glad at this good motion, beganne to make vp their hardells, some providing wagons, others horses, for conueying thence their goods and children.

Vpon the day appointed for their departure, all the Gates were set open for them to passe out at; their waggon and horses laden with their children and goodes; and as they offered to issue forth, diuers Sergeants and Catch-poles (stan-

ding ready for the purpose) cryed out to them with dreadfull threatnings, to stay and passe no further, ouerthrowing the waggon and horses, laden with their goodes and children, so that they were not able to escape out of the crowds: but beheld their yong children bruiued in peeces vnder their heels, they not being any way vnable to helpe them. Afterward, such women and children as were left aliue, the Souldiers assembled them together, driving them on before them, (like herds of cattell) beating them with stauers towards the Tyrants Pallace, who (causing all their goods to be taken from them) imprisoned them and their children together.

This horrible cruelty did highly displease the Cittizens, who not knowing how they might best incite the Tyrant to pity their wiues:ooke fixtene vestall Virgins, consecrated to *Dionysius*, and attyng them in their religious habites; theyooke sacred things out of the Temple in their hands, and (in sollemne manner of a Procession) went towards the tyrant, to craue mercie of him for the women and children. The Souldiers, who stood as a garde about the Tyrant, being moued with reuerence to those holy Virgins; made way for them, that they might the easier come into his presence. *Aristotimus* affording audience, to vnderstand what these women desired, and gathering by the very entrance into their Oration, to what end the full scope ayimed; hee gaue very disdainfull looks vpon his Guard, reprouing them roughly and rigorously, because they suffered them to come so neare him. Whereupon, the rude Souldiers, without any regarde of their Sexe or religious condition; smote them with the stauers of their halberds, giuing them many cruell blows and bastinadoes, vntill such time as they went away from him, being each of them condemned in two Talents fine betide, because they had presumed so boldly to enter into his presence.

There was a noble Cittizen in the Citie, named *Hellanicus*, two of whose children the tyrant had put to death, and yet (in regarde of his age) did not account him any way to be suspected. This worthy Gentleman, being no longer able to dure, the outrage and cruelty inflicted on

The monstrous and cruel acte of Aristotimus, vpon poore women and children.

A Procession of fixtene vestall virgins to pacifie the cruell Tyrant.

The vestall virgins cruelly vnd by the Souldiers about Aristotimus.

Hellanicus a Noble Cittizen, practising vengeance vpon the Tyrant.

* A Region in Greece, between Acanth and Phocis.

Aristotimus being in fear goeth to his women prisoners, and cruelly threateneth them.

Megeffena, wife to the Noble Lord Thimoleon, chiefe among all the women

on his Country : determined to finde out some apt occasion, and to reuenge all wrongs by the death of *Aristotimus*. In the meane while, the other Cittizens, that were fled before into *Aetolia*, hauing mustred so many men together as they could possibly procure; entred into open armes, and came into the *Eleusians* confines, where they fortified themselves, and daily drew more and more to their faction, determining present warre vpon the Tyrant, many neighbouring friends assisting them with supplying forces, so that they encreased to an indifferent armie.

Vpon these proceedings, the Tyrant became afflicted with very great feare, so that he went to the women whom he detained prisoners, and being a man of a diuellsish spirit, couering to compasse whatsoever he would haue, rather by rigorous menaces, then any faire or gentle means) commanded them very roughly, to write to their husbands by Ambassadors, that they should desist from their present enterprise : otherwise, hee would instantly massacre all their children, and cause them to be beaten starke naked throughout the Cittie. To these threatnings the women returned not any answer, which incensed him with the greater rage against them; and hee sternely commaunded them, to giue him resolution what they would do. Some, not hauing the boldnesse of spirit to reply, stood stedfastly looking vpon the rest, as questioning in their soules, which of them should returne the answer, yet making no account of all his threatnings.

Among this company of worthy women, was one, named *Megeffena*, wife to *Thimoleon*, who, as well in regarde of her husbands Nobilitie, as her owne innated singular vertues, was held to be the very chiefe of them, & (with the like esteeme) they honoured her. This Lady, when the Tyrant came in among them, would not rise to giue him any reuerence, neyther suffer any of the rest to do otherwise then as she did. She hauing heard the Tyrants menaces, sitting still vpon the ground, and returning no signe at all of reuerence, she spake thus.

¶ The answer of *Megeffena* to the Tyrant *Aristotimus*.

Aristotimus, if there remained in thee any wisdom, then wouldest thou not make thy recourse to women, to haue them write a direction to their husbands, what they should doe; but rather thou wouldest send thy wives to them, with better speeches and more woorthy consideration, then thou hast vsed toward them, making a mockerie of vs, by a most base and dishonourable deceit. And now, when thou seest thy selfe able to doe nothing else; thou presumest (by our meanes) to beguile our husbands by faire wordes, as formerly thou hast abused our credulitie. Thou deceuest thine owne iudgement, for we will not suffer them to be agayne overreached by thee; neither doe thou imagine them to bee so foolish, as to sheld their children from death, or preuent the losse of their poore wives liues, they will forebare to execute that whereto they stand obliged: I meane the freedom of their Country. For the losse of vs & their children is not so yokesome to them, as the glad some satisfaction will be, to deliuer their people and Countrey from outrage and cruelty.

Longer would *Megeffena* haue continued her discourse, but that the Tyrant (being vnable to bridle his rage) commaunded the Ladies sonne to be brought thither, that there hee might be slaine in her sight. But whilst the Officers were seeking among the rest of the imprisoned children for her sonne; the mother (with an vndaunted courage) calling him by his name, sayd. Come hither to me, sweete Boy, and rather die by thy mothers hand, then endure the bloody crueltie of a Tyrant.

These wordes so amazed *Aristotimus*, and kindled such outrageous cholier in him, that (drawing forth his Sword) hee purposed to haue slaine the Lady. But one of his chiefe familiar friends, named *Chilon*, standing by, caught her in his armes, and pacified his fury.

This *Chilon* was one of them, who practised with *Hellanicus* the Tyrants death, as vnable also to suffer his cruelties. Hee hauing somewhat calmed the extremitie of his rage, caused him to put vp his Sword agayne: plainly telling him, that it was a matter monstrous, and ill becoming the dignitie of a Prince, to soile his hand with the blood of a woman.

Within a while after, there hapned a strange

The proud folly of the Tyrant wisely reprooued as a man.

An admirable & worthy resolution in a woman, to the amazement of the Tyrant.

Chilon one of the Confederates with *Hellanicus* to deliuer his Country from tyranny.

strange prodigie pre- senting the death of *Aristotimus*.

A Wizard thence the ment of the prodigie.

Aristotimus in the night of his death.

A City between the Hills of *Attica* and *Olympus*, where *Jupiter* had a Temple.

strange prodigie, as foretelling the death of the Tyrant. For, being in bedde with his wife, whilst the Cooks were making ready his diet, an Eagle was seene to hover ouer the Lant-horne of the Pallace, and letting fall a great stone directly into it (it being ouer the Chamber where hee lay) it made a great noyse in the hall, and giuing a fearefull loud shoute, the Eagle vanished from the sight of all that beheld it. The Tyrant awaking, with the confused murmure of such as had seene it, and not a little dismayed when it was reported to him; sent for a cunning Soothsayer, in whome hee reposed no meane confidence, to vnderstand what the meaning hereof might bee. The Wizard bade him be of good courage, for it figured nothing else, but that *Jupiter* had an especial care of him, and sent his Eagle so to expresse it. But he told the Cittizens quite contrary, in whome he durst repose his trust, because he knew their hatred to *Aristotimus*: and bade them be bolde, that some fodayne and strange kinde of death, should (in a short while) happen to the Tyrant.

Heereupon *Hellanicus* and his Confederates, thought fit to delay the time no longer, but concluded to kill him on the morrow following: because the verie same night, *Hellanicus* sleeping in his bed, seemed to see one of his sonnnes, that before had beene slaine by the Tyrant, who cryed out aloud to him, saying, Deare father, Why doe you sleepesthus? Wherefore doe you trifle away the time? Stand you in doubt, that you shall not be made Prince of the Cittie? *Hellanicus* confirmed by this Vision, went early the next morning to finde his vowed friends, hastening them to execute the deed determined. At the selfe same time, *Aristotimus* had receiued tydings, that *Craterus* was comming to assist him with a great power of Souldiers, and that hee was already set forth from *Olympia*. Which news were not a little welcome to him, so that seeming now free from all feare, he walked abroad to take the aire, some small distance from the Pallace, accompanied onely with *Chilon*, not attending for any more, although they came dropping after one by one. Which *Hellanicus* well obseruing, thought it now a fit time to execute the enterprise, and without giuing any fig-

nall to the rest of the confederacie, he lifted vp his hands to Heauen, speaking aloud; What slay ye for, valiant Gentleman? Why make ye not now the goodliest spectacle that euer yet was seene?

Chilon was the first that drew his weapon, and killing one that came last from the Pallace, who offered to steppe in the tyrants defence; *Aristotimus* espied *Thrasibulus* and *Lampidius* (two whom hee most trusted) drawing their weapons likewise vpon him. Whereupon, hoping to escape their violence, hee ranne into the Temple of *Jupiter*, where he was slaine by his owne followers. Afterward, his bodie being throwne forth into the open street, the people cryed out, *Libertie, Libertie*. The women were the first, that (making way through the throngs) came thither; who ioyfully embraced them, that by the tyrants death) were the happy deliuerers of their Countrey. In the meane while, multitudes flockt to the Pallace, where the wife of *Aristotimus* (hauing heard of the murder of her husband; and doubting how the people would deale with her) shutting her Chamber doores about her; there with her Chaine shee strangled her selfe.

The Tyrant had two very goodly and beautiful daughters, of yeares apt and able for marriage, who hauing heard of their fathers death, had lockt themselves vp close in a Chamber; from whence they were drawne by the peoples violence, and in their furie they would haue slaine them. But *Megeffena*, with diuers other of the Ladies, stood in their defence, saying: That it were an euill deed, and illly deferring blame, to kill them: considering, they had not leard so much courage of the Tyrant their father, to exercise cruelty vpon themselves. By these speeches the people were appeased, and a decree was set downe, that they should make election of their death, and performe it on themselves with their owne hands, if they had the heart to do it.

So being sent into their Chamber, *Aphasia* the eldest sister expressing no appearance, eyther by countenance, or any signe else, that she stood in feare of death, loosed her girdle, and fastening it about a timber-beame, resolved to there to hang her selfe, exhorting her sister (with manly courage) to performe the like vpon

Aristotimus the Tyrant slaine by his owne followers in the Temple of *Jupiter*.

The Tyrants wife strangleth herselfe with her chaine of gold

Aphasia and *Hilaria*, the daughters of *Aristotimus*.

The valiant resolution of two sisters in their death.

The words of
Aspasia to her
sister Hillaria,
before her
death.

upon her selfe; *Hillaria* the yonger daughter, taking her sister by the hand, desired her to permit, that shee might die first. Whereto shee replied in this manner: *As during the time, that Nature permitted vs to live like Sisters, I neuer did willingly deny thee any thing; so farre be it from mee now, to refuse thee in thy latest request; howbeit, nothing can afflict mee more, then to see thee die.* No longer were these words spoken, but *Hillaria* taking the Girdle, strangled her selfe therewith immediately. When shee was dead, *Aspasia* kneeling by her body; and loosing her girdle from about her necke, turning herselfe to *Megestena*, & intreating, that their bodies might receiue no shame after death; with the selfe same constancie of courage, she ended her life likewise.

CHAP. III.

The reason why men cannot know and vnderstand the truth of many things, while they remaine in this life.



Three principall causes there are, why a man can not know the truth of diuerse things, during his abiding in this world: which if hee could attaine vnto, he might repute himselfe to be wise indeede.

The first is ignorance of his end, that is, he knows not to what end he was created, for it is a matter most ceterayne, that if he did know that he would labor no lesse to obtayne it, then he doth to get dignities & riches: wherein (because they best agree with his appetite) they make him to imagine, that all his happines consists in them. But in this case it fareth with him, as with a kings son in his child-hood. For, if it be demaied of him, whether he doth more affect the succession in his Fathers kingdom, then Apples, Cherries, or some other fruites, presented instantly to him: questionlesse, hee will rather accept the Apples or Cherries, then the kingdom, because he finds them suitable to his yong desires, as hauing both sight and knowledge of them in taste and apprehension.

Even so it happeneth to a man, for if it were demaied of him, whether he best liked to make choice of, Riches or Vile-

dom: his election would stand on wealth and power, being meere ignorant, that Wisedome onely is the chiefest wealthy, and that the Wife man only ought to ordaine and gouerne. For, without Wisedome and Knowledge, power is not power, but weaknes; and vnder deprivation of power indeede: And riches without knowledge, is but a bestiall possession, an abundance of presumption, and a kind of sottish substance. Whereas on the contrary, a wise man hath alwayes sufficient for himselfe; & others besides; hauing in him that truly abounding treasure, that can neuer faile or deceiue him: And all this ensueth to a man, because he is ignorant in his true end.

The second cause, is the vse of corporal elections, voluntary and sensible; which ouerwhelme and drowne, not onely the senses of the body, but also those of the spirit and intellect. So that a man, being thus wrapp'd vppe in the mire of this world, is like the beautifull daughter of a King, to whom appetiteth the inheritance of her fathers Kingdom; but hauing committed adultery with some blacke deformed slaue, loseth the right of her succession thereby.

The third cause ensueth by the indisposition of such matter, as many times maketh a man vn capable of learning and knowledge: which commeth often so to passe, in regarde that the region or place of his birth, is vterly disagreeable, and causeth him to receiue a bad complexion. As in some of the Easterne parts, and of *Africa*, where men are borne so beastly, by reason of the heates extremitie; that they are not capable of any reason: And contrariwise, some places in the northern parts are so colde, that verie furious men are there borne & bred; such as the *Goths* and *Ostrogoths*: some whereof feede on humane flesh. And these people may aptly be compared to an Eagle, that hath a stone fastened to her foote, to keep her from ouer-violent flight, which commonly is naturall vnto this Bird, causing her to soare aboue the cloudes.

The fourth is, difficulty in the Sciences. For, although a man doe plainly discern, that the desire of his soule is to seeke attentively, as consering to know the truth of high and deepe causes: yet notwithstanding, he findes them too hard to

There can be no greater treasure or wealth in the world than this.

1. The vse of bodily delights & pleasures, which are the loue, throwes both of body and soule.

2. The indisposition or vncapability of the Country where a man is borne, by two extremities of heat or colde.

3. Difficulty in the Sciences.

to be vnderstoode that he retreates, and quite giueth ouer his enterprife. Wherein he resembelth his owne eye, which fixing respectiue to beholde the Sunne: the splendour thereof prooueth so piercing, that it eclipseth and troubleth his sight, as he is not able to endure it.

The last and strangest of all, is an affection taken by a man in his youth, vnto things wherein he hath beene instructed, and especially when his desire hath lasted of some long continuance thereto. For then, Custome conuerteth it selfe into Nature, and therefore worketh a seled feare in the mans soule, and a singular loue to those things embraced, hauing all other contrary to them, and the whole world (almost) is swallowed vp in this error. Do we not obserue that children among the Turkes, before they can reach to the yeares of reason: doe vterly abhorre our Faith and Religion; and to the Iewes in like manner? Wee see also, that country people, by being inured and accustomed to field-dwelling, do liue grossely, disdayning conuersation with Courtiers, or such as inhabit ciuile Cities. From whence ensued the Prouerbe; *Vul-luckie is the Bird, that is bred in a bad vulture*. For, by vse and conuersation receiued there, he cannot part thence, though he beholde a much better place for him. And not onely heerein is knowne the power of this habitude: for we our selues do despise them of another countrey (except fight or frequentation haue begot more familiaritie) and only through some bad and abusive relations of them. This error hath also preuayled with women, with whom, matters of long vse beare so high a priuilege, that bee they neuer so bad; yet they despise the contrary, bethey neuer so good.

Finally, this affection to continued vse, and detestation of such things as we know not; extendeth it selfe to all matters in our election. Wherefore, it were good to expell those hinderances out of our hearts, to the end we may (if possibly wee can) know the veritie and truth of things indeed. For, in the knowledge of them, consisteth all contentment in this world, and the way to all felicitie in that hereafter: imitating the good husbandman, that intending to prepare his grounds for the best aduantage, doth first

roote vp the thornes and weeds, because his graine will bee the better borne. So, when the Physitian would giue a sicke man health, he first purgeth his stomacke from all corrupt humors; because in matter ill disposed, the former cannot induit it selfe. Let vs then contend against all these impediments; for the reasonable man, that will not yeelde to reason, but onely leane to his owne appetite: is like to him that will sayle ouer Mountaynes, or builde his dwelling in the Sea: for the effect both of the one and the other, are deprived of their proper ends.

Comparisons aptly answering to the purpose.

CHAP. V.

Of diuers Accidents (monstrous in nature) which serued as diuining Auguries, or coniectures of things to come, in olde and ancient times.



In precedent times, whē by permission of the true GOD, sundry Oracles, which were spites of illusion & falshood, hidden in Idolles and Images, gaue answer to Idolaters: many prodigious fights were scene in the Ayre and on the earth.

And because that in these latter dayes of ours (we liuing in the light and truth of faith) none such are now to be scene: it is a matter of some difficultie, to credit what learned Authours haue written, concerning those which hapned in their times.

Yet (mee thinketh) there needeth no distrust at all; for they hauing written Histories of warres, and other occasions happening in those dayes: by inserting the memorie of prodigious Accidents, we ought not to make any scrupulous doubt of them; but rather to rest perswaded; that as they dealt faithfully in the one, they vsed the like iustice in the other; especially, when they are likewise confirmed by many and sundry other Authours.

Oracles of lyres & glosse illusions.

Grave Authours of great credit, deserve not to be distrusted in their writings.

Plum 19434

Two great
Mountaines
met together
and did much
harme to
Townes, Men
and Cattell.

Amongst other Prodigies in the *Romaine* dayes, the most notable was, that of *Modena*, vnder the Consulship of *Lucius Martius*, and *Julius Sextius*, Consuls: where two mountaines arose out of their proper places, and mette together so impetuously, that hurling a great flame and smoke vp into the ayre, by the violence of their encounter; they returned backe agayne, not onelic destroying villages which were betweene them, but also killing an infinite number of cattell, in the open sight of many trauellers, and likewise of a great company of *Romaine* Knights.

Plon in l.o.c. 10

Two distant
Fields remo-
ued strange
into each
others place
by reason of
an Earth-
quake.

Men metamorphosed
into Wolves
Eurartes in l
2. cap. 9.

Fabius Pic.
in lib. 2. cap.
Scopas in O
lymp. 1.

Pliny, in his ninth booke, and in the fifteenth chapter, likewise relateth in the same place, saying, that in his time, and vnder the same Empire of Nero, *Vesfius Marcellus*, a Romaine Knight, whome the Emperour had sent (on his behalfe) into the kingdome of Naples: had (there in the maritime territorie) two fields, each distant from the other, the one being a fayre meadow, and the other verie thickly planted with Oliue trees.

By an admirable accident, but how, I know not, these two fields chaunged into each others place : for the Oliues field was transported where the meadow stood, and the meadow into the Oliue plottes place; and this was conceyued to be done by an Earthquake. This is not onely reported by *Plinie*, but also is auouched in the *Chronicles* of manie learned men, as also in the Booke of the Mountains warre.

And although hee cannot be indu-
ced to credite, that men may be meta-
morphosed into Woolles; yet neuer-
theless hee declareth, that *Emanthes*, a
Author of no meane authoritie among
the *Grecians*, recordeth the *Arabians* to
haue written, that in *Arcadia* there is a
great standing Poole, whereto men are
brought at certayne times to passe thro-
row it: and as they sincke into the sand,
they are instantly transformed into the
shape of Woolles; and hauing continu-
ed so for the space and terme of nine
yeares: they doo recover their former
formes agayne, according as *Fabius Pi-
stor* in his second booke and in the ninth
chapter; who addeth also, that *Scopas*,
who wrote the *Olympiades*, speaketh of
one, named *Demarchus*, had eaten the

bowelles of a young Boy, which they of Arabia had sacrificed to *Iupiter Lyceus*, and presently hee was transformed into a Wolfe, in which forme he continued the space of tenne yeares, and afterwards recouering the shape of man againe, he wonne the victorie for Lute playing at the Mount of *Olympus*. Sente *Augustine* in his fourteenth booke *De Civitate Dei*, and the third chapter faith, that *Varro* also recordeth the same. In mine opinion these transformations could not thus happen, but rather were performed by diabolical Ares.

Now, concerning these things of wonder written by *Pliny*, they are not to be wondered at, because he setteth downe many matters, reputed vterly impossible, as the transformation of a woman into man, and yet himselfe will not credit the like things, or offesse impossibilitie, and which haue beene apparant to his owne iudgement. Notwithstanding, such as consider well the Scriptures, need not meruaile at transformations, happening really, and not feigned. For we know what is written in the seuenth chapter of *Exodus* and twelfth verse, That the Rods of the Nations were (not in apparence, but in effect, by secret charmes) turned into Serpents. Now, which thing is more easie, to change a Rodde into a Serpent, or the true body of a man (I doe not say his spirit) transformed into a beaust. The opinion of Saint *Augustine* is heerein auailable, where he sayth; A certayn man conceiued in his minde, that his daughter was turned into a young Mare. And bringing her to an holy man, named *Hellarion*, the graue olde man looking on her, said; *I see a young Maid, but no Mare*; for it appeared that by his deuoute prayers, she had recovered her former shape againe. Wherefore we may iudge, that some things are shewne to men, which are not indeede; and such a thing may be apparant, and yet not existent.

But returne wee now againe to our
Auguries. It hath bene obserued thre
times, that in the opening of a beast, there
no heart hath bene found in him : as it
happened at the first time, when *Caspar*
the Dictatour sat in his golden Chaire,
and then it was disputed among the Au-
ruspices, if a beast were to be found with-
out a heart.

Pliznic

Aug. 10, 1914
Dec. 14, 1914

Plin. in l. 6. ubi
supra.

The forcerods converted into Serpents
Exod. 7, 11.

Auguß. in ein
Dec. feb. 14. 11

No hart foot
in a beast
ing, unborn
led before
C&lar,

Chap. 6.

PS int. 14. c. 7
cicero in lib. 4
Dionys. cap. 9

Two harts
have bene
found in one
wild.

'A Country
in the North
part of the
lester Asia, b
the sea side,
aboue Galati
And Gellius in
lib. 16. cap. 19.
'A free coun
try of Mace
donia by the
River Stry-
mon.

Ant. Cellius in
lib. 2. b. supra.

Außender im
h. l. rodig. a. :
(neu) Epidi
in : amment.

Plinie in his foureteenth booke and the
seauenth chapter reporteth; so doth *Gi-
cero* in his Diuinations, that *Catus Mari-
us*, offering Sacrifice at *Pites*: euen in the
same manner, there was not any heare
found in the beast. But it might be there
well obserued, that it chanced not thus
by nature: but rather was rightly to bee
presumed, that false spirits did thus de-
lude and abuse the people, taking away
the beastes heart in the Sacrifice time,
knowing well thereby what was to hap-
pen after.

Ofentimes likewise hath beene observed, that two hearts haue bene found in one beaste. For, wee readeth that in the Sacrifices, which *Marcus Marcellus* made before hee dyed in the battaile against *Hanniball*: the first day he found no heart in the beaste he sacrificed; and the next day following, hee found two. *Pliny* writeth in the place before alleaged, that in *Papilagonia*, the Partridge hath two hearts: so likewise faith *Theophrastus*, the most expert (among Philosophers) in naturall things, as *Aulus Gellius* declareth. *Theophrastus* sayth, that in * *Bifidus*, each Hare hath two Livers. And in some places (as in *Enbosa*) the beastes haue no gawles.

In *Nassa* it is quite contrary, for there they are very great, and double in diuers. And Frogs, which are there called *Ru-bettes*, haue two liuers, the one venemous, the other medicinable: so that when they are dead, the Ants make search for them, and feede on that which is Physicall.

Wee reade, that on the day when *Pyrrhus* dyed, they sacrificed the heads of dead beastes, that licked their owne blood vpon the ground.

The same yeare, when *Hanniball* was
vanquished by the *Romaines*, vnder *Pub-
lius Aelins*, and *Cneus Cornelius*, Confulls,
Wheate was seene to growe vppon
trees.

Arilander (a learned Greeke Author) declareth in his Booke of Prodigies, and in the third chapter (and it is also confirmed by *Cneus Epidius*, the Romaine, in his Commentaries) that some Trees have beene changed into another kinde of Trees.

We reade also, that in the warre of the *Cimbrians*, a great noyse was heard

in the Ayre, like vnto the sounding of Trumpets, and clathing of weapons. And in the third yeare of the Consulship of *Marius*, two Armies were seene in the heauens, that went from the East, to meete in the West: besides many other thelike Prodiges, whereof Saint *Augustine* maketh mention in his Booke of the Citie of God.

CHAP. VI.

¶ Of a very strange and admirable Accident, which happened on an Armie in the night season.



Whoſoeuer ſhall reade ancient Hiſtories, needeth not wonder at ſome things, happening in thoſe times, or elſe related by ſuch as haue ſcene them : for ſometimes it hath beene obſerued, that either the ſame accident, or elſe but little differing, hath chaunced in one place as well as another. Among the admirable Accidents, which I haue read in ancient or moderne Hiſtories : I finde that to be very ſingular, and well deſerving memorie, which happened to *Agathocles* (the Tyrant of *Sicilie*) in *Affrica*.

This *Agathacles* was a man very expert in Armes, whereby (becing but of base condition, to wit, the sonne of a poore Porter) hee made himselfe Lord of the whole Ile of *Sicilie*. Having had long warre against the Carthaginians, and seeing himselfe beseged (both by Land and Sea) in *Syracusa*, by *Amilcar*, with a powerfull Armie of *Lybians*: hee was of such an vndaunted courage, that, leauing the Citie to the garde of his brother *Antander*, and hauing certain shippes readly prepared, by the helpe of a cunning fraterage, hee got forth at a narrow port, with about teauen thousand footemen, and a small number of horse, and went to Land on the shores of *Africa*. Having got there in pay sixe thousand *Greekes*, he went and beseged *Carthage*, bringing the Citie into such distress that the Senators knew not which part to take.

Many batailles were fought between
K k k 2 them

Accidents
happening in
diverse places
of little differ-
ence each
from other.

Agathocles
the sonne of a
poore Potter,
came to be a
singular Sol-
diour and a
King.

Carthage be-
siedged by
Agathocles,

them, wherein *Agathocles* proued alwaies victorious; because the time so fauored him, that he had drawn no meane troups of horse to take part with him. The *Carthaginians* (beside their Citizens, and many mercenary Souldiers (in great number) which they had for defence of the City, being vnable to equall the caualerie of *Agathocles*) called one of their chiefe Captaines from *Lybia*, bringing with him a powerfull army into the field, to haue a day of tryall against *Agathocles*. After diuers skirmishes passing betwene them, vpon a day, *Agathocles* would needs assault the enemies Campe (for his men wanting victualles, desired nothing more then present fight) but the enemy being very strongly planted, would not issue forth, though they were very hotely set vpon in their Fort; knowing the necessitie of *Agathocles*, and the desperate condition of his men.

Agathocles maintained the assault till to his owne losse.

A bloody and cruel manner of sacrificing obscured a mong the *Carthaginians*.

The coming of a treble company of *Lybians*, caused a strange accident in this confusion.

pass on, and to ioyne with the *Carthaginians* forces, were misl- led, onely throw the darkenesse of the night. On this they went from *Agathocles* Campe, till they came within hearing of the Guards and Centinells of the *Carthaginians*, who imagining them to be the Armie of *Agathocles*, re-assembled againe for a fresh assault; and hoping to finde them in disorder (as indeede they were, through the foes violence) rayed sodainely such a strange noyse themselves, that the whole Campe fell to flight, and was vterly broken. So that few or none remained, but all were disperfed, some running thwart the fieldes, others backe to the City, to saue themselves.

The Citizens hearing this noyse of the people (conceiuing verily, that it was the enemy, who had foiled their Campe, and came now to assault the Citie) were so confounded with feare and amazement, that they left the Citie without any defence, seeking how they might best secure their owne liues. So that if *Agathocles* had receiued but the least intelligence thereof, and had gone immediately to giue the assault: this night had made him Lord of *Carthage*, and the whole Kingdome thereto belonging. Fortune, not yet satisfied with blinde-folde confusion, caused the five thousand *Lybians* (perceiuing what had happened) to turne backe vpon the disordered Campe of *Agathocles*, who fearing a fresh onset of the enemies, fled, some one way; some another, and fell into such a madding fury among themselves, that thinking their owne people (still as they mette) to be *Carthaginians*; they slew one another very cruelly, the obscurity of the night not permitting them to see their owne error. So that, through this inaduertence or inconsideration, five thousand were slaine among the *Grecians*, and as many of the *Carthaginians*, flying and fighting in this confused manner. By which means, five thousand men (erroniously misl-edde) against their willes, brake three hoatts of Armies, with no meane example, of Fortunes power in actions of Armes.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

How indiscreete a thing it is, and greatly to be blamed in Christian Princes, to permit the Duello, or single Combat between man and man.

Like as abuse is growne among all things (well-neare) in the world, by the coldnesse of charitie in men, and their mallice augmented one towards another; Euen so falleth it out in Duells or single fights. For, amongst great Princes, when they lawfully exercised themselves in Armes, it was honourably admitted in certayne cases, and differences of most high importance, which could not otherwise bee terminated or disced. But now it is grown to such corruption, as euery silly and priuate Souldiour, for very small or simple occasion, presumeth, that it is lawfull for him to undertake it. But that which most of all distasteth me, is to see, that Christian Princes onely doe permit it, considering, that in them (more then in any other) the Lawe doth expressly forbidde it; and it is encreased to such an abuse, that, except God amend it, it is to bee feared, that Prelates of the Church will also suffer it.

The Duell or Combate, is denied to a Christian man, to doe it, to graunt it, and to see it, by reason both diuine and humane, as well Canonically as Ciuile. It is prohibited by diuine reason, according to this argument. Euery acte where-by God may be tempted, is prohibited to a Christian by the commaundement of God; For, it is written; *Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God*. That GOD is tempted by the Duell or Combate, I prouoe it in this manner: To make triall of things, which cannot be reduced to an end by naturall means, but onely by the Hand of Heauen: such attempting is to tempt God. As it happeneth in cases of purgation, where it is most notorious and euident, that (by naturall course or disposition) the strongest, active, and most powerfull person euer vanquisheth

the weaker, and of lesse abilitie. Contrariwise, that the stronger bodie shall be overcome by the weaker, can not happen but miraculously.

Bringing then two such vnequall persons into the field, victorie is desired for him which hath right and reason on his side, to the end, that the truth may be made apparent. But then God is tempted, in seeking, that he should performe a myracle; which must needs bee so, when the weaker man conquereth the stronger, being (as it were) directly against nature.

I prouoe it further forbidden by Diuine reason, after this argument: when a Law prohibiteth a thing, it forbiddeth also the dooing of it; and a man performeth an ethicall inhibited thing, when hee knoweth (by the Diuine Lawe) that hee is not to kill a man: The Combate then is flatly forbidden, because thereby murder may happen.

I yet prouoe it otherwise thus. The Diuine Lawe forbiddeth euery action, that differeth from the fountaine of charitie, which is the scope and end, of all vertues, and vterly expelleth vice: The acte of Combate is farre off from charitie, leaning vnto vice; because charitie is nothing else, but to loue God and thy neighbour, and he that enters the Combate to kill his neighbor, is out of all obedience to God.

It is likewise prohibited by the Canonically Lawe, because it euermore followeth the diuine Law: and in plaine reason, what the one inhibiteth, the other neuer alloweth. Combat is also forbidden by the Lawe of men, and the prooue is, that euery thing which repugneth and contradicth naturall equitie, is likewise prohibited by the reason of man, because reason is grounded vpon naturall equitie. The reason of equity among men willesh, that he which committeth a crime, should be punished, and the innocent cleared: notwithstanding, by Combate it falleth out many times quite contrary.

It is further proued by this argument. Naturall equitie, whereon (as we haue already sayde) all reason in men is grounded; is entirely for the conseruation and encrease of them. That acte then, which turneth vnto the diminution and destruction of men, is quite forbidden: so ought Combate to be, because thereby

Miracles only appertaine to the power of God.

Murder may happen by combate.

The acte of combate killeth Charitie.

Combate contrary to the common law, and law of men, and naturall equity.

Naturall equity is for the conseruation of mankind, and combate is for his destruction.

The two main precepts of naturall equitie, are broken by the asse combate.

Combate forbidden by the ciuill Law.

men kill one another, and men are of greatest price in the world. Moreouer, euery acte which repugneth the precepts of naturall equitie, is forbidden by mans reason, because it is grounded thereupon. One of the precepts is, that no man shall desire profit or honour, by the prejudice and hinderance of another. The second is, that no man shall wish that to another, which he would not haue done to himselfe. The acte of Combate contradiceth them both, because hee which commeth so prepared into the field, co-ueteth his owne glorie, by the shame and harme of him against whom he fighteth, which is his neighbour, and wisheth that to him, which he would not haue executed on himselfe; for, he would vanquish and kill him.

It is also forbidden by Ciuile reason, and this is the rule. Ciuile right prohibiteth euery acte, whereby Iustice may be denied to men, or iniurie doone them. Now, in the case of Combate, oft times it falleth out quite contrary, for the innocent man dyeth, and the guilty offender remayneth aliue, so that by this meanes, Iustice can not take her due place.

CHAP. VIII.

Of strange and admirable properties in the Asse.



AMongst all the properties in beasts, those of the Asse are most to be admired; for hee is so mecke and domestick, as that *Isidore* doth say, He taketh his name of seating; for, in elder times, men most on such beasts backe, to saue themselves securely. Or else it cometh of the Greeke diction *Asinos*, composed of *A*, which is a Greeke diction priuatiue, signifying *Sine*, *Without*, and *Cinos*, which signifieth *Sensus*, *Wit* or *Senses*; so that coupling these two vocables together, signifieth, without Wit or Senses: Heereupon it is said, that hee is fearefull to goe ouer a Bridge, where water runneth vnderneath it: because hauing a weak braine, hee is (by instinct of nature) fearefull to fall therein. He is timor-

ous also to enter water, how shallow soeuer it be; fearing by the current thereof, his braine may be troubled, and he drowned; which proceedeth from a kinde of knowledge that hee hath of his owne imperfection.

This creature is slouthfull and melancholy, because he is colde, drie, without memory, laborious, and apt to carry burdens. By reason of his great frugality, he cannot liue in colde Countries, and if by aduenture he doe liue there: hee affecteth not the generative action, neither can hee there ingender. Hee beareth best vpon his reines, rather then on his backe or shoulders: for, being melancholic, his bones behinde are the more strong and dry, for there is the signe of melancholy, and there is his skinn so thicke and hard, that though he be bearen with great staues, he cannot be killed without much paines. Also, because he consisteth of an earthie nature, hee is hardly disciplinable, and farneth very little. *Albertus Magnus* sayth, That by the selfe same reason, hee endureth much paine in his head, and dieth, tumbling his head aside, and in regarde of his heads weightinesse, a thicke and viscusous humour falleth on his lights or lungs, which maketh him to breathe with difficulty, and fall downe frowning. He eateth little, and the more he watcheth, so much the more he drinketh beyond other beasts.

In regarde of his great coldenesse and drienesse, hee can not stirre to ingender, at such times as other beasts doe, to wit, before the Winter Equinoctiall, or else vnder the Equinoctiall, but in the month of May, when the Sunne mounteth, almost to the right angle of the Equinoctiall, and then his grosse humiditie beeing depressed and diminished; he is provoked to the acte with such fury, as if hee were a wilde foale, and especially when he is young. The thicknesse of his skinn, is caused (as we haue sayd) by his grosse humours; and he that mendeth his shoes with leather, of that part of the skinn, where the Asse hath longest borne his burdens, can not weare it out at all, but it will long time endure, passing ouer stony or craggy wayes, and will at the last growe to such hardnesse, as the feete can not suffer it: *Albertus Magnus* speaketh thereof by prooffe.

From

The Asse slouthfull and melancholy.

The ability of his bearing burdens.

Albertus Magnus in lib. 4. cap. 3.

The Asse engendereth not when other beasts doe.

The benefit of the Asse skinn in wearing it in shoes.

The milke of the shee-Asse is physical for a consumption.

Pliny in lib. 8. c. 13.

Small birds are enemies to the Asse: for the rauens moost of all.

What defence the Asse hath, to saue his eyes from the rauens.

The curiostie of the Asse in drinking.

Pliny in lib. 8. c. 43.

Ariftole Gener. lib. 4. c. 6.

An obseruation for the engendering of a Mule between an Asse and a Mare.

From this driness it ensueth, that the milke of the Female Asse is subtil, that it cannot curdle: and therefore it is Physicall for such as are in a consumption. Moreouer, the purity of this milke whitenesse maketh the skin of men or women wonderfully faire, and very cleare. Hereupon *Pliny* reporteth, that *Pappas*, Cnocubine to *Nero*, often used to bathe her bodie in the Milke of a shee-Asse. This beast hath a custome to Vrine in the place, where he smelleth that another Asse hath staled before.

He is very much hated by small Birds, because he bites of the bushes & thornes, where they build their nests: and with his crying noise, makes them fall vnto the ground, or frights them away when they sit in the bushes. The Rauens is his naturall enemy, so that when hee hath taken any harme on his skinn; hee mounteth thereon, and pittifully plagues it with his bill. So do the small Birds likewise, onely to be reuenged of him: but the Rauens aboute all the rest, labours to picke out his eyes with his beake; against which cruelty, the hollow concavity of them, doeth serue him as an especial defence, the hardnesse of his hide, and continuall agitation of his eares; for, by closing his eyes, he chafeth them away with his eares stirring. The Bear also is his enemy, wearying him (oftentimes) to kill him, desiring to feede on his raw flesh.

He will not drinke but at such Springs or Welles where he is inured, & where hee may passe without wetting: but that deserveth meruail, is, that if the water be troubled, though hee be neuer so thirsty, he cannot be procured to drinke, vntill such be giuen hint as is pure and cleare. *Pliny* saith besides, that he will hardly be constrained to drinke, vntill his backe bee disburthened of his load. The shee-Asse so intirely affecteth her young Foale, and is so fearefull of it by Nature: as shee dreads not to passe through fire to find it.

Ariftole saith, that the shee-Asse will remaine so long time from conceiuing, vntill the graines of Barley, sleepe in the blood of a Muler, be giuen her to feede on. For the generation of Mules, the Mare must be of no lesse age then foure yeares, and not aboute tenne. Now in regard that (naturally) no beast will habite

with any other then of his owne kinde, such Heardsmen as would haue a Mule engendred by an Asse and a Mare, do vse this kinde of cunning. The young Asse-foale is nourished with Mares milke all his tender time, but in some obscure place, for better taking it. By this meanes, comming to age (as adulterated) he groweth to loue Mares. And in like manner, notwithstanding the Foales of Mares with milke of a shee-Asse; they habite afterwarde willingly with shee-Asse. And if it happen that the Mare be taken, and the Asse hath yer vse of her immediately, her greatnesse will corrupt, through the extreme coldnesse of the Asse. And so it fareth with the shee-Asse, if the horse haue ioyned with her, and by the same reason.

The Mule that is bred of an Asse and a Mare, cannot engender, the cause (according to *Ariftole*) is, that the seede of the Asse (as we haue already said) being cold, & that ioyning with the seede of the Mare which (hauing respect to the sexe Feminine) is also of cold complexion; & therefore, that engendered is so cold, as it cannot be proper for generation. And albeit *Pliny* saith, that diuers times they haue young ones: yet (for all that) it is not naturall, but rather as a thing prodigious.

Ariftole granteth that they do engender, but the fruite cannot be reared or brought vp. *Theophrastus* saith, That in *Cappadocia* they engender and haue young; *Ariftole* further saith, that the Asse farneth more by drinking troubled Water, then that which is cleare, and best agreeth with Kine. The Foale of the shee-Asse, is of so short memory, that following the damme, if it be but fure paces behind him, it hath forgot, and followes no further, but stayes and standeth stone still. It is said, that the shee-Asse hath a naturall custome, when she is ready to Foale, shee withdraweth into some obscure place: but the opinion of *Albertus Magnus* is, she doth so in regard of the weakness of the Foales sight.

It is a thing well approued, according to the iudgement of the same author, that the Liner of an Asse being boyled, and afterwards roasted the same day, is verie fo-ueraigne for the falling sicknesse, prouided, that it be often vied: the like power hath his hooves, being burnt, beaten into powder, and drinking the weight of three

Ducates

Ariftole in lib. vbi supra.

Pliny in lib. 8. c. 44.

Ariftole d. Gener. lib. 4. cap. 3.

The short memory of the Asse foale.

Albertus Magnus in lib. 4. cap. 7.

Isidore in lib. A. nim. 3. cap. 8.

A definition of the Asse name.

Fearefulness in the Asse to passe ouer a Bridge.

Ducates, and every day an ounce. An emplaister made of the same powder, dissolue the Kings euill, & heals the chaps, which trouble the handes in Winter by cold.

Moreover, the hooues so beaten into powder, and applied vnto an Impostume, quickly breaketh it. The Vine of an Asie, is very auailable for the Disease of the Reines, caused by grosse humidities; and his dung, either burnt, or not, made in an emplaister, restraineth the Flux of blood, and smokes any house with the Lunges of an Asie, it killeth all wormes and mothes.

Againe, his dung steeped in Vinegar, and applied to the nose in a cloth, cealeth the extreme bleeding: making also an emplaister thereof, and binding it to the forehead, it hath the same vertue. *Pliny* also saith, that both the Milke and blood of an Asie, are very effectuell against the biting of a Scorpion.

His Vine, applied with Spickenard, encrease the and conserue the haire: and his bones being broken, and the powder of them drunke in white Wine, is very soveraigne against poyson. *Aristotle*, *Alberthus Magnus*, and *Pliny*, reporteth infinite other Vertues, abiding in this much despoiled creature, which would require too long a time to relate.

CHAP. IX.

Of the singular vertue and constancie, of the Noble Lady Aretaphila, the enforced Wife to the Tyrant Nicoreon: And her honest policy, for the deliuerance of her Country.

THE vertue and constancie of the Noble Lady Aretaphila the Cyrenean, deserveth to be remembered in all Ages. She was the Daughter of Aglathor, and wife to Fedimo, who for Nobility and riches, was one of the worthiest men in the whole countrey: and in those times she was no lesse endued with singular beauty, then admired wifedom and eloquence in her speaking. It came to

pass, that *Nicoreon* vsurping the government by tiranies, condemned many worthy Citizens to death. And among other cruelties by him committed, hee caused *Melanippus* (the Priest of *Apollo*) to be slaine, to make vsurpation of his Priestly Office.

Afterward, hauing treacherously put to death *Fedimo*, the husband of *Aretaphila*; constrainedly, and whether she would or no, he married *Aretaphila*. Continuing on his pride against his people, & day by day encreasing his cruelty, hee furiously put a great number to death. And because they were to be buried without the City, he was entrusted by some of his pickethanks, that many counterfeited themselves to be dead, for their safer escaping out of the City, onely thereby to auoid his cruelty. Hereupon, guards of souldiers kept the gates, with long Iron Pikes and Bodkins, made red hotte in the fire; wherewith they pierced the bodies carried by, to try whether they were dead or no.

These cruelties, were greatly displeasing to his wife *Aretaphila*, who grieved to see her Countrey thus oppressed; and to such a height grewe her compassion, that hating *Nicoreon* for her former Husbands death, hee resolved to make adventure of her owne life, to free her country from so bloody a Tyrant. And although *Nicoreon* affected her extraordinarily, & bestowed infinite fauours on her, onely to please her: yet could shee not quit her thoughts from this magnanimous determination. And, when (through the tyrants power) all hope in the people was vnterly lost, for euery freeing themselves from his tiranny: she onely grew the stronger in her confidence, that shee should compasse the means of his death.

Herein she was still the more encouraged; by remembering the vndaunted resolution of the *Thebanes* * *Phraas*, so much renowned thorough the world, counting to imitate her example. But because shee had not the benefite of assisting Friends, as *Phraas* had; she concluded her enterprise alone by her selfe, purposing to kill the Tyrant by poyson. By which meanes she ranne into great dangers (as you shall reade hereafter) in regard shee failed many times of her attempting; and being surprized at the last; all dissimulations

Nicoreon a tyrannical vsurper of the supreme authority.

A hard countenance, by which hee was put to fear, for escaping from his tyranny.

Aretaphila pitying the oppression of her Countrey, hazarded her owne life to deliuer it.

* An honorable Lady of Thebes, that deliuered her country from cruell oppression.

were

were not sufficient, but shee was conuinc'd by most euident arguments.

At this time, *Caluia*, Mother to the tyrant (being a Woman of ferie temper, and one that heauily hated *Aretaphila*) laboured him by earnest perswasions, to put her to death with grievous torments: but the feruent loue of *Nicoreon* towards her, and her owne courageous spirit, in answering the accusations of her enemies; occasioned the delaying of her death. Nevertheless, after much clamor and constraint, she being conuinc'd by apparant testimonies, and no longer able to denie, but that shee had prepared a breuage for him: In the presence of the Iudges, with an vndanted and cheerefull countenance, thus she spake.

The Speech of Aretaphila, in the presence of the Tyrant, and all her hatefull enemies.

MY Lord and Husband, I freely confesse, that a drinke was prepared by mee to giue thee; yet farre from so much as thought, that poyson, or any harmful thing should therein be compounded: but onely as a drinke, whereby to incite feruent loue and affection. For, seeing my selfe to be enuied by so many Ladies, in regarde of the kinde loue by thee extended to me, and exalting me to wealth and honor, farre beyonde any capacity in them of compassing the like; fearing withall (most worthy Lord) that they would not spare their uttermost endeuour, to kill this louing kindnesse in thee towards me, and quench the true affection so long continued: I made that breuage purposely, to preserve the heat of loue in full power, and rather urge it to a higher reach, then suffer it to quail in the least degree. If therefore hereint I haue offended, Reson (me thinks) should free mee from punishment; in regard that [I] should loue (to confound that foule fiend hatred) thereto procured me. Neuerthelesse, if I shall bee saide to merite chastisement; it cannot urge death, as to an hatefull opposer: but rather such an amiable and fauouring affliction, as such a wife may be thought worthy of, who will not spare to practise any enchanting Potions on her Husband, to con-

uince his Loue in correspondencie, equall vnto hers.

Such was her constant carriage in this ansvver, and appearing of so sound truth in the Tyrants opinion; that by no means he would permit these should bee put to death. Onely, through their diuelliish & violent vrging, he suffered her to be further tryed by Racks and Tortures, as hoping (that way) to extort confession. *Caluia* causing the extreamest tortures to be prepared, stood by, while they were inflicted on her, euen according to the measure of her monstrous cruelty; and so many violences was done to the poor Lady, that *Caluia* her selfe, grewe wearie with the very sight of them. So that *Aretaphila*, not confessing any thing more then shee had done, was deliuered from further tormenting, and adiudged innocent by *Nicoreon*; repenting that hee had permitted her to bee so cruelly misused, and his loue now growing to farre greater extremity towards her, made him labour by all amorous blandishments, and gifts of extraordinary vauel, to reconcile fauour. & qualifie all conceiued vnkindnesse in her. And the, being a wife and sprightly minded Lady, had her owne discretion so much at command, that shee could seeme as earnest in loue to him as euer: yet carrying an inward vnconquerable remembrance of her Countreys Oppressions, and her owne extreme wrongs, waiting but time and meanes for iust reuendge, which offered it selfe to her in this manner.

Shee had (by *Fedimo* her husband) a yong daughter, of admirable beauty and vertuous qualities, named *Miraguarda*; and *Nicoreon* had a Brother, named *Leander*; youthfull, gallant, and somewhat disolute in affection to women, which made her the more diligent, to procure liking in him towards her daughter, and easily shee prevailed therein, by the help of amorous enticing drinckes, and other deuices, wherein shee wanted no furtherance of her cunning Physician. Beside, the witty instructions shee had giuen her daughter, for her carriage in the company of *Leander*; caught fire on the Tinder of his affection, in such violent manner; that (in all hast) he entreated his Brother to graunt

Nicoreon admitted further tryall by tortures, but wyl not let her dye.

Cruelly conquered by mild, patient, and constant sufferance.

An incompatible discrecion in *Aretaphila*.

Miraguarda, daughter to *Aretaphila*, & *Leander* brother to *Nicoreon*.

his

For an Impostume.

A present remedy for bleeding at the nose.

Plin. in l. 9. c. 44

An honorable Gentleman of Cyprus, and a worthy soldier.

The marriage
the only
meanes to be
reunited on
the Tyrant.

The persuas-
ions of Mira-
guarda to Le-
ander for kil-
ling his Bro-
ther.

Leander is
won to mur-
der his Bro-
ther, assisted
therein by his
faithfull friend
Dannilis.

his marriage with *Miraguarda*, wherto he as quickly gaue consent, provided, that he could induce the good liking of *Aretaphila* thereto, which was not long in obtaining (though excused with some fewe faint and modest doubts) because it was the only mark (he aimed at, to compasse that which she further intended.

Leander, being married to his beloued *Miraguarda*, their mutuall affections so sweetly sympathized together, as he could neuer be satisfied with her louely embracings, nor shee contented without his company. During the heate of this reciprocal fierie temper on both sides, *Miraguarda*, ingeniously instructed thereto by her mother (knowing she could craue nothing of her *Leander*, that eyther hee durst or would deny her) aduised him to the killing of her brother. And so futable were her witty remonstrances to his yielding soule (allegding the acte to be generous, the freeing of his country from tyranny, and a certaine assurance to himself, that in requittall of so blessed a benefite, the people could not chooſe but elect him their King, by whom they enjoyed theyr long desired deliuerance) that he liked the motion extraordinarily. Nor left shee off so, but plyed him still vnto the same purpose, that if hee did make deniall of the dede, the Citizens (in their violent hatred to the Tyrant) would acte this Tragedy themselves, as thereto they were all solemnly sworn; and then there could be no security of his own life.

So preuailing were these persuasions with *Leander*, that instantly he conspired against *Nicoreon*, perceiving that *Aretaphila* did not disallowe it; and imparting his intent to *Dannilis*, his familiar & very faithfull friend: by his assistance he slew him, sleeping in an Arbor of his Garden, and thereby became Lorde of the Kingdom. The possession whereof made him so proud and powerfull, that, despising *Aretaphila* and her worthy counsell, the world might plainly perceiue, that hee was rather a murderer of his Brother, then a conspirator for his countries freedom, because hee gouerned by iniustice and improuidence; albeit (afterward) he began to reuerence his mother in Lawe somewhat more respectfully, though the people were still oppressed, by many extreme violences.

Aretaphila perceiuing, that shee had not yet deliuered her country from tyranny, concluded to compasse it by his death likewise. Heereupon, by secret intelligence, she wrought with *Anabius*, a wise Prince, and a Native of *Lybia*, to rise in Armes against *Leander*, wherto he was very easily induced. Hee being at hand with a potent Army, *Aretaphila* conuersing with *Leander*, told him, that his Capitaines were not equall in courage and strength, to those braue Warriors that came with *Anabius*, and therefore it would proue disadvantageous for him, to make hazard of his weake forces against him, being not certaine of his owne subiectes, whom he had too much prouoked by his harsh vsage; and therefore farre vnfit to be trusted in trial of warre. Wherefore she aduised him, to labour by honest & plausible meanes, that a pacification might passe betwene them; promising, to practise such meanes her selfe, that hee should haue a friendly imparlance vwith *Anabius*.

Leander liked well the Counsell of his mother in law, and praised her to proceed therein; whereupon, shee dealt for the day of their meeting. Preuailing so well (in the meane time) by faithfull Messengers to *Anabius*, that when *Leander* should come forth to confer with him: he either should kill him, or take him prisoner, promising a great sum of money for the performance thereof. *Leander* being fearful by nature (as commonly all Tyrants are) daily deferred the enterparlance: but his mothers pressing him with shame of base cowardise, and saint-hated effminacy, (shee promising to goe along with him in company) procured him to issue forth vnarmed. *Anabius* coming on to meete him with his traine, *Leander* made a timorous flay, saying; hee would not passe any further, vntill he had his guard about him. But *Aretaphila*, one while by faire speeches, another while by foule reproaches, calling him nothing but coward at euery words, still made him to walke on alog with her, and taking him by the arme, as to inspire him with courage, brought him forcibly to *Anabius*, and deliuered him vp as his prisoner, who safely there kept him, vntill the promised summe of money was sent him.

Afterward, she returned backe to the Cittie,

Another at-
tempt of Aretaphila for the deliuerance of her country.

The death of
Leander and
Caluia his
mother.

Aretaphila
made Prison-
er of the
Country.

Aretaphila
constrains a
meeting be-
tweene Leander
& Anabius.

Tyrants are
fearfull vnto
themselues.

Aretaphila
deliueired Leander
prisoner to Anabius.

Here obtray-
ned then they
desired or ex-
pected.

City, there manifesting the manner of her successe, and how shee had deliuered her Country from the Tyrants power: Whereupon, the summe of money was collected and forthwith sent vnto *Anabius*. Then was *Leander* deliuered to *Aretaphila*, who instantly gaue him into the Magistrates power: so that by generall sentence, he was sowed vp in a sacke, and drowned in the Sea, after he had seen his Mother *Caluia* burned. All the Citizens flocking before *Aretaphila*, humbled them selues on their knees, confessing the iust merit of her praise: because (with so great perill of her life) she had saued her Country; enforcing her to vndergoe the Government, which shee did, and ruled graciously vntill she had reduced the citie to perfect peace. Then, resigning vp her Office into the Senates hands: shee entered a Monasterie of Sacred Virgines, where shee liued priuately, and peaceably passed the remainder and rest of her dayes.

CHAP. X.

Of the Famous Philosopher Euxinus: And of a Letter sent by the Senate of the Athenians, to the Lacedemonians.

BETWEENE the *Athenians* and *Lacedemonians*, a verie cruell warre was waged, about the difference of certaine Confines, and in the field of battle, the *Lacedemonians* being foyled and discomfited by the *Athenians*: the vanquished desired truce with the Victors, and for their easier attaining thereto, they sent (as Ambassador) the renowned Philosopher *Euxinus*, who spake in so eloquent a style to the Senate, and onely in the praise of peace, deliuering such learned and pleasing allegations, as not only truce was granted to them, but also they freely gaue them those Confines, which they pretended was appertaining to the, and (by the chance of warre) hadde lost. Such power had the Oracion, deliuered by *Euxinus*; and the Senat of *Athena* back

to the, acquainted them with their minds in this maner.

The Senate and People of Athens, send health and peace to the Lacedemonians.

WEE call the Goddess to Witness, that in the late passed battell betwene vs, Wee more greened to see you so bloodily vanquished, then we ioyed in our owne fortune of victory: because the effects of Warre are such, that damage is certaine to the Conqueror, and benefit to the Conquered is doubtfull. Wee could heartily haue wished, that the demand by you now propounded, had bene before in like manner required: but such is the lot false both on you and vs, that you haue lost very much in this warre, and yet wee can boast of no benefit thereby. For the rule is most certaine, that whatsoever is appointed by the Gods, cannot be comprehended by humane iudgement, nor impeached by the power of man.

You require truce for three moneths, to the end, that in that time, an agreement may be concluded betwene vs. Wee returne you answer, that the Senat of *Athena* neuer vsed to make truce, after they had begun a War: obseruing (as a most ancient Lawe) that either they accept of cruell warre, or else freely condiscend to perpetual peace.

Wee labour and practise in the times of peace, to allure Wise-men into our Schooles, to helpe vs with their counsell in the times of Warre; and now they aduise vs, not to make a truce on suspected conditions: wherein wee thinke they counsell vs well, because a counterfeyte peace is more dangerous then an open waged warre.

The Philosopher *Euxinus* your Ambassadour, hath spoken so eloquently in the Senate, that we hold it vnreasonable, to deny any thing by him named: and therefore it is a matter more honest, to grant him peace that requires it by kinde words, then him that rudely asks it with the Weapon. Wherefore we tel you, and now giue you to vnderstand, that our Senat (with a franke and free hart) granteth to you *Lacedemonians*, loyall peace,

The events of
warre are vn-
certaine to
either side.

What heauen
hath ordaind,
is not to bee
disappointed,

Good words
doe suffice more
then weapons
can doe.

deliuering you from all suspition of war: And this wee doe, that the world may know, the *Athenians* are of so great spirit against the audacious, and so woorthie friends to such as are wise, that they both know how to chastise foolish Capitaines, and how to be commanded by discrete Philosophers.

The occasion of the war between the two States.

Well worthee, that all our difference hath growne about possession of Townes feared on the bankes of the Riuer *Milina*. By this letter we tell ye, and sweare there to also by the immortal Gods, that wee freely renounce all right wee can pretend vnto them, on this condition: that (at our meeting) you shal giue vs your Ambassador *Euxinus*: for the happy *Athenians* do more affect a Philosopher in their school, then a whole Province for their Commonwealth. Yet *Lacedemonians* account it no acte of leuitie in vs, to change townes and territories, to bee gouerned by one onely man: because the Philosopher can teach vs how to liue well, whereas such Countreyes may giue vs occasion of dying ill. And in regard, that (of ancient enemies) we now declare our selues your true louing Friends: We not onely deliuer you from Warre, and send you Peace; but likewise will giue you Counsell how to conferre it; for the Physike that preferueth health, is farre more excellent then that which expelleth diseases. And this is the remedy which wee giue you.

Honourable counsel giuen by the Athenians to the Lacedemonians.

As ye desire, that your yong men shal exercise themselves to Armes, in like manner bee as diligent, that your Children may haue Learning in due time: For, as Warre is made with cruell weapons, so with sweete words is peace soonest obtained. And thinke not (*Lacedemonians*) that wee heere to aduise yee without cause; for, in leauing the counsell of the Wise, and suffering ydenesse to encrease among the people: it engendred seditions and ciuill Vwarres, onely to make men murder one another. Nor would we haue ye thinke vs friends to busie praters; for our ancient Father *Socrates* appointed; that the first Lesson read to a Scholler in our Academy; was, that for the space of two yeares, hee should not dare to speake a word; because it is a matter impossible, that any man can be wise in speaking, except he be admirably

A busy talker can neuer bee a Wise man.

patient in silence, and knoweth howe to hold his peace.

May it please you then, to permitte *Euxinus* to remaine with vs, and imagine, that if wee hope for benefite by his presence; you may rest assured, that from such counsell as he giues vs, you cannot receiue any damage. For, it is a very ancient law in *Athen*, that the Senate may neuer attempt any Warre, vntill our Philosophers haue first made examination, whether the cause bee iust or no. So wee cease, praying both your and our immortal Goddes, to preserue you and vs in perpetuall peace: for that onely is perpetuall, that stands confirmed by the will of the Gods.

A common law for our Christian kingdome.

CHAP. XI.

The true Module and Patterne of Government, to be obserued in any Commonwealth; deriued from the communite among Bees, and how many wayes they may be examples to men.

THE forme of a Commonwealth obserued amongst Bees, methinkes is so proper and answerable vnto that of men: as it may bee verily presumed, that GOD gaue them it by a Naturall instinct, and for an instruction vnto our manner of Government. This little Creature, is named by the Latines *Apis*, a deriuation from the Greeke, which signifieth to bee without feet: not in regard that it hath no feet, but because they do ioyne so closely and aptly with the body, as if indeede it had none at all.

Many haue written of their properties and qualities; as *Aristotle*, *Pliny*, and many more: beside, I find in elder times, that *Hiliscus Tatinus* was verie inquisitive, to vnderstande the properties of these Creatures, and that he might render the fonder reasons of his knowledge; hee liued in Forests and solitarie places, where best he might attaine to his owne intent.

And

The deriuation of the Latine word *Apis* from the Greeke.

Hiliscus Tatinus was a diligent searcher into the properties of Bees.

Chap. II.

Of the Bees Commonwealth.

Aristotelmus wrote diuerse bookes of the Bees qualities.

A kinde of religion obserued in Bees, before coming forth of their hives.

Men are not born for themselves, but for the commonweale.

None but one King may haue the order of Government.

Mutual loue and charity among the people is no vaine happiness.

And *Aristotelmus* likewise, for the space offorty yeeres (without attending to any other exercise) gaue himselfe wholly to the same labour: and both of them wrote diuers Bookes very apt and worthy for all posterity.

The first and most notable thing, obserued in the writings of moderne men, is that they haue noted an admirable kinde of Religion in these little Creatures: For, before they will issue forth of their Hives, they bow downe their heads forward in such humble manner, as if they were devoutly at meditation on their knees. Declaring therein (euen by Naturall instinct as it were) to vs, that we should not undertake, or beginne any thing, before wee haue first honoured God, and recommended our endeouours to his gracious goodness, that they be begonne and ended in his name. Very respectiue are they, that by the food they gather from sweet Flowers, they may produce hony, beneficial both for others and themselves; demonstrating thereby, that men should labour (by veruous means) to performe good actions in their life time, auailable both for themselves and others; considering it is a duty required in men, and for which they are born, not to labor for themselves, but also for their Countrey, and their Friends.

They are content to liue in their owne habitation, without intruding for dwelling in anothers house. As a notable example to vs, that (for the peace of the Commonwealth) euery man should rest contented with his owne, without coueting or vsurping ought from any other.

Euery Hie hath his King, and both he and his attendants, doe shun noyses, clamours, and windes. Which teacheth vs, that we ought to haue one cheefe Commander in one Commonwealth, by who all the rest may be well gouerned: & that we should shunne the sinne of Ambition, in being greater one then another in the Commonwealth, to the end, that there may be good discipline. Also, we should flee from all windes of vanities, tumults, partialities, and enmities. Flight, labour, food, and fruite is common alike to euery one; to let vs vnderstand, the mutual loue and charity which ought to be among Citizens, in being helpful one to another: and partaking likewise in o-

thers distresses. for by this meanes, mens mindes become linked together in such amity, that the Commonwealth flourisheth in peace and quietnesse, and is a goodly president to other estates.

These creatures liue without lubricitie, although they engender more then any other. Which instructeth vs, that for the peace and repose of the people, men should haue care of childrens generation, to perpetuate their owne kind and the Commonwealth, without lusting after adulteries: but to liue chaste and temperate in pleasures carnall, the libertie wherof doth procure contentions, quarrels, and death.

They doe respect their King with such loue and obsequence, that they account it an honourable deede to die for him. And Saint *Ambrose* saith thus: *They will not flye abroad, until they first see, whether he will flye forth, or no: that they may keepe him company, in finding foode, and other effects for common benefite.* Which may minister example vnto men, for honouring their Prince, to whom GOD hath giuen such Authoritie, to be assisted and imitated in those paines, which he taketh for the good of his people, hee being the principall of the Commonwealth.

They endeour continually, to elect such a one for their King, as (in appearance) is most Noble, as also the mildest, not vsing his sting against anie other, which onely is as a punishment for offenders. Aduiſing vs hereby, to elect such for our Gouernors and Magistrates, as are of generous Nature, discrete, wife, and debonnaire. And these small creatures, are of such nature, that they who are of greatest bodie amongst them, are also (commonly) the most humane and gracious. Signifying nothing else to vs, but that he ought to be most milde and courteous, that is exalted vnto the highest dignity, as well in Nobilitie of blood, as in wealth and vertue: which things naturally beget enuy in others, and yet destroy themselves by humanitie, and conuerteth into loue. Most obedient are they to their King; and if any one haue declared disdain, or disobedience, & the same bee discerned: hee neuer attendeth for other correction, but instantly slayeth himselfe with his sting. Whereby we are

A worthy president of civility in life.

Ambrosius in lib. de Cena Dom. cap. 9.

In what manner the Bees elect & make choise of their King.

A note for such as are highly aduanced.

Loue and fidelity to our superiours.

admonished, to be faithfull and loving to our Prince or Magistrate, and fearefull to offend, even to death it selfe.

No idleness amongst the Bees, but all employed in severall offices, & all for general benefit.

No Bee is slothful or idle in the Hieve; for some flye forth to combate against other in open field: others watch to seeke for fooode; others contemplate times, to foresee when stormes and raines will ensue; others compose the hony Combes; others lay aside the waxe by it selfe, and thereof others make little Lodgets, caries and rounds, in very straunge and wonderfull order. Neuerthelesse, in so many and sundry offices, no one intrudes into anothers businesse, or dare make any stealth or robbery from his companions: but by his owne labor and vertue, hee feedeth abroad on herbes and flowers, and yet brings a part of his pains home, for general good of the Commonwealt. Herein we have a notable instruction, to abhor & banish out of our Cities, slothfull rogues and idle vagabonds, that will not live by their owne labour as they ought to doe. Wherefore through such deboshment & negligence in men, all such vices arise in Cities, as doe corrupt good manners, and overthrow order: for every one shold live upon his owne endeavour, without vsurping ought of others; and what he hath superfluous, is for general aide of the Common-wealt, and to be ministred to others necessities.

The weapons of defence for themselves, & offending enemies to their State.

Nature hath given them stings to defend themselves, and offend such as dare assaile them, or presume into their city or hieve: and although they are not of any great copulencie, yet notwithstanding they have unconquerable courage & prudence. For with the gum of trees, they annoynt the superficies of their hives, to the end, y no beast or other enemy may enter in at any rift or chinke; and if the passage or rift be over large, they labor diligently to restrain and make it lesse. By which example men are admonished, to be stout and courageous for defence of their countrie, and wisely to foresee, that no Vices enter into their Common-wealt, that may infect, corrupt, or poyson it.

By naturall instinct, they are enclined, that each one sties on the first flower hee finds, and parts not thence away, untill hee have taken his refection and nourishment: whereof he wil discharge himselfe, before he seekes out any other. And much they

frequent the leaves and flowers of the Olive tree, making there from long abiding: serving vs as an example, what sobriety we should use in the course of our Life. When they feed on the flowers of the Almond tree, their hony is the more sauiour and temperate; whereas contrary-wise, when they feed on bitter herbs or flowers it is far less sweet: notwithstanding, it is thinner, very mundificative, profitable for the opilations of the Liuer, and good for the dropic, as also to heale the biting of a mad dogge.

Such as haue made triall by experience of these creatures, doe iustifie, that when their king cannot fly, he is carried abroad by troops of them; and during the time y he liueth so sickly, the females are separated from the males. But when he is dead, then they conuerse together again: which declareth, what pity and piety wee owe to our Prince and countrey, and that men shold gladly support and suffer for one another. The sting of the female is sharper then the males, & there are many males, that haue no stings at all. Hereby we may vnderstand, that the tongues of women are more piercing then mens, & oftentimes cause very great inconueniences: in which respect, they should be kept short & tempered, that their lauish liberty breed no blame and contention among neighbors. The best Bee is litle, round, closely plump bending in the midst, and least hairy. Some feed on flowers of the mountaines, others on them of Gardens and husbanded places: the first whereof, are much lesse then the other, as also more strong and robust, to endure labor. Beside, according to *Pliny* they are of far dreadfuller aspect, abiding in the rifts of trees, or in some smal vaults. And what fairer example can nature afford vs, then of their strength and abilitie? For, such people as are not educated in delicacies, but in continuall exercises of mind and body; are most profitable members for the Common-wealt. Closely they ply their worke in their hives, & feed on the superabundance of their Combes, knowing by meere instinct of nature, that if they shold not do so, & giue vigilant attendance: Spiders would get into the hieve, & there kil the. When they haue but smal store of hony, the most of them keeps the entrance, y it may not be taken from them untill they are better provided. A worthy

When the King of Bees is sick, & cannot flye

A good advertisement for Women.

Of mountain Bees, differing from water.

Who are the fittest members for the Commonwealt.

pre-
fili

The danger of hatred and contention.

The idle Drones that make no hony

A notable imperfection in the government of Bees, worthy observation.

Is in loc. 10

Verues well being with the society of a Prince.

The nearest kinship of Bees, ex-
tending men
in unity of
etc.

president to men, to banish all superfluous things out of their Common-wealt, least by the means of them, the venome of hatred may be bred among the, which may procure the death of one another. And when death or scarcitie happens in their Cities, vigilancy is needfully required, to preserve such store as they haue; that it may not bee elsewhere transported, & so publike calamity ensue thereon.

There are a kind of Bees which labour not to produce hony, but eate that already made, and they are longer then the other: the good Bees haue continuall war with them, to expell them out of their Commonwealt. Signifying to vs, that slothful persons should be excluded from other mens company: and such as seeke to feed by others sweat. Their King neuer flies abroad, but he is attended round with a great company of Bees, and if it so happen, that they meet with another flight of Bees, that likewise haue their King with them, they leaue their owne, to accompany the new King. And if their owne King contend, to reduce them againe vnder his obedience; they kill him, and follow the other newly made choise of, and him they elect as their king. This excess he hath very sildome, & is one of the two imperfections which these creatures haue in their government: beside it is necessarie, that in every kind there should be some vice. If they chance to sting hard, they put forth the whole length of their sting; whereon themselves die withall, because their bowels issue out thereby.

Their Kings and Governours sting but sildome, although they are thereto provoked; for some say, that they haue no sting at all. And *Pliny* is not certaine, whether they haue any or no: but notwithstanding, he is well assured that they sting not: Neither care they that the king should be so armed, provided, that he bee of good government, valiant, & maiestically: which proueth, that Princes ought to be benign, milde, and patient: neuer to take any delight in cruelty, but rather to be gentle & mercifull. Such is the cleanliness of these creatures, that they cannot endure any foule or noisome sauiour; & therefore when they returne to their Citie or Castle (for such they account their Hieve to be) they discharge their bellies in the aire, & many times (through bad finelles) they become

sickly, and so soone as any one of them dyeth, the rest hurle him out of the Hieve. They grow sicke also thorough idleness, and therefore they will not suffer any to bee slothfull amongst them: and the smell of boiled fish, such as Crenises, Lobsters, and Crab-fish is deadly to them. An excellent example for men to liue cleane & neatly, free from a vicious life, carefully respecting both their soules and bodies.

The winde is very contrary and hurtfull for them; and therefore when it is great, stiffe and boysterous, the hives ought to be carefully covered. VVarme places they affect in winter, as other creatures doe, and in Summer, fresh aires are most fitting for them. It is very necessary to vse diligence, when the hony is taken from the: because, if ouermuch be taken away, they will labour little; and if more likewise be left then is conuenient, they will bee the lesse diligent in making more, & therefore a moderate and reasonable quantity must remain, according to the number whereof they consist. VVhat worthier example to men can there be then this? declaring that in the commonwealth, euery thing ought to be moderately measured; because ouer-great, pompous, and luxurious dyer, do but destroy famous families, abounding in all superfluous things. And yet not to be too niggardly and sparing in provision needfully required. For as by the first children and seruants may become careless and negligent; so by the latter, they may grow wretched and desperate.

Another diligent care is required in the that make vse of Bees, to witte, that when they heare their great swarming noise in the hieve, it is a significatio that they would begone and leaue the hieve: but then if the hieve be gently sprinkled ouer with sweete wine, they will not stir abroad. Such as keepe them may easily take note hereof, because (ordinarily) they make no other noise then when they are flying: Wherein we are instructed, that by sweet language and kind behauiour, we may qualify sterne anger in discontented bretheren. *Aristotle* further saith, he did wel obserue it by experience, that their feet before are shorter then them behind; which is so giuenthem by nature, for their easier rising from the ground. He saith moreover, that when the hony corrupteth in the hieve, it engendreth certaine wormes, which make

Their delight in winter and summer.

A cauate for taking the hony from them

As lauish prodigality is not to bee vied, so penurious nigarditie is reprehensible

A note foretelling when Bees would forsake their hieve.

Aristot. in Lib. Anim. 4. Cap. 14

Wormes that wease spiders webbes in the hieue.

Reasons of their multiplying & decreasing.

Three rampiers of defence to guard their hony combes

Their flight abroad, & hinderance from returning home at night

The Sentinel to awake the in the morning.

webbes like vnto Spiders; whereby they wexe sicke, and dye. A very apt example for men, to bee vigilant and respectiue of themselves, that the sweet daies and prosperitie in the world, doe not so corrupt their soules, as to beget the banefull worm of ambition, which is deadly. In moyste times of raines, they multiply greatly, by reason of the humidity: and contrariwise they decrease in the times of drought, shorow want of moisture. Also in Winter, their strength much faileth them, in regard of cold weather, snowes, and windes out of the North; which hindereth theyr fruitfulness, and therefore they keepe closely hidden. But when the Flowers of Beans begin to sprout, they come abroad to labour: and the first worke they doe at home, is to build their dwelling houses, next to engender, & then to yeeld hony.

They make three feuerall rampiers before their Combes, as their garde and strength: the first crust (being vtmost) they make of bitter; the second (within) somewhat sweeter; and the third, thickest of al, because it ioyneth next to the Combes; & thus is the foundation of their defence. A good instruction for men, how to shape their building in this worlde, to vse diligence in their prouision, so soone as they can, especially of things necessary, then to marry, for encrease of children, and still to keepe employment in naturall exercises. When they flye forth vpon some vrgent occasions, and are preuented by night, so that they cannot returne home vnto their owne habitation, they sleepe topsie turuy, the vpside downe, because cold mists, fogs and raines should not offend their wings, to hinder their flight home to their owne houses, or execution of their other enterprizes and affaires.

Sentinels they haue of their owne appointment, who make a noyse at break of day, by which found they all awake; and turning themselves on their secte, they make a noyse againe to their Sentinels, as a thankfull signe of ioy: but then, vpon another sound from the same Sentinels, they are all silent, as attending what instant charge is to be giuen them. Informing our iudgements, in times of warre to bee very vigilant; well provided, and no way negligent. Excellent experience haue they, when raines and vnseasonable times will ensue, which they foresee by flying a-

broad in the Euenings, about their owne needfull occasions; and finding it to follow as they feared, they will not by anie means boudge from home.

They haue (beside) a maruellous order among them; namely, that the youngest Bees flye abroad, and bring home the fooode; the elder sort biding at home, to dresse and prepare it. But that which is yet far more admirable is, that when the yong ones arrive, laden with hearbes and flowers laboriously; some of the aged sort do meet them at the entrance, and help to ease them of their burthen. Moreover, such as come so home ouer-charged, seeke the sweetest aires to passe thorow, and where they are calmest: as fearing, least rude winds should make them let fall what they haue carefully gathered, or dry vpe their honey, and therefore they flye lower towards the ground: and such as can bring home no lading, are wont to carrie little stones or grawell, that by the weight of them, they may the better resist impetuous windes.

By this precedent example, yong men are admonished, that they ought to stirre and labour in the Commonwealt; & the more aged, to preserve the fruits of their paines. Yong men also, that do busie their braines in the blusterings of ambition; should take a lower flight, and neerer to the ground, esseeming themselves to bee no more then men: considering vprightly in their soules, that whatsoever benefit ensueth by their paines to the Commonwealt, they stand bound thereto by obligation. Let no man therefore ouer-ween, or strue to ougo or be aboute other, except his contention be honorable, & that his trauell may most aduance the good of the Commonwealt.

While thus these poore creatures are laboring abroad, their King abides at home, hauing a strong court of guard about him wel armed with their stings, for the defence of his person. He goeth abroad but very seldom, and when it is his pleasure to goe forth, he is (in like manner) royally attended. But whic he will haue his army abroad to any expedition; three daies before, loud summons is giuen for orderly preparation. If any troop of them swerue from following him, they find their error, by smelling to the ground where the King hath past, & so pursue in that tract, vntill they ouertake him.

A wonderful order naturally obserued among them, the yong being laboring for the elder.

A notable admonition for the better pointing of the Commonwealt.

The King is wonderfully defended by his Corps de Guard; & flying abroad with his army.

Pliny lib. 11. cap. 17.

Kingdome shal come gain by change of Princes.

The absolute foundation of eternall life in the worlde to come.

The cheef f. A note of incredulity in man.

him. It is to be admired, how highly they are comforted in his presence: for if he be lost by their negligence, the army loofeth it selfe, and then they go to ioyne with another King. Pliny also reporteth, that whē their king dieth, they are so full of anguish and sorrow, that they will neither feed nor flye abroad for any prouision: so that if he be not taken away dead from before thē, they will also dye with greefe and hunger. Tutoring vs heerein, that if strifes & variances happen among vs, they should not last of any continuance: also howe the death of our Prince should be irksome to vs, because little benefit cometh by changing Governours. Thus we perceiue, how many good examples may bee deriued from the Bees Commonwealt, not vterly vnecessary for our imitation.

CHAP. XII.

How sinfull and dangerous a thing it is to desire reuelations from the dead, or knowledge of things belonging to future life.



Like as God, who hath created vs without our felues, will not saue vs without our felues: euen so hath he giuen the ground worke of all means for our saluation, which is Faith, with hope of all those blessings, which (in the ancient Law) he hath promised, concerning the life to come, which also he hath reuealed by his owne sonne, and are not to be obtained without beleefe and hope in him. But humane frailty, or to speake more properly, Faith in man is so weake, that when the glorie which God hath ordained for that life is preached to him, he answers, he beleeueth it: But yet notwithstanding (saith he) it is a matter of no meane meruall, that of so many men as haue dyed, not so much as one man is returned back, to tell vs the secrets of that other life.

The very greatest signe of incredulity, that can be in the heart of man (in mine opinion) is this earnest desire, to wish from God a reuelation of the life to come. For seeing that faith consisteth in beleefe, and

to hope in such things as are not apparant if they were reuealed to vs: why then faith remaineth no more, and so the singulare meanes of saluation should be taken from vs. I say moreover, that by such manner of reuelation, not onely should faith be destroyed, but also it would bee an occasion in vs, whereby to runne into great error against God, as wee may easily prouue by this argument.

Admit the case, that our father, mother, or brother were raised, and returned again into this world, euen in the same flesh as they parted from vs: and to the end, wee might the more confidently credit theist, to be the very same persons, they did eate, drinke, & conuerse with vs (as our blessed Sauior of the world did with his Apostles, to auoide all scruple of doubt, that they were not shadows or phantasmes) they reuealing to vs, matters belonging to that concealed life: no doubt need to be made but wee would listen, and verily beleeu whatsoeuer they said to bee true. If this were so, all were but man, hauing a bodie and a soul, and we beleue him, whom we credit to be but a man, who is a liar by nature. Hereon then it followeth, that in giuing faith to him, we shal shew our felues rather to beleue a man, naturally a Liar; then God, who is the soueraigne truth indeed, and cannot lie, but hath oftentimes repeated to vs, what rewarde is prepared for the good, and what punishment for the wicked.

I thinke then, there is no man, but he will confesse it a greuous sinne, if hee should lend faith to a reuelation, desired by a reached man, to beleue the creature, rather then the Creator. Let no man then couer that which may redound to his own damnation; considering, what God hath bestowed vpon him, and also what is denied for his saluation, when hee may helpe to worke it with feare and trembling. If all are tyed to this conclusion, so much the more it belongeth to a Christian, whom our Sauior hath taught to beleue, whatsoeuer hee hath reuealed in the Scripture, And faith in the Parable of the Glutton, that to know heavenly things, wee haue the Lawe and the Prophets to instruct vs sufficiently.

An argument to approue the infallibility of the matter alleged of reuelations by the dead.

God onely is true, & al men liars.

The creature ought not to beleue, but the Creator onely.

CHAP. XIII.

Of a Disputation made in Antioche, in the presence of King Ptolomy, by seven severall Ambassadors, to know, which of their kingdomes had the best Lawes and Customes.

King Ptolomy being at Antioche, Ambassadors from the Romanes, Carthaginians, Sicilians, Rhodians, Athenians, Lacedemonians, & Sicyonians, came thither vpon severall occasions to him. And sitting at supper with the King, a disputation chaunced to be moued, concerning the condition of their Countries and Common-weales, which of them was best policied, and provided of good Lawes and commendable Customes. The dispute was long debated & maintained among them, being defended with good and sufficient reasons. Whereupon, King Ptolomy, being desirous to be resolu'd in the truth, commanded each man to speake the customes in their kingdomes: whereby might best be discerned, which of the Prouinces merited most to be commended.

The Ambassador for the Romanes first began, and answered in this manner. We hold our Temples in great and reuerend respect; wee are obedient to our Governours; and greuously we punish wicked and lewd liuers.

He for Carthage next spake, saying. In the Common-wealth of Carthage, our Noblemen fight for vs; our Plebeians & Mechanicks labour for vs; and our Philosophers enstruēt vs.

He for the Sicilians, said. In our Common-wealth, Iustice is intirely kept; our Negotiations are truly managed; and all liue equally togethier.

Hee for the Rhodians, saide. In our Common-wealth, our olde men are honest; our young men bashfully modest; and our women liue solitarily, vsing but few words.

The Athenian Ambassador saide. In

our Common-wealth, we neuer consent, that rich men shall be partiall, poore men idle, nor our Governours ignorant.

He for the Lacedemonians, said. In our Common-wealth, enuy cannot reigne, because we are all equal; nor auarice, because all our goods are in common; nor idleness, because all labour.

In our common-wealth (said the Ambassador for the Sicyonians) wee permit none to voyage forth abroad, because at his returning home, hee shal not teach & instruct vs in matters of nouelties; neither do we suffer Physicians, who may kill our healthfull men; nor do we allow Orators, because we couet not quarrelling causes.

When King Ptolomy had heard all the seven Ambassadors, he highly commended all their kingdomes; affirming, that they were all well and iustly gouerned. That each of them had good Customes, worthily deseruing commendation: and that it was hard for him to iudge, which of them was best ruled and ordered. So the Ambassadors taking their leaue of the King, returned home vnto their severall countries, very ioyful and contented, that the king had dealt with them so graciously in iudgement.

CHAP. XIII.

Of a very proud and sumptuous Temple (dedicated to Venus) in the City of Corinth, in the seruice whereof, were five hundred Ladies: And of the answer of an Abbess to a great Lord.



In Corinth, the principall City of Achaia, liued a tyrant, famous for wealth & vicious life, firnamed Hieron; who caused a sumptuous Temple to be built in the middle of the City, in the maner of a Monastery, & dedicated it to the Goddesse Venus. In this abhominable Temple, were more then 100. young Ladies & Gentlewomen of Asia, whom their fathers there offered to the Goddesse Venus, and to her seruice; so that such of them as were most wan-

Sparta or Lacedemon.

Sicyonia.

The answer of King Ptolomy to the Ambassadors.

ton and lasciuious, were held in greatest estimation, and reputed to be most holie and religious. It was not lawfull for any of them to go out of the Temple; but each one might there sinne, and please her selfe with such as the best liked, and as often as shee would: so that all their Religion consisted not in being honest and vertuous maydens, but they had power to doe what they pleased.

Among them was an other Lawe also, that if any of them had a mind to marrie, shee must giue or wince her dowrie, by the infamy of her body, which was permitted that she might to doe. Moreover, that beside her husband, she might haue an amorous friend: for, in being dedicated to the goddesse of Loue, they intended, not to loose the name of Vanton and Amorous. And no married wife or widdow, might offer in this Temple, but only virgines. And such as were so vnhappy, or wretched in fortune, to come and offer their Oblations there: before a yeare was expired, became a she diuell in this hellish sanctuarie; and of a chaste virgin, a shamelesse and lasciuious strumpet.

All such as had admittance there, were expert in reading; writing, singing, playing on instruments, and dancing. Whereby men were allured thither extraordinarily, and it was no shame for them to bee scene there.

The like Temples are (at this day to be scene) in the Portugall Indias, in the Prouinces of Iapan, where there are about eight hundred Monasteries; the least of which hath more then thirtie Nunnes in it, called there *Banzes*; whereof there are two sorts: one clothed in blacke, the other in lighter colours.

It is a common fame in those Countries, that these *Banzes* doe feede on a certayne hearbe, to auoyde conceiuing with childe; but if conception can not be prevented, then they eate another hearbe, to destroy the infant conceived. They enstruēt yong maydens in reading, and such is the foolishnesse of the people, to credit verily, that they can deliuer the soules of their deceased parents from Hell; and therefore (in that respect) they are greatly honoured and reuerenced.

We our selues in these dayes (almost monstrous and miserable) neede not tra-

uaile so farre off, to find out Monasteries, where Religious women or Nunnes (if wee may tearme them Religious) leade their liues as lowly and diffolutely, whereof themselves make no other concealement, but that all commers and goers, finde there exceeding kinde wellcome. Which enueth by ouer-much libertie & ydleness, or else, by being placed there by their parents, contrary to their owne liking. But the good and virtuously disposed (whereof there are many) are not comprehended amongst these deboshed women: And as for the voluptuous and immodest; they regarde not who knows their loosefenesse, and may well say of themselves, as an Abbess did, of whom Nicholas Boyerus maketh mention in his Decisions. She had fortie Nunnes vnder her charge, and there belonged to that Monastery twenty Priests.

It came to passe, that a Prince, whose predecessours had founded that Monastery; passing that way, and visiting the Religious companies: found all (else where) in good order, except the number of Priests, and these Nunnes, whose number he thought not well ordaind; whereupon hee sayde to the Abbess. Truly Madam; me thinkes, that in stead of forty Nunnes, forty Priests had bene better appoynted; and twenty Nunnes onelic had bene sufficient. My Lord (quoth she) perhaps the order is not so ill contriued, as you imagine it to be, neither is it to be condemned: for, of the fortie Nuns heere appoynted, twenty are for the twentie Priests; and the other twenty serue for all comers and goers.

CHAP. XV.

Of the Oracle of Apollo in the Isle of Delphos, the Originall thereof, and vpon what occasion it came.



He most renowned Oracle of Apollo in the Isle of Delphos, whither resorted infinite persons, and from all parts of the world: offering there great gifts, and consulting on especiall matters; because

Monasteries of Nuns neede home, giuing as lowly

Nicholas Boyerus in li. de Decis. Dist. 17.

The conference betwene a Prince & the Lady Abbess

A wicked custome observed in this detestable Temple.

No married wives or widdowes might offer in this Temple, but only Virgins onely

Exceeds too good for so low a kinde of life.

Monasteries of lewd Nuns in Iapan, and their abominable inequalities

*A part of Greece, containing Ionia, Ca Boeotia, Megaris, Attica, and Phocia

*A City and People of Babilonia, by Persepolis.

The argument moued to the Ambassadors by the King, for a resolution on them.

For the Romanes.

Carthage.

Sicily.

Rhodes.

Athen.

because more answers were returned thence, then from all other Oracles. At the first, there was a deepe, crooked, winding caue or ditch, out of which issued a winde, that blew extremely at the mouth or entrance; thereon was seated a young Virgine, dedicated to *Apollo*, that gaue answer to all things demanded of her. This winde was the diuine, who blew into her eares; and before the Temple was builded in *Delphos*, a she-Goat descending downe into that caue or ditch, became suddenly filled with a diuine Spirit, dauncing, skipping and leaping for ioy, as the like had neuer bin seene before. Whereat the Goate-heard wondering, followed her downe into the caue, and beganne to fore-tell of things to come. Many more beside made prooffe in the same maner; so that whosoever would know what was to ensue, most put his head into the entrance of the caue.

The reason for building the Temple.

Laflant, Grammat. in Achil. Stat. lib. 7. the. b. g. d.

Iamblic. in lib. Egypt. Myst. cap. 5.

* One of the names given to Bacchus. Cible, mother of the Gods.

were nothing else but ydle imaginations, and mere fables proceeding from the diuine, the father of lies. And by good right were such abuses and superstitions condemned, by them that had knowledge of our true eternall God; as *Daniel*, *Baruch*, and other holy men, who detested such Idolls and Images of the Gentiles, made of golde, silver, stone, wood, and other matter, and by the hand of man.

CHAP. XVI.

¶ What care our Elders had in ancient times, concerning the performance of their Sacrifices.



N ancient custome (good and commendable) hath euermore bene, not onlie on the behalfe of Christians, but also amongst the *Ethnickes*: in acknowledging the benefite they received from God; not by wordes alone, but also by effects and exterior Sacrifices. So that there is no Nation so barbarous, but hath confessed his God, by some outward signe. And the Roman Senate did alwayes holde Religion in veneration, that so often as they met together (as *Varro* reporteth.) *Although they had affaires of great importance, and which required hastie diligence: yet the first thing that they propounded to themselves (before decision of any doubts) was religious humiliation to their gods.*

At all times, and whensoever the Romaine Conquills or Emperours should go forth to warre, they neuer would prepare for the field, till they had first sacrificed to their gods, saying, *All felicitie and prosperitie proceeded from them.* And *Marcus Aurelius* saith; *They helde it for an infallible rule, that there can be nothing perfect among mortall men, except it bee perfected by God.* *Lycurgus*, the ancient Law-maker of the *Lacedemonians*, among other Lawes, ordained: *That no man should be so bolde to secke for fauor from a Prince, except he were knowne to serue the Gods diligently.* Nor do I alledge these examples, as intending to confirme my saying by Pagans and Idolaters: but onely to make vs blith with shame, by seeing, how farre they exceeded vs in pietie and religion.

For,

For, if wee would reade Histories, we should finde, that Gentiles and Pagans sought carefully, to recouer all their necessities from the gods.

In the time of *Quintus Fabius* and *Publius Decius*, they warring against the *Saminites* and *Herrurians*, the Roman Matrons performed wonderfull things, neuer ceasing day and night, in offering great Sacrifices to the gods, saying: *If they were once appeased, they needed not to stand in feare of their enemies.*

But *Caue* we Idolaters, and let vs seeke what the ancient children of God did, who at all times, and whensoever they were afflicted, had their recourse to Sacrifices, when they would expresse their thankfulness to Almighty God, for benefites received. *Noah*, after hee came forth of the Arke, erected an Altare, sacrificed thereon, and the sacrifice was so acceptable to God, that he promised him, neuer more to downe the world againe. Good *Isaac*, being gone from the house of *Laban*, to giue thanks to God, built an Altare, which hee consecrated to God. The children of *Israel*, being afflicted in the wilderness, layd: *Let vs go on for three dayes, and afterward wee will sacrifice unto our God.*

We reade in *Esdras*, that after the children of *Israel* were returned, to re-edifie their Temple, that they might sacrifice to God; they were so carefull, that building with one hand, they helde their weapons in the other, to defend them from their enemies.

In *Leuiticus*, mention is made of innumerable Sacrifices, whereby God pardoned offences committed. Hereupon *Daniel* being in the captiuitie of *Babylon*, and seeing the Sacrifices to be forsaken, sayd: *In these times, there is heere neither Prince, Governour, nor Prophet, nor Holocaust, nor Sacrifice, nor Oblation, nor Incense, nor place to offer our Firr-fruits on before thee: Reue thee therefore vs, with our soules broken; and our spirits cast downe.* *Elias* also, lamented grievously, because the Altares were ouerthrowne, and in his earnest zeale to God, vnable to suffer such ruine, desired to die. For without all doubt, nothing is more miserable, then when the seruice of Almighty God is despised, and where it faileth, a punishment from God surely followeth.

Aarons sonnes, *Nadab* and *Abihu*, were consumed with fire from heauen, before all the people; because they observed not the Lawe ordained for the Sacrifices.

King *Balthasar*, prophaneing the vessels of gold and silver, dedicated to the Temples seruice, to serue his wifes & concubines for drinking therein at his Table: diuinely sawe a Hand writing on the wall, foretelling his neere approaching ruine; so that he was taken by his enemies, and slayne the same instant. *Achab*, hauing prophaneed the holy place, erected a Temple to the Idoll *Baal*: but afterwards, going against the *Syrians*, he was slayne with an Arrow shot from a bowe.

The Records of Histories doe also tell vs, that *Pompey*, hauing made a Stable of Gods Temple, after hee had robbed, ransackt, & spoiled *Ierusalem*, became thereby so abominable to GOD, that thence forward hee was most vnfortunate. And although hee had before vanquished two and twentie Kings, yet at the last, himselfe was miserably overcome. The sonne of *Darius* was so prowde and presumptuous, that hee would not onely abuse men, but euen the gods also, and sent foure thousand men to beate downe the Temple of *Apollo*: but to great a hayle and tempest fell from Heauen, that destroyed them euery man. For this cause, the good Emperour *Marcus Aurelius*, writing a Letter to the King of *Trinacria*, reprooued him greatly, because he had beate downe a moiety of the temple, to enlarge his house. *Thou thinkest* (quoth he) *that the stones and mortar, wherewith the Temple was built, to be of small value: it is very true; but the Gods to whom they are dedicated, are most mightie. I wish therefore, if thou wouldst have peace with the Romaines, (hauing scandalized Rome, and grieved the Senate) that thou shouldst take as much of thy house to enlarge the Temple, as thou hast taken from it, and build it a great deale higher, and wider then it was; and then thou shalt be happy, in taking nothing from the house of the Gods, but rather that they possess part of thine.*

The *Athenians*, who were alwayes conquered by the *Lacedemonians*, in many wars which they haue had together: complayned to their God, because they had exceeded in their Sacrifices to him, farre beyond those of the *Lacedemonians*. But the Oracle of *Iupiter* made them answer thus:

Leuit. 10. 3.

Dan. 5. 2.

3 Reg. 22. 37

Pompey made a Stable of Gods Temple and the punishment therefore inflicted on him afterward.

* The Isle of Sicily.

The words in the Letter of Marcus Aurelius to the King of Trinacria.

The administration of the Ladies & Matrons of Rome.

Examples of the children of God.

Gen. 8. 18, 19. 21.

Pagans and Christians have bin cut full of Religion in all times.

Gen. 31. 54.

Exod. 15. 11.

1 Elders 43

Marcus Aurelius in lib. 1. de leg. cap. 8.

Ammonius in lib. 1. de leg. cap. 8.

Mar. Anton. in lib. 1. de leg. cap. 8.

Alaw made by Licurgus.

Decomp. of gods since null and draw some vengeance.

The Oracle
of Iupiter an-
swering the
Athenians.

1 Peter 53.

thus. *The humble and sincere Sacrifices of the Lacedemonians, are more agreeable to the Gods, then all the exterior pompe of the Athenians.* In which respect, we holde it as a Catholique maxime, That God giueth care to the prayers of the humble, and reprobeth those of the presumptuous. *Deus enim superbis resistit, humilibus autem dat gratiam.* For God resisteth the prowde, and giueth grace to the humble; so sayth Saint Peter.

CHAP. XVII.

¶ *Of diuers and sundry opinions of the Philosophers, concerning the seate of the Soule in the body of Man; And a contrarie coniecture of the Platonists.*



Plato and Democritus say, That the seate of the Soule is in the head. Straton the Philosopher limiteth it; Betweene the eye-browes. Erasistratus within the skinnie or filme of the Braine. Heraclitus placeth it, in the outward agitation. Moschion giues it place, throughout all the body. Xenocrates, in the crowne of the head. Parmenides, Epicurus, the Stincket and Aegyptians, lodge it wholly in the heart: as the like doth Orpheus. Xerxes, King of Persia, thought it to be in the eares. Empedocles in the bespe or pile of the bloud. Philo the Iew, in his Booke of Allegories of the Lawes, saith thus. The reasonable facultie or part of the Soule, is in the head; the irascible, in the heart, and the concupiscible, in the groin, or lower part of the belly.

But we Christians, hold it to be in the heart, whence proceedeth good and euill cogitations. Saint Augustine in his booke concerning the knowledge of true Life, writeth thus; *The Soule is dispersed throughout all the body, and keepeth wholly in every part thereof. Very true it is (sayth he also) that it yeldeth far greater effects and actions, in some one place, then other: either by the will, which in that place sendeth out his strength; or else by those instruments, proper and commodious for action.*

The Platonists say, That the Soule descendeth by Cancer, and mounteth agayne by Capricorne, and I thinke, that from hence they ground this coniecture. Because Cancer, is the house of the Moone, the vortice

whereof gouerneth ouer the vegetable parts, it viuifieth the body; And Capricorne is the house of Saturne, which presideth for contemplation, whereto the Soule being freed from the body it may walke at libertie.

CHAP. XVIII.

¶ *How men ought to shunne and auoyde Curiositie; And what penalties and punishments were appointed by our Auncients, for curiouse people.*



HE Athenians had a Lawe, which was well obserued among them, whereby euery man was forbidden (of what degree or qualitie soeuer he were) that hee should not dare, to enquire of any stranger, newly arriued in their Cittie: from whence he came, what hee was, nor what he sought for; vnder penaltie for him that demanded such questions, to be well whipt with rodde, and banished his Countrey. The end for which our graue Auncients made such Lawes, was, to keepe men from the vice of curiositie; which is alwayes ouer-ready, to prie into other mens affaires, and be regardlesse of their owne.

Plutarch, Aulus Gellius and Pliny doe thinke, that they can neuer sufficiently commend Marcus Portius the Romaine, because no man did euer heare him, to enquire what newes were at Rome; nor how the people liued in their houses. His talke alwayes was, of such things as hee knew was profitable for the Common-wealth, or else fitted such demands as required necessary answer. Plato, writing of Diomysius the Syracusan, speaketh thus: *The curiouse man, that would know the life and actions of another man; is more friend to his enemies, then to himselfe. For, hee will quickly beset with his tongue, in talking of his enemy, and what harme hee knoweth by him; but neuer cares what foule offences himselfe hath committed.*

A King of Sparta requested Pindarus to tell him, what was the most difficult thing for a man to doe? Whereunto Pindarus thus replied; *Nothing is more easie for a man, then to reprove an others, nor more difficult*

The Athenians Law against curious Questions.

The answer of Plato to Diomysius the Tyrant.

A good advice it were well observed.

King Lyfistimachus conuersing with the King Philippius.

The great wisdom of Marcus Portius the Romaine.

Plato in his Legg. 3. cap. 6.

The answer of the Poet Pindarus.

scuall, then to endure reprehension in himselfe.

Penetres, who among the Thebanes was a Philosopher much renowned, could neuer be numbred among the curious, nor condemned with the malicious. He hauing liued as a Philosopher, for the space of thirtie yeares in the Academies of Thebes; being blamed by some, because hee did not reprehend the finnes which hee sawe committed, answered: *When I know that I haue no sinne in my selfe, then will I beginne to reprove sinne in other.*

Plato departing from Sicilie, for his returne to Greece, and taking his leaue of Diomysius, the King spake thus vnto him. After thou comest among the Philosophers of Greece: O how ill wilt thou speak of me, and of my tyranny? Plato answered; Doubt not (Diomysius) what I shall speake of thee in the hearing of Philosophers: for their manners are so vertuous, and themselves so employed in their studies, that they haue no time to heare idle talke. Morouer he sayd; Know, O Diomysius, if thou beest ignorant, that such is the height of our Philosophie, as to perswade and counsell men. Then euery one should iudge himselfe, and not to busie his brains, to defame or reprove the liues of other.

Philippides, who was the first inuenter of Comedies, being a great friend to king Lyfistimachus; the King conuersing with him vpon a day, sayd; What dost thou desire of me (O Philippides) and I will freely graunt it thee, whatsoever thou requirest? The greatest grace (quoth Philippides, that thou canst giue me, is, neuer to acquaint mee with any of thy secrets. O wife and worthy answer! read by many, and vnderstood of few: For, if this Philosopher would not know the secrets of a King, much lesse would hee vnderstand them of his neighbours.

CHAP. XIX.

¶ *Of the three Conquests of England, by the Saxons, Danes and Normans, occasioned by the finnes, either of the Princes, or of the People, or of both.*

IF wee consider the three diuerse Conquests of England, since it receyued the

Christian faith, and the state thereof at the same time, together with the iudgement and testimony of the grauest Authors that haue written thereof; we shall easily see, that the same haue proceeded of no other cause, but by the finnes of the Princes, or of the People, or of both. For, although the infirmities of man is such, as there neuer wanteth matter for Gods Iustice to punish in Common-wealths (by reason whereof, we see, that in all Countreys, the people are scourged more or lesse from time to time, not onely particularly euery one in his owne person, with misadventures, sicknesse, losse of goods, death of children, and such like, but also generally, with plagues, famine, inundations and warres) yet the subuersion of Common-wealths neuer chaunceth, but for some great excess of sinne, eyther in the Prince, or in the People, or in both: And commonly, after many warnings & admonitions giuen by gentle and sweete corrections. Such being the longanimity and patience of Almighty God, that he layeth the Axe at the foote of the tree, long before he cutteth it downe, and trieth all means to cure the soares of his seruants, by lenities and fomentations, rather then by cauterisings and incisions, or by cutting off the infected member, which hee neuer doth, but when there is no other remedy.

This course (we see) hee helde with his owne people, for, though hee often chastised them with famine, pestilence, inuasions of enemies, and ciuile wars: yet (after a while) hee euer restored them to tranquillitie, plentie and peace, vntill they proued so incorrigible, that the Prophet Ieremi in the second chapter, and the thirtieth verse, lamented, in the person of God, that all his Fatherly corrections were lost vpon them, saying: *Frustra percussisti filios vestros: I haue beaten and chastised your children in vaine.* And againe, the aforesayd Prophet in the fifth chapter and in the third verse, saith to Almighty God; *Percussisti eos, &c.* Thou hast beaten them (O Lord) and they haue not bene sorie; thou hast consumed them, and they haue refused to receiue correction. As who would say; there is no other remedy left, but reprobation, subuersion, and vtter extirpation of them. And therefore Almighty God gaue

The causes of the three conquests of England by the Saxons, Danes and Normans.

Great excess of sinne in Prince, people or both.

The proceedings of Almighty God towards his owne people, like to the course hee held with the Brittaines.

Variety of conieures diuersly deliuered.

Philo Iudeus in his Allegor. leg. cap. 9.

Opinion of Christians.

Augustin lib. vii. cap. 33.

The opinion of the Platonists concerning the figure Cancer and Capricorne.

gaue them ouer into the hands of their enemies; first, the tenne Tribes in *Samaria*, as in the fourth booke of the *Kings* the seuenteenth chapter and eightene verse, which were all taken with their King *Hosea*, and translated into *Syria*. And afterward also, the other two Tribes in *Juda*, were carried into captiuitie by *Nabuchodonosor* king of *Babylon*, where they remained three score and ten yeares. And though they were afterwards restored to their Country, and their Temple redified; yet at length they were (for their extreme ingratitude, and peruerse obstinacie) vterly ruined.

The like proceeding Almighty God vied with *England*, in the time of the *Brittaines*, after they receyued the Christian Faith; for he chastised them, sometimes with dearth and famine, sometimes with pestilence, and other-whiles with incurfions of their enemies, and with ciuill warres amongst themselves: so long as the same sufficed to reduce them vnto repentance, and amendment of their sinfull liues, as sometimes it did; which their famous Countrey-man *Beda*, and ancient *Guildas* called, the *Sage*, doe testifie: Declaring, that the *Brittaines*, being partly driven by famine, and partly by inuasion of *Scottes*, and *Pictes*, eyther to abandon the Country, or to hide themselves in the Mountaines, Woods, and Caves; craued helpe and succour of the *Romaines*, writing vnto them that lamentable Epistle, whereof *Guildas* maketh mention; in the which they sayd: Our barbarous enemies doe drue vs to the Sea, and the Sea doth drue vs backe to them agayne: so that of two Kindes of death we haue our choice; that is to say, Whether we will haue our throates cut, or else be drowned. Thus wrote they to the *Romaines*.

But being not succoured by them, by reason of their great warres at the same time with *Attila*, they beganne to haue recourse to the mercie of God, and to relie wholly vpon his helpe (as the forsayd Authors haue reported) and so (with his assistance) assailed their enemies out of the Caves and Woods where they lay hidden, and not onely gaue vnto them great ouertrowes, but also droue them out of the Country; and shortly after had such plenty of corne, fruite, and all

kinde of victualles, that the like had neuer beene scene, nor heard of before in many ages. Whereuppon followed the effect, which *Moses* noted and lamented in the children of *Israel*, *Deuteronomie* the one and thirtie chapter and the three and twentieth verse; *Incrassatus est dilectus* (sayeth hee) *& recalcitrauit*: The beloved people of God was made fatte, and then they beganne to kicke: that is to say, (as hee expoundeth it euen presently after) *Incrassatus, impinguatus, dilatatus dereliquit Deum factorem suum*. Being become faire and fatte, they forooke their God and Creator; so fell it out with the *Brittaines*.

For, they prouoed so vngratefull for Gods great mercy towards them, that (as the aforesaid Authors doe affirme) they fell into the extremitie of all mischief and wickednesse. *Non solum secularis viri, &c.* Not onely Secular men, but also the Ecclesiasticall; giuing themselves wholly to drunkennesse, to animositie and contention, enuy, cruelty, hatred of truth, loue of lies, and all vice. Wherevpon our Lord scourged them with such a pestilent mortalitie, that (within but a while) there were not men enow alieue (as these Authors testifie) to burie the dead.

And when that sufficed not to reuoke them from their vicious liues; *Non multo post* (saith *Beda*) *acrior gentem peccatricem ultio diri sceleris secuta est*. Shortly after, a sharper punishment of such detestable wickednesse followed vpon that sinfull people. For the *Pictes* and *Scots* beganne againe to make such irruptions vpon them, that (not being able to withstand them) they were forced to call in the *Saxons* to assist them. *Quod Dominum nra* (saith *Beda*) *dispositum esse conitat, &c.* Which it is manifest was done by Gods disposition, to the end that their wickednes might receiue due punishment. For, within a while, the *Saxons* did confederate themselves with their enemies, and picking quarrells against them, destroyed all the Country with fire and sword, burning vp houses, villages, and townes, and killing all sort of people: in so much, that many fledde into forraigne Countries, and others hid themselves amongst the hilles, mountaines and wooddes, vntill acknowledging the iust iudgement of Almighty God vpon them, they called to him

Deut. 32. 13.

Ibid. The Brittaines by prosperity became intemperate and ungratefull to God.

Beda Eccl. Hist. lib. 1. cap. 14.

The vicious finnes of the Brittaines.

Idem Ibid.

New inuasions of the Brittaines by the Pictes and Scots.

Idem Ibid.

The Brittaines called in the Saxons to their defence, which by Gods iustice, turned to their overthrow and confusion.

Idem. cap. 16.

The patience which God vied towards the Brittaines before their Conquest.

The miserable state of the Brittaines inuaded by the Pictes and Scots. *Guildas de excidio Britan.*

The Brittaines destitute of humane help, had recourse to the diuine, and obtained it.

Beda Eccl. Hist. lib. 1. cap. 14. *Guildas de excidio Britan.*

him for mercie. *Vnanimis consensu auxilium celeste precante*; Crauing helpe from Heauen with vniforme consent, where with Gods mercie was moued to giue them *Ambrosius Aurelianus* for their captaine, and diuerse notable victories, by his meanes. And especially at *Blackamore* in *Yorkeshire* (for so was called *Mons Badonicus*, as saith *Polydore Virgil* in his third booke) where they made such great slaughter of them: as that (for some certayne yeares) they did not further molest them.

For, being (as *Guildas* in his booke *De Excidi. Britan.* reporteth) mindefull of their former calamities, and of afflictions laid on them for their finnes: all sorts of men spirituall and temporall, as well the Princes as their subiects, did euerie one their ducie in his vocation. *At illis* (saith *Guildas*) *decedentibus, &c.* But they being dead, and another Age succeeding, ignorant of the miseries past, and corrupted with present ease and pleasure; All truth and iustice was so subuerted: that there appeared not so much as anie sight thereof, in all the aforesaid states of men; *Exceptis paucis, & valde paucis*. Excepting a few, and those very few. For, the kings (saith he) were Tyrants, the Iudges most wicked and corrupt; the Priests negligent of their ducie. *Rare sacrificantes, & nunquam puro corde inter altaria stantes*. Seldome sacrificing, and neuer comming to the Altar with a pure heart. Ignorant, impudent, simoniacall, lasciuious; and all sortes of Lay men loaden with wickednesse, with murder, parricides, pride, adulteries, swearing, periuries, blasphemies, and all Kindes of iniquitie.

And now to shew some particularities of this, and how iustly the vengeance of Almighty GOD was powred out vpon the whole Kingdome: The same Authour, in the place before cited, toucheth briefly the liues of some of the Kings and Princes, which liued in his time: as of *Constantinus*, *Aurelius*, *Conanus*, *Vortiporius*, *Cuneglasus* and *Maglocunus*, taxing them with tyrannie, periurie, sacrilegious murders, and parricides (committed euen before holy Altars) adulteries, horrible incests, breach of vovves, of religion and chastitie; yea, and two of them with beastly Sodomic.

For the which enormities, and the ge-

nerall corruption and wickednesse of the whole Kingdome, hee threatneth, or rather prophesieth vnto them, vnto ruine and destruction; which (shortly after) worthily fell vpon them, as the *Brittish* Chronicles by *Geoffrey of Monmouth* in the twelfth booke of his Historie and the fifteenth chapter, also acknowledged: For hee sayth, That King *Cadwalader* (who was the last of the *Brittaines* race) vied these wordes, as hee fledde by Sea into *France*, with the reliques of the *Brittaines* nation; *Va nobis peccatoribus ob immania scelera nostra, &c.* Woe beeto vs sinners, for our grieuous fins, wherewith we neuer ceased to offend God, while we had time of repentance; and therefore now the punishment of God fall's vpon vs, which roots vs out of our native soile. Thus saith *K. Cadwallader*, and more to that purpose.

Afterward hapned the inuasion of the *Danes*, who first by piracies, & after by open wars, cruelly infested & troubled the realme at sundry times, for the space of almost 200. yeares. But the good king *Alfred*, or *Alfred*, Founder of the famous Vniuersity of *Oxford*, recovered all formerly lost, & droue the *Danes* out of *England*: except such as were content to become Christians, to whom he gaue the kingdomes of *Northumberland*, and of the *East-Angles*, who, during his time, neuer moued warre. And they of the Easterne parts, stirring afterward against his sonne, called *Edward*, were by him vtterly overthrowne; as also the other in *Northumberland*, in like manner, and vpon the like occasion, were subdued by his Grand-child *Alstane*, who made *England* a Monarchie, which so remained and flourished without further infestation of the *Danes*, during the reigne of four kings, the successors of *Adelfane*; to wit, his two brethren, *Edmond* and *Elared* (who succeeded one another) and the two sons of *Edmond*, called *Edwin* and *Edgar*, which *Edgar* was (for his excellent vertues, and prosperous reigne) called *Honor & delicia Anglorum*. The honour and delight of *England*: or, as *Ingulphus* termeth him, *Honor & Rosa Regum*: The Honour and Rose of Kings.

Of whom it is written, that in his time, all Ecclesiasticall Orders flourished, learned and vertuous men were highly esteemed, all ciuill and forraigne warres ceased, and he was called the King of *Albion*, be-

King Cadwallader flying in to France, acknowledged Gods iustice vpon himselfe and his people for their fins.

The conquest of the English by the Danes.

King Alfred expelled all the Danes that would not become Christians. Poli. Virg. hist. lib. 1. Ingulph. hist. Angl.

The mercie of God to the posteritie of the good King Alfred, to the 4. generation. Gul. Malmes. lib. 2. cap. 8. Ingulph. hist. Anglorum.

ing no lesse powerfull by Sea, then by Land. No yeare of his reigne passed, wherein hee built not a Monasterie, or else did some great and notable good to his Countrey: And such were his vertues, and great fame for felicity, that there came principall men from out of all the Countreies adioyning, to see, and be acquainted with him.

Now, whereas the *Danes* returned againe into *England*, shortly after *Edgar*, in the reigne of his sonne *Etheldred*; and not onely molested it with incursions (as they were wont) but also conquered and possessed it for a time: it may well be presumed, that they were but the instruments of Gods iustice therein; and that this conquest made by the *Danes*, proceeded of the finnes, partly of the famous King *Edgar* (though hee were dead before) and partly of his wife *Alfreda*; and lastly, of their sonne *Etheldred*, in whose time the Countrey was conquered. For, although King *Edgar* excelled in all pietie and vertue in his latter dayes; yet hee did an ake in his youth, whereof it may be thought, that his children and posteritie payed the penaltie.

This I say, for that after the death of *Alfreda* his wife (by whom hee had King *Edward* the Martyr) hee fell in loue with *Alfreda*, wife to a Noble man called *Ethelwoolfe*, whom (with her consent) he caused to be killed, to the end he might marrie her. How grieuous this sinne was in the sight of Almighty GOD, and how iustly punished in his posteritie, wee may well iudge by the like offence of King *David*, who, to the end he might marry *Bathsheba*, procured the death of *Uriah* her husband, for the which, the Prophet *Nathan*, in the second booke of the *Kings*, chapter twelue, verse ten, told him from Almighty God; that the sword should neuer depart from his house; and that his sonne in the Cradle, should die therefore. Beside, Almighty God permitted (for punishment of that sinne) that all his other children (except *Salomon*) died most unfortunately. For *Amon*, hauing defouled his sister *Tamar*, was killed by his brother *Asholom*; and *Adonias* by *Salomon*; and lastly, *Abelom* rebelling and fighting against his owne father King *David*, was miserably slaine, hanging on a tree by the haire of the head. And therefore no mar-

well, that the like sinne of King *Edgar*, was also seuerely punished in his children.

To this purpose, it is to be noted, that his marriage proued most vnfortunate, not only to the fruit that proceeded thereof, and the whole Realme (as shall be declared hereafter) but also to king *Edward*, his sonne by his former wife, who shortly after was killed, by the meanes of *Alfreda* his stepmother, for the aduancement of her sonne *Etheldred*. Wherein I cannot but note (by the way) the seueritie of Gods iustice in punishing sinne, seeing the sayd young Prince, being very holy and innocent of life, could not escape the temporall punishment, due to his Fathers offence.

But to proceede, such was the common opinion of the innocencie and holinesse of this young King *Edward*, and enormitie of the sinne committed by *Alfreda*, in the murder of him: that the conceit of most men at that time was (as *William of Malmesburie* witnesseth) that the Conquest of *England* by the *Danes*, was a punishment of God for the fame; which well may be so presumed, especially, if we adde therunto the offence, not onely of his father (whereof I haue already spoken) but also of his brother *Etheldred*, for whose cause hee was murdered; and in whose time that Conquest hapned. For it may be thought most consonant to the Iustice of Almighty God, that *Etheldred* (being the sonne of the wicked *Alfreda*, and fruit of the cursed marriage; yea, and withall, most wicked of himselfe) should beare the penaltie as well of his owne, as of both his parents finnes: As partly was fore-tolde at his coronation, by *Dunstan* then Archbishop of *Canterbury*, saying: *That for his Mothers sin in the murder of King Edward, both hee and his children should be seuerely punished, and his Kingdome transferred to strangers.*

And if wee doe consider the manner of his life, and the nature and qualitie of his offences; we shall find them to be the very same, which the Scriptures affirme to be the cause of the translation of Kingdoms from one nation to another; whereof Ecclesiasticus saith: *Regnum de gentem gentem transfertur, &c.* Kingdomes are transferred from one nation to another, because of iniustice, iniuries, calumniations and diuers deceits. In which kinde of finnes

sinnes King *Etheldred* greatly exceeded; for he had his eares so open, and shewed such fauour to all kind of accusers and calumniators; that (as *Polydore Virgil* saith) *No mans life was in securitie*. Besides, on euery light occasion, spoyld & banished the richest and wealthiest of his subiects, being also addicted to all kinde of riot and dissolution. And therefore *William of Malmesburie* writeth of him briefly thus: *Etus vita cursus sanus in principio, miser in medio, turpis in exitu*: The course of his life was cruell in the beginning, miserable in the midst, and shameful in the end.

Furthermore, he was so cowardly and base minded, that hee was no lesse contemptible to strangers abroad, then hateful to his owne subiects at home. Whereupon, the *Danes* tooke courage to enter *England* againe, who made him graunt them a yearly tribute, wherewith they were content for a time; and after turning thither agayne, forced him to flie into *Normandie*, and to leaue his kingdome to *Sveno* their King, who exercised all kind of cruelty vpon the *English*, and enioyed the Kingdome as long as he liued. Which was not past five yeares. After whose death, *Etheldred* recovered it againe, and possessed it two yeares, whilst *Canutus* sonne to *Sveno* was held busied at home, with a rebellion of the people of *Normandie*.

In which meane while, *Etheldred* returned like the dogge to his olde vomite of cruelty and iniustice, especially against the *Danes* (who had bene for some yeares planted and marrowed in *England*) causing many of them to be killed with cruell torments. And amongst others, *Sigifred* and *Morganus*, two of the noblest of them) were falli accused of fained crimes, and put to death for the same. Besides, Prince *Edmund* sonne to *Etheldred*, rauished the wife of *Sigifred*, being a woman no lesse admirable for her beautie, then commendable for her chastitie. All which when *Canutus* vnderstood, being moued with desire, as well to reuenge these iniuries done to his Countrey men, as also to recover the Kingdome of *England*, conquered by his father: hee passed ouer thither with an Armie, and put all to fire and sword; whereupon *Etheldred* dyed with sorrow.

And although his sonne, surnamed *Ironside* after diuers conflicts, and a combat fought hand to hand with *Canutus*, possessed the one half of *England* by composition: yet within a yeare, *Canutus* enioyed the whole by the sodaine death of *Edmund*, slaine vpon a priuy as he was eating himselfe; and so he remayned absolute King thereof as long as hee did liue, which was about some twentie yeares after.

Herein neuertheless it is to be noted, how the mercie of Almighty God concurred with his Iustice, and moderated the rigour thereof; for that (of his infinite bounty) he determined by this conquest, as it seemed, rather to chastise, correct and redresse *England*, then to ruine and oppress it. And therefore, after he had somewhat satisfied the seueritie of his iustice, not onely vpon the Realme, by the five yeares cruell reigne of *Sveno* (who ransacked and spoyled all sorts of men, as well Ecclesiasticall as Temporall) but also vpon the persons of *Etheldred*, and his sonne *Edmund*: hee gaue them *Canutus*, sonne to *Sveno*, for their King, who, although he was a stranger, yet gouerned with all clemencie and good example of life, doing continually actes of pietie, making good Lawes and wholesome, easing the people of taxes and impositions, and deservuing well of all estates, by the meanes whereof *England* flourished (in his time) in peace and much plentie. Of whom I can not forbear (this occasion beeing offered) to expresse and declare here (by the way) a notable acte, which I with all Princes would well weigh and consider, in the height of their prosperity and greatest fortune.

It chanced once, as he was walking at *Southampton*, by the Sea side, some of his noble men flattered him, and extolled (aboue measure) his great power, calling him the most mightie and potent King of all Kings, commanding absolutely ouer men, land & sea. Whereupon, to correct their flatterie, and to shew mans infirmitie, he went to the very Sea side, and sitting downe, said to the waues (as the tide was coming in,) *I command yee, that you touch not my feete*. And beeing presently after well washed with a waue that came in vpon him; hee arose, and turning himselfe to his noblemen, said vnto them

M m m 2

Loc

The Danes returned againe into England, and conquered in Polid. Hist. Angl. lib. 7.

Polid. Hist. Angl. lib. 6. What the offence was of King Edgar, and Alfreda his wife.

a Reg. 12, 10

a Reg. 13, 29
b Reg. 14, 24
c Reg. 18, 9.

Polid. Hist. Angl. lib. 6. a. fac.

The feueritie of Gods iustice in punishing sinne.

Gulst. Hist. Angl. lib. 7. a. fac.

King Etheldred expelled out of England by Sveno King of the Danes, who reigned there five yeares.

King Etheldred after the death of Sveno recovered England againe, and dyed with much piety.

Dunstan foretold the conquest of England by the Danes, both hee and his children should be seuerely punished, and his Kingdome transferred to strangers.

Canutus, sonne to Sveno, invaded England.

The offence of King Etheldred, in that time when the Danes conquered England.

Edmund Ironside, son to king Etheldred. Canutus king of England.

The mercy of God towards the English, in turning their conquests to their comfort.

The great vertue and piety of king Canutus.

Polid. Hist. Angl. lib. 7. a. fac.

A memorable acte of King Canutus.

Howells Hist. Angl. li. 6.

Loe my Lords, you call me King of Kings, and Lord of Land and Sea, though I cannot command one of these little waues: Therefore know yee, that the King of Kings, and hee that commaundeth Land and Sea, is the Father of our Lord Iesus Christ, by whose will and providence all things were governed. And hauing thus saide, hee returned to Winchester, and tooke the Crowne which he vsed to weare vpon his head, and put it (with his owne hands) vpon an Image of CHRIST crucified, which was in the Church of Saint Peter and Saint Paule, and would neuer after weare any crowne so long as he liued.

Though this may seeme a digression from my matter, yet I thought good to recount it heere, as well for the raritie of the example; as also that it may appeare, how mercifully God dealt with the people of England, to giue them such a King, by whose pietie their Conquest turned to comfort. And this his merite appeared much more afterward, when it pleased his diuine Maiestie so sweetly to dispose, that after the death of *Canutus*, and his two Sonnes *Haraldus* and *Hardicanutus*, or (as *Polydore* calles him) *Cunnuus*, which two reigned but five yeeres: the Crowne returned agayne to English blood; yea, and to so excellent a Prince, as was King *Edward the Confessor*, who reigned in all tranquillity, peace and felicitie about three and twenty yeeres.

Now, although learning, religion, and vertue had flourished many yeeres among the English, yet a little before the coming of the *Normans*, the same was vtterly destroyed and decayed. For (sayth *William of Malmesbury*, who liued in the same age) the Priests were so vnlerned, that they could scant pronounce truly, the very words of the Sacraments and diuine service. And such was the ignorance generally of all men, that a Grammarian was held for a wonder; Religious men were wholly giuen to delicacie and kept no rules of Religion; the Noblemen and Gentlemen gaue themselves to gluttony and lasciuiousnesse; there was no respect of Religion, nor care of Iustice: in somuch that the common people serued for no other then as a prey to the Nobility, who spoiled and rancked them at their pleasure. It was a common custome when men had got their maid-seruants with childe, ey-

ther to send them to the Stewes, or to sell them for Slaues. Drunkennesse, and all the vices which commonly doe accompany the same, or follow thereon, were generally throughout the whole Realme; This reporteth *William of Malmesbury* in substance.

Also holy King *Edward* himselfe, declaring a Vision which happened to him, sayd, That the Magistrates, as well spiritual as temporal, were no better then ministers of the diuill; that God was euery where dishonoured, Lawes contemned, truth trodden vnder foote, piety and mercy banished, cruelty helde for a pastime and entertainment. And therefore (sayd he) the wickednesse of the English is now compleate and growne to the height, and the reuenge and punishment thereof is shortly to follow.

This was proued true by the euent, which in a yeare after, when *William Duke of Normandie*, called the Conquerour, came into England, whom God made the instrument and minister of his Iustice, to chastise them. For, beeing admitted and crowned King (presently after the bloody battell, wherein King *Haralde* and twentie thousand men were slaine) hee beganne to tyrannize vpon all estates: hee spoiled the Nobilitie of their lands, goods, dignities and offices, to giue the same to the *Normans*. He oppressed the people with infinite and intollerable taxes and impositions; hee deprivd Citties, Bishopricks and Monasteries of their immunities and priuileges, forcing them to redeeme them of him againe for great summes of money. Hee tooke from Churches and Religious houses, not onely such money as they had in store, but also the holy vessells, dedicated to Gods seruice. He abolished the olde Lawes, and ordained new, causing them to be written in the *Norman* tongue, which the English vnderstood not: wherevpon there grew great confusion in the exercise thereof in all forties of Actions and Pleas, as well criminall as ciuile, and many men wrongfully lost their lands, and goodes, and many their liues, and a gate was (at that time) opened to all iniustice.

Furthermore, he was not content onlie to spoyle the English of their wealth, but also deprivd them of their pleasures, taking from very many Noble men and

Alfred King Edward words at his death, concerning the sinnes of the English, & the Conquestes follow in punishment thereof.

Polyd. Virgil. 8. in fin. Idem in his poem.

The tyrant of William the Conqueror vpon all estates.

Olde Lawes abolished, and new ordaind in the Norman tongue.

The Prophetical King Edward the Conqueror.

The conclusion of this Chapter, concerning the Conquestes of England, and the cause thereof.

The English deposed of their wealth and pleasures, by King 4. 9.

The extreme cruelty of William the Conqueror.

The English had not one day of ease, during the reigne of William the Conqueror.

The cruelty and avarice of King William Rufus, borne to the Conqueror by his first wife.

Olde Lawes abolished, and new ordaind in the Norman tongue.

The Prophetical King Edward the Conqueror.

The conclusion of this Chapter, concerning the Conquestes of England, and the cause thereof.

Gentlemen, their Parkes and Chales for his owne vse; but also ouerthrowing houses, Churches, Villages and whole Parishes, to make Forrests. In somuch, that (as *Polydore Virgil* reporteth) to make the Chale, which now is called *New Forrest*, hee dispeopled and made desert all the Countrey betwixt *Salisbury* and the Sea side, for thirtie miles space. And when diuys of his Nobilitie (by reason of his tyrannie) rebelled against him; hee tooke occasion therevpon, to vse all kinde of seueritie and cruelty, not onely vpon their persons, when they fell into his hands; but also vpon whole Countreies and Provinces, which hee so spoiled and rancked, that they lay waste for some yeeres after. Finally, his gouernement, during the time of his reigne, seemed to ayme at nothing else, but to extirpate and extinguish the race and name of the English.

Whereto if we adde the frequent wars in England in his time, partly by rebellion of his Subiects, and partly by inuasion of Strangers; wee shall finde, that England had not one yeare, no, not one day of ease and repose, during the one and twentie yeeres of his reigne. Which calamitie also continued, or rather increased for thirteene yeeres after his death, by the succession of his sonne *William Rufus*, who farre exceeded his father in cruelty, avarice, oppression of his Subiects, and contempt of God and man: by reason whereof, hee was so hated of the people, that when his death was knowne (which was to sodaine, and exemplary, for he was killed by chance with an Arrow, as he was hunting) the people were so transported with ioy, that they went euery where to the Churches, to giue God thanks therefore, as for the happiest newes that euer came to England, in hope, that the last day of his life, would be the first of their libertie. If therefore we consider all this, we shall evidently see, how true the prophecy of holy King *Edward* proued, when he said; That England should be giuen (for a time) into the hands of euill and wicked spirits, for the sins of the Nobilitie, Cleargie and People.

Heere then I conclude, that whereas the first Conquest seemes to haue proceeded, of the sins as well of the People, as of the Princes; and the second, of the offences, rather of the Princes, then of the Peo-

ple; the last was (as good King *Edward* testified) in punishment of the peoples sins, rather then of the Princes. Whereby we may see the sympathy in the body politike, no lesse then in the natural body, betwixt the head and the members in the participation for sinne, or reward for vertue. Which may serue for a motive to all Princes and Magistrates, to haue especiall care, to auoyde the offence of God, not onely by their owne liues; but also by punishing and reforming their Subiects; lest negligence in tyther may draw GODS wrath vpon both, to the destruction of the whole Common-wealth.

CHAP. XX.

The Battell of GAZA, fought betwene *Synanbasha*, Generall for *Selym* the great Turke; and *Gaxelles*, Lieutenant of *Tomumbeys*, the Soldane, or Sultane of Egypt. 1516.



After the death of *Campion*, *Selym* intending to inuade Egypt, sent before (from *Damascus*) his Generall *Synanbasha* into *Iudea*, with fiftene thousand horse, and a very strong power of Harquebusers, selected out of the *Iannizaries* and *Asappes*; only to suruey that Region, and to open a passage way to *Gaza*, which indeed was very molestuous & troublesome, in regard of the potent *Arabes*. The city is seated on the sea-coast, and in the confines of Egypt, neighboring vpon the hote sandy deserts; a very hard and painefull passage, for such as iourney to the remotest Egypt, and to the City of *Cayro*. The people of *Gaza*, being destitute of warlike garriisons of souldiers, to stand them in extremitie of armes, entertained *Synanbasha* at the very first view, although in craftie and dissembling manner, giuing him many thankfull gratulations, for vouchsafing to free them from the *Mamelukes* intollerable flauerie; in requittall of which benefite, they promised to continue loyall and seruiceable to *Selym* and his successors for euer.

Now, while *Synanbasha* lay encamped, within an Arrow reach from the City, in expectation of *Selyms* coming, and practising his best meanes of vnderstanding the course of the Region and Countrey, that should allow them passage into

M m m 3 Egypt.

An admonition to Princes & Magistrates.

Collected out of Paulus Iouis.

The seatrand of the City of Gaza.

Synanbasha deceitfully welcomed by the Citizens of Gaza.

Galil. M. l. fin. de 8th Reg. li. 2. cap. 12. Polyd. Virgil. 8. in fin. Idem in his poem.

Galil. Malmesbury. Hist. Angl. li. 3. de Wobell.

The enormous sinnes of the Clergy Nobility, and people of England, at the time of the conquest thereof by the Normans.

Intelligence
sent by the
men of Gaza,
to the new
Sultane To-
mumbeyo.

Egypt; endeavouring beside, to compasse friendship with the *Arabian* Commanders, and suborning certaine Spies, that went to *Cayro*, to undermine the counsels of the *Mamlukes* and *Tommubeyo*, whome (vpon *Campsons* death) they hadde made choise of to be their Sultane: the inhabitants of *Gaza* (being naturally extreme enemies of the present Turkish Armie) gaue *Tommubeyo* intelligence of *Synanbasbas* comming; aduertising him withall, that this power of Turkes might easily be oppressed and destroyed, before *Selim* could arriue with his supplies: onely by sending a strong power of *Mamlukes*, vnder conduct of some skillfull Leaders, to venture vpon them at an expeditious aduantage, prosecuted in this manner. A time (in the dead of night) being concluded on, betweene themselves and the Citizens, the *Mamlukes* should make a sodaine inuasion on the sleeping Turkes, and they likewise (at the same instant) would ysue forth of the City, and ioyning with them, make vnauoidable spoile & hauock of the enemies Campe.

Syrian Spies
send aduertise-
ment to *Synanbasba*,
and what he pre-
sently did to
preuent all
danger.

This aduise is allowed and embraced, betweene *Tommubeyo* and the *Mamlukes*, and *Gazelles* sent with six thousand horse or *Mamlukes*, and a strong Armie of the *Arabes*. Scarcely was hee departed from *Cayro*, but (by certaine Syrian Spies) *Synanbasba* had aduertisement thereof, and that (not staying for any carriages) they would be there within two dayes. Now, as these newes preferred the Turkish Army; so was it of no meane moment, for compassing the intire victory of the whol warres. And although *Synanbasba* had no intelligence at all of the *Gazans* falsehood, yet (being a man of great wisdom and prouidence) suspecting what Treacheries might circumtent him, and fearing least hee might meddle with two enemies at once: resolved to meet the *Mamlukes* by the way, and so try the fortune of fight. So, dislodging after the second watch, he silently marched away out of the Cities fight, reaching fiftene miles on the way towards *Cayro*; arriuing neere to a small village, which had the benefit of a plentiful Spring there arising, and therefore was the reason of Trauellers vsual lodging there.

It fortuneth, that *Synanbasba* purposed to stay in that Village, and *Gazelles* had

the like intention of breathing there some few houres, to refresh both his men and horses, that he might the sooner galloppe to *Gaza* in the night time: when, eueral one instant (as it were) both the Generals receiued intelligence (on either side) by their vane-couriers, that if mighty dust was raised, and the enemy neere approached. *Gazelles* became much perplexed in mind at this strange and vlook for accident; perceiuing apparantly, that fayling of his purposed intent, hee was also vnable to match the enemy, if he should encounter with him, because his horses were halfe spent and weary. Yet had he no display in courage, although he was compelled (vpon such a sodaine) to deuise what instantly might be done, for general safety of the Army. Whereupon, he aduised euerie man to make ready his Weapon; and to consider, that what could not be performed by stealth and ambush, according to a precedent intention, required now courageous resolution, and must be dispatched by manly valour.

On the other side, *Synanbasba* hauing his men sooner set in order, then *Gazelles* could doe, hauing formerly aduertised them, what was to be done on the flightes encounter; cheered all the ranks with honourable speeches. And the issue of his Oration, was, That fight must vterly be forgot, because all places round about the would be shut vp, and iniurious to them, except they were victors. Moreover, of one thing to perswade themselves especially, that no man should perish that day, but he whom heaven had destinated vnto death, by the most certaine lawes of Fate; and that with equall perill, the Valiant should finde safety in midst of the enemies swords, and also the fearfull, death in their very safest flight, through the power of inescutible lot.

The Harquebusers were in the wings, & were extended forth in length with a single array, and no man standing nere to another, for handling their Harquebusses the more freely, and to compass the enemy: but the Pikes were placed in the very midst, to sustaine the impression of the *Mamlukes*. But *Gazelles* approaching, sent the *Arabian* troopes before, to disturbe the Wings; and he himself (with a square battaile) charged the middle regiment of the Turkes. The fight was very cruel, and

One intend
happened
both the Ge-
nerals, suffer-
ing at once
the same per-
il.

Synanbasba
releueth his
army, being
on the point
of flight.

The rebell
of *Gazelles*
in this venge-
ted distaste.

Synanbasba
his encour-
aging speech
to his follo-

Victory incll
such vnto the
Turkes, For-
tunefollowing
on *Gazelles*,
and his forces

Synanbasba
could not
greatly boast
of this Victory,
suffering a
great losse.

The man-
ging of the
ueral array
with great
facility on
the side.

CHAP. XXI.

Of three severall Battails, fought in the years
1516. and 1517. betweene *Selym* the
Great Turke, and *Tommubeyo*, the great
Sultan of Egypt.



Selym hauing receiued intel-
ligence, that *Synanbasba*
had surprized *Gaza*; ouer-
throwne *Gazelles*, and had
receiued a fresh supplie of
men by Sea, from *Constantinople*, for his
owne further seruice he marched with all
his Army towards *Gaza*, and (within
eighth dayes more) recovered so farre as
**Cayro*, reputed to be the Sultanes cheefe
seat, *Synanbasba* still marching a daies iour-
ney before him.

About the distance of fixe miles from
the City, there was a final village, named
Rhodania, whereto *Tommubeyo* (the newe
made Sultane) had conueyed all his pro-
uision and furniture of great Ordnance,
hauing made also ditches, crosse thwar-
ting the plaine fieldes, and high wayes:
which ditches were couered ouer with
light earth, and small stickes, artificially
shadowing them. But himselfe, with his
Mamlukes (who were about twelue
thousand) and a great number of *Arabian*
horsemen, fitted for the intent, kept in a
place better becoming: that when the
Turkes Army should drawe neere, they
might be there entrapt and beaten downe
by the vndiscoverable Ordnance, ere they
could come to reach the Egyptians with
their Harquebusses; and then this strat-
agem hauing round engirt them, hee had
the aduantage of immediate fight, they
being vterly disioynted, and faine into the
snare prepared for them.

So cunningly and prouidently were
these matters ordered, and perfected with
such answerable opportunity, that not a
man in the Army could imagine, or vrge
any doubt of the dayes victory. And ques-
tionlesse, no meane disaster had mette
with the Turkes: but that the giddie head-
ed Goddesse Fortune, ouer-freindly to
Selym, and cruelly vnkinde to *Tommubeyo*,

Collected out
of Paulus Jo-
uins.

*A City in E-
gypt, not faire
from the Nile
Delta.

A cunning
ambuscado,
prepared by
Tommubeyo,
to entrap his
enemy.

In stratagems
of warre neuer
so artificially
ordered, For-
tune still will
be a stickler.

as (had not the worthy paines of the *Mamlukes*, bin treacherously disappointed) onely through the meanes of a few perfidious Varlets, plainly had appeared.

Four treacherous Mamlukes defeated Tomumbeys hopes for the ambush.

As in all Armies there neuer wantes Villaines, so in the Sultanes were foure *Mamlukes*, borne *Albanos*, who stiffly stomacked, that *Tomumbeo* (by suffrages of the contrary faction) was advanced to the dignity royall. And they, either impelled by lewd disposition, or adducted by hope of rewarde, and more bountifull respect, foreseeing their owne side to fall on wracke, and wisdom aduising, to seeke for new and more assured Friends: fled to *Synanbasba*, as to their chiefe Turkish Capitaine and Countiman. By these hoisemen *Synanbasba*, and (soon after) *Selym*, vnderstood all the counsels & intents of the enemy, and what an Ambuscado *Tomumbeo* had prepared for them, with singular subtilty and dexterious Art, vnaioyable from falling into, except they forsooke the high and direct way. Whereupon, being guided by these Fugitives, they fetched a great compasse about on the left hand, and (before breake of day) recovered their old wonted way, having their battels ranged, their Ordnance ready mounted, to auoide the least delay of fight, and so shewed themselves at the enemies reeward, and neuer coming neere the front of their Campe.

Prevention of perill is no meane helpe in accidents of Armes.

When *Tomumbeo* saw this, he coniectured by his enemies march, that (by his owne mens treason) his provided ambush was discovered. And albeit his mind was afflicted with matchlesse greefe, to see so painfull an employment of his men, and so full of expectation, to be in a moment utterly defeated: yet notwithstanding, he being a man of vnconquerable courage, called all his senses and valour to sodaine counsell, and summoning his Captaines about him, gaue present order for those things which were to be done. And now was *Tomumbeo* in so narrow a strait and necessity, that all thinges, and at one instant, must receiue order from him. Hee was to giue the signall to his Soldiers, for mounting on horse-backe, vsing their weapons, turning the course of his campe, ranging his battailes, encouraging his men, and conueying his Ordnance to contrary quarters, as the occasion required. All which things, as one Capitaine could not

A disbreffe that would trouble the braine of the best soldier in the world.

performe alone, but very hardly and confusedly; so must they needs be effected as rawly, percuttly, and to haltes, by manie indiscreet vnderakers.

But that which most hindered speedie performance, was the huddling of men together, for removing the Ordnance from place to place, they being ill-faured huge peeces, made of Iron, and sette in great stockes of Wood, with Iron ringes, after the rude and nauall forme of Workmanship, vsed in elder times: and so, by reason of their excessive waight, could not be carried from their places, but by the draught of many beastes; besides, great heauing with iron Crowes and Leauers, requiring greuous labour of men. And the other great Field-peeces, mounted on carriages with wheeles, being drawne by the witlesse and hasty multitude, with great clamor of such as haled and shoued them through all parts of the Campe: the tumultuous passage of them, disordered men mounted on their horses, and the Souldiers repairing to their ensignes: yet two maine helps equalled these hindering difficulties; namely, the chearefulness of the soldiers, and the singular constancy of them all, almost beyond the compasse of mans beleefe: because they had not conceiued so much as a thought of feare, nor failed in their hopefull hearts, as it commonly happeneth in sodaine aduerser chances, whereby old tryed soldiers do manie times forget their ancient valour. For, being twice before vanquished in battel, yet they resumed the greater confidence and courage: perswading themselves, that not valour or skill in fight, but onely fortune fayled them.

Nowe, when *Tomumbeo* had set his men in good order, and the soldiers (with earnest desire of fight) requested the signall: he commanded the multitude of the *Arabians*, to bring their winges about on the reere of the enemy, and to beginne the fight first, that the Turkish hoisemen might be troubled and disordered with a doubtfull danger of fight, before himselfe would issue forth with his selected troops. Strait way he commanded the great Ordnance (which by this time was brought about, and directed against the enemies) to bee shot off. And immediately the Turkes did the like; who had once discharged their smaller and greater peeces, when they

The bea-pacity of a General or Commander, is well tried in warre.

Many inconueniences happen through want of discrete and orderly Military discipline.

A great comfort to a General, when his Souldiers containe their chearefull disposition.

Tomumbeo preparat his troops to give the enemy battaile.

they were a iust distance off, and quickly re-charging them, had brought the within an Arrowes shoote of the *Egyptians* Ordnance, fighting a long time on either side, onely with discharging their Ordnance, while the Armies approached neerer. In which contention, almost all the *Egyptians* Gunners were slain, and most of their Artillery dismounted from their wheeles, being broken in peeces by violence of the enemies bullets.

The Egyptian Gunners for their great Ordnance almost all slain.

The Turke had very skillfull Gunners in his Campe, whom he had allured (by his great rewardes, and rich entertainment) out of *Italy* and *Germany*, and especially many out of the Iewes rable, who being expelled by the piety of King *Ferdinand* out of the *Spaines*, brought afterwards such rare and vnsued deadly Artes into all the East, to spice our men withall. The Capitaine or cheefe man of all these Gunners, was one *James*, borne at *Reggio* in *Lombardie*, a man of extraordinary skill in those Artes, who being enticed by Turkish giutes: had (a little before) forsaken the seruice of Christ, and reuolted vnto *Mahomet*s superstition. The fight being brought (on both sides) to handy strokes, the *Mamlukes* raised a cruel and horrible cry, and in three quarters, charged the Turkes with great valour: For *Selym* (keeping his old order) so marched, that hee approached in the forme of a Crescent. The Capitaine of the *Asians* in the right Wing, was *Mustapha*, and *Innubasba* of the *Europeans* in the left: but himselfe gouerned the middle battell, wherin was the Squadron of the *Janizaries*, with a great multitude of Ordnance.

Synanbasba General of the field, and Innubasba of one.

But *Synanbasba* being made General of the field, had chosen for himselfe a band of the valiantest men, taken and pickt out of all the companies, to serue for all vncertaine euents of the battaile. Whereto hee added (out of *Selym*s Squadron) five hundred foote of extraordinary valor and swiftnesse, that hee being ready in all places of the battaile, and for all chaunces (were they neuer so sodaine) might succour that part of his fellowes, which was most pressed by the enemy. So that almost at one time, when *Tomumbeo* had stood in the middle battaile against *Selym*, and the wings of the *Mamlukes*, had encountered the Turkish with equall Front, and the *Arabians* had fought valiantly at

their backs, as they had beene commanded; foure fights were very furiously and hotly attached at one time, and in diuers distinct places.

They that were present at this battell, do report; that thorough the cries of the Soldiers, the noise of Drums and Trumpets, the thundering of the Artillery, the clouds of dust, and clashing of Weapons, all mens minds were so amazed and confounded, that they being al on both sides alike blinded with furie, rushed on with such desperate madnesse, that neyther could the voices and watch wordes bee heard or knowne one from another, nor the Ensignes scene, nor commandes of Captaines be regarded; but even (by mutual error) they flew a great number both of their owne fellowes, and also of their enemies, without any respect at all. For neuer before that day, had any armies encountered together, enflamed with greater spleene and hatred; nor euer had two such mighty Emperors, more constantly and feruently declared their valour both of body and minde; nor with lesse care of life and safety: For, when both of them plainly perceiued, that with like danger of themselves and their Armies, they had set their liues and Empires vpon present ruine: they also well vnderstoode, that there would be no other hope left to eyther of them, but that which victory it selfe should bring with it.

Now *Gazelles* enflamed with desire of honor and reuenge, to returne the *Europeans* a foile equal to that which liee had receiued at *Gaza*, charging *Innubasba* with great violence, had ouer-run the foremost and resisting troopes yad bestrid downe the *Gazelles*: and the *Arabes* pursuing on hard at his heeles, had made the vanquishing companies (euen those of the *Thracians*, *Thessalians*, and *Macedons*) to turne their backs, which neuer any enemy had done before.

Then *Synanbasba*, being ready for all occasions of victory, flew vpon the side of the enemy, with a fresh and powerfull company of his men, re-enforcing the battell, which was much declined & foully scattered. But anon after, *Synanbasba*, who had discontinued the manifest victory of the enemy, by exercising a supreme acte of prowesse, was slaine, fighting verie valiantly before his men, after that the

Four fights at one time in foure distinct places.

Credible reports concerning this vncertain battell.

The mad and desperate fury of both the Armies, as the liue was neer heard of.

The courage of Gazelles in hope of foiling his enemy.

Synanbasba slaine fighting valiantly before his men.

Manna.

Mamlukes (vnder their fierce Captayne *Bido*) had turned themselves proudly on their new enemy. And his horsemen striving to take vp their dead captaines body from the ground, were (a great number of them) slaine and put to flight by *Cazelles*, who had spread abroad his troupes, that hauing the more spacious roome, they might the more freely vie their swords, in which kinde of fight the *Mamlukes* doe most excell. And also that noble band of Ianizaries, being enclosed, were ouer-runne & slaine; after that they (being forsaken of the horsemen) had long time resifted very valiantly.

Heyllus Diadarius and Giapall Orcomas, two famous Captaines of the Egyptians.

In another quarter, *Mustapha* giuing a vehement charge with all his horse, vpon the left wing of the *Egyptians* (wherin commanded the most renowned captaine *Hyllus Diadarius* and *Giapall Orcomas*) very sharply vrged them. A little before they had receiued a notable detriment, by the Ordinance, which (by chaunce) was shot fro *Selyms* middle battell thwart the field; which *Mustapha* perceiuing, and being desirous to trample on olde ignominy, they being once disordered, constrained them fiercely, & bringing in his troups freshly vpon them, brake thorow, ouer-ran and beat them downe. And being remarkable all the battell ouer, both by his Armes and voyce: adhorted the *Asians* to consider, that their ancient martiall honor, they lately lost at the battell of *Alepo*, must be recovered now by height of manhood, or (at vntermost) by an honourable death.

The vndurable spirit of Tomumbeo in the crack through.

At the same time also, *Tomumbeo*, hauing broken through the middle regiment of horse, was come to the foot, and being a mighty man both in body and strength, performed infinite actions of worth with his *Cemitarie*: the *Arabians* likewise enclosed the outer-wings of the *Turkes*, forcing them (in many places) to fight with double front. And *Selym* aduanced forward his foote-squadron, which was his onely and assured helpe in this extremitie, whose charge, neither the fierce barded horse, nor the victors men could abide: because most part of his Souldiers being harquebusiers, and being impaled with pikes, did much mischief, for their invincible force, being closed into the array of one body, bare downe all that they encountered. Yet they fought with variable euēt on both sides, from the fourth houre

of the day, till Sun-set, neither was there any part of eyther Arme, but suffered sundry alterations, Fortune being some while prosperous, and then againe aduerser. For, both the vanquished and victors, being maddened with mutual & implacable rage, fought with obstinate & indurate hearts; the *Mamlukes* disdainig, that victorie should be taken from them, by men (of whom) they had slaine so many: and the *Turkes* chafing, that they whom they had before foiled in two feuerall battells, should make so long resistance against them. In-fomuch, that their bodies, wearied and tired with wounds, and their armes faintly languishing, yet supported onely by furie & pertinacy of heart, seemed able to haue maintained another daies murdering, but that dark shut vp the violence of so great a slaughter.

Tomumbeo, who (no doubt) was vanquished, distrusting the entire losse of the field, first commanded retreat to be founded, that his men, who now could not match the other Squadron, might seeme not to haue bin beaten backe, but onely to be led backe: which he conceived to be of no meane moment, both for the establishing of his souldiers, & maintenance of his owne authority. As one that being deceived in his first hope, might promise himselfe (as men in misery commonly do) more prosperous successe afterward, provided, that he fainted not in corage. Whereupon, preserving those few powers left him, he intended a fresh reparation of warre. The battell being broken off by the nights counter-mad, the *Turks* being victors, won the enemies tents and Ordinance, pursued the *Mamlukes* still very late in the night, albeit (almost in manner of flight) they marched towards *Cayro*.

In the flight were taken *Diadarius*, who could make no speed, by reason of his grievous wounds, and with him *Bido*, hauing one of his knees broke with a falcon-shot, which also slue his horse. But the next day, *Selym* caused them both to be slain, either in regard they could not be healed, or as thinking them to be acceptable sacrifices for appeasing *Synanbasia*, for whose losse hee greatly lamented. Now albeit the *Turkes* had nobly vanquished, yet was their strength mightily empayred, and by the meanes of these fortunate battells, wherein the 4. part of them was spent with sicknesse

Variable and successful in both the Armes, from the 4. houre of the day till Sun-set.

Retreat was first founded in the Camp of Tomumbeo.

The hope of Tomumbeo for better success in a close battell.

Diadarius and Bido taken and slain by Selyms command.

sicknesse and wounds, and a great number of their Horses utterly soyled, especially through the tediousnesse of this daies seruice.

These were maine motiues, to hinder *Selym* in his wonted course of expedition, because (as yet) he was ignorant, what deuotion the *Egyptian* inhabitants of *Cayro* bare towards him; neither did rumour afford him any intelligence, where *Tomumbeo* had bestowed himselfe, or what hee further intended. For, till he had deliberately considered on all these occasions, he would not adventure the safety of his owne person, and perill of his whole Arme, to the mercy of innumerable Citizens, and in the greatest Cittie of the world. Wherefore, abiding foure dayes space in his old Campe at *Rhodania*, causing the wounded to be cured, and his slaine souldiours to be buried: but the bodies of his enemies, he left to be deuoured by Birds and Beasts. And then dislodging thence, and marching towards *Cayro*; he encamped on a plain, between old *Cayro* and *Bulach*: for the City of *Cayro* is diuided into three Townes; old *Cayro*, new *Cayro*, and *Bulach*, for their more commodious seruice of water.

CHAP. XXII.

Of the second Battell at Cayro, betweene *Selym* and *Tomumbeo*.

The valiant courage of Tomumbeo, vnder the withstanding alibi: greuous mistresses & losses.

Tomumbeo, being all this while nothing bruised, notwithstanding so many lamentable losses and disasters; still assembled together the *Mamlukes* from all parts, and pitched his Campe in a most commodious place, betweene new *Cayro* and the riuer *Nilus*, wherein he had eight thousand *Ethyopian* slaues or bondmen, which kinde of men he had not (till then) made any vse of, in regard of an ancient Rebellion by them committed. Beside, setting open the old Armory, he gaue armor and weapons to the *Mamlukes* sonnes, and to Moores which were their retainers, as also to the Iewes and Arabians, preparing for farre

sharper warre against the *Turks*, than formerly had bene. But afterward, hauing intended a sodaine camifado vpon the Turkish Campe, and the same againe vnluckily discovered to the *Turkes* (who being readily prepared for it, repelled (though with some losse) his formost ranks; he by the aduice of all his Captaines, entred the City of *Cayro*.

The motiue hereto was, because the *Mamlukes* (hauing bene soyled in all precedent battailes) considered with themselves, that they must now make warre after some other manner of way: & in that regard, aduised him to fortifie the Cittie, placing strong Courts of guard in the most conuenient parts thereof, to hinder euery way their enemies entrance. And being in this lamentable condition, that they must needs fighte for their houses, wiues, and children; they helde it highly honourable, and answerable to the glorie of their ancient valour, to dye fighting in their sight, and euen before their owne doores.

Hereupon, each *Mamluke* going to his own house, furnished all his household, and the very toppe of his house with all kinde of weapons: instantly also entreating the *Egyptians* in each ward & streete to take Armes against the common cruell enemy, not suffering themselves to be slaine, and their wiues and children carried away as slaues. For (quoth they) if the sauage and insatiate enemy do winne the victory, as accidents of warre are alwayes doubtfull, no spare will be made, no not of such as beare themselves but indifferently, leaning in help to neither side, because victory swelkes with such insolent licence, as he respects not any man. But such as (without doubtful staggering) run desperately to assist his fortune, when war stands vpon vncertaine firecesse.

Most of the *Egyptians* that were rich and wealthy, as they did well foresee, that alteration in the State and Empire would be very hurtfull, and bring great losse and hinderance to their wealth and Traffike: so, in deuotion and helpe, they were not failing to the *Mamlukes*. As on the contrary, most of the poorer Citizens, and no meane multitude of the worser sort (who, being void of danger, do euermore gaine by others losses) remembring all the villanies and extreme oppressions, which they had

His proiects and intentions always were unfortunately discovered.

The *Mamlukes* resolved to dye in the fight of their wiues & children.

Victorie admitted no reservations.

The baser sort make their best benefite by fishing in troubled streames.

had suffered (for the space almost of three hundred yeares) vnder the *Mamelukes*, in very wofull and wretched slauery, they kept themselves within doores, awayting for the fights successe: iocondly hoping, that the time was now come, for punishing their proud oppressors, and that reuenge would be sought by the blood of strangers; the issue sorting so, that they eyes should be satisfied, with a pleasing & long expected spectacle.

Tomumbeo fortified the gates & waies belonging to the City.

In the meane time, *Tomumbeo* with most indulgent care and labour, fortified the gates, and all the waies of the Cities entrance, appointing Captaines for euery street. In euery market place, Court, and assembly of people, he made very witty and perswasive Orations, permitting no idle loytering in the workes: and finally (which is saide to be the hardest matter in distresse and danger) he carried an vnappalled countenance, deliuering signes of extraordinary hope and valour no way to be daunted. But the *Mamelukes*, ouer and aboue necessity (which in extremities makes men mad and desperate; yea, kindleth courage in errant Cowards) being stirred vp by emulation: did speedily and courageously execute the duties and offices of worthy Captaines; for euerie one of them, as his wit and inuention best instructed him, made trenches, thwart the most passable streetes, laying also great Logges of Timber crosse vpon them. Others, made priuy pits and holes, with sharpe-pointed stakes surely fastened in them, whereon the enemies vnwarly falling, might gore and split themselves. Others likewise fitted the houses and Windows of euery turning streete, with such plenty of shot as their store and ability afforded; and all these things were performed with such expedition, as no man (not the very *Mamelukes*) made it nice, or strained courtesie, to take the pickaxe & spade, or to do any seruile seruicable Worke: whereby it appeared, that nothing could be thought deified, but it was as expeditiously effected.

The great City of Cayro was not enclosed with walls.

Now, although the City (being verie great and old) had no wals to enclose it; yet there were Gates, and but certayne wayes for entering into it, one whereof was a direct and very broad street, leading from the East gate to the Castle, and into the midst of the City. The rest of the

wayes wer but very narrow streets or passages, somewhat vnslightly and disgracefull, where no Ordinance could be drawn, nor an aranged battell meete with his opposite. Into this maine way or streete had *Tomumbeo* especially brought a power, because he well perceiued, that their enemy would couer entrance, in regarde of the spacious admittance. But the other quarters of the City further off, hee kept with small guards: yet the inner & middle part, where the Cattle stood, was guarded with a sufficient power, for the better supply of all other places, where the enemies cry, or their owne fellowes perill might call their assistance. For the Citie, being the greatest of all other, with so final a power, could not be defended round about, namely, wayes lying open into it in euery place.

One maine streete in the City, at the rest but slender passage.

When *Selym* had received certaine intelligence, that *Tomumbeo* was entred *Cayro*, and all the *Mamelukes* (gathering their strength into one maine head) would try the utmost fortune of warre: hee marched with his Army neerer to the Citie. All the way he encouraged his troopes, to consider with themselves aduisely, that now they must intend an entire conquest of those Enemies, whom they had already so often vanquished; and to take a little the more paines, that their victorious rewards, might be answerable vnto their braue endeuour, for which they had formerly coueted with immoderate desires. So pausing a while, and commanding a Trumpet to summon general silence, thus againe he proceeded.

Selym and his army marched on toward the great City.

A brieue Oration of *Selym*, to his Souldiers.

Friends, and Fellowes in Armes, let mee intreat you to remember, that there remaineth now but a few wretched men, with a forsaken naked King, who, being lately spent with wounds and feare, were not able to endure the field, but flying thence cowardly, haue verily determined, to expect at home (in the sight of their wiues and children) the supreme and last cast of a miserable life.

Moreover the Egyptians (of their owne accord) haue sent for me; for they deadely ha-

He encourage them by their late recovered good success.

The entrance of *Selym* into *Cayro* at Bassuel gate, and manner of his further proceeding.

No fury comparable to fierce contentions for victory.

The great harm done by the ambushed trenches and downfalls.

ting the *Mamelukes* very name: doe with greedy desire expect their destruction, and promise to fight from their owne houses, vnto to destroy the race of those wicked savage men. Neuertheless, the absolute victory of the whole war, consisteth in utter vanquishing the remnants of the defeated, & thoroughly affrighted Army; because they cannot be accounted as overcome, that are yet hopefull in Armes, and possesse the seat of the Empire, even the greatest Citie thereof.

The souldiers sould were on fire with desire of spoile, and being all readily ranked, wanted but the signal for irruption. When *Selym* entring at Bassuel gate, sent in his horse troopes at many places at once: but the Ianizaries entred at the broader passage, where the horse (on eyther side) meeting together, a cruell & bloody fight began in the turning streets, and narrow lanes. The foot, haling out their Falcons and Culuerings before them in the front; flanked all the streetes with them as they went along, making them naked of anie defendants. But when they came to the munitions and trenches, labouring to remove the logges and beames, which were great hinderances vnto their passage: the *Mamelukes* gaue them very valiant resistance, and either side shewed such rare courage and valour: as neuer (in our memory) did men encounter more fiercely & bloodily. For both the *Mamelukes* and Turkes stoode on their highest tearmes of manhood, vsing all their cunning flights & policies of war, in this one deadly dangerous fight; neither part being ignorant, that this was the last hope of life and Empryre, Fortune equally and indifferently presenting them with honorable rewards for the Conqueror, and shamefull disgrace for the vanquished.

Mighty laughter was made at the munitions, by reason that the Turkes rashly running vpon the couered trenches, pits, and downfalls, were ouerthrowne on heaps one vpon another, the hindmost thrusting them on that were before; others, beeing gored & spitted on sharpe pointed stakes: vpon which advantage, the *Mamelukes* wiues and children (with man-like hardnesse) hurled and tumbled down tiles and great stones on them thus ouerthrowne and beneath, beating out the braines of verie many. On the contrary side, the Turkes

with their Harquebusses, fetcht off such as they saw in the windowes, & on the houses, breaking open the doores where any harmful thing was throwne downe, and fighting in those houses with diuerse events. Also the Egyptians, beholding fortune now on the one side, and then againe turned to the other; assayed both sides alike as equall enemies, leaning where the lot of victory was likeliest to happen, that they might appear onely to haue assisted that part, and thought vnto enemy to the other.

A cunning crafty manner of fighting in the Egyptians.

Many encounters happened in diuers quarters at once, and according to theyr confused running in the streets, now this company, then that, lighting vpon fresh and new troopes of enemies: & they that constrained the victors in the Front, were often intercluded by the aduerser part, and beaten downe in the Rere. It was a wofull sight to beholde, the distances betwene house and house, ouer-flowing with reeking blood, which ranne out of the flaine mens bodies, as there they lay mangled & dismembred on heapes: that the Dust, which rose like a thicke mist or dark cloud before, was now laide therewith, and not to be seene at all. Norwithstanding, the ayre was meerey darkned with the smoake of the Ordinance and lesser Artillerie, as also clouds of Arrows shot from their bowes: and so great was the cry and clamour among the souldiers, the clattering of weapons, and thundering of the Cannons, that the very earth seemed to groan and tremble, and the houses were rent & torne in peeces. They fought continually two dayes and two nights, with doubtfull fortune, and slender appearance of advantage on either side: but only that the *Mamelukes* (being few in number, and not able to endure labour and watching) had retreated themselves by little and little, into the inner parts of the City, vnto for-faking the most munitions.

The extremity of a thicke rising dust layd by the blood of flaine mens bodies.

They fought two dayes and two nights continually.

The third day, when the *Mamelukes* were in the very pitch of perill of losing their whole estate, and all that they had, (which caue visually augmenteth supreme enterprizes) chearing vp the hearts and endenours of all men, they renewed the fight with such surpassing valor, that they droue the Turkes a great way backe, and intercepted certaine of their Faulcons. Which accident, made *Selym* to despair

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Selym despairing of victory, commanded to let the houses on fire.

of victory, so that hee commanded to set the houses on fire in all places: iust wrath against the Egyptians, compelling him to that cruell proclamation, because (in his very sight, and but a little before) *Innubasha* was greivously wounded in the head, by a great stone thrown down from a window.

A sodain successe hapning to Mustapha, against the Mamelukes.

Now were the houses on a flaming fire, now was nothing heard but wayling and weeping of the suppliant entreating Egyptians: and now the Turkes fighting somewhat faintly, expected that retreat should be founded: when sodainly newes was brought by many men together, that in another quarter, the *Mamelukes* being beaten from their stand, and defeated by enforcing *Mustapha*, repoted theyr latest refuge in flight. For *Mustapha* thorough the intimation of certaine Egyptians, and fugitive *Mamelukes*, came to a very large streete, where the *Mamelukes* had placed their horses ready bridled and saddled; intending that if any ill hap befell the, their recourse might bee thither, where taking their horses, they might escape to places of further determination. He got al those horses, and led them away, having chased their guides within a part of the citie, nothing suspected, which was very weak, & defended by none but boyes and horsekeepers.

The Mamelukes vanquished and enforced to flight.

Which accident (as commonly it happeneth in serious and vnexpected chances) did wonderfully weaken their valour and resolution, wherefore when they wer thus defeated in their hope of flight, and they so roundly about, that the fight could be maintained by no other helpe or comfort, but only mere manhood: being as men vanquished by their own confession, they turned their backs. Many making hast to *Xiilus* with *Tomumbeyo* (who had in vaine tried all Art of valiance, wilddome, and policy, to avoide the foile in this battell) passing over the river by boats, went into the Region of *Sciethica*. Another multitude hid themselves in the Egyptians houses, and in most shamefull lurking denues. But about 1500. of the valiantest *Mamelukes*, fled vnto the greatest Temple of the City; where after they had long time defended themselves, as out of a castle, because they would not yeeld but vpon honorable termes: at length, being confounded with thirst, wearines, wounds

and the Ordnance violently playing still vpon them, they submitted themselves to the will and pleasure of the Conquerour. Part of them were presently slaine before the Temple, by the angry fouldiers of *Selym*, he politickly winking thereat; & another part (some few dayes after) were carried downe the river to *Alexandria*.

The victory thus standing for *Selym*, he sent two bands to quench the fires, and proclamations were made thorough all parts of the City, that all the *Mamelukes* which would come in and yeelde themselves, and within the limitation of twelue houres space, should be secured from any further harme. But all such as were found after that time, should dye for their refusal, and large rewards were promised to all the Egyptians, that could disclose the lurking *Mamelukes*. Contrarywise, such as hid or concealed any of them, were presently to be spitted vpon stakes, & selling their wives and children as slaves, to burn their houses to the ground. Vpon the fame of this Proclamation, a great number of them came abroad, who were instantly put in yrons, & after w^d all most cruellly slaine in prison, because they were said to haue practised an escape. But diuers, who would not violate the rites of faith and friendshipp by betraying their friends, being accused by their neighbors, suffered losse of life, dying very constantly for their friends.

After this, the soldiers encreasing their fury, vpon the pride of this victory, searching all places; drew violently out all such as were hidden, and presently slew them, spoiling also the Egyptians houses where they were found, leaving no place shut or concealed from them. And the very same day it hapned, that *Gazelles* cam to *Cayro*, who had bene sent (a little before) into *Thebus*, to leuy Arabians, & to hire aides. But seeing the case to bee quite changed, and that he was able to do no good either by his person or aduice; hee came with three Arabian Captaines, and many horse with them, and yeelded himselfe to *Selym*, who entertained him and all his traine very honourably, euery man according to his degree and merit.

CHAP.

The victory fauouring *Selym* altogether, hee lent then his fouldiers to quench the flaming fires.

A cruell murdering of the *Mamelukes* in prison, after that they had yeelded themselves.

The coming of *Gazelles* to *Cayro*, his submission to *Selym*.

The great Temple could be no refuge for them.

CHAP. XXII.

Of the third and last Battell fought at Nilus, betwene *Tomumbeyo* and *Selym*, with the ill successe and disgracefull death of *Tomumbeyo*, and hard fate of his *Mamelukes*.



Called also Penopolitana, of the five Cities, Beroas, Arbinos, Ptolemais, Apollonia, & Cyrene.

V.T. Tomumbeyo, being fled (as ye haue heard) ouer the River of *Nilus*, into that region which is called *Sciethica*, lying towards *Cyrenica*, although with so many disastrous mischances he had formerly bin vanquished, yet still hee made a couragious reparation of the war. For, there was come to him a potent supply of *Mamelukes* fro *Alexandria*, being sent for by letters out of the Cittie Garrisons, and many more also followed him in flight. Beside, the *Arabians* of *Affrica* repaired to him, and the *Moors* likewise which were inhabitants of that country, promising him their vttermost fauour and helpe. Nay more, diuers Egyptians of *Cayro*, whose houses and people had bin spoiled and dishonested, by the couetous and luxurious Turkes, gaue faith also, that they would raise a tumult and insurrection, if he would speedily come thither in the dead of night, whereby might be compassed, that such Turkes as were lodged in the City houses, might sodainly be destroyed by inuasion of all the people together. For the Citizens, hauing suffered by them all abhominable and enemy-like parts, could no longer endure the iniuries of such proude and malapart oppressors. Further they alledged, that the Turkes, being (before) a potent army, were now reduced to a contemptible number: for, a great part of them were slaine in the batells at *Rhodania* and *Cayro*, and well-neere all the rest were spent with woundes and sickness.

The coming of *Albuchomar* to *Selym*, discouering to him the intentions of *Tomumbeyo*.

While *Tomumbeyo* was thus busied about his needfull preparations, *Albuchomar* the very greatest man (for authority, lands, & riches) in all *Sciethica*, came to *Selym*: eyther to preuent the mischief of imminent warre, to the no meane peril of his coun-

tre, or else to win the victors fauour by Treason: and acquainted him not onely with the new collected powers of *Tomumbeyo*, but also with the practises concluded among the Citizens of *Cayro*. Which when *Selym* vnderstood, he caused stricke and strong watch and ward, to bee planted in all parts of the City; commanding also, that the suspected Citizens should be kept in the Castle, which (vpon the Garrisons forsaking it) very easily hee surprized. Furthermore, in diuers places along the river of *Nilus*, he ordered a great number of vessels, well furnished with Ordnance and soldiers, to defend the further banke of the river.

Selyms provision to winne stand *Tomumbeyo*.

Neuertheless, considering aduisedly with himselfe, how perillously hee had often fought with most valiant enemies, and how difficult it would be for him to intercept *Tomumbeyo*, who (by flight) still into waste and vknownne Regions prolonged the Warre, still getting fresh and new supplies. Considering also, that his owne power was so small, and so far from succour, as it might easily bee oppressed in that mighty City, by huge multitudes of men of vncertaine Faith. Vpon these discrete considerations, hee desired rather to conclude the Warre by some honest composition, then by forcible further contending, to entangle himselfe in new dangers.

Selyms serious deliberation concerning his owne dangerous condition.

And so much the rather, because hee had intelligence by them of *Sciethica*, that fresh Companies of Horse were leuyed from all partes by the *Mamelukes*, which had fledde into diuers Regions: and the Naue likewise, which was sent into the streights of the Red Sea, in the Arabian Gulfe against the *Portugals*, stood now vpon the hopefull expectation at *Porte Suezia*.

Fresh companies of Horse leuyed by the *Mamelukes*.

In the Nauy were about three thousand *Mamelukes*, and *Amyrasser*, and *Ray Salomon*, all very expert Captaines: and a great number of brasse Peeces: whereby it appeared, that *Tomumbeyo* might gather ability, to repaire his former receiued injuries, and so returne againe to the Cittie, being sent for thither by his friends.

But the maine motive of all, was his care of the *Persian* affairs, lest *Hunbracosfa* (whom he had sent before to the mountaine *Taurus*) should not prooue able to match the *Persian* power, whereby hee

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should

The cheefe matter that moued Selym to seeke composition with Tomumbeyo.

The effect of the charge giuen to the Ambassadors.

The Ambassadors barbarously murdered.

A bridge builded ouer Nilus by Selym.

Tomumbeyo distrusteth the Prouinciall confidence to him.

should be excluded out of the lesser *Asia* and *Syria*, before the Fleet from *Constantinople* could come to *Alexandria*, with new supply of Victuals and soldiers. Hereupon, he sent very honorable men of the Clergy, and likewise certaine Egyptians of great estimation amongst them, as Ambassadors from him vnto *Tomumbeyo*. The effect of their Commission was briefly thus. To counsell him for a cessation from Armes, and now (at length) to acknowledge the Victors great fortune, engaging their faith to him, that if (in suppliant manner) he would come to *Selym*; by humanity and fauour of the Conqueror, he should quietly enjoy the kingdom, which he was not able to hold by power. But if hee would proceede and continue Warre, carelessly forgetting his owne weakness: then, when warres fortune was thorowly found and determined; according to his iust desert, he should expect no condition of dignity or life, at displeased *Selyms* hands. These Ambassadors being come into *Scietica*, were (with frantick and barbarous cruelty) all slaine by certaine *Mamelukes*, before they had any audience.

Which proud and cruell deede, brake off all further patience in *Selym*, who was a man by nature (though not otherwise moued) extraordinarily vehement and fierce. Immediately he proclaimed a voyage into *Scietica* against *Tomumbeyo*, commanding victuals and other prouision for it. Moreouer, he gathered Boats from all parts, causing a sure and a very broad bridge to be built ouer *Nilus* riuer: as allowing it neyther answerable vnto his dignity, nor fitting with the vrgent occasion, to make his passage ouer with Boats.

When *Tomumbeyo* had intelligence by his Spies, as also from the Citizens of *Cayro*, that such an intention was prepared against him, and so strong a Bridge made ouer *Nilus*; hee (doubting the vnfaihsfullnesse of the Prouincialls, whose hearts he feared to be reuolted from him, by the treacherous departure of *Albuchemar*) determined to try the selfe-same fortune of battell, which had so oftentimes deceived his hopes. For, he being inferior in all things, could not now lengthen out the war, nor make expectation of his enemy: neither did he hold it good for him,

to fly againe with losse of his dignity, and thorough farther wildernes of hazardous aduenture, and dangerous successe.

Wherefore, consulting with his Captaines & Commanders, concerning this last attempt, which he and his *Mamelukes* were to make; by breake of day he departed fro *Scietica*, accompanied with 4000. horse, and twice so many Moores and Arabes foot, continuing trauel night & day till they came to *Nilus*, that (by a bolde and sodain aduenture) he might deceyue the Turkes, who (as he vnderstood) suspected no such forwardnes, in weake, vanquished, & more then halfe dismayed men, whereas celerity would forstall any fame of his vnluck for comming; so to destroy y^e part of the Turkish power, which first had aduentured ouer the riuer, before they could receive succour by their following Fellowes. Nor did the space of time beguile his opinion, because the hours (being truly accounted) made iust agreement with his speedy march thither; and euen as hee formerly coniectured so fel it out, that the vaw-ward of the *Asians* had alreadye past the Riuer. But the Muleters and boyes of *Selyms* Camp, seeking for the pleasantest places for pitching their Tents, ranging ouer farre, were the first that descried the dust of the approaching enemy: whereof *Mustapha* being certified, the allarum was presently giuen.

This rumour so danted all hearts with feare, both of them that had alreadye passed the riuer, and theirs also which stood ready to follow after them: that *Tomumbeyo* charging the *Asians* with incomparable valour, while they were making themselves ready, and resorting vnto their Ensignes, slew them in the Front, that durst endure the shooke of the assailants) dispersed the rest, and forced them to flight; and all the vanguard was wel-neere ouer-run, and trodden downe, beside the disorder of the rest: before *Mustapha* (albeit hee fought fearlesse in the van, & very cheerfully encouraged his souldiers) was able to retaine them that fledde, or to repayre the other in array. For, in this sodaine and vnexpected chance, euery place was full of the peoples confused hudlings together, slaughter, flight, and feare: and all along the riuer-banke both aboue and below the newe made Bridge, were diuers companies of men discerned, looking ru-

His departure from Scietica, to prevent the intention of the enemy, by a sodain and vnexpected stragem.

The discovery of Tomumbeyos neere approaching.

Sodaine accident in Armes may be done by a bold retyred Leader, especially when the troops fall into disorder and confusion.

The Bridge was spacious and large for passage.

Selim maketh a notable supply by the help of his Janizaries sent ouer in small Boats.

The Tartares pulled the Riuer Nilus with their horses.

fully behind them, and crying out to their fellowes for succour. Many also being enforced (by the vrging troope of the Enemy) to the very brinke of the banke, fell headlong downe into the riuer; and many also perished at the end or heade of the bridge, by reason they could not passe ouer it, being hindred by them that were continually sent from the further side; beside, many that would haue ascended the bridge, being impeached by fear, & thrust backe by their owne fellowes, were drowned in the riuer.

The bridge was so broad, that 4. horse in rank might well passe ouer together, & a great number sent ouer in an houres space. But because the Ordnance was to be drawne ouer, fewer horse were sent, then either the greatnesse of the danger, or sodainnesse of such a chance did vrgent ly require. Nor was there any helpe in the Ordnance, which could not speedily be drawne ouer, or shot off from the hither banke to the other against the Enemy, without great danger to themselves, by reason that their owne men stood in the way. In the meane time, *Selym* who ranne downe to the riuers side, at the beginning of this hurly burly, filled small boates with Janizaries Harquebussiers, & sent them ouer to succour their distressed fellowes; commading the horse also to make what hast they could ouer the bridge, the nimble Marriners vsing their best pains, in often passing and returning with fresh supplies; so that within a short space they had conueyed ouer many bands of Janizaries, whose comming confirmed the disordered *Asians*, and now boldly they endured the enemies violence.

Also *Canoglus*, son to a Tartar king, encouraging his roopes of Tartares to take the riuer with their horses; attained to the further bank of the riuer, to the admiration of all men, and losing but fewe of his men: for the Tartares hauing learned to swim ouer the violent and mightie Riuer of *Tanis* and *Volga* with their horses, were the more apt for passage here. At the same instant also, *Tomumbeyo* fore-seeing, that the speedy victory consisted therein, endeouored with his thickest troopes, to win the head of the bridge, that pulling away the foremost boats, and cutting in sunder the cables, which fastened the rest together, & to the banks: the whole bridge

being so let loose at liberty, might be carried away with the streames violence, & all the Turkes that were vpon it. This caused a very dangerous conflict, for the chosen and best armed *Mamelukes* constraining the front, fought with singular valor. And on the other side, *Mustapha* perceiving the present perill, brought vp the colours, and all the valiantest of his foldiours, to make good that place: so that both sides contended with such surpassing manhood as the weightinesse of the case required. For, the *Mamelukes* saw manifestly, that if they could winne that place, they should (with very short worke) ouerthrow all the enemies former victories: and the Turkes as plainly perceived, that except they kept and preserved the bridge, the safety of themselves, the whole estate of the army, yea & the ruine of their Emperor, lay now at the stake, and all brought to vtter despair.

Hereupon, *Mustapha* so prevailed by his Harquebussiers, & troops of Greek horse, which in sundry companies had passed the bridge: that the enemies were repulsed & forced to retire a great way backe. Now *Tomumbeyo* that he might giue some respite to his *Mamelukes* to breathe themselves a while, being not able to fight fiercely, because their horse were spent and tired, & that after a fresh repainging of their strength he might aduenture the extreme & latest fortune of the battell, encouraged the Moores and Arabians to maintaine the fight, vntill the *Mamelukes* had breathed a little. Which when they had valiantly performed, and the *Mamelukes* (hauing somewhat comforted their own bodies & horses) making good their place, the battell was againe renewed with such rigour on their behalfe, that *Selym* (distrusting the victory) doubted not, to ascend the bridge, and runne to succour his men, although his friends earnestly labored him to the contrary.

His coming (which brought fresh hope into his Souldiers hearts, they conueting to win reward and praise, by doing some seruicable action in their Emperours fight) repressed all the enemies best endeavour, and were forced vnto flight, onely through the valiance of the Janizaries. Pursued were they ouer all the Fieldes, by those Horse which had bene at the fight, and likewise by the Tartares, who gaunted them very greuously

A worthy policy deuised by Tomumbeyo, to cut away the bridge of boats.

The maine aime on eyther side, in their hope & expedition.

Tomumbeyo encourageth the Moores & Arabes to maintaine the fight.

The Janizaries put the foe to flight, and win the honour of the day.

with their Arrowes. But afterward, *Mu-Hapha*, *Cayerbey*, and *Gazelles*, were sent with a company of fresh and swift horse, to follow them that fled, and not to suffer *Tomumbeyo* to escape: who the third day after, was found by certaine Peazants, standing in a Marshy vpp to the waste in Water, among Bull-rushes and Reedes; and they (for feare of death) deliuered him to the Captaines, who brought him to *Selym*, who would not vouchsafe to see him.

After he had caused him to bee a long time in vaine tormented, to disclose the treasures of *Campan*; at last he gaue command, that he should be carried about all the famous streets of the City, riding on a vile Camels backe, and in poore ragged Garments, with his hands bound behind him; and then to bee hanged vp with an halter, for the murdering (as hee pretended) of his Ambassadors, although the Noble Prince was altogether guiltlesse thereof. The like fate also befell to all the *Mamaluks* that were in prison, or could be taken. After the shamefull death of *Tomumbeyo*, who was executed the thirteenth day of Aprill, Anno 1517. all the whole Empire of the Soldan yielded, and likewise all the Princes that had bene tributaries to the Soldan, euen vnto the dominions of *Presire Iohn*.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of the first inuention of wearing Ringes: to what end it was. And of many ancient and admirable things, tending vnto the same purpose.



Mong all other Jewels and Ornaments, inuened by the spirite and industry, or rather by the vanity of man, to embellish & beautify himselfe withall: there is not any comparable to that of Rings: bee it for riches, or curiosity in workmanship. For, ouer and beside that they are made in a round and circular figure, which is the most perfect of all other: they are beside so subiect

and light, that they may be worne on the least finger of the hand. Neuerthelesse, they are alwayes made of the very richest metall of all, and accompanied with stones, the most precious and exquisite that are to be had, and valewed to bee the onely esteemed things in the world. Behold then, what meanes the ambition of men found out, to wear a ring vpon one finger, valewing in price the worth of a City: for, it is not vnknowne, there are some such precious stones, that are esteemed as a world of Gold, and yet notwithstanding, they hinder not the hand from the vse of any exercise whatsoever. And albeit that Rings haue serued, and yet do, to some other more necessary ends & effects, then those before related: yet the very principall point which brought them into vse, was to glad and delight the eye, and to deliuer an outward testimonie of Nobility, and shew the persons estimation. But because they are now grown very common, and yet much esteemed, I will set downe certaine ancient Histories, incident to our present purpose, not greatly irksome to reade or heare.

In the first place, it is not resolutely determined, who was the prime inuenter of Rings: and yet some do say, that the first Rings knowne to be worne, was in the remembrance of *Prometheus*, who (as the Poets faigned) being chained to a rocke by the appointment of *Iupiter*, was deliuered by *Hercules*, with the permission of *Iupiter*; with this condition neuerthelesse, that in perpetual memory of his imprisonment, the saide *Prometheus* stood obliged, to wear incessantly a ring of gold, enchaisted with a stone of the rocke whereto hee was prisoner; and thereby some hold, that the vse of rings tooke thence the first beginning. *Pliny* and many other authors reputed this discourse for a fable, as all Christians ought to do: and because it is a leasing, and frivolously feigned, I meane to insist thereon no further.

Concerning mine owne opinion, I am of the mind, that the inuention of Ringes came not by one man only, but from many, and in diuers times; considering, it neuer was any note of great cunning, to take the fingers bignesse by a thred, and with that measure to make a Ring of Golde or Iron: such as aunciently were worne by the very cheefest Lordes of *Lacedemon* and

Rings made of the purest and richest metall of all other.

The principall end that did bring Ringes into vse.

Rings were outward notes of riches and Nobility.

Concerning the inuention of Rings.

Prometheus deliuered for the rocke by *Hercules*.

Rings being the inuention of one man only.

and *Rome*, before they gaue themselves ouer to the superfluities and dissolutions, which afterwards reigned in all things. And vndoubtedly, the custome and ceremonie continued long time amongst the *Romaines*, that the Ring of Honour, which the husband sent to his spouse on the marriage day, was made of yron. *Plinie* discoursing on the antiquitie of Rings, saith, That they were not in vse in the war time betwene the *Greekes* and *Troians*: considering that *Homer* (who wrote thereof very amply) maketh no mention at all of Rings, much lesse, that they sealed then with Rings. And yet notwithstanding, he speaketh sufficiently of Chains and Bracelets, which were at that time worne, and of the manner of closing and sealing Letters: so that if Rings had then bin in vse, *Homer* would neuer haue let it sleepe in silence.

But the good olde man *Plinie*, cannot ouer-reach vs with his idle arguments and coniectures; for we reade in *Genesis*, that *Ioseph* (who liued about fise hundred and fifty yeares before the warres of *Troy*) hauing expounded the dreame of *Pharaoh*, King of *Aegypt*, was by the sayde Prince made Superintendent ouer his kingdom, and for his safer possession in that estate, he tooke off his Ring from his hand, and put it vpon *Iosephs* hand. And surely, kings did not onely wear Rings in those times, because we reade that *Thamar*, desiring to haue issue by the race of *Iudah* her father in lawe (who was brother to *Ioseph*) had his company, vnder colour of being a common whoore, and received as presents from him, his Staffe and his Ring. In *Moses* time, which was more then foure hundred yeares before *Troy* warres, we find Rings to be then in vse; for we reade that they were comprehended in the ornaments, which *Aaron* the High-Priest should wear, and they of his posteritie afterward, as also it was auouched by *Iosephus*.

Whereby appeareth plainly, that the vse of Rings was much more ancient then *Pliny* reporteth them in his Coniectures: but as he was a Pagan, and ignorant in sacred writings, so it is no marvell, if these things went beyond his knowledge. According as himselfe apparently manifesteth, speaking of them of his owne Countrey: for hee saith, the vse of Rings were

anciently so rare in *Rome*, & specially such as were of gold; that there was no auncient Statue to be seen ringed, except those of the Kings, *Numa*, and *Sernius Tullius*, for all other Statues were without Rings. Hee saith moreover, that (ordinarily) no other Rings were worne in *Rome*, but of yron, and that the custome of the *Romans* was, to giue Rings of gold (by way of prerogative) to Ambassadors, which they sent to any King, or to some strange Nation. And yet notwithstanding, they that entred *Rome* triumphantly, wore no other Rings then of yron, although crownes of gold were allowed for their heads, & long time did this custome continue.

Afterward, when the *Romaines* became more braue and sumptuous, yet did they expressly prohibite in *Rome*, to all mechanickall persons, and men of meane condition, to wear Rings of golde: except they were ranked with the Souldiers, or *Romain* Cauallerie, which was a third estate, betwene the Order of the Senators, and the common popularitie; as now-a-days is our Nobilitie. Whereuppon, Rings were so priuiledged, that in giuing licence to any one to wear a ring of gold, it was as much as to ennoble him, and to passe him for a Gentleman. For, as *Pliny*, *Dion*, and many other haue left in their writings, the *Roman* Knights were known, and those of the Military Order, amongst the common people, and distinguished from them by Rings, which they wore on their fingers: euen as euidently as Senators were knowne by their long Purple Roabes, embroidered with large headed nailes. For this cause, the Poet *Horace* attributed Rings to the Cauallerie, bestowing on them the name of Knights, or Gentlemen.

This priuiledge then of wearing Rings of golde, might not be graunted, but to such as had accomplished some high enterprise, or that were men of power, and worthily deserved. And assuredly, this prerogative was so affected generally, that *Julius Caesar*, counting to embolden his Souldiours by remunerations and promises: after a long Oration made to them, hee would lift vp his finger, in signe, that they should enioy whatsoever he promised. And all his Army conceiuing, that by this signe, hee would permit them to wear Rings of golde, which inuimared

Statues of kings wearing Rings.

Triumphers in *Rome*, wore Iron Rings, but Crownes of gold.

No Mechanick or mean persons to wear Rings of gold in *Rome*.

Dion in lib. 9. *Plin*. in lib. vbi *saipa*.

Equester mdo.

Who onely were allowed to wear rings of gold.

Caesars encouraging signe to his Souldiours.

Tomumbeyo taken and brought to *Selym*.

How basely *Selym* vied *Tomumbeyo*, and afterward hanged him.

All the Sultanes Empire yielded to *Selym*.

Rings inuened by the vanity of man.

The marriage Ring of *Honor* vied among the *Romans*.

Rings not in vse at the warre of *Troy*.

Gen. 41. 42. *Pliny* reported by greater authority.

Gen. 39. 18.

Exod. 18. 26.

Ioseph in lib. viii. *cap*. 3.

Plin in lib. 7. *cap*. 18.

asmuch, as that they should all be knights, were the more sprightly encouraged, and serued him with most chearfull dispositiō.

Very true it is, that in the time of Emperours, this preheminence was giuen to many that desired it not, as we may see in *Iuuenall* and *Suetonius*, as also in the Commentaries or Chronicles of *Iulius Cæsar*, and of *Pitellius*. Neuertheless, the Edi&, whereby it was inhibited to Mechanickes to weare Rings of golde, was not in force at the second warre against the *Carthaginians*, and the ouerthrow of the *Romaines* which happened at *Cannas*; for, according as *Pliny* and *Titus Linius* doe report, three bushells of Ringd (belonging to the *Romaines* slaine in the battell of *Cannas*) were found among the slaughtered bodies. In like manner, as *Cicero* alleadged in his fift pleading against *Verres*, he viued the very words, *When a Generall of the Romaine Army, obtained any victorie, hee ordinarily gaue a Ring to his Secretarie, as a reward for his faithfulness.* Many other things were also in custome then, which wee will hereafter more at large discusse: after we haue proued by Examples and Histories, to what end Rings were worne in elder times, and in what manner.

First then, our reuerend predeceffours vied to weare their Rings, on the next finger to the least vpon the left hand, according as it was obserued by the Statues of *Numa*, and *Servius Tullius*, Romain kings;

because that finger was called *Digitus Anularis*, The Ring finger. And certainly (as *Plinie* faith in his seauenth Booke and eighteenth chapter) the Ring worne vpon the left hand, was a meere exprefion of modesty: the *Romaines* imagining, that it was a matter ouer-curious and superfluous, to weare any Rings at all: and therefore, to make the lesser shew of them, they did euer weare them on the left hand. Nor can we say (according to *Plinie*) that this was done to any other end, but because the left hand was more at liberty then the right in the manning of Armes, it seruening then, but as a defence to the bodie, in carrying onely Shields and Targets, as Souldiers vied then to doe, the right hand hauing no such ease.

Neuertheless, some do say, that Rings were worne on the left hand, for the more safetie and assurance, considering that it

is the hand least employed; and that the Ring-finger was elected for the same respect: For it is least set to labour of all the fingers, as *Macrobius* faith. Pursuing the same case, and alleging *Pliny* for the point, he addeth these words, *There is a veine or nerue, coming from the heart, which taketh his ending in the Ring-finger for which cause and reason, that finger deserueth to be crowned with golde.* *Aulus Gellius* also is of the same opinion. Others affirme, that Rings are worne vpon that finger, for phylick, or phyfically: and that the vertue of precious stones enchafted in them, doe penetrate to the heart, by meanes of the fore-named veine. *Macrobius*, grounding his conceit vpon the *Pythagorian* numbers, whereof the *Egyptians* made vse; alleageth many other reasons concerning Rings, which I passe the lightier ouer, as seeming to be matters of small importance. We will resolue then on the last opinion, appearing to bee the most receivable: although we see rings to be worne indifferently, vpon all the fingers that are on the hand.

Macrobius doth auouch, that the most principall cause of inuenting or finding rings, was to serue as Seales: for in former times, euerie man caused to be engrauen in Stones so enchafted in Rings, what did best please his owne minde and affection, and wherewith to seale vp his Letters.

This was then the reason of bringing Rings in vse, although now-a-days they are that way least employed: and assuredly, men (in elder dayes) were so curious for well keeping their Rings and Signets, that they would seale with them verie fel-dome. Which I thinke not to be so vied amongst the *Romaines*, because they were so neare-handed, as not onely they sealed their Letters with their Signets, but also sealed therewith their Chests, Coffers, Ambries, Cub-boords and purses, that kept the houtholde keyes; yea, and sealed their Cellers, wherein were their stored wines, for feare lest they should be stolen away from them; and *Marcus Tullius Cicero* himselfe sayth, that his mother did the same.

Now concerning the vse of sealing with Rings, it is very ancient, according as we may reade in many Examples and Histories, especially in the sacred Scriptures; where

A veine in the ring finger coming from the heart.

Rings worne on Digitus anularis only for phyfick, in regard of the veine leading to the heart.

Rings desired for the sealing of Letters at the first.

The grippleness of the Romaines in sealing vp all things.

The antiquity of sealing with rings.

Rings giuen so such as desired them not, onely in the Emperours times.

3 bushells of rings found in the field at the battell of Cannas.

On what finger elders vied to weare their rings, & they reason for so doing.

The left hand more at ease then the right

where it is said, That *Queene Isahel*, wife to *Achab* King of *Samaria*, sealed with the Kings Ring, the Commaund whereby she sent to haue *Naboth* put to death: and yet notwithstanding, this was fiftene hundred yeares before the foundation of the Cittie of *Rome*.

Moreover, when the Prophet *Daniel* (by the Kings commaundement) was put into the Denne of Lions; the stone which closed the mouth of the sayde denne, was sealed with the Kings Ring, and the rings of all the Princes in the kingdom: where-by appeareth, that Rings serued them to seale withall, as now they are vied in any Kingdom, when the King confirmeth any especial priuilege.

And in these venerable elder times, Stones were enchafted and fixed in Rings, vpon which stones were cut and engrauen diuers formes and figures, deuised onely to seale withall. Heereupon did the Poet write:

I knew the Letter, and the faithfully stone.

As much to say, as he knew the partie from whence the Letter came, by the figure engrauen vpon the stone in the ring, implying, that he knew the Seale. In regard wherof, when men made their rings, they studied to exceede one another in riches and costlinesse, especially Kings and other great Lords; witnesse the so much renowned Seale-ring of *Polycrates* a Tyrant in the Isle of *Samos*. And although many did suspect the narration of that Seale, as a matter meereley fabulous; yet notwithstanding, *Cicero*, *Plinie*, *Strabo* and *Herodotus*, doe holde it for a true historie, affirming it to be an Emerald engrauen, wherewith this Prince vied to seale his Missiues and Patents, as briefly wee will say somewhat of the discourse.

This Prince, hauing long time liued in great prosperitie, neuer finding Fortune any way contrary to him, knowing also in others her instabilitie to be such, as it was impossible for a man to passe through the courses of this life, without experiencing her variable traueses; was willing to fall into a voluntary misfortune, as hoping (by that meanes) to satisfie whatsoeuer Fortune could inflict vpon him. Hereupon, taking the Ring which he so highly esteemed, he threw it into the very deepest place of the Sea, to haue the lesse hope for euer finding it againe; which yet he did,

as *Herodotus* maintaineth, by the aduice of *Amasis* King of *Aegypt*, and his confederate. It hapned, that within some few dayes after, a Fisher-man presented him with a fish caught in the Sea, which was very great, and much remarkable. As the Cooke belonging to *Polycrates* was in dressing the same fish, he found in the bowels thereof, the Ring which his Lord had throwne into the Seagane accident very admirable, and fortunate to *Polycrates*. When King *Amasis* heard thereof, hee departed from the league of friendship which hee had long continued with *Polycrates*, sending him expresse word by his Ambassadors; that it was impossible for a man to be so fortunate, but ere long he must fall into farre greater misfortune, euen to the pitying of his best friends. As it hapned to him in short time after: For, King *Darius* making war against him, was taken in the said war by *Orandus*, Lieutenant generall to *Darius*, who caused him to be hanged and strangled. This came thus to passe, two hundred & thirty yeeres before the foundation of the Cittie of *Rome*.

Plinie sayth, that the Stone enchafted in this costly Ring, was a Cornalline: yet *Herodotus* affirmeth it to be an Emerald, but there appeareth some defect herein, because *Plinie* sayth, *How was it possible in those times, that an Emerald could bee engrauen?* In briefe, it was an ordinarie matter among Princes, to seale Letters with their Rings. As we may obserue by *Alexander* the Great, who (according as *Quintus Curtius*, and many more beside doe auouch) being willing to acquaint *Hephestion*, his choice favourite, with a secret which he had set downe in a Letter, shewing it to him, he tooke the Ring from his finger, and set it to *Hephestions* lippes, as a signe of sealing them vp with silence.

Suetonius sayth, that *Octavius* the Emperour vied the forme of a * *Sphinx* in his Seale; whereupon the Poets fained, that the *Sphinx* was a monster like to a * *Harpyia*, which demanded many doubtfull questions of passengers, ouerthrowing and also killing such, as could not resolue their Riddles. Whereupon the *Romaines* emblazoning the Seale of *Octavius*, vied as a comon saying; that his *Sphinx* might raise forme such doubtfull cause, as would be very difficult to resolue. And this made

Such accidents do not happen to many men, let them make triall neuer so often.

The fortunate man is alwaies waited on by misfortune.

Plinie in lib. vii. supra.

An ordinarie thing for Princes to seale with their Rings.

* A beast like to an Ape or Monkey.

* The monstrous and raucous birds Aello, Cerype and Celano.

Octavius

Reg. 11. B.

Dan. 6. 17.

Iuuenall

The famous Seale-ring of Polycrates, came of Iudas Iscariot.

The history of Polycrates and his voluntary falling into misfortune.

Doubtefull
figures in
Signet Rings.

A signet ring
caused the
long war be-
tweene Mari-
us and Sulla.

* Grandfather
to Cato.

Mens figures
engrauen in
Rings, as in
the time of
the Romane
Emperors.

Rings onely
deuised for
brauery, and
the eyes con-
tentment.

Iudith 10. 4.

Octavius to alter his Seale, engraving therein the Image of *Alexander* the great. *Mecenas*, a great fauourite of the layde *Octavius*, had a Frogge engrauen in his Seale; and although that creature is naturally very timorous: yet notwithstanding, the Romans greatly feared the Frog of *Mecenas*, because by vertue of the Mandatons sent vnder that Seale, they payed great subsidies and tributes. *Pompey* the Great had a Lion in his Signet.

In briefe, Signets were so much respected, as it is well remembered, that the Signet Ring of *Silla*, moued that most cruell warre, which happened betweene him and *Marius*. In that Ring was engrauen the Image of *Bocchus*, King of *Carthay* or *Mauritania*, whom *Silla* tooke with King *Jugurthe*; which was so highly displeasing to *Marius*, to whom *Silla* was Lieutenant; as hee tooke occasion thereby, to enter open Armes against him. *Plinie* also saith, that the Sociall warre, which the Romans waged against their confederates, was moued by the meanes of a Signet, which procured the enmitie betweene * *Drusus* and *Scipio*.

But passing from these particular Signets of diuers Princes, we are to obserue, that the Romans caused their owne proper figures to be engrauen in their Rings. As is well deliuered by *Plautus*, who introduceth a Bowde in one of his Comedies, that by the impression of a Ring, knew the iests and countenance of a souldier her friend. Neuerthelesse, when the Emperours reigned in *Rome*, such as then were pleasing to them, carried their Images engrauen in their Signets. It may then be helde for certaine, that (almost) from the beginning of the world (by that which hath already beene said) Rings were in vse to bee worne, euen as nowadays they are in many Countries, where Armes and other deuices, are ordinarily carried in Rings.

Vve may conclude then, that Rings were made (at the first) for brauerie, and onely to giue delight to the eye; as also for some other reasons, whercof wee shall speake hereafter. And vndoubtedly, the custome of wearing Rings hath bene of long continuance; for, beside the Histories and Examples before related, wee reade of that couragious woman *Iudith*, who hauing sworn the death of *Holo-*

phernes, shee put off her mourning garments, and to execute her intention, shee clothed herselfe with goodly habites, enriching hir comely person with Bracelets, Rings and eare-rings. The Romans likewise wore Iewelles, and Rings on all fingers of the hand, except on the middle finger, which is the greatest about all the other, and which they holde to bee infamous; for a reason, whercof I purpose not now to speake.

Plinie saith, that after the victory which *Pompey* obtayned in *Asia*, the Romans greatly inured themselves to wear rings; and brauery grew then into such request, that in Winter they vied to wear bigger rings: but those appoynted for Summer, were much more light, subtil and ingeniously made. Also, they named their Rings according to the fingers whereon they wore them, as is affirmed by *Iulius Pelagius*. *Plinie* saith, that the second finger, or that whereon the Romans beganne to wear their rings, next vnto the Ring-finger, was the first finger, which is nearest to the pulle; and then afterwards they wore them on the little finger. Moreover he saith, that many (in his time) wore three Rings on each finger: neuerthelesse, such as were most dainty and curious, would wear but one Ring only vpon the whole hand.

From hence it ensued, that every Nation beganne to seeke very diligently for stones that were of greatest price and value; onely to serue in Rings as Signets, and thereon to engrave their deuices. Notwithstanding, among the stones of choicest esteeme, that of *Pyrrhus* (who waged warre against the Romans) in ancient times was accounted to be most excellent. For, in that precious stone, (without any helpe, inuention or arte of man) was naturally discerned, the figures of nine goddesses, and a yong naked child standing by them: so that they were censured, by graue opinion, to bee the portraits of the nine Muses, and of *Apollo*. A matter very strange, and somewhat difficult to be credited: neuerthelesse, many Authors (worthy beliefe) doe aouuch it for a true historie, especially *Plinie*. And questionles, according to the iudgement of Philosophers, this might happen thus naturally, by the great and immeasurable heate of matter consisting in the syde

All fingers
rings except
the middle
finger.

Rings for
Winter and
for Summer.

Plinie lib. 7.
cap. 18.

Rich stones
fought for
all Nations
make Signets.

The rare pre-
cious stone
belonging to
King *Pyrrhus*.

Plinie lib. 10.
fig. 4.

stone;

Albertus Magnus
saith de prop.
louis.

Leonard Camillus
in his Epist.
lib. 1.

Lucy figures
discerned na-
turally in Mar-
ble and Jasper
pillars.

The wonder-
full Ring of
Gyges King
of *Lydia*.

Plinie lib. 10.
fig. 4.
Concerning
the history of
Gyges, and in
what manner
he found his
Ring.

stone; or else by some correspondencie, or celestiall influence, with the Stars and Planets, euen as a woman may produce a monster, wholly different from humane kind, and by the selfe same influences.

Albertus Magnus saith, that he sawe at *Colten*, in the chappell of the three Kings, a Stone, wherein was naturally figured and discerned two mens heads, placed vpon a Serpent. *Leonardus Camillus*, in his Mirrour of precious Stones sayth, that this may be so, naturally, affirming moreover, to haue seene seauen trees, all of one forme, naturally portrayed in a Stone. And not to tie my selfe to other mens testimonies, I haue obserued in Columns of Marble and Iasper, men naturally figured, and many other shapcs beside, very remarkable, both for the diuersitie of colours, and singulartie of shadowes naturally thereto belonging. And therefore, seeing so manie credible persons haue written, concerning the precious Ring-stone of King *Pyrrhus*: it might very well be, that the Nine Muses were therein naturally figured, and appearing to the life.

Now, for that which is reported, as touching the Ring of *Gyges*, King of *Lydia*, (which *Plinie* attributeth to King *Midus*) it seemes a matter strange and incredible. This Ring had such a property, that being on the finger, and turned to the in-side of the hand, the wearer went inuisible; but turning it to the out-side, then he was visible againe, and to be seene of all men as before; all which was made so publickely knowne, that men tooke it offensively, when they were demanded, if they had seene *Gyges* Ring, or no. *Plato* the diuine Philosopher sayth in his Booke of Common-wealth, that by reason of a certaine tempest and earthquake, the ground opened, and a great deepe gulfe was publickely discerned. *Gyges*, being then a Sheepeheard, but a man of bolde spirit, descended downe into the gulfe, and found there a great horffe, which was of Brasse, and hollow; within which horffe was a dead Body; of a Giant-like and prodigious stature. He looking considerably on the huge body, espied a Ring vpon his finger, which he tooke off, and hauing put it vpon his owne, found himselfe sodainly returned to his fellowes: where they (as then) were keeping Cattell.

It came to passe, that *Gyges* (acciden-

tally) turned the stone in the Ring toward the palme of his hand, and then heard his companions talking of him; as if hee was absent from their company: whereupon, being wise and ingenious, hee presently conceiued, that this proceeded from some hidden vertue in the Ring. So, finding it to be true; and trusting to the secret vertue thereof, he went to the Court of *Candaules* King of *Lydia*; where hee preyayled so fortunately, that he obtained the loue of the Queene. Afterward, hauing slaine the King, by meanes of his wife, he possessed himselfe of the kingdom; and so became King of *Lydia*. *Cicero* taketh this narration of *Plato*; no otherwise then as a morall Fable, applied by him to colour what he sayd. *Philostratus*, discounting of Serpents and dragons in the *Indies*, saith, That in certaine Stones, the heads of Serpents and Dragons are to be seene; naturally figured; and that this may be proued by the Ring of *Gyges*. Seeing then, that so many famous Writers make mention of *Gyges* Ring, we may well allow it to be a true Historie, and no Fable.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of the properties and vertues, secretly concealed in precious Stones: And whence the vertue proceedeth, which is sayd to be in Magickall Rings.



Touching the before remembered Ring of *Gyges*, albeit I will not resolutely affirme, that it had (indeede) any such propertie (as elsely where in other places, according as hath bene obserued by experience, and as may be gathered by the writings of diuers credible authors, concerning precious stones, hauing wonderful and vnspokeable qualities and vertues;) yet notwithstanding, making no such strange reckoning of that Ring, Magicians haue promised to execute far greater matters, then the ring of *Gyges* was able to do. Therefore, if that which is written of *Gyges* be true, I am of the mind, that he did it by the Art of Magicke, rather then any other vertue else: as all they doe, that

How *Gyges* found out the inuisibility of the Ring.

In what manner *Gyges* became King of *Lydia*.

Philostratus discounting of stones in *India*.

The Author. resolued to iustifie the hidden vertue of *Gyges* ring.

Magical mat-
ters per-
formed by Astro-
logie.

More vertues
reputed to be
in precious
stones, then
the Author
creditheth.

Of the Dia-
mond, and
his properties

The Ame-
thyst.

The Ruby.

The Carbun-
cle.

The Corall.

The Cryftall.

The Iacynth.

that compasse all their intentions, by the power of Astrologie, observing times, as also the aspects and influences of Starrs and Planets, whereunto they ascribe peculiar rules, whereof we purpose to speake somewhat.

But, returning to the vertues and properties of precious stones; It is very certayne, that our graue Ancients did place such stones in their Rings, and wore them vpon their fingers, onely to be sensible of their properties. Neuerthelesse, although they should be indued with great vertues, yet I am perswaded, that their qualities are not so precious, as proclamation is made of them. Wherefore, not to stand on deciphering their vertues particularly, I will direct my Readers to such Bookes, where their natures are at large described; contenting my selfe, to speake of some few, as they haue beene (in some measure) related to me.

First then, it is saide of the Diamond, that it is very singular against forcerie, charmes and enchauntments, naturally strengthening the heart by his vertues; but especially against illusions of phantasies and spirits, which terrifie by sodaine affrightings. Also I reade, that it is exceeding good for women with child, for the conseruation of their fruit. The Amethyst serueth as a counter-poyson, and likewise is a defensatiue against drunkennesse. The Balais or Ruby, restraineth the inordinate appetites of the flesh, and is a soueraigne help to the health of any body. The Carbuncle is very preferatiue against pestilentiall and infecting ayres, and asswaging luxurious or carnall desires, doth greatly comfort and delight the heart. The Corall containeth in it diuers especiall properties; for it stencheth or stayeth bleeding; it is a preferatiue against gasty visions, and dreadfull dreames; it is likewise very chearefull to the heart and vitall spirits.

As concerning the Cryftall, it is soueraigne against such persons or things, as can enchaunt or charme by their looks or sight; and it also is a restriction and defence, from dreaming of offensive matters. The Iacynth, is cordiall and comfortable to the heart, in like manner as the Corall is; and is also a soueraigne preferatiue against the pestilence.

It is credibly reported and written, that wearing an Emeraude on the finger, it

maketh the partie chaste and continent, as hating and despising the lusts of the flesh. And some holde it for certaine, that if it be worn on the finger of a Maide, that hath lost her virgin honour, it will break immediately. It is also greatly auailable against euill spirits, against tempests, and against the falling sickenes. The Cornaline moderateth all wanton appetites, and glads the heart wonderfully: this stone is the best of all other to seale withall, because waxe will neuer cleaue vnto it. The Topaze doth appease the passions of the mind, asswageth the impetuous tempests of choller and phrensies, quite ouerthroweth the melancholy humour, and finally, it purifieth the blood. Behold what seuerall vertues remayne in the fore-remembered Stones.

Many other there are, of great and extraordinary vertue, which I let passe the lighter, referring the Reader to *Aristotle* (although the booke of Stones, and bearing his name, was none of his worke, by plaine appearance) and to *Albertus Magnus*, in his Treatise of Minerall matters; to the Poet *Marbodens*, in his Booke of precious Stones; to *Serapion*, in his Booke of Simples; to *Isidorus*, in his sixt Booke of Etymologies; to *Bartholomew* the Englishman, in his Tract of the Properties of naturall things; and (about all) to *Leonardus Camillus*, in his Mitrouer or Glasse of precious Stones. *Plinie* also hath written of them in many places; likewise *Plincentius*, and many other, whom I spare to name for breuitie sake.

But I pray you, let vs bestow a little consideration, on the persequicacie and ready apprehension of mans spirit, in finding out the maner and meanes to fet and enchaîne precious Stones in Rings, thereby to enioy their proprieties and vertues. Nay, there were some that conueighed poison into their rings, to compasse their owne speedy death, if any misfortune did throw them into any dangerous disaster: notwithstanding it ensued from the infection of the diuill, inducing diuers ancient Pagans to despair, as may be obserued in sundry olde Histories. Especially renowned *Hanniball*, who vitiually carried poyson in his Ring, whereof he dyed in *Bythinia*, because he would not fall into the hands of *Titus Flaminius* (Ambassador from the Romaines) his capitall enemies; he

The Emerald
called the
stone of Cha-
stity.

The Corna-
line or Car-
nixe.

The Topaze

Heliogabalus
the Romaine
monster.

Aspects and
influences of
the stars en-
closed in
rings, and
greatly trust-
ed vnto.

Magical rings
made vnder
the constellation
of Starrs
and Planets.

The ingenti-
ty of men, by
enclasing
precious
stones in
Rings.

Poysons put
into diuers
Rings, in
cler times.

The ring of
Hanniball,
bearing poy-
son in it.

Rings bapti-
zed by natu-
rall Magicke,
and in what
maner being
applied for
the curing of
sundry illu-
sions.

he hauing slaine (before) the father of *Flaminius* in Italy: to whom *Prusias* King of *Bythinia*, would haue deliuered *Hanniball*, thereby to winne grace with the *Romanes*. *Plinie* sayth, that the great *Athenian* Orator *Demosthenes*, imitated the very same example.

Heliogabalus, a very vile conditioned prince, ordinarily carried poyson in his Ring, and to the same end: albeit as *Lampridius* sayth, in reporting his life, he deserved not so honourable a death, as impoysoning. *Plinie* speaks of this matter, and maner of carrying poysons in rings, to be an ordinary obseruation, and very common in his time.

Moreover, those ancient fore-goers did singularly obserue the aspects, & influences of Starrs, as well by forging them into their rings, as also by engraving them in stones, when they were to be enchaîned, by those meanes to giue them vertue: a most wicked, vile & vnworthy action, not meet to be remembered among Christians. And assuredly there are many Authours, which discourse on those Images & Characters, made by obseruation of Astronomical Constellations, and which made promise of mountaines and meruailes by those meanes. Affirming, that ouer and beside the naturall vertue of the stone; it attained to a new strength and quality, by the Image engrauen thereon, as also by the alliance and propinquity, which it had with the metall wherein it was placed. And they would maintayne, that those Planets and Starrs gaue influence, and communicated their vertue to those rings, forged in that ceremonious manner; even as to the things subiected to their influences; and so by this means, the naturall vertue of those stones, was fortified by the Magical vertue thus attained vnto.

In this maner, they baptized (by the name of naturall Magicke) this colligation or connexion, which they performed by hearbs, metalls, perfumes and characters, and which they vniued or combined together in one ring, saying: That rings composed in that maner, were soueraigne against the Apoplexie or dead palsie, and anguish in the sides. Some there were made proper to reioyce the heart, to heale and mitigate the rage and fury of a madman, and also that they serued as preferatiues against poyson, and for many other

diseases; as to consecrate a man, euen for the encreasing of his naturall strength. In briefe, they attributed many admirable proprieties to these Rings, wherein breuitie constraineth me to be silent. Notwithstanding, whosoever desireth to be better informed, may make his recourse to the Mitrouer of precious Stones, set downe by *Leonardus Camillus*, and to *Cornelius Agrippa*, in his Booke of Secret Philosophie; to *Albertus Magnus*; and *Philosophus*, a Philosopher highly renowned, discoursing on this Argument; as the like doth *Tuissmatius*, *Sosserinus* and diuers other. Neuerthelesse, I doe not greatly rely on what they haue sayd; because I neuer experimented the vertue of Magical Rings.

True it is, that such as make profession hereof, do say and auouch, That by obseruing the Constellations, requisite as well for forging the metall, as for engraving the stone enchaîned in the Ring, and vnder the Planet named *Mars*; that ring doth fortifie the heart, and hath the retentive vertue, working many other great effects, almost incredible. Likewise, such Rings as are made vnder the influence of *Mercurie*, doe adorne the speaking of a man; and maketh him a singular Orator, as also apt to deale in merchandise. And so the like may bee sayde of such, as are made vnder the obseruation of other Planets.

Others engraue in their Rings, the characters belonging to the signes of the *Zodiacke*, and according to their triplicitie, saying: that they of the first triplicitie, as namely, *Aries*, *Leo* and *Sagittarius*, doe serue for colde diseases, for feaures occasioned by phlegme, and for dead Palsies. Also the characters appertaining to the second and ayrie triplicitie, as *Gemini*, *Libra* and *Aquarius*, are singular against corruption and putrefaction of the blood. And so doe they say of other triplicities of the signes, according to their Elementarie qualitie. And indeed, this obseruation is very ancient, and was practised a long time amongst the oldest Philosophers, as well *Chaldeans*, and *Aegyptians*, as the *Iewes*.

Some also affirme, that the seauen fortunate Rings, which King *Tirchus* gaue to *Appolonius Tyrianus* (according as *Philostrophus* sayth) were of the same temper.

Helps for
further in-
formation to
such as are
desirous.

Rings to be
made vnder
each seuerall
Planet, and
their secret
influxed ver-
tues.

Characters of
the Zodiack
engrauen in
rings, & their
vertues.

Of rings tear-
med fortunate
rings.

Iarchas was
chieftest
of the Indian
Philosophers.

A man lived
130. yeares
by vertue of
a Ring.

Aristophanes in
Plais.

Erasmus Rot-
terodamus,
concerning
Magical rings

Classiques de
Salomon.

Diseases cu-
red by images
engrauen vpon
stones.

Farther affirming, that the sayd Prince did daily weare a Ring, answerable to the Planet that day reigning: by the which meanes, he preferred himselfe for an hundred yeares, being always as in the floure of his age. The grand-father to this King Iarchas, lived an hundred and thirty yeres, by vertue of the afore-sayd Rings, being continually in manly verdure. And hereupon, the Greekes made great vse of these Magickall and sophisticated Rings, as may be seene in the Comedies of Aristophanes, where hee bringeth in a man-Bawde, peremptorily contesting against Disem, who had threatened him, and these are his words: *I care not for all the threatening that can be used against me, hauing this Ring vpon my finger, which his Maistrisse sold for a Drachma.* And shewing the Ring, he proceeded thus: *With this Ring I will keep my selfe from his teeth, and from his barking.*

Erasmus, speaking of these Magickall Rings, hath these words: *Some daily vse to weare Rings, wherein are certaine characters engrauen, vnder obseruation of constellations and aspects of Starres, and firmly hold, that they serue for diseases in the sides, and are proper (also) for diuerse infirmities. Others imagining this to be true, do counterfeite these Rings, but all is merely abuse. For, to giue them such vertue; the course of the Starres must be diligently obserued, and the constellations when they are made. Notwithstanding, many regarde not the influences of the Starres at all; but onely respect the nature of the stone enchaufed in the Ring, and the character there engrauen.* This may be seene in the Bookes of the wings of Rogerius, and in the writings of Leonardus Camillus, as also of Tetellus and Caclius, in those bookes which are attributed to Salomon for their credite, and which amply doe discoufure thereon. For, according as Tetellus sayth, a Iaspur stone enchaufed in a Ring, hauing the Image of a Maiden engrauen thereon: preferueth the wearer from ill spirits, and from water. If a Lambe be engrauen thereon, the Ring defendeth from the Apoplexie, and cureth also the feauer quartane. A Cornalline also, hauing the shape of a man figured thereon, holding in his hand some goodly and respectable thing; doth stench the fluxe of blood. In briefe, they speake of so manie matters, pleasant to heare, and very hard to be credited: as I can say nothing in the

case; but let such as please, make their own experience of them.

But returning againe to Rings & Signets, in Spaine they serue in all contracts, instead of full determination: also in matter of marriage, the two parties giue rings to each other, as a signall and confirmation of the mutual promise, which they haue made one to an other. In like manner, when religious women doe vndertake the veile; in signe of their profession, Rings are giuen them, as well from the religious house, as from their Parents, in testimony of this true and chaste marriage. There is yet an other poynt, concerning this case in question, and though of small importance, yet it doth diuers needfull seruices. Many will change their Rings from one finger to another, for better remembering some occasion to be performed, which otherwise might remaine forgotten. Wherefore, if we consider well the vse of rings, they are not so much to be blamed, as Pliny and some others doe: For, (in all times) men of vertue and honour haue vsed them. Hereto we may adde, that God created golde and precious stones, for the seruice of man, and to maintaine him in health; enduing them with such sundrie properties, to the end they might be the more commodious for men. Finally, Rings are particularly attributed vnto Bishopps, in signe of dignitie.

CHAP. XXV.

¶ *Whence it came at the first, that the name of Gentleman was giuen, as well to Knights, as to the sonnes of Presidents & Counsellors. What Armes the ancient Romans carried: And whence came the invention of emblazining Armes first in Escutcheions.*



HE custome ordinarily obserued in France, Italy and Spain, is to call him a Gentleman, that is a Knight extracted of a noble house, especially such a one, as is a Gentleman by name and Arms. Also, when a King sends a man of noble house in Embassie, he stileth him so in his Patent, by these words: *I send you a Gentleman of my house.* Kings and Princes, as well in these dayes, as in times past, vsed to haue (ordinarily) in their Courts, men of learning, and Knights, who

Wharvst is
made of rings
and signets
in Spaine.

Rings need-
fully vsed for
matters remem-
brance, and
haue bin re-
spectred by
men of honor
and vertue.

Customes for
the title of
Gentleman.

Knights and
Gentlemen of
nobles
house.

Gentleman
signeth No-
bleman.

Whence the
name Gentle
or Gentle
came at the
first.

Cicero in Top.

Bookes of lo-
gicall inuenti-
on.

Batius in Top.

Cicero de Cl.
orat. lib. 2. c. 2.

Pudens lib. 3.
degrees of
Romane du-
ties.

The name of
Gentleman
among the
Romaines.

who were named Gentlemen of the kings house, or Gentlemen seruants. And these Gentlemen were descended of great houses in the Kingdome, as well Schollers as Souldiers, and they remained continually in the Court, attending on the King in times of peace and warre. Wherefore, the name of Gentleman, signifies as much as Nobleman, and extracted of a noble linage. Neuertheless, it appeareth not much differing from our purpose, to say somewhat, concerning whence came the name of Gentleman, or of Gentilitie, together, with the custome of bearing Arms in Escutcheions.

As touching the first point, the name of Gentle came from the Latines, who called such men Gentles or Gentiles, as were of one and the same race, and of one selfe same name; being at libertie, and of free condition from all Antiquitie: and those houses also were tearmed Ancient Gentiles, euen as now-adayes wee call them houses of Noble race, houses of Gentlemen. Which Cicero well witnesseth, in his Topickes, speaking thus: *We call them Gentiles, that are of one name, and who from all times haue bene of free condition: so that no part or parcell of their race, was euer seruant or slaue, and much lesse, degraded from honour, and of the Romaine Burgeship.* And Batius also sayth in his Topickes, we call ancient Gentiles, all such as are issued of one ancient house and race, franke and free: as were the Scipioes, the family of Brutus, & other noble houses of Rome. Cicero likewise taketh this name of Gentle, For one that is of our race, and that beareth the same name and Armes as we doe.

The learned Pudens, speaking of deuoirs or duties of parentage, obserued among the Romaines, sayth: *They were three in number: Dutie of consanguinitie, Dutie of blood and linage in direct line, And duty of Gentilitie, as much to say, as when a man is descended of the same name & Armes.* The title then of Gentle or Gentility, was and should be attributed onely to Noble houses. And therefore the name of Gentleman among the Romaines, valued as much as a Nobleman among the Castilians and French. And assuredly, the Romaine Gentlemen did (ordinarily) shew the Images and Deuices of their predecessors, that had illustrated their memorie by their worthy decdes: and this repre-

sentation of Nobility, was highly esteemed among the Romaines, euen as yet to this day, are ancient Armes, and Penons and Standards, belonging to the predecessors of Gentlemen, who would not forget any thing of Antiquitie (concerning their linage) in funeral orations, made at the obsequies of their parents, thereby to haue the man accounted so much the more Noble.

In this respect Cicero reprooued Piso, in the change and pleading he made against him, saying: *The honours and estates which thou hast obtained, were giuen thee, onely for respect of the smooke images of thy predecessors, of whom thou carriest the colour onely, so that thou canst not be denied to be a Gentleman.* And in another place, speaking of himselfe, he confesseth: *To haue no Images of his race, for by his excellent knowledge, admirable wisdom, and highly esteemed eloquence, he so much ennobled himselfe, that he came to be Consul of Rome, enioying other degrees and prerogatives, euen as if hee had bene a Gentleman of race, and issued from the house of a Senator.* Which himselfe also further confesseth in his last pleading against Verres, saying: *Thou being great Surveyour of Rome, for some speciall cruises done by thee to the Common-wealth, hast a place appointed for thine Image, and enioyest the priuileges of a Gentleman.*

I reade, that the Romaines were verie careful of those images, which were called Stemmates: for commonly they were made of waxe, and placed ouer the portalles of their houses, or else proudly kept in aptly contriued boxes, and so preferred in places appointed for their standing, as witnesseth Iuuenal, Martial, Seneca, Plinie, and many more.

And when there was question of some publike ceremony or of funeral pompe, the people of the houses would make a goodly shew of the Images belonging to their Ancestours, with their names fixed vpon them, according as Plinie reporteth. He also declareth in his ninth booke and fift chapter, that the Romaines would place before their houses, the Ensignes, Penons and other Coates of Armes and spoiles, which they had wonne from their enemies in war, and remained there to perpetuallie: so that if the house were folde, it was not lawfull for the buyer to take them away, because they serued for

Ancient armes
in Penons &
Standards
belonging to
Gentlemen.

Cicero cont. Piso

Cicero in Orat.
lib. 3.

Cicero in De-
clamat. coat.
Verres.

Images made
of waxe, and
crowned with
Garlands of
Flowers.

Plinie lib. 9.

Ensignes and
Coates of
Armes fixed
before the
Romans hou-
ses.

an honour and prehemine vnto their houses.

From hence came the custome of bearing Armes in a Escutchian, as now aduies Gentlemen vse to do. Notwithstanding, it seemes that the emblazoning of Armes, receiued their originall from those deuices, which were on the Banners and Ensignes, as well of the Romaines, as other strange Nations, and carried by them in warre. As at this very day, the Emperors beare an Eagle in their Armes; because *Julius Cesar*, the first Emperour of Rome, carried an Eagle in his Ensignes. As much may be said concerning the Flowers de Luces, which the Kings of France carrie, and of diuers other.

Now, concerning mine owne opinion, I finde, that long time before the *Romains* vse, the Armes of Gentlemen were in vse. For, it is said, in the first Booke of the *Macchabees*, that *Simon*, Capitaine general of the Jews armie, made a very sumptuous sepulcher for his father, mother and brethren, which was enriched with Pyramids and Pillars, whereon was engrauen Ships, in manner of a Deuice; and thereon were fixed coats of Armes, wherewith he had vanquished his brethren. *Messala Coruinus*, in the Oration which he made, to honour the linage of the Emperour *Octavianus* (although the Oration deferred not the title of *Messala*, alleading *Virgil*, vpon that he wrote; affirming *Antenor* the Trojan, to be the founder of *Padua*) sayth; *The Troians Armes were placed by Antenor, on the Temple of new Padua*; and that the emblazon of the Armes, was a Swine in a field golde. So that, if *Messala* do speake truly, the vse of Armes is very auncient. Heereupon I conceiue, that the emblazons of Gentlemen, took name of Armes or Armories, because they were continually engrauen neare to their Armes. For, as *Messala* saith; *Our Auncients, after they had obtained any victorie, ordinarily placed in their Temples, the Armes and Ensignes, wherewith they wonne the victorie from the enemy.*

Wherefore we may well say, that the name of Gentleman, and the manner of bearing Armes in Escutchions, is no moderne matter, but very auncient; and that the name of Gentle or Gentile, came from those ordained and appointed for horsemen in the Romaine Cauallerie:

who were of the third estate or degree amongst the common people. And they that wore the long robe or Gowne, were the Order of Senators, and their sonnes aunciently called *Patricians*; afmuch to say, as issued from fathers. For, in the time of *Romulus*, according as *Titus Livius* a-uoucheth: *The Senatours were called Fathers, and their sonnes Patricians, and this degree was the most noble and chiefe in Rome*. Other Gentlemen, that were not of this rancke, were stiled Knights: from whence infused, that Gentlemen in *Spain* are called *Cheualiers*. The like wee say of the long gownned men, who commaund ouer the people, as Senators; and yet notwithstanding, they come after the other. Briefly, the name of *Knight* is come to such credite, as the very greatest doe holde themselves honoured to bee called *Knights*: albeit the name of *Knight* was but the proper title of a Souldier of the ordnances, or of the light horse.

CHAP. XXVI.

¶ Of the Septuagint, or Seauentie Translations of the olde Testament, out of Hebrew into Greeke: At what time it was done, and for what occasion.

Every man is very briefe, concerning the traduction of the Seauentie persons, who translated the Olde Testament out of Hebrew into Greeke; but yet very few do know, whence it came, and wherefore that translation was so appointed: wherein assuredly many Diuines, in their publique preaching, haue declared ouer-much sloath & negligence. First then it is to be obserued, that this Translation of the Seauentie men, hath bene only in the Church holly and religiously respected; but in the time of Pope *Damasus*, Saint *Hierome* conuerted it into Latine. And to speake seriously, the traduction of the Septuagint hath bene of such authoritie, that it is alledged for diuine: for so it appeareth by our blessed Saviour and his Apostles, in often alledging Scriptures, according to the saide Translation.

And

And because the historie of that Translation is very worthy and famous, I will set downe that which is sayd by Saint *Augustine*, in his Booke of the Citie of God, *Iosephus* the Jew, *Eusebius*, *Irenaeus*, *Iustinus*, *Rufinus*, and many other.

Here is to be noted, that the five bookes of *Moses*, the Prophets, and other Histories of the holy Bible, were first of al written in the Hebrew tongue, which was the first vsall tongue among men; before the confusion of Tongues, which happened at the building of the Tower of *Babylon*. In that tongue and language God spake first to his Prophets; as the like our blessed Lord and Saviour did, when he was conversant among men. This language then being particular to the Jewes, and the mysteries and prophecies (as also the coming of Christ) being concealed therein: it was very requisite, that such mysteries should bee written in a tong more common then the Hebrew: as that was then among the Greekes, who were sole Gouvernours of the wide Vniuers, by the fresh and recent victories of *Alexander* the Great. So that, by the frequentation and traffique of men, the Greeke tongue had coure generally, and was esteemed the most common of all other Languages whatsoever.

To the end then, that the mysteries of sacred Scripture, might bee vnderstood of euery one, before the coming of Iesus Christ; it was requisite of necessitie, that the Scriptures should be traduced into a common and vulgar tongue; for feared lest the Jewes at the *Messias* his coming, should suppress them, or else falsifie them (for that race of people was of bolde and most wicked inclination) because it might not be sayd, that the Christians had added or diminished any thing from the Scriptures, according to their owne humour and phantasie. And therefore, about two hundred and seauentie yeares before the Incarnation of Iesus Christ, it pleased the goodnesse of Almighty God, to inspire *Protemie Philadelphus* King of *Egypt*, to procure the translation of the holie Bible. But seeing we are fallen into discourse of that Prince; we will reach into his Historie somewhat higher.

After that *Alexander* the great had subdued *Asia* (which he performed in small compasse of time) and that he had ranged

a great part of *Europe* and *Affrica*: he died without any lawfull heire, that might succede him in such great Empires. He being dead, the Princes and Captains of his Court, who were all most valiant and famous men; laboured by force of Armes to possesse themselves of what they possibly could: So that the kingdomes apperaining to *Alexander* onely, became diuided into many parts: for *Antigonius* possessed himselfe of *Asia*, *Selenchus* of *Chaldæa*, and of many other Prouinces. By the same means also *Protemie*, the sonne of *Lagus* made himselfe King of *Egypt*, of *Phœnicia*, of *Cyprus*, and diuerse other Countries, among which *Iudea* then was one. Being Lord of *Iudea*, he made there many great booties, leading away store of Jewes captiues into *Egypt*, where hee had ordained the chiefe seate of his Kingdome. So that he was the first King of *Egypt*, that called himselfe *Protemie*: which name remained hereditary to the successours in the sayd Kingdome; for, before that *Cambyses*, sonne to *Cyrus*, King of *Persia*, had conquered *Egypt*, all the Egyptian Kings called themselves *Pharaohs*.

But returning againe to our *Protemie*, after he had reigned a long time, he dyed, and then succeeded him *Protemie Philadelphus*, who likewise reigned peaceably in *Egypt*.

This Prince gaue leaue, and set at libertie all the Jewes, which his father led prisoners into *Egypt*. And then it came to passe, according to the pleasure of Almighty G.O.D., that this King created a goodly Librarie, in *Alexandria* the capital Citie of *Egypt*; by the means of *Demetrius Phalarus* the *Athenian*, a man much renowned for his knowledge; and to whome hee gaue full power and commission. So that, by the diligence of *Phalarus*, hee compassed the finishing of the fairest and most complete Librarie, that euer was seene in the world, as well for number of Bookes, as the qualitie of Authors, and diuersitie of disciplines.

This King, vnderstanding that the Books of the Jewes, contained admirable and vnexpressible mysteries, resolved to haue them reduced into the Greeke language. And to effect this his purpose, he dispatched an Embasie to *Elexar*, Prince of the Iewish Synagogue, with great presents; intreating him, in memory of fauors

0003 done by

The original of bearing Armes in an Escutchian.

The Romaine Eagle borne by Emperors.

1 Macchab. 13 27, 18, 19.

Armes in vse long before the Romaine time.

Messala Cor. in Or. 1. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19.

The Troians Armes vpon new Padua.

Messala in lib. 1. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

The name of Gentil man, & bearing Armes very auncient.

Aug in Cuius. De 14. 4.

The hebrew tongue the first generally vngue.

God spake to his Prophets in the hebrew vngue.

The name of Knight.

The Greeke tongue chosen the most frequent vngue.

The necessity of the Scripture in a vulgar language.

The Translation of the Bible 270. yeares before Christs incarnation.

The credite & authority of the 5. 70. Translations.

The death of Alexander the Great.

Alexanders Kingdome diuided into many parts.

The first Protemie King of Egypt, after the Pharaohs.

Demetrius Phalarus, a Noble Philosopher and Orator, Scholler to Theophrastus, for his excellent vertues gouerned the Athenians ten yeares.

Protemies Ambassage to Eleazar the Iew.

by him to those of his Nation, and for the good neighbourhood betweene them, to send him a Bible in *Hebrue*, as also such learned and skilfull men, as could translate it into the *Greeke* tongue. *Iosephus* and *Eusebius* haue set downe the forme of the Letter, which was as followeth:

The Tenour of the Letter,
sent by King Ptolomy Philadelphus, to Eleazar the High-Priest.

Ptolomy a King, to the High-Priest Eleazar, health.

NO man can beignorant, that manie *Jewes* haue dwelt in this kingdome of *Egypt*, being brought thither prisoners by the *Perfians*, at such time as they subiugated *Judea*. And againe, when the late deceased king my father brought diuers hither also, to whom (neuerthelesse) my said Lord & Father trusted so much, that they did him seruice in his warres: by way, he planted them in strong forts, by sea, he Garrisoned, to keepe the *Egyptians* in awe & feare. As for my selfe, from such time as I came to the Crowne, I haue alwaies vsed humanity towards your Nation, and haue sent home more then 100000 that were detained here as slaues, paying their ranfome & charges to them that held them prisoners. Such as desired to follow the wars: to them I haue giuen wages, euery one answerable to his worth and merit. Many of them I haue lodged in mine owne house ordinarily, as hoping by this means, to do somewhat acceptable to God, who deliuered this Kingdome into my hands.

And the better to declare the affection I beare in doing all pleasures that I can to you, and all the rest of your nation, aswell for the time present as to come: I haue determined, to cause your Bookes in the *Hebrew* language, to be translated into the *Greek* tongue, because I would not haue my newly erected Library, to remaine vnfruitfull any way. And therefore you shall do me a great fauor, to chuse sixe auncient men out of each Tribe, that are expert in your Lawe, and well versed in the *Greeke* for this intended translation. Not doubting, but that it will redound to our great honour, and ample contentment of mind. For this purpose, I haue sent vnto you *An-*

dreas and *Arifteus*, who more at large will informe you of mine intention: to them haue I deliuered large summes of gold and siluer, to fulfill the Sacrifices as I haue appointed them, desiring you to send mee by them, such as may further this negotiation. Assuring you, that you cannot doe me a greater pleasure, nor more, to maintaine the friendship begun betweene vs: if (as I intreat you) this may be done with some expedition. *Ptolomie.*

After that the High-Priest *Eleazar* had received the Kings Letters, and vnderstood the further trust referred to the Ambassadors; he entertained them very honorably, receiuing (with chearefull looks) the golde and siluer sent by king *Ptolomie*, which (according to *Iosephus*) was a mighty quantitie. And hauing assembled the principall men of the twelue Tribes of *Israel*, hee acquainted them with the Kings intention, and to what end he had sent the Ambassadors. Wherein, to satisfie his desire, they elected out of each Tribe sixe aged men, well experimented in the Lawe, and expert in the *Greek* language. For the *Jewes* had a custome to send their people into *Asia*, to learne the *Greek* and *Latine* tongues, as also the *Artes* and *Sciences* comprised vnder those languages, euen as yet to this day they obserue the same; so that all the men made choice of, were seuentie two. After they were thus chosen, they were sent with the Ambassadors to King *Ptolomie*, and the Bookes of the Old Testament with them, written (as *Iosephus* sayth) in most places all in golden Letters, and vpon such parchment, the most ingeniously made that euer was seene. Moreover, he sent diuers great gifts to the said Prince, returning him answer in maner following.

The Answer of the High-Priest Eleazar, to great king Ptolomy Philadelphus,

Eleazar, to his friend King Ptolomie, health.

I Am very glad of your present welfare, and the health of Queene *Arfine* your wife, with the young Lords your Sonnes, or any thing you can wish to your contentment: certifying you likewise of my infant

Two men of great honour, and worth, sent by the King.

Eleazar entertained the Ambassadors very honorably.

The tower by frequenting *Asia* learned the *Greeke* and *Latine* Languages.

The High-Priest vied to write very familiarly to such kings, with whom they were long used in amity

instant healthfull condition. By the Mif-
fure you sent vnto mee, I vnderstand the
faire loue and affection, which you beare
to our Nation, and haue caused your let-
ters to bee publicly read before all the
people, and to let them fully vnderstand,
what holy deuotion you declare towards
God; I haue exposed to open view, the
twenty Vessels of gold, and thirty of sil-
uer, together with fifty Cups, and a Table
of siluer for the sacrifices, beside forty
Talents of gold, and as many of siluer,
sent by you to furnish the Ornaments of
our Temple. All which I haue receiued
from the hands of the Noble Lords *An-
dreus* and *Arifteus*, your faithfull Coun-
sellors and Ambassadors, who haue am-
ply instructed vs in the cause by you re-
quired. And therefore, we haue sent them
backe againe vnto yee, offering our selues
by them, to accomplish your good plea-
sure.

And because the extraordinary great
fauours which you haue done to them of
our Nation, are such, as it is impossible for
vs to vfe or return any condigne requital:
we must make our recourse to solemne
prayers and sacrifices, for the prosperity
of you, of your Queene, and of the Noble
Lords your fornes. In which holy action,
all our people very voluntarily desire to
employ their vtmost paines, in crating of
God, to further and finish your desires, as
may best stand with the conseruation of
your Estate, and maintainance of your
Kingdome in glory and honour.

Now concerning the Translation of
the Bookes of our Law, by you so greatly
and earnestly desired, we haue elected sixe
Auncient out of our severall Tribes, who
we send vnto you, with the Bookes of our
Bible. But when the Translation shall be
perfected, according to the office of a iust
and louing king, we desire that they may
be sent backe againe to their native Coun-
try.

Eleazar, and the people of the Jewes.

When King *Ptolomy* had receyued
the Letters of *Eleazar*, with the Bookes
of the Bible, and such Presents as were sent
by *Eleazar*, he most royally welcommed
the seuentie two aged men; and (as *Iose-
phus* sayth) ioyed not a little for their arri-
uall. Their lodgings being prepared, &
all things necessary for their employment,

they settled themselves to the Bibles trans-
lation: wherein happened an admirable
and miraculous case; for the seuentie two
men being placed separately, according
to the Kings Commission, without any
meanes or power of conferring one with
another: after they had thus diuinely fi-
nished their Translation, they all appear-
ed before the King with their severall
labours, and were found therein all to co-
forme and agreeing, that one man had
not a fillable more then another; which
doublelesse could not bee done, without
the power and especiall grace of the holy
Ghost, according to the saying of *S. Au-
gustine*, *Irenus* and *Tertullian*, who aunc-
eth in his time, to haue scene at *Alex-
andria* in *Egypt*, the written Bookes of the
seuentie two Translators, vnder their own
hands, which were in *Hebrew* and in
Grecke.

As much is said and maintained by *Tu-
stinus* the Philosopher, in the booke of Ad-
uertisements, which he wrote to the Gen-
tiles and Pagans, where he speaketh thus.
King Ptolomy caused to bee builded without
the City of *Alexandria*, seuentie two Halls,
to lodge therein separately, the seuentie two
Translators, and there provided for them all
things necessary, in most honourable manner.
In which places the Translators remained,
without seeing one another, until the trans-
lation was perfected. Nay more, he affir-
meth to haue scene the ruines and olde
walls of those buildings, which were esteem-
ed as reliques and sacred things. And al-
though *S. Hierome* and *Ruffinus* do disa-
gree concerning the number of those
Halls or Chambers: yet notwithstanding,
that is no matter of any moment, co-
sidering (according to *S. Augustine*, and
many other Authors) each Translatour
wrote his bookes alone by himselfe, not a
way conferring one with another, and
yet neuerthelesse, all the Translations
were found conformable.

And assuredly, when I consider adui-
dedly on this mystery, I hold it for a mighty
miracle, that they should agree in such
a conformity of stile, order and method,
trading matter so long and diuers, al-
though they had bene admitted toge-
ther, and had begun the worke with their
owne agreement, because we see it a mat-
ter of no meane moment, to finde two me
agreeing vpon one and the same point,
when

The royall gift by Ptolomy Philadelphus.

A confession of the Jewes maketh us require to great & gracious kindnes.

The seuentie Translators were from seuerall Tribes, and yet differed not one fillable in all their labours.

Aug. in ciuit. De ill. 8. Irenus, Tertullian, v. alibi. Geni. 1.

Tustin in Aduert. ad Gent.

The difference of S. Hierome and Ruffinus about the buildings.

The admirable conformity of stile, method and matter in long a labour.

The Jewes were diuers times brought as captiues into Egypt, by seuerall kings conquests ouer them.

King Ptolomy vsed great kindnesse and humanity to the Jewes.

He desireth the full turning of his goodly Library.

when they are to intermeddle with one argument together. But, after the translation was finished, the Iewes which dwelt in Egypt, and were very learnedly skillfull in their Law, commended the Sacred writings to the King, wherewith hee was most highly pleased. And according as *Josephus* and *Eusebius* do maintaine, King *Ptolemy*, being amazed at those Scriptures, and the holy mysteries in them comprized, demanded of *Demetrius Phalarus*, who had the charge of his Library, how it hapned, that *Lycurgus*, *Solon*, and other Law-makers, were silent in this law of the Iewes? Whereto *Demetrius* thus answered.

Sir, this Law, as your selfe haue sufficiently seen, came from God; and no Lawyer euer durst be so bold, to meddle with it un-reverently, or misuse any text therein contained. Theopompus was smitten with the hand of heauen, with an extraordinary perturbation in his senses, and mighty paine at his hart: because he medled with the holy Histories of the Hebrews among his owne, beautifying them with borrowed words, and rhetorical phrases. But upon his true repentance and humiliation to God, committing himselfe wholly to his mercy, it was revealed to him in his sleep: that this disaster happened to him, because he durst be so bolde, to embellish and enrich the sincerity of holy Scripture, with curious and adorning words; and thereby to impart them to Pagan and Infidell Nations.

I remember also to haue read, that Theodorus a Tragical Poet, lost his sighte sodainly for taking a place of Scripture to maintaine an argument in his Tragedy: and yes upon his confessed repentance, his sight was restored to him againe.


King *Ptolemy* wondering at this discourse of *Demetrius*, placed the translated Bible in his Library, and hauing thankfully respected the ancient Iewes, he licensed their departure, giuing to each man sumptuous gifts; thanking likewise (by his Letters) the Prince *Elezazar*, to whom he sent Kingly presents. Thus you see, how the translation of the Septuagint was performed, they being men (as *S. Augustine* and *Saint Hierom* saide) that then had the spirit of Prophecy: which appeared plainly, in that our blessed Lord and his Euangelists, alledged Scriptures according to their translation. And if perhappes any thing is found in the Hebrew Bible, which

is not in the translation of the Septuagint, wee may well say, that the holy Ghost would not reueale it by their means. And contrarywise, if some thing bee in their translation which is not in the Hebrew text: we must verily beleuee, that the blessed Spirit reuealed the passage by their means. For the selfsame Spirit that directed the Prophets, when they set down their Prophecies in writing, governed the seauenty two Translators in translating the holy Bible; so saith *S. Augustine*, concerning the version of the Old Testament.

This was the first, before the coming of Iesus Christ; for, after our Sauious Passion, *Aquila* the Iew wrote another. Two other translations were afterwards performed, but by whom it was not known: notwithstanding, they came to the hands of *Saint Hierom*, as *Eusebius* maketh mention in the first booke of his Ecclesiastical history. By these translations the Bible was reduced out of Greeke into Latine: but *Saint Hierom* did his out of Hebrew into Latine, without staying on the Septuagints labour, nor the other Greeke translations. Beside Psalmes and other things are sung and sayde in the Church, wherof no disposition neede to be made, whether they were of *S. Hieroms* writing or no.

CHAP. XXVII.

¶ Of the admirable vertues and properties, which God and Nature hath given vnto the Ant, Emmet, or Pisse-mire: And what worthy examples haue from it bin deriued.

 You may well say, that it is no difficult matter for mee, to speake of the Nature and properties of Creatures, hauing for my Patroness, Maisters, and Guides, *Aristotle*, *Pliny*, *Aelianus*, and many other, writing on that argument: but because my desire extendeth it selfe beyonde ordinary compass,

One and the same blessed spirit guided the Prophet and Septuagint.

Aquila the Iew wrote the second translation.

Ruffin in his Hist. Eccl. lib. 8.

Chap. 27.

Of the Ant or Pisse-mire.

counting things curious, and knowne to few people; I purpose to say something of the Ant, Emmet, or Pisse-mire; albeit in regard of the creatures smallnesse, some may thereby take occasion to condemne my discourse. Neuerthelesse, let their humors serue them howsoever, I cannot exclude this creature out of our rich & spacious Forrest: for there is not any garden how warily or closely fouer it bee kept; but the Ant will make his entrance, euen in despite of the Master and Owner. And how little in our iudgement and substance of the creature, it seemeth to vs; yet many renowned Authors haue written wonderful things thereof.

Very true it is, that *Pliny* sayeth; *This creature is unprofitable, and of no worth at all, but onely for it selfe: when contrariwise, the Bee, as little as it is, doeth (neuerthelesse) giue a pleasing taste to our food, by the sweet sauer of his honey, whereas the Ant doeth gnaw and eate them.* But yet in another place, he speaketh wonders of the Ant, & extollet it extraordinarily. For, concerning the blamefull imputation hee imposeth on this little creature, it proceedeth from a certaine kinde of Couetousnesse, wherunto man is so inclined for his own particular profit, that he would deriue benefit from all creatures, how small fouer they be, being greatly offended, that our Ant should provide it selfe of one poore graine of Corne. But if we would consider things, in such kinde as duly appertaineth to them, we should finde more profit from the Ant, then from the Bee. For the Ant serueth vs as an example of industry, prouidence and friendship, and of many other vertues beside, related at large by *Salomon* in his Prouerbes, who sendeth the sluggard to the Ant, to consider what paine and solicitude she taketh, and to learne discipline and direction of her. For, hauing neither guide or Captain, or any to command and direct her: she prepareth her food in the Summer for Winter.

From hence it ensued, that *Saint Ambrose* (speaking of this silly little creature) vseth these words: *The desseignes and enterprises of the Ant, being iustly considered, do farre exceede her power and strength. And although she haue none to incite her to labor: yet notwithstanding, by a certaine kind of dominion or authority, she provideth for after-claps and future necessities. Behold what*

Saint Ambrose hath saide, who speaketh much more amply concerning the properties of this little Ant; whereto *Cicero* likewise discouering, sayeth: *That the Ants Commonwealth is to be aduised to euery City.* For, not onely they haue vnderstanding like other Animals: but also they haue sense, reason, and memory.

Pliny, *Aristotle*, and *Elianus*, are verie stayed in iudgement, for their consideration of the Ant, and not without great reason: for in duly obseruing her forme, her dreadfull aspect, her hardnesse, her lively colour, and her piercing snout; there is not any Lion so fierce as this creature, were it but as great as it is little; it is so strong, bold, and dreadfull.

First, there is not any animal, that can carry the weight of himselfe: but the Ant carrieth and draweth ten times a heavier load then it selfe, so that if this small creature were as great as a horse, it would easily beare the burthen of foure Waggon. Other beasts can hardly defend themselves against her assaults; for, although shee is so small a worme, yet notwithstanding, her teeth are so strong, as the very hardest graine of Corne is not able to withstand them. Nay, she will carry hard stones in her teeth, and howsoever she fasteneth vpon them, shee will squash and bruiseth them, holding them so forcibly: that no picers are able to open her mouth. And so opini-tiue is shee of her power, as shee will rather suffer her selfe to be rent in peeces, then to forsake whatsoeuer shee holdeth: which strength would be farre greater, if her body were equiualent thereto.

But leauing her strength (whereof so small account is made, in regard of her littleness) let vs somewhat consider the natural instinct, together with the vertue & wisdom abiding in her. For nature (throughout the whole wide world) hath not produced any other creature, making more demonstration of vertue, then the Ant: nor such profession of amity, industry, prouidence, and diuers other singular vertues, as wee shall haue occasion to speake of hereafter, in theyr apte places.

In the prime place, Ants haue the form of a Commonwealth among themselves, according as *Pliny* saith; for they haue neither King, Lord, nor any Commander; as much as is affirmed by *Aristotle* and *Salomon*.

Cicero in *Tuf. calant.* lib. 19.

Pliny, *Aristotle*, *Elianus*.

No beast able to beare to great a burthen as the Ant.

The wonderfull & great strength in her teeth.

What vertues are in the Ant by naturall instinct.

The Ant will haue room in all mens places.

Plin. lib. 9. c. 3. The Ant good for more but a little.

The couetousnesse of men to gather benefit from all kinde of creatures.

Prov. 6. 6, 7, 8.

Ambrose, in *220.* m. 1. tract. 5.

Aristotle in *Leu.* *Pliny* lib. 9. c. 4. *Elianus* in *lib.* 4. com.

King *Ptolemy* amazed at the sacred Scriptures.

Theopompus punished for prophaning the Sacred Scriptures.

Gods sacred word hath no need of mens vaine adorning.

The punishment of *Theodorus* a Tragical Poet.

Aug in *Chil.* *Dei* 1. 7. *Hier.* in *Preslat.* *Bib.*

mon: And yet their Commonwealth is so well policed and ordered, as they haue neuer any Warre or ciuill contention among them. Likewise they are neuer seen to fight or kill one another, as men doe: but, as hath bene obserued, all labour for the Weale-publike, without laying aside any thing for priuate vse, as other Creatures do, that fight for feeding of their bellies.

How they supply one another's weakness in liking their provision.

Ants haue their dwelling in friendly manner altogether.

Their cause is commonly nere to some Brook or Riuer.

Ants helpe and assist one another, in conducting home their store, and make their provision generally for all together; and if any one be over-loaded or wearie, his fellowe giues his supply, and in such decent manner, as one is no hinderance to another. And if there be any thing over heavy to be carried away with their provision, they take so much thereof as is needfull, and easie to be trained along, going on together so chearfull and dextoriously, that they may well be said, to be creatures fit and apt for portage. Other creatures haue their nestes and retreats a part by themselves, so that (oftentimes) they necessarily war against them of their kinde, for their nestes and lodgings: whereas the like silly Ants haue but one roome or receipt for them all in general, without any diuided chambers or Parlors for particular persons: by which meanes, they maineaineloue and friendship one with another, therein giuing vs a familiar example, to vse the like sociable vertue as they do.

Moreouer, the industry which they declare in their Cae or roome, is a matter maruellous; because if it bee possible for them, they will alwayes make their dwelling nere to a riuer, or some little running brooke, and plant the earth which they bring to the mouth of their caue, to serue as a rampier against rough winter, as fearing least water should winne entrance: & within the entry, they winde and turned diuers wayes, to the end, that their maine abiding should not easly be found, & the mouth or doore is very narrow, in regard of the spacioufnesse within.

Beside, they haue three roomes or stages within their Cae; one whereof is for the males, the second for the Females, where they produce their yong ones, for there are male and female of these small Creatures. In the third stage they make their Garner, wherein they bestow their

food and prouision, according as *Aristotle* affirmeth. Vsing their store so measurably, as they neuer haue any want of vituals. And because the most part of their purveyance is Corn, to preferue it in such sort, that moysture may not make it sprout; they bite and nibble the Graine within the midst, where the sprouting yf-fueth forth; a thing most admirable and miraculous in Nature, notwithstanding, *Pliny*, *Ælianus*, and many other good authors, do aouuch it to be certaine & true. If they finde their Come to bee wetre and moistned with winter raines, they haue a naturall vnderstanding, to dry and refresh it againe in the Sunne, to preferue it from putrifying: so that the little poore Ant is neuer idle either day or night, for then she vseth the helpe of the Moone, when the Sunne-shine is denied her, which ensueth from incomparable prudence.

Such as haue written on this argument, and daily experience confirms the same, that the Ants are well inured to these labors; for they dayly come abroad from their Caves, to bring home fresh and new nourishment. And after that such nouell prouisions is brought in, whether theyr knowledge consisteth in the smelling it, or by a naturall instinct giuen from God, enstructing how to order and vse it, all come forth together, to refresh both their olde and new prouision, and following theyr guides in great crowds, conuey their store in all by one way, without the least iniury one to another: because in doing a kinde of courtesie, they make way for each others free passage, and sometimes walk on in couples together.

Now here is a further matter to be obserued, what order they keepe, when they come to the place, where they do charge themselves with their prouision. For some get the Come out of the straw; Others, carry it to the Cae, at the entrance whereof, there stand diuers other readie to receiue it, and so conuey it into the garner, euery one doing his duty according vnto his office and degree. And when they carry a Pease, a Chiche, or some other grain, more weighty then a graine of Wheat; three or foure vndertake the burthen, or so many as the case requireth, pacing on very gently together, without any crowding or disorder.

And if by chance they come vnto any place,

As if in Lib. de anim. 4. 176

A miraculous industry in the Ant for preferring her prouision.

Daily care & enduement for fresh supply of food.

Courtesy due each to other in the plenty of their prouision.

The manner of carrying their prouision to the garner, & in what manner all order they are helping one to another.

place, inkefome or offense to their passage, the order is admirable which they obserue therein. For, some raise vp the load aloft, and others labour to thrust it forward, by stepping vnder to ease theyr fellowes: and if any meete them accidentally by the way, they all lay helpe to get home the burthen. And being come vnto the Caves entrance, if the graine be greater then the mouth thereof will admitte: they cut it in quarters, and so carry it into the Granary. In the while of this their busie toile, others are not negligent, in bringing home purveyance beside: so that wee may say (in conclusion of this point) all generally labour for the Weale-publique.

After their prouision is thus made, and their Garner well stored for the season, they fortifie and fast close vp the Cae, against the iniurie of winters stormes and rain: nor shing themselves all the while, with their plenty formerly brought in. Which naturall instinct is denied vnto all other Animals, man onely excepted: and yet there are many men, scarcely provided for a morrowes necessity. Moreouer, that the Ant maketh a double prouision for her age, is very considerable; for, according as *Virgil* saith: *she prouideth for her aged yeeres, which ensueth to her by instinct of Nature, preparing still (euery yeare) for a following Winter, implying the Winter of her age.*

This creature, hath also a naturall inclination, quite contrary to all brutish behaviour. For, she seemeth to haue some knowledge of God, and a kinde of religious vnderstanding. For as *Pliny* and *Ælian* do both affirme, they obserue Religiously certain festiual daies, as all the new Moones; a matter somewhat hard to bee credited, and yet possible neuertheless. The same authors say also, that they haue a naturall kind of charitie amongst them; because they will bury their dead, euin in meere compassion.

Cleanthes reporteth an admirable history, which by *Ælian* is maintained to be true. *Cleanthes* being a learned Philosopher, and sitting one day by an Ant-hillocke, to consider their naturall disposition: he espied two Ants bearing a thirde Ant that was dead, and comming nere to the Caves entrance, which belonged to the other dead; they set downe theyr

These admirable qualities in the Ant are associated by many good Authors.

Many melliee prouident then the Ant, that maketh prouision for her age.

Virgil in Bucol.

The Ant devout and religious.

The Ant charitable.

An admirable history recorded by *Cleanthes* and *Ælian*.

load, and two other Ants came out of the Cae to them, seeming to confer & talke together by outward action. The last two returned into the caue againe, & brought fourth a little Worme betweene them, which the other receiued of them, as in payment for their paines, and returned backe, leaving the dead Ants bodie, that they of the Cae might giue it buriall, the which they presently did, so soone as the other were departed.

Vndoubtedly, it is a matter maruellous, that these creatures, being so small, as some of them can scarcely be seene, should thus serue as an example to me, to study peace and concord, and to be good house-keepers, laborious, prouident, and charitable; aptly therein enstructing the spirit: & vnderstanding of men; not reputing the Ant to bee so vnbeneficiall, as *Plinie* did, though it produce no hony or other food. Yet it is greatly auailable for the health of man, especially her Egges, which (as *Pliny* saith) being incorporated with the milke of a Bitch, healeth all paine and anguish in the ears. If they be beaten in powder, they make an Vnguent, which mixed with salt, taketh away all pimples and pusshes in the face: and Ants beeing eaten, dooth cure all diseases incident vnto the eyes.

Neuertheless, because this poore Animal feeds on graine, herbes, and fruits of trees, onely to conserue her selfe in her being, and to perpetuate her generation, whereby some damage may redounde to the fields: reuengefull man, finding himselfe offended at so little harme, hath inuented a thousand wayes to worke her death. For (as *Pliny* saith) the power of Origan, incorporated with sulphure, and a little vnkilled Lime, killeth Ants. He saith moreover, that damming vnto the mouth of their Cae with Sea-mud and Althes, they can neuer get forth. Notwithstanding, there is not any thing more proper to kil Ants, then the Hearb called *Heliotropium*. And beside, *Aulicenne* studied in a whole Chapter, how to be the death of this poore Creature, taking as much paines therein, as if it had beene to expel the plague, or the feauer quartane.

I reade of certaine Ants in the Region of the *Dardes*, who doe inhabit the *East Indes*, toward the North seashores, which are as grosse and great as *Wolues*, and

What an example the Ant is to men in many matters.

The Ants eggs helpful for paines in the eares.

The malice of man against the poore Ant, onely to destroy it.

Meanes whereby to kill beds of Ants.

Ants in India, as big as our *Wolues*, thus cast vp Golde in the fields.

and the people fear them as they do Lyons, according to the testimony of diuers Authors. And some say, that in digging and turning vp the earth, they throwe vp great quantities of gold; which the country people go to gather, when these dreadful Ants are retired; which they dare not do, if they but sent them in the fields. For sometimes, these Ants hauing windeed those seekers for Gold, rush forth vpon them, and kill as many as they can meete withall.

And they haue no other means to seek for gold with safety, but by comming thither mounted vpon light Camels, for their better expedition in flight. And if (by mischance) these Ants do winde those Gold-finders; they haue some pece of flesh hanging about them, which sodainly they let fall, and so escape away. Finally, it seemeth a thing monstrous, that our Ants should be charged with wings: Neuertheless, there is a common Prouerbe, saying: *To the damme of the Ant, wings are proper.* Wherby it appeareth, that some further meaning is hid therein: because such creatures as haue Wings, the winds will carrie them whether they please.

CHAP. XXVIII.

From whence it proceedeth, that some men liue long, and others farre lesser while. And what complexion is the best for liuing long. Also how we are to vnderstand the place, where it is said, that The dayes of a man are numbred.

THE Apostle S. Paul sayeth, *That all men are subiect once to dye,* and therein all men are equal and alike. Notwithstanding, there is a difference in the termes of life; because some liue long, and other lesse space. Neuertheless (as Job saith) *The time of our life is compassed, and no man can passe the boundes which God hath limited and determined to our life.* These things then standing thus (as in truth they do) it is not ill or amisse, to vnderstand that which causeth the life of man; wherefore one liueth longer then

another; what complexion is most proper for long life: and lastly, how it ought to be vnderstood, when it is said, that our dayes are counted and determined, being no way able to passe on further, which are points sufficiently obscure, and comprehended by few people.

To vnderstand therefore the cause of long life, it behooueth vs to presuppose in the first place, that the life of man, and maintenance of this his humane bodie, consisteth in the concord and harmony of the foure Elementary qualities whereof it is composed, as namely heate, colde, moisture, and drinesse. But expressly in the proportionable harmony of heate and moisture, which *Aristotle* well declareth: who onely maketh mention of the conueniency of these two qualities, for the support and continuance of man. In like manner, we perceiue by experience, that man hath little care of his owne failing, so long as he keepeth his naturall heate: for that heate is the principall instrument, to conserue the vegetatiue soule.

Now, to speake vprightly, the life of man consisteth in nothing else, then in maintaining the instruments and organes of the soule; among which, naturall heat (by right) holdeth the prime place: for this heate is so necessary to support mans body, as whensoever it is failing, the soule is constrained to forsake the body, & giue a period to the life of man. And because this naturall heate holdeth of fire, which (of his owne nature) consumeth whatsoever it meeteth withall: it was truly conuenient, that another contrarie qualitie should be opposed against it, for conseruation of the inferiour bodies. Vpon which occasion, God placed the radicle or naturall humor, with this naturall heate, onely to nourish and maintaine it, euen as fire feedeth it selfe by Oyle. And, in regard that this radicle humor consumeth and diminisheth it selfe daily, to supply & defend it, it was necessary, that all Creatures should browe and feede, and that by means thereof, the humor (being the cause of digestion) should supply the naturall defect.

But seeing that (according to *Aristotle*) the humor which is cause of digestion, is neuer so perfect as the radicle and naturall, although it serueth much for maintenance: of necessity the radicle humor decayeth

The harmony of the foure elementary qualities puerne the body of man.

Wherethin the life of man mainly consisteth naturall heate being the chief instrument.

Of the radicle or naturall humor.

The humor which is cause of digestion, neuer to perfect as the radicle humor.

Riding on light Camels, to escape from those Ants.

Though all men are subiect to death, yet the number of their dayes are not alike. Job. 14.5.

cayeth it selfe dayly (for the accidentall humor, cause of digestion, is neuer so perfect as the radicle, which vanishesth away) and by this meanes of intirely vanishing, naturall heate looseth it selfe, and the body takes ending. For, if the humor radicle, and cause of digestion, were so perfect as the naturall humor vanished away, a man should liue infinitely, according as Diuines say. Who maintain, that the propriety of the Tree of life, which God placed in the terrestriall Paradise, consisted in this principally: that eating the fruite thereof, it should re-establish the radicle humor, that else would vanish & be lost. From hence it ensued, that this tree was prohibited to *Adam* and *Eue*, after they were excluded out of terrestriall Paradise. For, if our first Parents had kept themselves in their original righteousness; they and their successors, feeding on the fruite of that tree, had liued eternally in the flower of their time, without euer tasting corruption, or old age: vntill such time as God had glorified their bodies, without enduring the passage of death. But seeing that Humane Linage hath lost this prerogative by sinne, which brought death into the world; it is no wonder, if this defect sheweth it selfe in vs all.

Life lasteth longer or lesse, according to the proportion and temperature of the radicle humor.

Life dieth, losing her companion heate and moisture.

Proceeding nowe to our former purpose, I say, that life endureth more or lesse, according as the radicle humor is concordant and proportionable: for they in whom these qualities are most temperate and best proportioned, liue longest, and not such as abound in those qualities. From thence it cometh, that wee see many small animals, who haue least heat and humidity, to liue (neuertheless) longer then they that are of bigger and greater bulke, and abound more in the saide qualities; which likewise cometh so to passe in trees, as well as in men. So that we may say, and say truly, that long life consisteth in the temperature and iust proportion of heate and moisture: which wanting their kind companion life, dissolueth it selfe. For when heate oueraboundeth humidity, it consumeth the body in little time, as may be discerned in cholericke men. Where contrariwise, by excessiue humiditie, heate feedeth it selfe to be quenched, as in Flegmaticke persons it happeneth in the same manner. Neuertheless, we do not by these examples vnderstand, that hee must also

faile, who hath as much of the moyst humor as of heat, because it is necessary, that a proportion should be obserued therein: that is to say, heate to exceed humiditie proportionably. For, one thing beeing agent, hath no great vertue in working on the other, if it surmount not the part patient. And this did *Aristotle* covertly declare, when he said: *Among those two qualities before remembered, there ought to be a little coldnes mingled, to moderate the heat of the radicle fire, to the end, it may not wholly consume the humor naturall. And drinesse also is as requisite, to dry up the radicle humor, so that it may not extinguishe the naturall fire.* As we often see to happen in young children, that dy by ouermuch humidity; notwithstanding, among these foure qualities, heate and moisture are held for the principall, as being vitall complexions; & causing life. As for the humors cold and dry, although they serue greatly to the conseruation of life: yet neuertheless these two qualities are held for the doore & entrance to death. Because cold is enemy to heate, wherein principally consisteth the point of life: and drinesse is opposite and contrary to moisture, which yet is the nourisher of naturall heat. According as wee see in aged people, who grow to be colde and dry, when they draw nere to death; as chiefly in dead bodies, which ordinarily are dry and cold. A man then (according to the good temperature of heate) ought also to temper his complexion by these foure qualities; and that in such sort: as, to maintaine his heate in the first place, and humidity next after, causing cold and dry to do seruice, according to their offices & quarters. By which meanes, they that finde not themselves thus proportionably tempered, are naturally of short life: thus then you see the causes of long life.

Now remaineth that somewhat should be saide, concerning the best complexion of all other, for the maintenance of long life. First of all then is to be noted, that of the foure complexions, as Choler, flegme Blood, & Melancholy, blood is the best, to help him in the length of life; for blood is hot & moist, which qualities are the aptest to prolong life. But the humidity must not be watry, but airy, being hot & moist, and so the sanguine complexion, participating of some temperate heat and moisture sufficient to nourish the heat, it is most

Heate ought to exceed humidity proportionably.

Arist. in anim. lib. 5. cap. 10.

Young children dying by ouerabounding moisture.

Concerning the diuersitie of contraries.

By the good temperature of heauen, a man should gouerne his owne complexion in those foure qualities.

Blood the best of all the four complexions in man.

The Choleric complexion.

The Phlegmatick & watry.

The Melancholy.

Choller and Phlegme.

Blood and Melancholy.

Compoundd Complexions.

The life of man limited by power of his complexion.

Many men dy before nature faileth in the through their owne extremity of exccesse.

proper of all the complexions to make long life. As for the Cholericke complexion, it is of lesse continuance, because the vivacity and force of his fire, and also of the heate, cannot long endure with his drynesse. The Phlegmaticke & watry complexion, cannot be digested by heate, in regard of his excessive humidity: & therefore falleth easily into corruption, which (in the end) procureth death.

The melancholy complexion, being earthie, abridgeth life by his coldnesse & drought, which are qualities contrary to heate and moisture: and therefore it is not to be wondered at, though they shorten life by over-abounding in some bodies. Notwithstanding, if Choller mingle it self with Phlegme, and that it surmounteth proportionably the Phlegme; that Complexion also is very apt to maintaine long life. When likewise blood surpasseth Melancholy in a good proportion, that complexion is good: for the heate and humidity of the blood do beguile themselves, with the cold and driness of melancholy. Whereby we may gather, that there are compoundd Complexions, which are much better then the Sanguine simple, to preferre and prosper the length of life.

By that which formerly hath bene said, wee may perceiue, that the life of man is limited by power and vertue of his Complexion, and by the proportion of Elementary qualities: so that the diversitie of proportions doe cause the diversitie of termes of life in man. And some hold, that a man may live so long as naturall heate lasteth, and the radical humor giueth maintenance. Also, whereas some say, that the life of man hath his limit, beyond which, it is impossible for him to passe; it is to be noted, that although the complexion and naturall vertue of man, may supply and maintaine vnto the latest point; yet notwithstanding, of a thousand men, hardly one attaineth to that point, because there are so many disasters which happen accidentally, or else by some disorder; that the most part die, before nature faileth in them, either by hunger, pestilence, poison, gourmandize, whoredome, bad victuals, or by diseases, caused thorow infinit excesses in me, by them daily committed, and so the true naturall terme of mans life is, when nature faileth, being the

vaterly impossible for them to passe that point.

Thus are we to vnderstand that place in *Iob*, where it is sayde: *Lord, thou hast established the bounds of mans life, which is impossible for him to go beyond.* Whereby may clearly be discerned, that a man may verily easily shorten his life, but not lengthen it. So that wee see many of good complexion, and likely to liue a World of years: who neuertheless are of short life, by some exteriour cause, which hastens on the expiration of their daies. Notwithstanding, that passage in *Iob* may be otherwise vnderstood, in regard of Gods preference or foreknowledge, who giueth to euery one his terme of life, be it by his naturall complexion, or by some other means, which he hath assigned to the life of man. And because there is nothing hidden from the wisdom of God (for, hee knoweth all the causes and accidents that can happen to man) it is impossible for man, to haue any power of lengthening his life, beyond the ordination of God; although there were contingent causes.

In this respect it may be said, that there are two termes in the life of man, one whereof dependeth vpon the harmony & proportion of the Elementary qualities; and the other is according to the preordination and presence of God. Between which termes, there is onely this difference, that a man may come or proceede so farre as the first, and yet without passing it; but all men attaine to the second. And although that (by course of nature) some one may passe on to his second terme: yet notwithstanding, there is not any that can go beyond it; as the like may be sayde of other creatures and plants.

CHAP. XXIX.

How the life of man hath bene abridged and shortened from the beginning of the World, & that in diuers times. Of the diuersity of termes allotted to men: With many histories tending to that purpose, especially of such as haue liued longest.

HAuing shewne how to maintaine this life, & declared also the reasons, why some liue long, & others lesse time; it may

appear

Many men likely to liue long, haue yet their daies shortened.

The long life of our forefathers in the first world.

Gen. 6, 3.

Gods owne limitation for the life of mē.

Genesis 5, 7.

Genesis 4, 6.

Psalm 90, 10.

The yeares of weak & strong men in this our inflant times.

Concerning the naturall hermonie of Elementary qualities, supposing mans body.

peare good to vnderstand, at what times the naturall hermonie of the Elementary qualities (which support the body of man) began to grow into decadence; which, from the beginning of the world, euen to this instant day, hath kept alwayes in diminution, concerning the temperature of Complexions, with the quality of fooode, which do conserve and establish life, and yet mans life daily waxing to be lesse and lesse in continuance.

In the first world, men liued eight hundred and nine hundred yeares, according as we haue already declared in our former volume, and the eight Chapter; where is amply related the yeares of our ancient forefathers, farre differing from ours. Our present intention and purpose, is to speake concerning the decadence of the age of man; a matter very remarkable, & whereof the sacred Scripture doth make mention. For it is written, that the first declining of mans yeares or age, was ruled, and limited to an 120. yeares, immediately after the flood, according as we read in Genesis, where the Lord God himselfe said, *The life of man shall be an hundred and twentie yeares.* Not that hee saith, that a man cannot out-live six score yeares; but as if that the rest or over-plus of his life, will be but wearisome and insupportable old age.

Abraham, who was long time after the deluge, liued an hundred seuentie and five yeares. *Isaac* was an hundred and thirty yeares olde, when he went down into Egypt, where hee yet liued ten yeares longer. And so of many other to be alleged, that liued many happy yeares. Since then, the life of man became shortened againe, euen in the time of *Dauid*, who speaketh thus in one of his Psalmes. *The dayes of our age is threescore yeares and ten, & though men be so strong, that they attain to foure score yeares yet is their strength then, but labour and sorrow, so soone it passeth away, and we are gone.* Now a dayes wee see, that such as are of feeble Complexion, passe not aboute five and fifty yeares, and (very strong men) but three score & five (I meane in lusty disposition, for operations and actions to be in men) & therefore the life of man in these our daies, lasteth not the twentieth part, of those men liuing in the worlds first Age, and howe much shorter they will be, God onely knoweth.

The ancient Philosophers labored verily seriously, in seeking a reason for this difference and decadence in mens yeares. Some attributed it to: the celestiall influences. Others alleged farre contrarie reasons, as *Plinie*, and many more besides, that limit the life of man to fixe score yeares. *Berosus* alloweth no more then an hundred and seauenteene; *Petofirus*, an hundred twenty six: but *Censorinus* (following the opinion of the Philosopher *Estius*) assigneth a man to liue but foure score yeares. *Dioscorides*, imitating the Egyptians, and speaking of the life of man, saith: *It is long or short, according vnto the posse or weight of his heart.* Euen as wee haue more at large deliuered, in the precedent part to this Volume, where manie reasons are alleged, making to this purpose, without presuming into any secret, concerning the will and prouidence of God.

In the first place, God ordaind all creatures to eate and drinke, for maintenance of the naturall and radical humor, granting them means also, to perpetuate their feuerall kindes, by the acte of generation. But, as eating & drinking is not sufficient enough, to re-establish the radical humor, which diminisheth and vanishest away of it selfe daily, so that life may likewise be lost as soone as it is: so it is not possible also, to yeeld a body by the act of generation, of such compleat perfection, as others were, that liued in the first age of the world. For the vertue and power of the radical complexion (which is called the principal complexion) is mightily decayed: & from hence it ensueth, that the life of man became abridged and shortened daily more and more.

Another reason, which neuertheless dependeth vpon the former, is this; that the food wherewith man sustaineth himselfe, hath lost, and cometh far short of such vertue, as it had at the beginning of the world. So that it is vterly impossible, to haue mankind in such bodily perfection, as the men of the first world had. And therefore the vertue of complexion failing in man, and the hermonie of the Elementary qualities being adulterated and bastardized, and fooode likewise decayed in goodness; it is no maruel, if our present life be become so much shortened. And though those times then obserued, euen as an

P p p 2

ordi

The search of Philosophers for the reason of mans short life, as is to be seen in their feuerall writings.

All creatures appointed to feede for maintaining the humor radical and naturall.

The radical complexion, the principall Complexion.

A second reason concerning fooode and sustentation.

ordinarie limitation to the life of man: yet notwithstanding, diuers personnes (among them) haue bene noted to liue longer then some other, by being of a strong and good complexion; and in regard it pleased God that it should be so, whose hand is neuer tied, much lesse subiect to any law or limit. Neuerthelesse, because we may not complain, concerning our little time of life, and also to comfort vs in the breuety thereof: I will set downe certaine examples of some men, that haue exceeded others in length of life, though not speaking of any in the first age, because such as I purpose to discourse on, liued long since that large extent of life came to be thortned.

The life time of men after the generall deluge.
Gen 17, 12, 13, 14.

When the confusion of tongues was.

At what time mens liues began to shor ten.

The liues of renowned women.

*Son to Neluus & Chioris.

Nestors years

Arpachshad, Sonne of *Sem*, and Nephew to *Noah*, liued two hundred yeares after the flood; and yet notwithstanding, he attained to four hundred and thirty yeares before he dyed. *Shelah* also his sonne, liued four hundred and three yeares. *Heber*, the son of *Shelah*, (of whom the Hebrewes took their name) liued four hundred sixty and seven yeares. In his time happened the confusion of tongues: but he safely preferred the Hebrew which was the first language of the worlde) because he consented not to the proud building of *Babels* Tower.

Terah, the Father of *Abraham*, liued two hundred and five yeares, and *Abraham* liued an hundred, seauentie and five yeares; as also *Isaac* an hundred seauenty five yeares, after which time, the life time of men beganne greatly to diminish. Neuerthelesse, *Moses* liued six score yeares, and *Aaron* six score and three yeares: *Sara*, that ancient matrone (so much renowned) liued sixe score and feuen yeares, and that valiant woman *Indith* who smote off the head of *Holofernes*, liued an hundred and five yeares, as wee may reade in the sacred Scriptures, which render true testimony of all that hath hitherto bin said.

Now, as concerning prophane Histories, many are recorded to liue long time: as *Nestor*, who liued so faire and large an extent of life, that our reuerend predeceffors, when they desired the long life of any man; they wished, that hee might liue *Nestors* yeares, hee being three hundred yeares old, when he went with the *Greekes* to *Troy*. For *Homer* sayeth: Prince *Nestor*

being about three hundred yeares of age, went to succour the *Greekes* against the *Trojans*, with a potent army by sea.

The same is also auouched by *Ouid*, *Iuuenall*, and *Tibullus*, with many other Authours besides. *Arganthonius*, King of *Andalusia* (anciently called *Turdania*) liued an hundred and fiftie yeares, according as *Strabo* affirmeth, from the Poet *Anachreon*: Neuerthelesse *Herodotus*, and *Silius Italicus*, a Spanish Poet do auouch, that this Prince liued the space of three hundred yeares.

Valerius Maximus, and *Pliny* also say, that he reigned fourescore yeares, and liued sixe score yeares. *Pliny* likewise maketh a large Narration, of certaine Kings in *Arabia*, and many other (as well men as women) that liued multitudes of yeares: but because matters secht so farre off, may raise doubt and suspition, I will insert other histories, which are maintained to be true and certaine.

Valerius Maximus Cornutus, did liue an hundred yeares, at it is auouched by *Valerius Maximus*, hauing bene sixe times Consul of *Rome*: and further saith, That there were sixe and forty yeares betweene his first Consulship, and the last yeare of his honor in the same dignity, and that he liued the rest of his age in abledisposition, so that hee could make good vse of all the dignities and Offices imposed vpon him.

Stephanus the Romane, being farre entered into yeares, serued as dancer before the Emperour *Othanius*, in those Secular pastimes which he ordained in *Rome*: and seuentie three yeeres after, hee danced againe in the sports of the Emperour *Claudius*, and yet liued long time afterwards. *Titus Fullinius*, borne in *Bologna*, liued an hundred and fiftie yeeres, as appeared by the numbering and accounts, made from five yeares to five yeares in elder times, & wherein the Emperour *Claudius* tooke great paines to be informed in the truth, for he was very curious in such matters.

And, not to estrange or barre women, from the benefite of our instant discourse, but to blesse them also with hope of long life; it is obserued that *Terentia*, the wife of *Cicero*, liued an hundred and seuenteen yeares. *Claudia*, the Wife of *Offellus*, attained to an hundred and fiftene yeares of age, hauing had fiftene male children,

Homers words of Nestors going to the Trojan warre.

* Now Granada.

Arganthonius king of Turdania.

Kings of Arabia that liued long.

The life time of Marcus Valerius Cornutus, six times Consul of Rome.

These were sports vied for one 100 yeares so and ther hundred

The long life of diuers Roman ladies

Samura

Valeria Capriola a famous Ladie Dancer.

Maine loc.

A note well worthy obseruation

* A Rhetorician, scholar to Eusebius, and Master to Iocastes.

* A Citie of Persia in Syria.

Samura a Romane Lady, was an hundred and ten yeares old when she dyed; who being aged an hundred and foure yeares, yet serued as Lady dancer, in the secular sports of the Emperour *Othanius*; hauing formerly danced in other secular pastimes, when she was fourescore and eleuen yeares old.

Pliny reporteth a matter very admirable, and yet true, that in the accounts and numberings made by *Titus* and *Pepasian*, then Censors, there liued three men at *Perma*, each of them being aged six score yeares, and two that were sixe score and ten yeares old; beside a woman, that was aged sixe score and twelue yeares. He saith moreover, that in *Romania*, there were foure and fifty men, each of them being an hundred yeares olde: fifty seauen men being aged an hundred and tenne yeares: foure men, aged an hundred and thirtie yeares: and other foure men, who were severally aged sixe score & fifteen yeares: beside foure men more, each of them being seauen score yeares old, a thing not vsuall, and hardly to be seene in these daies of ours.

But leauing *Italy*, let vs looke vpon some further strangers, that liued long. *Gorgius Leontinus*, a Philosopher greatly renowned, who liued (in very healthfull disposition) more then an hundred yeares. Hee hauing attained to an hundred and seuen yeares, was demanded, why he tooke so great delight to abide in the worlde; where to he thus replied, *I thanke God, I neuer did any thing, whereby I deserued to bee blamed in mine Age*. An answer very excellent and singular, for such as are able to make or speake it truly.

Seneca the Philosopher, borne at *Coraduba*, liued an hundred & fourteen yeeres. The famous *Appollonius Thyaneus* hadde passed an hundred yeares before he dyed. *Democritus*, by the testimony of *Diogenes*, liued an hundred and nine yeares; and dyed, hauing neuer felt Feauer, nor any other disease. *Galen*, the Prince of Physiti-

ans, liued (in absolute and able disposition) an hundred and forty yeares: and dyed by defect of Nature, without the sence of any sicknesse.

* *Attila*, King of the *Goths*, who (in his time) was most cruell, and of great power liued an hundred and foure yeares; seruing as a scourge to mankind, and making lamentable waste and spoile by his warres, and infinite cruelties. *Masmissa*, King of *Guinea*, liued fourescore and seauentene yeares, hauing reigned threescore. This Prince neuer had his head couered, neither from the Sun, winds, or raines; or greatest Tempests, but continued so (bare-headed) to his very latest dayes: marching alwayes on foote in his Armour, and as lightly as the youngest souldier in his Armie. When hee was fourescore yeeres of age, he begate a Son, and left (after his death) foure and forty sonnes, by him begotten.

As for Hermites and ancient Fathers, many are recorded to liue long, onely by their abstinence; as *Saint Paule*, the first Hermit, who liued sixe score yeares; *Saint Anthony* the Egyptian Hermit, who liued an hundred and fifty yeeres; and *Creonius* (his Companion) an hundred. Now a dayes, wee finde few, or none at all, to liue so long, for (day by day) the life time of man groweth shorter and shorter; whereby it appeareth, that the end of the world approacheth neere. Neuerthelesse God hath declared his wonderful workes in all times; for in the life of the Emperour *Conrade*, which was in the yeare one thousand, one hundred, and forty, or nere thereabout, a man dyed, who had serued the Emperour *Charlemaigne* in his warres, so large a time, that this man was founde to haue liued three hundred and threescore yeares, and was called *Iohn of Time*. Which name was given him (as I thinke) in regard of his great age; and I am halfe perswaded also, that of him was raised the old Prouerbe, when men commonly saide, *Iohn Iohn, frust thou in God*.

Galen, Prince of all other Physicians.

* A valiant Scythian Prince, who subdued Persia, nonus, &c.

He was also King of Nubidia.

The long life of Hermits & holy Fathers.

Iohn of Time hadde liued 360 yeares.

CHAP. XXX.

A briefe Chronologicall Survey, concerning the Netherlands, diuided into seuentene Prouinces: with a breuiate of the Earles and Princes there reigning, from Thierry (who was the first Earle of Holland and Zeland) to this instant time.



Concerning the Originall of the people inhabiting these countries, wee finde, that two Brethren, sonnes to the king of *Cathes*, the one being named *Battus*, or *Battom*; and the other *Zelandus*, were the first Fathers of them, and that (from them) they deriued their Names. For these two Princes, being too extreemly pursued by the hatred of a Stepmother, and no way pittied or supported by the King their father (escaping many traines and machinations, of poisoning, murdering, and diuers other dangers by her daily deuised and put in practise against the) were forced to forsake their native abiding, & fly to an Island within the *Rhine*: where *Battus* determining to make his stay, called it *Battania*, after his owne Name; and that is (in plainer vnderstanding) *Holland*.

Battania is Holland.

Zelandus, not liking to liue so neere, or with his brother (least pursue should surprize them both, and reuenge there fasten which in more desperate place they had auoyded) he trauelled on to the vttermost confines of the *Rhine*, and liking there to set downe his rest, imitated his Brothers example (in styling the country) and called it *Zeland*.

Zeland, named by Zelandus.

Concerning their building of Cities, Townes, Castles, and Forts, which afterward came to be ruined & defaced againe by warres with the *Romans*, *Saxons*, *Gauls*, *Danes*, &c. or to what order of life the people disposed themselves, and through how many and infinite encumbrances (from their original) they passed, for no meane store of yeares together: these are matters merely exempt from our intended breuity, and may more amply be seen

in the history at large, whereunto I refer any such desirous Reader, and borrowing fauour for so large a leap, I instantly proceeded to the year, 863. when *Holland* first became to be an Earledome.

In the year before mentioned, *Charles* the Bald, King of *France*, at *Bladell* in the Prouince of *Campaigne*, hauing there (in his company) a generall assembly of his Princes and Barons, for consultation of many important matters; pleased to aduance the two sonnes of Count *Hughen* (who was Vnckle to the King) for their great deseruings, and for the farther encouragement of the like vertuous minded Gentlemen: *Walger*, who was the eldest sonne, he made Earle of *Tessierbando*; and *Thierry* the yongest son, or *Theodor*, as some tearme him, being formerly called *Thierry* of *Aquaine*, he made earle of *Holland*.

This gift of the kings, especially that to *Thierry*, was much withstood by the *Friselanders*, as scorning to be commanded by any new Lord or Ruler: wherefore they consulted with the *Hollanders*, and a plot was laid to expell this new Earle. But it proved to no effect, for the king comming thither (in person) with a powerful army, made such an example on the Ring-leaders in this rebellion, that the rest (in very great humility) submitted themselves, casting their Weapons not onely at the Kings feete, but likewise at the Earles, and (vpon pardon) they vowed their continuall bounden duty to *Thierry*. His authority was then further strengthened, in the year eight hundred sixty eight, by the letters Patents of King *Charles*, as also by them of *Lewes* King of *Germany*, confirming him to bee Earle of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and Lord of *Friseland*.

This *Thierry* married *Genna*, or *Ienna*, daughter to *Pepin* the Bald, king of *Italy*, sonne to the Emperor *Charlemagne*. Hee worthily foyled the Danes, that then possessed the Towne of *Vrieht*, the Wiltes and the Slaues, disabling them from any further footing in *Holland*, which made them presume to meddle in *Zeland*, but thence they were repulled likewise. By which meanes, he remained afterward in peace, beautifying his Countries both with faire buildings and good Lawes. He dyed very old, hauing reigned 40. yeares, and after him succeeded

2 *Thierry*

863.

The two sonnes of Count Hughen.

Thierry Earle of Holland, Zeland, and Lord of Friseland.

The Friselanders rebelling against him.

2. *Thierry* his son, second of that name, Earle of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and Lord of *Friseland*, who married with *Hildegard*, daughter vnto King *Lewes* of *France*, the Stammerer, and Sister to King *Charles* the Simple. The *Friselanders* did twice reuolt from their obedience, and would not allow *Earle Thierry* to be their Lord, slaying very many of them that obeyed the Earle, waiting, spoiling, and burning all the way as they went. But at length they were iustly repayed for their insolencie, and such a slaughter was made of the *Frisons* (without any mercy) that few or none of them returned home to their dwellings. Afterward, he forced them to make the doores of entrance into their houses, so lowe and narrow, that they must stoope verie lowe before they could get in; and this he did, to make them the more humble and seruile, receiuing a new Oath of allegiance of them. And hauing reigned about fiftie yeares, being then aged 88. yeares old, he dyed, leauing two sonnes behind him, the eldest whereof (being named *Egbert*) became Archbishop of *Treurs*, and *Arnold* his yongest son succeeded him.

A dreadfull Comet, eclipsing the sun and the moon.

3. *Arnold*, or (as others will haue it) *Arnulphus*, yongest son to Earle *Thierry*, followed in rule as his fathers successor: but he held the Earledomes of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and Lordship of *Friseland*, no longer of the crown of *France*, but of *Orto* the third, Emperour; and so became in fee to the Empire. A very fearefull Comet appeared in his time, with strange Ecclypses both of the Sunne and Moone, being as red as blood, and terrible Earthquakes: a fire also fell from heauen, in similitude like an huge Tower, burning for a long time: after which ensued so violent a pestilence, that the liuing died burying the dead. The *Frisons* reuolting again from obedience, made all his reigne a continuall warfare, and the Armies (on either side) meeting neere vnto *Winckell*, so dreadfull a battaile was fought betwene them: that the *Hollanders* sustained the worst, Count *Arnold* being there slaine, and a great number of his cheefe Nobility. This battaile was fought the eighteenth of October, the morrow after *S. Lamberts* day, in the year 993. So this Earle *Arnold*, hauing reigned 59 yeares, and being thus vnfortunatly slaine, was buried by his Father and Grandfather, in the Abbey of *Egmont*.

4. *Thierry*, third of that name, and son to Count *Arnold*, succeeded as fourth Earle of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and Lord of *Friseland*. Being desirous, to reuenge his Fathers death vpon the *Frisons*: hee was much impeached therein by *Adelbold*, Bishop of *Vrieht*, against whom (neuertheless) hee prevailed in two, long and cruell battailes, in the year, 1018, and (with great slaughter of the *Frisons*) brought them vnder obedience to his yongest son *Florin*, whom he made Lord of them. This Earle *Thierry*, liuing afterward in verie peacefull dayes, vnderooke a Pilgrimage to *Ierusalem*, with the Lord of *Arckell*, his loyall subiect; who died at *Ierusalem*, & was there very honourably buried by *Thierry*. After whose return home, and some yeares passed in peace with his Wife and Children, hauing reigned 46. yeares, hee died in Anno 1039. and was buried by his father in the Abbey of *Egmont*.

Adelbold Bishop of *Vrieht*.

5. *Thierry*, fourth of that Name, was the fifth Earle of *Holland*, *Zeland*, & Lord of *Friseland*, after the decease of *Thierry* his Father. In a Tournie of Princes and Lords, performed (for pleasure) in the Citie of *Liege*, it was this Earles hard hap, to kill a Brother of the Bishops of *Cullen* and *Liege*: whereby ensued such discorde and molestation, that after many aduentures of reuenge, undertaken by the *Germane* Gentlemen, albeit therein they sustained much losse of men, the Earle was shot into the thigh with a poisoned dart, of which wound hee dyed the fifteenth of May, one thousand foure hundred and eight, after he had gouerned nine yeares, and was buried by his father, in the Abbey of *Egmont*. He was neuer married, and therefore left not any child to succede him.

The Bishops of *Cullen* and *Liege*.

6. *Florin*, who (as you haue heard before) was Earle of *Friseland*, now after his brothers death, became the sixth Earle of *Holland* and *Zeland*. The former mishap at *Liege*, could not as yet be forgotten by the Bishops of *Cullen* and *Liege*; but they would needs prosecute fresh reuenge on Count *Florin*, who being a man of vndated spirit, defeated his enemies in two attempts. Once by a cunning stratagem, causing ditch and pitfalls to be made in south *Holland*, couering them with straw and grasse, so that they could not be easily discerned. At this time a bloody battell being fought betwene

Two militarie Stratagems.

1309.

10481

betweene them, there was forty thousand of the Earles enemies slaine, beside twenty six thousand more, who were drowned and smothered in those ditches, *Anno Domini* 1058. The second foyle of his aduersaries, happened foure yeeres after this, when the *Hollanders* (putting the *Germanis* to flight) returned with rich spoiles, and great store of prisoners; this was in the yeare of our Lord 1062. Yet was it this Earle ill fortune, to be afterward slayne vnarmed, as he fate vnder an Elme, taking the ayre, his enemies preuailing by this aduantage. He had ruled in *Holland* foureteeen yeeres, and in *Friseland* 21. yeeres, and lyeth buried at *Egmont*.

7. 8. *Gertrude*, widow to Earle *Floris*, in regarde that *Thierrie* her sonne was in his nonage, gouerned those Countries in his right. And in the yeare of our Lord, 1063. she re-married with *Robert the Frizon* (sonne to *Baldwine of Lisse de Bucke*, Earle of *Flanders*) with the good liking of all the States and Nobilitie. Hee also was made Guardian of young Earle *Thierrie*, and (had by this *Gertrude*) three somes, *Robert*, surnamed the Yong (who went with *Godfrey of Bullen* to the holie Land, and was (after his fathers decesse) Earle of *Flanders*;) *Philip*, father to *William of Ist*, and *Baldwin* Bishop of *Teraanne*, beside three daughters also, which he had by the said *Gertrude*. This *Robert* was called the *Frizon*, not in regarde of his birth, but of his bigge stature, strength and courage. For, hauing preuailed against the *Frizons*, and hearing of his Brothers death, *Baldwine de Mons*, Earle of *Flanders*; hee layd clayme to the sayde Earle dome, and (notwithstanding the opposition of *Richild*, widow to Earle *Baldwine*: by means of the *Flemings*, he ouerthrew the King of *France* in battell, and the with her sonne *Baldwine*, remaying satisfied with the Countie of *Hennault*, *Robert* became quickly Earle of *Flanders*. For eight yeares space, hee carried himselfe with great wisdom and valour, and dying in the yeare of our Lord 1077. was buried in the Cannons Church, founded by himselfe at *Cassell*. *Gertrude*s time of rule, by her selfe, and *Robert*s after, are reckoned as two seuerall gouernements.

9. *Godfrey*, surnamed the crooke-backed Duke of *Lorraine*, in this time of young Earle *Thierrie*s minority, was made an in-

strument (in regard of the former quarrel of Count *Floris*, and the Bishops of *Cullen* and *Liege*; as yet not reuenged to their mindes) to suggest a false information to *Henry* the fourth, Emperour, whereby the sayde *Godfrey* became an vsurper of the young Earles right, for the space of foure yeeres. But as he was sitting on the draught to ease his body, a seruant of young Count *Thierrie*, did thrust a saueline vp into his fundament, whereof he died (not long after) at *Maestrecht*.

10. *Thierrie*, the fifth of that name, who (by crooke-backed *Godfrey*, and other strange oppositions) had long time bene debarred from quiet possession of his right; at length, by an absolute conquest of the *Frizons*, in two seuerall great battells, recovered all, and returned home as a Conqueror. Afterward, he married *Whitilde*, daughter to *Fredericke*, Duke of *Saxonie*, by whom he had a sonne and daughter: *Floris* that succeeded him, and *Mathilde*, married to the Duke of *Orleanse*. Earle *Thierrie* hauing gouerned fifteen yeeres, dyed, and was buried in the Abbey of *Egmont*.

11. *Floris*, the second of that name, & surnamed the Fat or *Grosse*, succeeded next after his father *Thierrie*: he greatly fauoured Church-men, whereby the Abbey of *Egmont*s revenues were largely increased. He being a man of very peacefull inclination, little or no disturbances happened in his time: but onely by the *Frizons*, who, for their rebelling, were seuerely punished, and forced to submit themselves to his mercy. This *Floris* married *Petromilla*, or *Parnell*, daughter to *Didier*, Duke of *Saxonie*, and sister to *Lotharius* the Emperour: By her he had three sons, *Thierrie*, *Floris*, called the Blacke Prince of *Kemerlande*; and *Symon*, also one daughter named *Hadewicke*, who was Countesse of *Guelderes*. Hauing gouerned his Countries very honourably, for the space of one and thirty yeeres; he dyed in the yeare of our Lord, one thousand one hundred thirty and three, and lyeth buried in the Abbey of *Egmont*.

12. *Thierrie*, sixt of that name, succeeded his father *Floris*, and was much molested by the *Frizons*, in regard that his brother *Floris* the Blacke Prince, enuying the happines and quiet of *Thierrie*, went and tooke part with them against him; vntill such

The Frizon
conquereth
two baun.

1119.

Didier Duke
of Saxony.

1137.

L. William of
Ho and

(such time as the Emperour *Lotharius* (being theyr vncle) had reconciled them, and made them friends. *Conrade* beeing ioyned as competitor in the Empire with *Lotharius*, caused a fresh quarrell between *Thierrie* and the Bishop of *Virecht*, he ratifying the former graunt of *Henry*, which caused very long contention, and much blood to be shed on either side. *Thierrie* hauing gouerned his Countries of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Friseland* fortie yeeres, died in the yeare 1163. and lieth buried in the Abbey of *Egmont*.

13. *Floris* the third, eldest sonne of *Thierrie*, as heyre to his father, inherited his right in *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Friseland*. The *Frizons* (pretending their former freedoms and imperiall liberties) made still their reuolutes from time to time, imboldened thereto by the often suggestions of *Godfrey of Rhemen*, Bishop of *Virecht*, who (as his predecessors had done before him) still questioned the Earledomes of *Ostergo* and *Westergo* in *Friseland*: but the Emperour *Fredericke*, went himselfe in person, and made an agreement between them. All which notwithstanding, much hurt was done on eyther side, as time and treachery fitted them with apt opportunity. A great controuersie happened betweene the Earles of *Holland* and *Flanders*, for the Isle of *Walchren*, and Count *Floris* (in trial of sight) became prisoner to the Earle of *Flanders*: who neuertheless vnto him princely, and they being accorded by the Archbishop of *Cullen*, and the Bishoppes of *Liege*, the great hole neare to the damme or sluice; was recovered with much adoe, by casting a dog-filing therinto, and speedy filling it vp with earth, whereon they named it *Hondidam*, that is, *Dogs-sluice*. This Earle *Floris*, assisting the Emperour *Fredericke*, *Phillip* King of *France*, *Richard* King of *England*, with many other Dukes, Christian Princes and Earles, at the siege of *Damietta* in *Soria*: fell there sicke in the Army, and died 1208. hauing gouerned his prouinces twenty seuen yeeres.

14. *Thierrie* the seventh, hearing of his fathers death in *Palestine*, succeeded as his heire in all his Earledoms. The whole time of his regiment, was in war and continuall combutions. First by his brother *Loord William of Holland* (who was with his father *Floris* in *Palestine*, and performed

there many honourable seruices) thorow diuers disagreements that happened betwene them; notwithstanding, as many laboured reconcilings, and pacifications. Next, *Baldwine* Earle of *Flanders*, he was as molestation to him likewise, for the Isle of *Walchren*: besides the *Frizons* rebellions, and his trouble with the Bishoppes of *Cologne* and *Liege*, as also his imprisonment to the Duke of *Brabant*, and then the intrusion of the Bishop of *Virecht*, after which, ensued a peace and vnited amity on all sides. This Count *Thierrie* had no heires male, but two beautifull daughters, *Adella*, married to *Henry of Guelderes*, who dyed without anie Children, and *Ada*, meely married by her mother (after her fathers death) to Count *Lewes of Loos*, that so the gouernement might be disposed at her pleasure. In the yeare of our Lord, 1203. Earle *Thierrie* dyed, hauing gouerned his Countries thirteeen yeeres; and and lyeth buried in the Abbey of *Egmont*.

15. *Ada*, daughter to Earle *Thierrie*, was Countesse of *Holland* and *Zeland*, after her fathers death; which moued a great heart-burning in the Lordes and Gentlemen, that they should liue vnder a Woman, and a poore Earles command. Therefore, they sent into *Friseland* for Count *William*, protesting to assist him in attaining the gouernement of *Holland*. The young Countesse *Ada* was surprized in their first attempt, and her husband the Earle of *Loos* driuen to flight; who yet winne the Bishop of *Virecht* (by money and other promises) to ayde him, and by this means he had some final successe for a while. But the Countesse *Ada* dying without any children, Earle *William* was then the true and onely heyre to *Holland* and *Zeland*. In which right of his, hee went with his power against the Earle of *Loos*, and such was his successe, that the Women did beate his enemies with Distaves and Stones, they beeing glad to cast away their Armour for lightnesse, to saue themselves by flight; yet many were drowned in the Ditches, and a great number taken prisoners, with all the Earle of *Loos* Tents, Pauillions, Plate, Jewelles, and Munition, which Count *William* royally diuided amongst his *Hollanders*, remaying absolute Prince of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Friseland*.

16. *William*, first of that name, succeeded

1198.

1303

The gouernment of a woman depisied

Women beate
Men with Distaves
and Stones.

1063.

Robert the
Frizon.

Robert Earle
of Flanders.

1077.

The crooke-
backed Duke
of Lorraine.

1128.

Edmond of
Lancaster, son
to the King of
England.

ded rightfully in all his Earledoms, by the death of his Neece the yong Countesse *Ada*. He had some strife with *Didier* Bishop of *Vtrecht*, and *Gerard Vander Are* his brother: but (vpon certayne Articles) all displeasures were qualified. By his first wife *Alix*, daughter to the Earle of *Guelderes*, he had *Floris*, that next succeeded him, *Otho* Bishop of *Vtrecht*, *William* Lieutenant of *Holland*, and two daughters, the one was *Abbesse* at *Rhynsbouurg*, and the other at *Delft*. His second wife was named *Mary*, daughter to *Edmond* of *Lancaster*, son to *Henry* the third, King of *England*, by whom he had no issue. He gouerned 19. years; and dying, lies buried at *Rhynsbouurg*.

17 *Floris* the fourth, succeeded his father *Count William* in his Earledoms. He took great delight in luffs & Tournaments, and the Earle of *Clermont* proclayming a publike Triumph for all commers, at the Countesse his wives request (who greatly desired to see this *Floris*, of whom she had heard much commendation:) this honorable Erie of *Holland*, *Zeland*, &c. was there treacherously slaine, onely through iealous suspicion of the old Erie of *Clermont*, who was there likewise presently slaine himselfe, and the Countesse (grieving for this great mishap) died soone after. This Count *Floris* had a daughter named *Machilde*, or *Margaret*, as some call her, who was married to Count *Herman* of *Henneberg*. She despising a poore widow, that desired her almes vpon vrgent necessitie, holding in either arme a sweet yong child, both which, God had sent hir at one birth; gaue hir very reprochfull words beside, as that the could not be honest of her bodie; and (by her husband) haue two children lawfully begotten. The poore woman, grieving to be reiected in such extreame want and need, but much more, to heare her reputation so nearely touched, knowing her soule cleare from all dishonest deduction: made no further suite to the Lady, but (falling vpon her knees) appealed to God for defence of her Innocencie, and earnestly desired, that as she had coeined and borne those two infants lawfully by her husband; euen so, if euer that Ladie should be subiect to the custome of Women, that it would please him, to send her as many children at one birth, as there are daies in the year. Not long after, the Lady conceived with childe by her husband,

The wonder-
full birth of
365. ChildrenThis History
is vouchsafed
for a truth by
diuers good
Authors.

& (for her deliuerance) went into *Holland*, to visite the Earle her brother, taking vp lodging in the Abbey of religious women at *Lojdunen*, and grew so exceeding great, as the like had neuer before beene seene. When her time came, on the Friday before Palme-sunday, in the year of our Lord God 1276. shee was deliuered of 365. children, the one halfe being sonnes, and the other daughters; but the odde childe was an Hermaphrodite, and they were all well shaped and proportioned in their little members. These children were layd in two basins, and were all baptized by *Gaydon*, Suffragan to the Bishop of *Vtrecht*, who named all the sonnes *Iohn*, and the daughters *Elizabeth*, but what name hee gaue the Hermaphrodite, it is not recorded. They were no sooner baptized, but they all died, and the mother also. The two Basins are yet to be seene in the sayde Church of *Lojdunen*, and a memorie of them, both in Latine and Dutch. The Latine beginning thus: *Margareta, Comitiss Hennebergia uxor, & Florentij Hollandia & Zelandia filia, &c.* Vnderneath are these verses:

*En tibi monstrum & memorabile factum,
Quale nec a mundi condicione datum.*

This Count *Floris*, being so treacherously slaine, as yee haue heard before, had his body brought backe into *Holland*, by the Earle of *Cleues*, and other noble Lords, who buried it in the Abby of *Rhynsbouurg*; he hauing honourably and virtuously gouerned his Countreies twelue yeares. He left but one son named *William*, six yeares old, who was in the tutelage of his vnckle *Otho*, Bishop of *Vtrecht*, during his minority.

18 *William*, second of that name, succeeded his father *Floris* in all his dominions, being all the time of his vnder yeares, in the gouernement of *Otho* Bishop of *Vtrecht* his vnckle, who was a very worthy & careful Guardian to him. The Pope hauing deposed *Fredericke* the second, and *Conrade* his sonne from the Empire; the Princes Electors (in despite of the Pope) made this Earle *William* King of the *Romans*, and crowned him at *Aix le Chapelle*, he hauing then attained to the age of 20. yeares. A long & tedious trouble hapned, betwene him, & *Margaret* Countesse of *Flanders*, a very high-minded and proude woman,

Earle William
King of the
Romans.King William
cruelly slaine.

1139.

The History
of the death
of Erie Floris.

woman, for the country of *Walchren*, wherein, after a great foile and slaughter of the *Flemings*, (taking part with her) and imprisonment of her two sonnes (*Guy* and *Iohn*) she implored the aid of *Charles* Duke of *Brion*, against king *William*, & sped thereby no better then she had done before, but was glad in the end to seek reconciliation. This King *William* built the Pallace of the Earles of *Holland*, in the village of *La Hage*, or the *Hague*, where it is at this day, and a goodly Cloister at *Harlem*. At his warres in west *Friseland*, where he preuailed very successfully, he would needs (without any other assistance then himselfe) follow the rebells ouer the Ice, where his horse slipping in, himselfe almost drowned, and none neare to helpe him (but enemies of the *Frisians*, that lay secretly in ambush) they beate him downe with clubbes and staues, not knowing that it was the King, and so they slew him. But when afterward they tooke better notice of him, by his Target and Armes thereon emblazoned: in very hearty sorrow for their foule deed, they buried him secretly, in a poore house in the village of *Hookswond*, thinking to wipe out all remembrance of him. But his body was after found, and buried in the Abbey of *Midlebourg*, in the Isle of *Walchren*.

19 *Floris* the fift, son to King *William*, who was slaine so inhumanely; albeit hee was but sixe months old, yet he succeeded his father, his vnckle *Floris* being his Gouernor and Tutor. At 17. yeares of age, he went with an army against the euer-reuolting *Frisians*, and ouercame them at a village called *Schellinckhou*, very feuerly reuenging his fathers death on them, and (by building foure Castles in *Friseland*) brought them wholly vnder his obediēce. Afterward, Count *Floris* made a voyage into *England*, where a marriage was contracted, betwene *Iohn*, eldest son to Earle *Floris*, and *Elizabeth*, daughter to king *Edward* the first: *Iohn* being (not long after) sent into *England*, to accomplish the sayd marriage, where he remained in the Court of *England*, vntill his fathers vnfortunate death, which briefly was thus:

A knight liued in the Earles Court, named *Gerard van Velson*, who had bene a whole yeares space detayned in prison, & his brother beheaded, through certaine false suggestions whispered to the Earle,

which (afterward) appearing to be a meere iniury: the Earle sought to repaire this wrong, with very especial fauors done to the knight, great aduancements, & would haue bestowed also his concubine in marriage on him. Which *Gerard* disclaining & replying, that he would not weare his cast shooes: the Earle rashly answered, that he should take his leauings, in despite of his hart. To preuent marriage with the Earles minion, the knight bestowed his affections else-where, and wedded a Ladie of great honour and beauty. Which when the Earle vnderstood, he pursued his former rash folly, to the price of his own life: Sending *Gerard* on an employment of much credit & respect, and wherewith he was not a little pleased, not doubting anie such wicked intention. The Earle came to *Gerards* house, vnder color of hospitality, and there (winning hert to priuate conference in her bed chamber) forcibly deflowered her, to performe his rash promise to her husband. At *Gerards* returne, and this foule wrong discovered, it was pursued with very bloody reuenge, by a resolute conspiracy sworn against his life: which albeit he had some warning of (by a paper deliuered him by a poore woman) yet his disaster being inuincible, a traine was laid for him as he rode a hawking, and twentie one wounds he receiued on his body, by the hand of the sayd *Gerard*. But hee and the rest of the conspirator escaped not vnpunished for they had their heads smitten off, and were then laid vpon wheeles; but *Gerard* was put (stark naked) into a Pipe sticke full of sharp nailes, and was so rowled vp and downe through all the streetes of *Leyden*. Then was he beheaded, & layd on a wheele, and al his kinned (to the ninth degree) put to death, and laid on wheeles.

20 After the wicked murder of Earle *Floris* the fift, committed by the *Frisians*, as hath bene declared: *Iohn* his only son (being then in *England* with King *Edward* his father in law) was next to succeed him as his rightfull heire. But before he could leaue *England*, some partialities and factions happened in *Holland* for the gouernement, which soone were qualified at Earle *Iohns* being there present, notwithstanding the subtil policie of *Walart* of *Borselle*, seizing the person of Earle *Iohn*, and Lady *Elizabeth* his wife, thinking to haue the gouernement of the sayd Earle, because, as yet,

A severe re-
uenge for the
Earles death.

1147

Walart of
Borselle, his
secret intention.

yet, he was but young. Earle *Iohn* preuailed against the *Frizons*, and the Bishop of *Vrecht*, and hauing gouerned his Countreies about foure yeares, hee fell sicke at *Hirlem*, and there dyed. He was the first of all the Earles of *Holland*, that died without children: wherefore in him failed the line masculine of the Earls from the dukes of *Aquitaine*, which *Thierry*, or *Theodor*, the first Earle of *Holland*, had continued 437. yeares. He was buried in the Abbey of *Rhinibourgh*, his widow Lady *Elizabeth* being caried back into *England*, where she was afterward married to the Earle of *Oxford*: So that by the death of Earle *Iohn* in this manner, those Countreies were deuolued to the Earles of *Hennault*, issuing by the mothers side frō the earles of *Holland*.

21 *Iohn*, the second of that name, called *Iohn* of *Hennault* (claiming his right from *Alix*, Sister to *William* king of the *Romans*) succeeded after *Iohn*, as Earle of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Friseland*, &c. He had a long and tedious trouble with *Iohn* de *Reuseffe*, who perswaded the Emperour, that *Iohn* Earle of *Holland* dying without issue, his Earledoms ought (in right) to returne to the Empire; according as *Charls* the bald, Emperour of the *Romans*, had at first giuen them in fee and homage to *Thierry* of *Aquitaine*. This suggestion raised the Emperour *Albert* in Armes against *Iohn* of *Hennault*, but the Bishop of *Cullen* compounded the matter betwene them; and *Iohn* de *Reuseffe* was afterward drowned, by which means, *Iohn* of *Hennault*, hauing gouerned *Hennault* thirty yeares, and his countreies of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Friseland* five yeares, died, & was buried at *Valenciennes*.

22 *William* the third, sonne and heire to count *Iohn* of *Hennault*, succeeded his fathers Earledomes: he was commonly called, *The good Earle William*, for his vertues, iustice, good life, and honourable actions. In his time hapned so great a dearth and famine in *Holland*, that poore people dyed with hunger, euen in the streets as they went: seeking also for hearbs and rootes in the fields and woods, there they were likewise found dead, and in the common high wayes: little children dyed sucking at their mothers breasts, and some were enforced to feede on their dead children. In this time of famine, a poore woman in the Towne of *Leyden*, being extremely overcharged with hunger, entreated her

owne sister, (being a woman of better abilitye) to lend her some bread, which she would thankfully repay againe, when God should enable her. She, very vnkindly, and without any pity of her extremity, denied her oftentimes, notwithstanding the others often vringings; that shee was assured, that shee could not be without bread. Heereupon the vnmmercifull sister (lying, both to God and to her owne poore sister) sayde: If I haue any bread, I wish that it may instantly be turned into a stone: wherewith the heauy displeasure of almighty God laid hold vpon her words, and going afterward to hir Cupboard (to relieue herselfe) she found all her loanes of bread conuerted into apparant stones, and died herselfe with extremity of hunger. It is credibly said, that one or two of those stones, are yet to be seene in Saint *Peters* Church at *Leyden*, as a memorie of this iust iudgement of God.

There is also recorded another memorable Historie, of vpright Iustice done by this good Earle *William*, to a poore country-man, against a Bayliffe of *South Holland*, who had taken a goodly faire Cowe from him, that was the reliefe of himselfe, his poore wife and children; as there are some Kine in that Countrey, which doe giue twenty pottles of milke and more, in a day. The Bayliffe at the poore mans complaint to this good earle *William*, who lay then sicke in his Bed at *Valenciennes* (yet neuer debarred any suiters from audience, were he sicke or well) was adjudged to giue the poore man an hundred crownes of good gold, for the wrong he had done to him, which was accordingly performed. But for his iniurie to publike Iustice (being himselfe an Officer) and abusing the authority committed in trust to him; the Earle lent for an Executioner, and caused his head to be smitten off by his beds side. This good Count *William*, being a vertuous Prince, victorious in warre, a man learned, wife, wel spoken, and iudicious, a great friend to peace, gracious to all men, and beloued in all courts, hauing gouerned his Prouinces 32. yeares, dyed the ninth day of Iune 1337. and was buried with great pomp at *Valenciennes*.

23 *William* the fourth, son to the good Earle *William*, came to his fathers Earledoms by lawfull succession. He was a man of high merit, & a most famous Souldier, whereof

A worthy action of iustice done by this good Earle *William*.

1317.
Earle *William* a worthy souldier.

whereof he made good proofe, first against the *Saracins* and *Moores*, in the kingdome of *Granada*: Next, with the Emperour *Lewes*, and many noble Earles, ayding his brother in lawe *Edward* the third King of *England*, against the king of *France*; thirdly, in ouer-running *Lithuania*, *Liuania*, and warring against the *Russian* Infidels; lading home his men with victory & wealth; spoiles: And lastly, in preuailing against the *Frizons*, and *Robert* of *Arckell* gouernour of *Vrecht*: Yet it was his hard hap to be slaine vnkowne (amongst the *Frizons*) before any could haue power to helpe him: so that he left no lawfull child to succede him, and therefore his sister, (being Emperesse) remayned his onelic heire.

24 *Margaret*, wife to *Lewes* of *Banaria*, (then Emperour) and the eldest sister to Earle *William*, flayne (as you haue heard) by the *Frizons*, by the Emperours interposition of his authority, and her owne native right, went downe by the *Rhine* into *Holland*, accompanied with a most princely and well-befeeing traine, and was acknowledged to be Ladie and Princesse of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Friseland*. But before her returne back to the Emperour againe, shee constituted both his and her eldest sonne (named *William* of *Banaria*) to bee her Regent there in those Countreies, for a summe of money yearly payed to her: but remayning vnpayd, she might resume all her rights to herselfe againe. The Emperour deceasing, the Emperesse *Margaret* came thither againe, and had resignation (from her sonne *William*) of all the aforesaid Countreies, retrying himselfe into *Hennault*, as being well contented there to liue: vnill by intestine discord, and dangerous practises of two intruded factions, called *Cabillaux* and *Hoeks* (where in both nobles and gentlemen did too far enter) the mothers government did grow vnsubsistable, and Duke *William* was recovered from *Hennault*, to vnder-goe the sole authority. Two very bloody battels were fought betwene the Emperesse and her sonne; and in the first, Earle *William* escaped with great difficultie, and fledde into *Holland*, for this battell was fought at *La Vere* in *Zeland*. But in the second, there was so much blood spilt, that (for three dayes after) the old River of *Muse* (at full Sea) was (all ouer) red in that place. The

Emperesse (by helpe of a small Bathe) escaped into *England*; and vpon an agreement afterwards made betwene them: Duke *William* had the quiet possession of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Friseland* assigned him, and the Emperesse *Margaret* had the countie of *Hennault*, where (five yeares after) she ended her dayes, and lyeth buried at *Valenciennes*.

25 Duke *William* being peaceably possessed of his Seigneuries, according to the former composition, being also Duke of *Banaria*, *Salatine* of *Rhine*, and Earle of *Hennault* by his mothers death, tooke to wife the Lady *Matilda*, daughter to *Henry* duke of *Lancaster* in *England*, by whom hee had no children. Much strife, warre, and bloody bickering, hapned betwene him and the Bishop of *Vrecht*, with shrewd disadvantages on eyther side; till, by the meanes of some Noblemen, they were reduced to amitie.

This Duke *William* (vpon what occasion it could neuer be knowne) fell distracted of his senses, and slew a Knight with a blow of his fist: so that hee was shut vp (vnder good Guard) for nineteene yeares space, euen till he dyed. Hauing gouerned his prouinces of *Holland*, *Zeland* and *Friseland* (before his madnesse) fcauen yeares, and *Hennault* two.

26 *Albert* of *Banaria*, brother to Duke *William*, in the time of his distraction, was sent for from *Banaria*; and made Gouernor of his brothers Countreies, in hope of his recovery, which by no meanes could be compassed. Hee vanquished the *Frizons* in many rebellions, tooke the towne of *Delft*, and beheaded the Baron of *Eughien*, vpon sinister reformations, which caused great trouble betwene him, and sixe brethren of the said Baron: but, vpon their reconciliation. *Cognis Albert* builded the Chanonry of the Chappell, at the Court of the *Hague*.

In his time, a Sea-woman (by reason of great tempests at Sea, and extraordinary high Tides) was seene swimming in the *Zuyderzee*; betweene the Townes of *Camper* and *Edam*; which being brought to *Edam*, and cleansed from the Sea-moffe growne about her, by her long abiding there: she was like to another woman, endured to be apparelled, and would feed on meats as others did, yet fought the all meanes to escape, and get into the water againe,

Matilda, daughter to Henry Duke of Lancaster.

1318

The Baron of Eughien beheaded.

A Sea-Woman seene in the Zuyderzee.

1441

Q 99 againe,

1300.

The end of the race of the Dukes of Aquitaine, & succession of the Earles of Hennault.

1301.

Iohn de Reuseffe drowned.

1304.

The good Earle William

1316.

A wonderful dearth.

A strange example of an vnmmercifull sister.

1345.

Robert of Arckell Gouernour of Vrecht.

1346.

Margaret the Emperesse, Princesse of Holland.

The factions of Cabillaux and Hoeks.

1351.

A great effusion of blood.

agayne, had she not very carefully bene tended. Shee did learne to spinne, and exercise other womanly qualities, beeing daily scene of infinite persons, who haue made perfect testimoniall of this rare accident, and signified it for an vndoubted truth, auouching, that she liued fifteene yeares, and lyeth there buried in the Church-yard. In the yeare of our Lord, one thousand four hundred and foure, this famous Prince *Albert* dyed, after hee had gouerned his Countie fixe and fortie yeares: nineteene as he was Tutor to his distracted brother, and twentyseuen as Prince, heire and Lord of those Countie, being buried at the *Hague* in *Holland*.

Philip the
bold Duke
of Burgundy.

27 *William*, sixt of that name, after the death of Duke *Albert* of *Banaria* his father, succeeded as his immediate heyre. His first wife was daughter to *Charles* the first, King of *France*, and she dyed yong, without any issue. He secondly married the daughter of *John*, sonne to *Philip* the bold Duke of *Burgundy*, by whom he had one onely daughter, named *Isabeline* or *Jacoba*, as the Dutch vsuto call her. This Count *William* wasted *Friseland*, spoiled *Liege*, and preyed against the *Gueldrs*, and also the Lordes (father and sonne) of *Arckell* at *Gorrichom*, and reconciled the Duke of *Burgundy* to the French King. The Dolphine of *France*, sonne to King *Charles* the sixt, married *Isabeline*, Count *Williams* daughter; but hee being poysoned, by putting on a shirt of maile, dyed without issue. As Earle *William* himselfe did not long after, being bitten in the leg by a mad Dogge, which hurt could neuer be cured. So that the Lady *Isabeline* (his daughter, and widow to the Dolphine of *France*) was his true heire in all his Seigneuries: Hee gouerned thirteene yeares, and hee buried at *Valenciennes* in *Hennault*.

28 *Isabeline*, or *Jacoba*, daughter and sole heire to *William* of *Banaria*, succeeded her father in all his Earledomes and Seigneuries, being then widow to the Dolphine of *France*, and yet but nineteene yeares of age. In regard of her youth and widowhood, she endured much molestation in her gouernement, chiefly in *Holland*: for the two factions tooke head agayne, and handled their boldnes on both sides, the *Hockins* fauouring the Countesses faction, and the *Cabillantes* here-

enemies, by which means her rule was greatly disturbed. For *John* of *Banaria* (foraking his Bishoppricke of *Liege*) sought to make himselfe an Earle, and marrie his Niece *Isabeline* (utterly against her will) and yet to dispossesse her of her rightfull inheritance, for which purpose he leagued himselfe with the *Cabillantes*, and other powerfull friends, who neuertheless were slaine in their bolde adventure at *Gorrichome*. And, to frustrate the Bishops vaine hope, the Pope dispensed her marriage with *John* Duke of *Brabant*, albeit he was her neare kinsman, whereby their patrimoniall inheritances were the more strengthened, and hee acknowledged as their Prince, in *Hennault*, *Holland*, *Zeland*, *Friseland*, &c. It were needelesse heere, to relate the following molestations of *John* of *Banaria* the Bishop, to his Niece *Isabeline*, taking on himselfe the title of Earle, and therefore, (by some) ranked among the Earles of *Holland*, or the after-marriages of Lady *Isabeline*, to the Duke of *Gloucester*, vncke to *Henry* the sixt, King of *England*; the fourth and last time (in great privacy) to *Frank* of *Borselle*, Lieutenant of *Zeland*, or her (no meane troubles) by the Duke of *Burgundy*; to whom these resigned vp all her Countie. Let it suffice, that shee liued in continuall vexations nineteene yeares, and dying at the *Hague*, was buried in the Chappell of the Court of *Holland*.

30 *Philip* Duke of *Burgundie*, being (both by father & mother) rightfull heire and successour to the aforementioned Countesse *Isabeline*; was thus entitled: *Philip* Duke of *Bourgogne*, *Brabant*, and *Lembourg*; Earle of *Flandres*, *Arthois*, *Burgogne*, *Hennault*, *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Namure*; Marquesse of the holie Empire; and Lord of *Friseland*, *Salins* and *Macklyn*. Hee had three wiues; by the two first hee had no children; but by the last, named *Isabel* (daughter to *John* King of *Portugall*) hee had three sonnes; *Anthony* and *Joffe*, who dyed yong; and *Charles* *Martin*, Earle of *Charolois*, and successour vnto his father. This *Philip* of *Bourgogne* instituted the order of Knighthood of the golden *Fleece*, and had much discontent with his sonne *Charles*, whom (at length) he married to the Lady *Margaret*, sister to *Edward* the fourth, King of *England*. The rebells of *Gant* and *Bruges* dearely felt the valour

John of *Banaria*
Bishop of
Liege.

John of *Banaria*
the Bishop
reckoned the
30. Earle of
Holland

" 1416 "

The Title of
Philip Duke
of *Bourgogne*

The order of
the golden
Fleece instituted.

of this *Phillip*; hee besieged *Callis*, surprized *Luxembourg*, subdued *Liege*, and ouercame the *Hamecons*. Hee exceeded all his predecessors (dukes of *Burgogne*) in riches, Seigneuries, height of Pompe and State. He dyed the fifth day of Iune 1467, hauing gouerned about fortie yeares. In his time was the famous Arte of Printing first inuented; the men of *Harlem* in *Holland* do challenge the first honour thereof, but it was reduced to perfection at *Mentz*, by one *John* *Fawstus*, who had bene seruant to *Laurence* *Sanjon* of *Harlem*, as they constantly affirme.

1467.
The Art of
Printing first
inuented.

The warlike
Duke of
Burgogne.

31 *Charles*, furnished the Warlike Duke of *Bourgogne*, succeeded in all his fathers Titles and Dignities. The Inhabitants of *Gant* resisting him, he brought them vnder obedience, and defeated the *Liegeois* in battell, which enforced *Liege* to yeelde to him. He made peace with the French King, who doubted to be detained at *Peronne* by Duke *Charles*. Vpon a fresh rebellion of the *Liegeois*, the Duke forced King *Lewes* to go with him to the siege of their town; which he ruined, and practised the like to the house of *Brederode*. He warred against the *Prisons*, and carried many Princes in hope of his daughters marriage. The French King, and the Duke, sought to deceive each other, and the Constable of *Saint Paul* (waxing hatefull to them both) they resolved his ruine, and (on a Truce taken for nine yeares, betweene the King and Duke) the Constable was beheaded at *Paris*. The Duke warred against the *Swisses*, and was defeated by them, both at *Granson* and *Morat*, wherewith the *Swisses* were enriched. The Duke besieged *Nancie*, and was there slaine in battell, by the treason of the Earle of *Campobachio*, an Italian; where being engirt with a great troupe of Lancers, he receiued wounds, one in the head, the second in the thigh, and the third in the fundament. Hee left one onely daughter and heire.

The Earle of
Campobachio.
1477.

32 *Mary*, daughter and heire to Duke *Charles*, the warlike Duke of *Bourgogne*, succeeded her father in all his Countie: being but eighteen yeares old when hee was slaine before *Nancy*, wherefore she remained vnder the charge of the Duke of *Cleues*, and his brother the Lord of *Rauesteine*. The French King seized *Piccardie* & *Arthois*: and she hapning into the *Ganthois* power, endured much trouble, by

putting her chiefest seruants and counsellors to death. The *Flemings* were defeated, and the yong Duke of *Gueldrs* slaine. Afterward, a marriage was concluded betweene *Maximilian* Arch-duke of *Austria*, sonne to the Emperor *Fredericke*, and the Lady *Mary* of *Bourgogne*, albeit the would more gladly haue matched with the house of *France*.

33 *Maximilian*, Arch-duke of *Austria*, and sonne to the Emperour *Fredericke*, marrying the Princess *Mary* of *Bourgogne*, was thereby wedded to much warre and trouble. For, first the *Gueldrs* revolted from the house of *Bourgogne*. Next hapned the battell of *Guingate*, wherein the Arch-duke was Conqueror: Then, *Turnay* yeelded to him; truce was taken betweene him and the French King, and the new tumults of the *Cabillaux* and *Hoecs*, were also by him pacified. *Dordrecht* was surprized by the yong lord of *Egmont*; also, many Townes in *Gueldrs* yeelded to the Arch-duke; and (not long after) followed the death of the Arch-duchesse *Mary*, who had (the first yeare of her marriage, a sonne named *Philip*, father to *Charles* the first) the second yeare a daughter, called *Margaret*, betrothed in her infancie, to *Charles* the Dolphine of *France*, sonne to *Lewes* 11. and the third yeare, a sonne named *Frances*, according to the name of *Frances* Duke of *Brittaine* his godfather. *Maximilian* being chosen King of the Romans, he made *Engelbert* Earle of *Nassau*, Gouernour of the Netherlands in his absence: and afterward, vpon the bold insolency of the *Ganthois* and *Bruges* (keeping the King of Romans prisoner) *Albert* duke of *Saxony*, was made second gouernour of the Netherlands, & General for the Emperor *Fredericke* against the *Flemings*. But *Fredericke* dying, his son *Maximilian* succeeded him in the Empire, by which means *Philip* of *Austria*, sonne to *Maximilian*, inherited his right in *Holland*, *Zeland*, *Friseland*, &c.

34 *Philip*, second of that name, being 16. yeares olde, and succeeding his father *Maximilian*, Emperour in the Netherlands, had these Titles: *Philippe* Arch-duke of *Austria*, Duke of *Bourgogne*, *Lothier*, *Brabant*, *Styria*, *Carinthia*, *Lembourg*, *Luxembourg*, and *Gueldrs*; Earle of *Hafpoung*, *Flandres*, *Arthois*, *Bourgogne*, *Ferreto* and *Kiborch*; Palatine of *Hennault*, *Holland*, *Zeland*, *Namure* and *Zuphen*:

Qq 9 2 Marquess

The Duke of
Gueldrs
slaine.

1479.

New tumults
of the *Cabillaux*
and *Hoecs*.

1482.

Engelbert,
Earle of *Nassau*.
saw. 1491.

1494.

The Titles of
Philip, Arch-
Duke of *Austria*.

1497. Marquesse of the holy Emperre, and of *Bourgon*; *Landgraue of Elstaten*, Lord of *Windimarke*, *Portnean*, *Sabynes*, & *Macklyn*. Vpon his full possession of the Netherlands, peace was made between him, and *Charles* the eight King of France; war hapning bewixt the Arch-duke and the Duke of *Guelthers*, great inconueniences followed thereon: but Duke *Albert* being slaine before *Groningen*, the Arch-Duke inherited the Realme of Spain by his wife, being made King of *Castile*, & *George* duke of *Sazony* (being then made Gouernor of the Netherlands, for the Arch-duke *Philip*) continued the Warres in *Friseland*. For, vpon the death of *Isabell*, Queene of *Castile*, *Jane* her daughter being the onely heyre, and married to the Arch-duke *Philip*; the hereby inuested him in the realms of *Spaine*, *Leon*, *Granada*, &c. as absolute King. But he enioyed that Dignitie not long: for in the year 1506. the 27. day of September, he dyed (sodainly) in the City of *Bourges*, suspected to bee poysoned. After the death of *Philip* King of *Castile*, the Emperour *Maximilian* took vpon him the government of the Netherlands, as Guardian vnto *Charles* and *Ferdinand*, his Grand children, being the sons of *Philip* and *Jane*, King and Queene of *Castile*.

1508. 35 *Charles* of *Austria*, second of that name, succeeded rightfully in all his fathers Lands and Seigneuries, and by the Emperors appointment, his daughter the Lady *Margaret* (Dowager of *Sauoy*, and Aunt to the Princes *Charles* and *Ferdinand*) was Regent of the Low countries. Afterward, Prince *Charles* took possession of the Netherlands, and being crowned K. of *Spaine* and *Arragon*, soone after followed the death of the Emperour *Maximilian*, and in an assembly at *Francfort*, for choyse of a new Emperour, *Charles* king of *Spaine* had free election, by the name of *Charles* the 5. Then was Lady *Margaret* (widow both of *Castile* and *Sauoy*, and Aunt to the Emperour *Charles*) accepted as sole gouernesse of the Netherlands, in her Nephewes absence. Troubles hapned in *Spaine*, by reason of the Kings departure thence, & not onely warre in *Friseland*, but likewise betwene the French and Bourguignons, as also the warres of Bootes or Peazants in Germany; and the *Groningens* reiecting the Duke of *Guelthers*, did yeild themselves to the Emperour: then hapned the second

1505.
1506.
1508.
1515.
1519.
1520.
1526.

Line daughter of Isabel married vnto the Arch-duke Philip.
Lady Margaret sole gouernesse.

bloody edit from the Emperour, against the Netherland protestants, and then was the imperial diet at *Ausbourg*, where the protestant Princes presented the confession of their faith. After followed the deuouring inandation in the Netherlands, and the death of the Lady dowager *Margaret*, whereby *Mary* of *Austria*, second daughter to King *Philip*, and Queene *Jane* of *Castile*, succeeded in the government of the Netherlands. War hapned betwene the Emperour and the French king, but vpon the coming of queene *Elenor* of France to the Emperour her brother, peace was concluded betwixt them.

36 While *Mary* of *Austria* gouerned the Netherlands, for the Emperour *Charles* her brother, great troubles hapned vnto the Protestants, by opposition of the Pope & Emperour against them. The Emperour affected the Empire for Prince *Philip* his sonne, which bred a quarrell betwixt the Emperour, and his brother *Ferdinand* king of *Hungary*, to whom the Princes of the Empire were more inclined, then to *Philip*; and then the Protestants denied their comming to the Councel of Trent. *Philip* King of *Spaine* married *Mary* queene of England: And not long after, the Emperour resigned the Netherlands to his sonne King *Philip* (whereby he was reckned the 36. Earle of *Holland*, *Zeland*, &c.) and the Empire to his brother *Ferdinand*, King of the Romans and Hungary, departing out of the Netherlands, to end his dayes quietly in a Monastery, nor far from *Placentia*. Refusing an hundred thousand crowns yearly to himselfe, employing four thousand for his dyet and maintenance, appointing the rest vnto young Maydens marriages, and the releefe of Widdowes and Orphanes, hee not liuing about two yeares after. When not onely happened his death, but likewise the deathes of the Queenes Dowagers of France and Hungary, as also of *Mary* Queen of England; after whome, succeeded her Sister *Elizabeth*. In which time, *Emanuel* *Philibert*, Duke of *Sauoy*, and Prince of *Piemont*, was Gouernour, and Lieutenant Generall of the Netherlands, for King *Philip*; till the King of *Spaines* marriage (being turned into teares, by the most vntimely death of the French King) caused *Margaret* of *Austria*, Bastarde to the Emperour *Charles* the first, and Dutchesse of

1531.
Mary of Austria.

1544.

1549.

1555.

1556.

Elizabeth Q. of England.

1559. of *Parma*, to succede the Duke of *Sauoy* in the Netherlands regiment. King *Philip* returned then home into *Spaine*, it being his last departure out of those countries: whereon (not long after) ensued the subtle bringing of the *Spanish* Inquisition into the Netherlands, by creation of new Bishops; and such was the power and privilege of the Inquisitors, as none were able to withstand them, in confiscation both of their body and goods at their owne pleasure.

1568. Now, albeit the tyranny of the Dutchesse government in the Low-countries, was more then the people could well endure, yet (to put a sharpe snaffle in their mouths) K. *Philip* removed his Bastard sister *Margaret*, & sent *Don Ferdinando Aluarez*, Duke of *Alua*, who quickly brought the Netherlands into a most pittifull estate: making himselfe sure of *Gant*, and Count *Horne* and count *Egmont* (abusiuely) made prisoners: he built the Castle of *Antwerp*, where he erected his own proud statue, & proceeded to apprehend the prince of *Orange* by Commission, setting down Articles by the *Spanish* Inquisition (which were confirmed by the king) to ruinate the Netherlands, vpon which soone followed the execution of the sonnes of *Batembour* at *Brussels*, as also the Earles of *Egmont* and *Horne*. *William* of *Nassau* prince of *Orange*, was made gouernor of *Holland*, *Zeland* & *Vrecht* for the States, & proued very fortunate in many attempts against the D. of *Alua*, which made him labour his repeale home into *Spaine*, with *Don Fredericke* his sonne. *Don Lewes de Requesens*, the great Commander of *Castile*, was sent to spoyle the dukes place in the Netherlands, for the K. of *Spaine*, to whom *Aluarez* former behavior serued for an example in his proceeding; and notwithstanding, his besieging of *Middlebourg* (near hand to famishment) yet was his fleet defeated before his face, and the town yielded vp by *Collonell Mondragon*, to the Prince of *Orange*. After many dangerous turmoiles on both sides, the States sent to require succour of *Elizabeth* Q. of England, and soone after dyed *Don Lewes de Requesens* at *Brussels*; in whose roome succeeded *Don Iohn of Austria* (bastard sonne to the Emperour *Charles* the first) as gouernor for K. *Philip* in the Netherlands, all the Prouinces whereof were vnted at the pacification of *Gand*; whereup-

1574.
Will Prince of Orange, the Commander of Castile.

1575.
Don Iohn of Austria.

on, the Castle was yeilded to the States, and all the Spaniards departed out of *Antwerp* castle, which was also deliuered into the States hands. *Don Iohn* being receiued as Gouernor, he sought occasions how to renew warre against the prince of *Orange*, and diuers discontentments, as also treacherous practises, being noted in *D. Iohn*, the States grew zealous of him, & he was proclaimed the Countries enemy. Then was the Arch-duke *Mathias* called to bee Gouernor, and while the heart-burnings held betwene *Don Iohn* and the States, the Duke of *Amiou*, and Duke *Casimire* also were required to succour them, but to little effect: for *Arthois* and *Hennault*, fell from the Netherlands general vniion, and then followed the death of *Don Iohn* of the plague, in the Campe neere to *Namur*.

Then *Alexander Farnese*, Duke of *Parma* and *Placentia*, bastard Nephew to the King of *Spaine*, succeeded *Don Iohn* in the Netherlands government: Whereupon, a stricter vniion (then before) was made betwene the Prouinces at *Vrecht*. The D. of *Amiou* was called to be Protector, and partly Lord of the Countries in the Vniion, which made the King of *Spaine* prescribe the Prince of *Orange*, and let his life at sale, to which proscription the Prince (in euery poynt) made his iust answer. Then were valiant and worthie seruices performed by sir *Iohn Norris*, and Captaine (afterwards) sir *Roger Williams*. In the year following, the generall Estates of the Prouinces, hauing declared *Philip* K. of *Spaine*, second of that name, to be fallen from the Seignieury of the sayd Prouinces, in regard of his extraordinary and too violent government, against their priuiledges and freedoms (solemnly sworne by himselfe.) In way of right and Armes, took vpon them all the government of the politike Estate, & of the religion in those Prouinces, breaking the Kings Scales, abolishing the subiects of their oath to him, and causing them to take a new oath, for preservation of their country, and obedience to the said States. Vpon a bargain made by the K. of *Spaine*, to kill the prince of *Orange*, the said prince was shot by one *Iohn Iuwergens*, a bankrupt-merchants servant, who was initially slain, but the prince escaped that attempt with life. Afterward he was traitorously murdered by *Balthazar*

1577.

The Arch-Duke Mathias.

1578.

The Prince of Parma.

1580.
The Duke of Amiou.

1581.

The States for themselves.

1582.

The Prince of Orange shot.

1584.

The Prince of
Orange mur-
dered.

Gerard a (high *Bourguignon*) at *Delft* in *Holland*: whereon, Prince *Maurice* (being his Sonne) succeeded his father in the government. Then followed the siege of *Antwerpe*, in which time, the States once more, re-commended their cause to the *Queene of England*: eyther to give her the full Soueraignie of the Netherlands, or else to succour and releue them with her forces, vpon good conditions offered. Her Maiesty graunted to send them assistance, but no loueraignty or protection of them, would she take vpon her: whereupon, certaine cautionarie Townes and Skonces were deliuered vp to her, for repayment of such summes of mony, as should be disbursed by hir, and Articles of couenent set downe betwene them. Also, *Robert Lord Dudley*, Baron of *Denbigh*, and Earle of *Leicester*, was appointed by the Q. of *England*, to be her Gouvernour generall, ouer the English powers in the Netherlands.

1585.

The Earle of
Leicester.

In the time of the earle of *Leicesters* gouernement for the *Queene*, were sundrie worthy seruices performd by the Earle of *Essex*, *Sir John Norrie*, the Lord *Willoughby*, *Sir Philip Sidney*, *Sir William Russell*, &c. besides the subtile pretences of *Sir William Stanley*, *Rowland Torke*, *Pattson*, and others, who held faire weather with the Earle of *Leicester*, and had the government of *Zutphen* skonce, and the strong towne of *Deuenter* (to the great dislike of the States) yet performed no such matter, as the Earles hope was periwaded of them: for, after the death of that matches noble Gentleman *Sir Philip Sidney*, he being shot before *Zutphen*, & therof dying the Earle of *Leicester* (being gone for *England*) both *Deuenter* & *Zutphen* Skonce were deliuered vp to the Spaniards, by base corruption of money. And (not long after) the Prince of *Parma* beleagring *Scuice*; by composition it was also yielded vp, after it had endured 17000 cannon shot & more. Beside, vpon some discontentment, betwene the Earle of *Leicester*, and the States; the *Queene* called home the sayd Earle into *England*, and the Lord *Willoughby* remained there Generall of the English forces. The sundry worthy seruices, both by him, and the English performed, with the Spanish vndoubted hopes of *Englands* Conquest, in the dreadfull yeare, one thousand five hundred eightie and eight, Prince *Maurice* his entrance into the Netherlands re-

Sir Philip Sid-
ney slaine.
1587.

Scuice.

The Lord
Willoughby.

1588.

Prince Mau-
rice.

giment, and the Dukes of *Parmaes* warres in *France*; all these do I passe ouer, referring such as desire farther satisfaction therein, to the large Historie of the Netherlands.

The Prince of *Parma* dying at *Arras* (after his retreat from *Rouen*) the second of September, one thousand five hundred ninety and two: *Maurice of Nassau*, borne Prince of *Orange*, Marquess of *La Vere*, and of *Flushing*, &c. was made great Capitaine and Admirall generall of the vniited Prouinces in the Low-countries, by the Estates: and *Ernestus*, Archduke of *Austria*, was also made Lieutenant Gouvernour, and Capitaine generall for *Phillip of Spaine*.

Prince *Maurice* prouing very successefull in his warrelike attempts, a Renegade or Apostate Priest (in the habite of *Souldier*) was corrupted (by the Arch-duke *Ernestus*) to murder the Prince *Maurice* at *Breda*; and, vpon his owne confession thereof, he was executed at the *Hage*. Afterward, vpon Prince *Maurice* his valiant surprisall of *Gronning*, *Ernestus* had dealt in like maner with a *Souldier*, named *Peter de Four* (who had sometime serued in the companie of the Garde to Prince *Maurice*) to vndertake the murdering of him at *Lillo*: the which treason being confessed by the man himselfe, he was executed in the towne of *Berghen-vp-zoom*. Here might be much said of the honorable seruices of *Sir Frances Vere*, and others, but our purposed breuitie is the onely imbarment; and the *Netherlie* Historie (at large) may thereof discharge me. The Arch-duke *Ernestus* dyed the twenty one day of February, one thousand five hundred ninety and five; *Mondragons* forces defeated by Prince *Maurice*, and *La Motte* slaine before *Dourlaus*: the Estates (vnder the king of *Spaine*) gladly fought peace with the vniited Prouinces, and sent Articles in writing to Prince *Maurice*, for consideration of their motion. This was not done, but vpon good aduice in the King of *Spaine*, perceiuing the Netherlands, and Prince *Maurice* his great fortunes against him, adding euery day, (more and more) to his vtter abolition thence. Hereupon, *Albertus* the Cardinall, brother to deceased *Ernestus*, and Arch-duke of *Austria*, was sent (by the King) to gouerne there for him; many Easterlings and *Netherland*

1592.

Ernestus D.
of Austria.

1596.

Prince Maurice
should be murdered
twice.Sir Francis
Vere.

1597.

Albertus
Arch Duke
of Austria.

therland shippes, which had beene stayed in *Spaine* to meete the *Indian* fleetes, were suddenly releafed; and *Phillip of Nassau* (who is now Prince of *Orange* and Earle of *Buren*, that had long time beene restrained of his liberty in *Spaine*) for the better countenancing of th intended busines, he likewise was sent along with the Cardinall *Albertus*.

The Cardinall being made Gouvernour for the King of *Spaine*, rooke *Callice* from the *French* King, as his first peece of seruice: but for losse thereof, he recouered *La-fere* from the *Spaniards*. Whereupon, the Cardinall besieged *Hulst* in *Flanders*, which yielded in the end: but it was a deare purchase to the Cardinall, for this siege, (continuing some two moneths) cost him the liues of about three-score valiant Captaines, besides other Commanders, Collonels, and men of marke, and about five thousand well approoued souldiers.

Then did the King of *Spaine* dispense with himselfe for payment of his debts, which made many Merchants in *Spaine*, *Italy*, *Antwerpe*, *Amsterdam*, and *Middle-bowry*, to become Bankerouts. A league was made betwene the *French* King; the *Queene of England* and the States, against the *Spaniards*; and then did Prince *Maurice* go to *Tournhout*, where the Earle of *Varax* was slaine. *Amiens* also was surprized by the *Spaniards*; but soone besieged and recovered by the *French* King, albeit the Cardinall did offer succour, which proued in vain. Prince *Maurice* besieged, and tooke the Townes of *Alpen*, *Meurs*, *Rhinberg*, *Groll*, *Brefort*, *Enfcheyde*, *Oldenzel*, *Omarfom*, *Goot*, and *Lingen*; all which seruices he performed in three moneths. Then happened another treacherous plot, against the life of Prince *Maurice*, by perswasion of the Iesuites of *Darmay*, and vndertaken by *Peter Panne*, a Cowper by trade; but being then a Broker or Bankerout Merchant, who hauing received the Sacrament to performe the deede, eyther with knife, ponyard, or pistol: the Prouinciall of the Iesuites made a long Sermon, to encourage him in the action, and assuring him of *Paradice*, if he performed it, vsed these words to him besides: *Go in peace, for thou shalt goe like an Angell, in the guard of God*. But the man (being terrified in conscience) discouered

1596.

Hulst besieged.

1597.

Tournhout.

1598.

The Iesuites
confesse the
death of
Prince Maurice.

the whole treason, without any compulsion, and was therefore executed at *Leyden* in *Holland*. The King of *Spaine* growing weak and sickly, gaue his Daughter the *Infanta*, named *Isabella Clara Eugenia*, in marriage to the Arch duke and Cardinall *Albertus*, with transadon of the Netherlands and *Bourgoigne*: whereupon he left his Cardinales habite, and went to fetch the *Infanta*. Soone after dyed the King of *Spaine*, on the thirteenth day of September, in the yeare of our Lord God 1598, being seauentie one yeares olde, and foure moneths.

The Arch-duke and the *Infanta* being come into the Netherlands, had their installment at *Brussels*, *Louaine*, *Antwerpe*, &c. The Emperour sent to the States, concerning a peace, but their resolution helde to make warre in *Flanders*. Then happened the siege and memorable battaile of *Nieuport*, where Prince *Maurice* tooke diuers Fortes from the *Spaniards*, and ouerthrew the Arch-dukes Armie, he being there in person: but gladly fled away, leaving his Armes, Horise of Combat, all his Houthold, Artillery, and baggage behinde him, and lost fixe thousand men, besides eight hundred taken prisoners, among whom was *Don Francisco de Mendoza*, Admirall of *Aragon*, Marquess of *Guadaleite*, and Lieutenant generall of the Arch-dukes Army, who was ledde to *Oostend*; *Don Baptista de Villa noua*, led to *Horne* in *Holland*; *Don Alonso Ricquell*, to *Delft*; *Don Gonzalo Hernandez de Spinola*, to *Vrecht*; *Don Pedro de Montenegro*, to the *Hague*; *Don Pedro de Valasco*, to *Berghen*, with *Don Francisco de Tarres*, and *Don Antonio de Mendoza*, and *Don Pedro de Leufins*, to *Enchusen*: besides the Arch-dukes three Pages, *Count Carlo Rezi*, *Don Diego de Guzman*, and *Mortier*: *Don Pedro de Monte-maior*, his chiefe Talter; also his Phisition, Barber, Harbinger, Rider, Cook, Porter, Grooms of his Chamber, most of the Archers, Halberdiers of his Guard, and (in a maner) all his houthold; with three Priests or Monkes, forty Auncients, and thirty seauen Pensioners, reformed (by them) Auncients and Sergeants reformed. Hee lost also fixe peeces of Ordinance, one hundred thirty and fixe Ensignes of foote taken, and fixe Corners of hoisse, comprehending the Mutiners Standard, and the recouered lost Colours.

The death of
king Philip.

1599.

1600.
The battaile
of Nieuport.

Moreo-

Moreover, on the Archdukes side were slaine, the Earle of *Saume*, the Earle of *La Fere*, the Seneschall of *Montelimar*, the Baron of *Pimereult*, *Chaffy Ottingny*, son to the President *Richardot*; *Don Galpar de Sapens*, Colonell, who died at Oastend, *Don Diego de Torres*, *Don Galpar de Loyaso*, *Don Gonzalo d'Espinola*, *Don Ioan de Pardo*, *Don Garcia de Toledo*, *Don Lapode Capeta*, *Don Alonso Carcano*, *Don Louis Faccardo*, *Sebastian Velaico*, *Sebastian Doleloz*, *Chritiomaill Verdugues*, *Mattheo d'Oiteuville*, *Joannettin de casa nueva*, the Paymaster *Alines*, and many other neuer knownen.

Prince Maurice and the States, at the first encounter in the morning, and lastly in the batell, lost about 2000. men, among whom were *Bernard*, *Couteler*, &c. *Hamelton*, Captaines of horse, and some twentie Captaines of foot, but no man of marke or speciall note. In this braue exploitte at *Nieuport*, the vertue and valor of Sir *Frances Vere* Generall, and Sir *Horatio Vere* his Brother, Colonell, will for euer bee remembered.

The occurrences in the following years as the besiedging of Oastend, the enterprize on *Flessigne*, the practise to sacke *Antwerpe* againe, *Grane* yielded vp vnto Prince Maurice; also his honorable offers to the towne of *Sluice*, and it being yielded to him vpon composition, euen in the view of the Archdukes army: they require a larger field of discourse, whē by this breuity can be admitted. Proceed we then to speake of the long continued sledge at Oastend, which lasting three whol years and eleuen weekes, was at last compounded withall, and on the twentie two day of September, 1604. yielded to the Archduke.

What numbers were slain in this long continued siege of Oast-end, can hardly be gathered, albeit, a note was found in a Commiffaries Pocket (who had bin slain the seuenth of August, 1604. before Oast-end) wherein were diuers good obseruations; especially concerning the Archdukes Campe, and also what number

(of each degree) dyed and were slaine therein, during this sledge, vntill the yeilding vp thereof, viz Masters of the camp seuen; Colonels fifteene; Sergeant Maiors twenty nine, Capitaines 565. Lieutenants 1116. Ensigns 322. Sergeants 1911. Corporals 1166. Lanfprizadoes 600. Soldiers 54663. Mariners 611. women and Children, 119. all amounting to 72114. persons.

To continue the memory of this long sledge, as also the winning of *Sluice*; counters (of Siluer and Copper) were made in the vnited Prouinces, bearing (on the one side) the figure of Oastend, and on the other, the Towns of *Rhinberke*, *Grane*, *Sluice* *Ardenbourg*, with the Forts of *Isendyke* & *Cadant*, with this inscription round about; *Plus triennio obfessa, hosti rudera, Patria quatuor ex me vrbes dedit. Oastend being more then three years besiedged, gaue the enemy an heape of stones, and to her Native Country foure Townes.* Another Counter, concerning *Sluice*, had these wordes on the one side, *Traxit, duxit, dedit*, Anno 1604. And with the Armes of *Zeland* on the other side, were these words: *Beatus populus cuius adiutor Deus.* For the following yeares, from 1604. to 1608. I find no especiall or memorable accidents; but an enterprize by Prince Maurice, on the riuier of *Scheld* and *Antwerpe*, with the taking of the Castle of *Wouwre*, neere vnto *Berghen* *Vpzaome*; *Spinolas* taking of *Linghen*, with an attempt on *Berghen* & *Groll*, taken by composition, &c. For a treaty of peace happening betwene England and Spaine, the like also chanced to be talked on concerning the Netherlands, and many other meetings were made to bring it to effect. At length it was brought to passe, by the labour and endeour of a Friar (as it was reported) who made manie errands betwene Spaine and the Netherlands, vntill it was accomplished. Since when, nothing hath hapned of any consequence, but the taking of the Towne of *Gulbe* in Germany, where the Prince Maurice did behaue himselfe very honorably.

The Archdukes sledge at Oastend.

Prince Maurice and the States sledge.

1601.

1601. 1604.

The long siege at Oastend.

THE



The Eight Booke.

CHAP. I.

Containing, a breefe discourse of the Originall of the Venetians; the foundation of Venice, and how it hath beene gouerned, from the yeare of our Lord, 421. to this instant.

Historiographers who haue written of the Venetians, doe not agree together in their true Originall. For some doe write, that they are descended of the *Venetian Gauls*, inhabiting along the Ocean sea in little *Britaigne*, called *Armorica*, whereof one of the principall Citties (beeing a Byshops See) was called *Vennes*. Others, and (among them) *Titus Livius*, born in *Padua*, assures vs, that they came forth of *Paplagonia*, and that *Philemon* their Captaine (being slayne at *Troy* the great) they went with *Antenor* into *Italy*. Others write, that this Nation, hauing beene neighbours to the *Cappadocians*, and venturing fight with the *Cimmerians*, they hazarded farre further vpon the *Adriaticke* Sea in their Fortune. The most common opinion, is of them, who say, that the *Himitians* or *Hemetes* came with *Antenor*; and, in sometime after (by changing of a Letter) were called *Venitians*, or *Veneses*.

First of all, they expelled the *ENGANEANS*

who inhabited this country, between the *Adriaticke* sea and the *Alpes*, and builded the City of *Padua*. Afterward, by successe of time, they increased in such sort, as they would not be satisfied to be Masters (onely) of that which had appertained to the *ENGANEANS* (consisting of thirty foure sayre Citties and Townes;) but intruded farther, to seize on *Bressano* and *Ferli*. Some report this Country to be bounded with the Rivers of *Pau*, and that of *Adda*, as also the Lake of *Guard*, anciently called the *Benacke*, the *Alpes*, and the *Adriaticke* sea.

And so the ancient *Venitians* in this manner, extended their Dominion, both in longitude and latitude, in the most pleasant Countrey of *Italy*: but the seating of the places did daily beget the elder estate of the *Venitians* hatred. For on the one side, the ordinary robberies of the *Liburnians*, and on the other side, the frequent and frightfull courses of the Barbarians, did hinder them from any long time of continuing in quiet. For, without these impeachments, this Nation had bin most fortunate, in conquering (by the right of Warre) one of the most goodly & beautiful regions in all *Italy*.

Now ouer & beside, that on the south-side, it is enuironed with a most calme circuite of the sea, and in regard thereof, is the most capable of receiving all strange Merchandizes: so it is likewise Watered with very delectable riuers, whereby whatsoever cometh from the Sea, is easilie transported to the very Naele of the Prouince. It aboundeth in Pooles, Ponds, Forrests, and vnder-woods, & the whole Land is choicely fertile in Corne, Wine, Oyle,

People by the inner gulfes of the Adriatick Sea, towards the Alpes.

Liburnia, the country of Croatia, betweene Iliria, and Dalmatia.

The situation of Venice, & capacity thereof.

People of Paplagonia.

Oyle, and all kindes of fruites. It is also plentifully stored with Country houses, Townes, Citties, and Villages, Castles, Fortes, and such like, verie commendable for the situation & enclosure of their Walles.

These new inhabitants, when their weak estate beganne to grow in fayrer forme: they were sildom exempted from the VVarres and incursions of strangers. For, after many bolde insolenies of the Barbarians, with continued VVarres against each other, even from their verie beginning, vntill the time of *Attila*: they were yet much more dreadfully encumbered, with the furious assault of the *Goths*, a Tempest farre exceeding in turbulency, all other former distasters happening vnto them whatsoeuer. For first, the *Hunnes* (a people of *Scythia*, dwelling neere to the *Riphean* Mountaines) conducted by *Attila*, the Sonne of *Mahdlucke*, dispersed themselves ouer *Italy*, and making horrible spoile wheresoeuer they went, fell into the Prouince belonging to the *Venitians*. After a long siege, they tooke the City of *Aquileia*, and poyled and burnt it wholly. In like manner did they also ruinate the two Citties of *Concordia* and *Altina*, and almost all the Venitian region.

At the fearefull newes of this Warre, the *Venitians* were more amazed then any other, and so much the rather, because they had beene formerly inured, to sustaine their cheefest misshappes amongst the Barbarians. Whereupon it is said, that (euen then) a great number of persons withdrew themselves from the firme Land, to the Isles where *Venice* at this instant is builded: hasting thither from all other parts, especially vpon the arriuall of this cruell enemy *Attila*.

Some (of the better sort of *Padua*) first beganne the retreat, and being come to the entrance or issue of the Riuer, which was then very deepe (whence the name of *Rialto* hath remained to the same place, as deriued of the word *Rinealto*) they there laid the first foundation of the Cittie of *Venice*.

The meaner people of *Padua*, enforced by the selfe-same feare, fled thence, and beganne to people themselves in *Chioggia*, *Malamocco*, and *Albiola*. Some of them of *Aquileia* (at the same time) betooke

themselves to the Marshes or Fennes of *Grada*; and, vpon the first returne of *Attila*, the people ran (in mighty affluence) along the Coastes to the Neighbouring Isles. They of *Aquileia* bestowed themselves in *Grada*, a place neere vnto firme land, yet engirt with VVarres. They that fledde from *Concordia*, made vse of *Coarbi* and the *Attinois*, fixe little Islands neere to one another, which they gaue names vnto, according to the names of the gates of their former lost and ruined Citties: to wit, *Torcello*, *Maierbo*, *Buriano*, *Muriano*, *Amanas*, and *Constantiaco*.

These feuerall places, where at this present the City of *Venice* is seated, were (in elder times) very straight or narrowe Islands, and neere vnto each other, sauing onely that they were separated by the pleasing course of Riuers, which ranne into, and returned againe from the Sea, according to the changes of his fluxe and reflux. Nor in these straights were then any dwellings to be discerned, but onely of Sea-Fowles, that flew thither from the Seas, to disport themselves vpon the Sunny bankes; and Fisher-men likewise, would sometimes there put in for harbour.

The *Paduans*, that tooke vp the *Rialto*, were the first that beganne to build, and it was in the very same place, where the first foundation of the City was layde: Namely, the five and twentieth day of March, in the yeare of our Lord, 421. and second yeare of the reigne of *Pharamond*, first King of the *Gauls* or French-men, in the time also of Pope *Boniface* the first, and of the Emperour *Honorius*. Whereby it plainly appeareth, that at one and the selfe-same time, began both the kingdom of *France* and the Commonwealt of *Venice*. And that both the one and the other haue continued to this present, for twelue hundred yeares, very little, either more or lesse.

This City so newly begun, encreased daily both in people and buildings. But see what happened vpon a sodaine, a Greeke Carpenters house (or rather hee was one of the Shipwrights, named *Eninopus*) falling on fire, consumed in a moment (with a violent & continuall embracing) 24 faire new built houses. Which when these new come inhabitants perceived, & fearing that heauen was offended with

The prime estate of the place where *Venice* now standeth.

The first buildings of *Venice*, and at what time.

The first buildings destroyed by fire.

with this manner of beginning, forgetting God; and serving their owne appetites. They fell all to prayer, and made a solemne vow, to build a Church in the honour of God, and in memory of the Apostle *Saint James*; at which verie instant time, a mighty tempest of rain (as sodainly fell) whereby the rest of the new begun City was happily preserved.

That Church is yet at this day plainly to be discerned, with the marks and appearances of great antiquity, euen in the very midst of the *Rialto*: And it was then consecrated by foure Bishops, to wit, *Seuerianus* bythop of *Padua*, *Ambrose*, bythop of *Altina*, *Iacundus*, bythop of *Treuisa*, and *Epodius*, bythop of *Paderlo*, and a Priest was there appointed, to performe diuine Seruice.

The first foundations of this Famous City, were men of honest repute, Noble, and rich. For the ancient *Venitians*; at the change of their abiding, brought with them thither their wiues and childre, with the very wealthiest moueables which they had, and so (at leysure) withdrew themselves, to places of a more secure dwelling. But being impeached (by incursions of the *Hunnes*) to Till the groundes vpon the sea Coast; (such as had any meanes or apt commodity) gaue themselves to fighting, and to make salt, or to transport the goods of their neighbors; esteeming the benefit thereby gotten, to be no more dishonest or vnbecomming, then to plough and husband the groundes of others.

As for the wealthiest sort, they addicted themselves to traffick Merchandizes with strangers, and by their frequent aduancing into diuers Countries, some of them being very skillfull Mariners, and well experienced in the triall of seuerall Oares or Mettals hidden in the ground, which by industry and endeavour they found in the earth, became Finders or Tryers of those Mettals, and extracted (from the grosser substances) the purer perfections of Gold and Silver, whereby, in their owne Language, they were termed *Offici*, detinied of the Latine word *Aurifer*, Gold-linthes, or Hammer men, that (of those refined Mettals) could frame Cups, Pots, Rings, Basons, Ewres, or any other needfull matter whatsoeuer, both for the seruice of God in Churches and Temples, and for the royalty of Emperours, Kings, & Prin-

ces. So that, by the consent of diuers good Authors, as *Linie*, *Florus*, *Cassiodorus*, *Tragus Pompeius*, and others, the first Goldsmiths, workers in Gold and Silver, and framers of those excellent metalles into such orderly meanes for vse (within the parts of *Europe*) lived in *Venice*, whereas yet (to this day) do remaine the very best ingenious, and perfect workmen for such matters (according to the iudgement of many) that are to be found in any part of the world: Concerning such as remained more ordinarily at home, for care & safety of the City; they applied their spirits, to deuise good lawes and customs for general benefit. During which time, such was their due respect of iustice, & so precise care of equity and right to all men; as among to great a number of people, there could not bee any disorderly differences noted.

Catholike religion they so singularly commended, and the dayly presence of some reuerend Prelates, who had faued themselves with their Compatriots; that it augmented (among them) a common affection to piety. And their assistance appeared verie requisite, not onely for the ministry of holy Offices; but also for retention of the inhabitants of this new City, in ancient piety and religion. Fearing least they might be infected with the poison of *Arrian* heresie, because nothing els made more spoile and haubck through all the Prouinces, except the weapons of the *Goths* and *Hunnes*.

Such was the beginning of the City of *Venice*, and in such manner of living, and in such excellences shee spent her first infancy, till (by her vertues) shee attained vnto greater growth, and grounded her selfe in her instant state and condition. It hath constantly bene held, that this Commonwealt (surmoure) retained that forme of gouernment, which is termed *Aristocracie*; that is, that the most noble and worthiest Citizens should guide and gouern. For, although it be said, that it hath bene gouerned first by Consils, then by Tribunes, and lastly by Dukes, and Masters of warlike power; yet notwithstanding all these dignities, being but electiue, and not hereditary; the election should (in right) appertain to the most Noble Islanders, and Gentlemen of name, by whose aduice the Commonwealt ought to be managed.

The first goldsmiths known in Europe, were in Venice.

Care of iustice and common good.

Love of religion in especial respect.

Aristocracie of the Venetian prince palat.

Mountains in the north part of *Scythia*, where now lieth continually.

An ancient City in that part of *Italy*, called *Istrum* in it.

The first foundation of *Venice*.

Little Islands in the sea, and neere aduoyning.

The govern-
ment of Con-
suls, and who
were the first
in Venice.

managed, euen as it hath bin, and stil con-
tinueth to this day.

Consuls, to the number of three, were
chosen for two yeares, and albeit that this
kinde of Government lasted for about the
space of threescore yeares, yet wee finde
onely but three consecutue or succeed-
ing elections of them. The first Consuls,
were *Albertus Phalarius*, *Thomas Candianus*,
and *Zeno Daulo*. These men first go-
uerned the City in her Nonage, & some
are of the minde, that they were the first
Authors of the *Paduans* flight, and their
retirement to the *Lakish* or *Marish* Isles,
as also of their first building there. The
second Consuls, were *Lucianus Granhus*,
Maximus, or *Marinus Lucius*, and *Hugo*
Fuscus. The third, were *Marcus Aurelius*,
Andreas Claudius, and *Albinus Maurus*.
The names of such as were elected after
these, are not to be found in anie Histo-
ries.

After, that the Isles (about the *Rialto*
were filled with inhabitants: in steed of
Consuls, Tribunes were created, and for
their creation, the matter was first deba-
tered priuately by few people, afterward,
it was ordained and resolved in open as-
sembly of the Islanders: that in each Isle
there should be a Tribune, and hee should
bee a yearly Magistrate, to render iustice
to the Citizens, and with severity to pu-
nish their offences. But the remainder
which concerned the generalitie of the
Common-wealth, was referred to the ge-
nerall assembly of the Islanders, to bee by
them determined. Afterward, there was
but one Tribune created for government
of the Isles, which continued for some
yeares. Finally, they concluded to cre-
ate ten, wherunto were added two more,
who should dwell in *Heraclea*; & this Tri-
bunary dignity held place for more then
two hundred yeares. Heere is to bee no-
ted, that the Tribunes of the Isles, abusing
their authorities, did so trouble the State
with ciuill dissensions, as it plainly appea-
red, that the maine body of the Citie
would be dissolued, without some good
and immediate remedy. Which gaue oc-
casion, that (to heare the complaints of
euery one) a general assembly of the Isles
was published, and their meeting, to be in
Heraclea.

In this assembly, *Christophere* byshop
of *Grada* was Resident, accompanied

with a great number of the Cleargie, and
after diuine service was performed, the
first proposition which he made, was, that
(for good of the Common-wealth, each
man might complaine of the future Tri-
bune, which being done, and the offences
no longer to be endured, for public be-
nefit of the state in general, resolution was
set downe, to make election of a Duke,
who should represent all honor and Ma-
iesty in the State or Seigneury, & he should
haue power to assemble the general coun-
sell, when questions were to be made, of
any important matter concerning the
Commonwealth. He should haue power
also, to elect yearly Tribunes or Magi-
strates in euery Isle, and their appellations
to bee brought before him. Moreouer, if
any should obtaine any dignity, Prelacie,
or Benefice, by suffrages of the Clergy or
people: that he should not enjoy it, or be
possessed thereof, without the good liking
and consent of the Duke, whose power al-
so ended with his life.

This being thus concluded, in the year
697. *Paulucio* was created the first Duke,
and so hath that Ducall dignity continu-
ed euer since. Saue onely that in the year
737. after the death of the third Duke *Or-
so*, it was determined, that no duke should
be elected, for six yeares, but that a Ma-
ster of the armed troopes or Souldiers
should be established, and his Authority
to be annually, which lasted no longer then
five yeares. For in the year, 742. they pro-
ceeded againe to a Duke's election; and
since that time, the Common-wealth of
Venice hath euermore had Dukes & Prin-
ces of the Seigneury; by whose wisdomes
(and his counsell a silding) it hath bin pre-
served in an euer flourishing estate, euen
to this instant yeare, 1619.

CHAP. II.

A short Summary, of the line of the Dukes
and Princes of Venice: And a breuiate of
so of the most remarkable actions, in the
times of their Government.

Paulucio Anepetto, was first Duke of
the people, chosen in *Heraclea*. He took
his

Who was the
first Duke of
Venice.

his Oath before *Christophere*, Patriarke of
Grada, to gouerne according to the lawes,
& to regard nothing more then the weale
publicke. He pacified the difference which
Luitprand, king of the Lombards had with
K. Aribert, and made friendship with them
both: as well by his authority, as by arms.
He brought the rebellious *Aquileians* vnder
obedience, encreased the Citties cus-
tomes and reuenues, and dyed, hauing
beeene Duke twenty yeares, sixe moneths,
and eight dayes.

2. *Marcello Tegaliano*, of the same place
of *Heraclea*, was elected his successeur, by
common voyce of the people. He was deu-
oute, modest and affable, but much lesse
diligent in gouerning, then his predecess-
our. The Patriarch of *Grada* was trans-
ferred into *Aquileia* in his time, by *Luit-
prand*, and there hee had great warres, a-
bout the dissensions of the Bishops, wher-
into he would not interpose himselfe, but
dyed, hauing beeene Duke nine yeares, and
twenty one dayes.

3. *Orso Hipato*, a nobleman of *Heraclea*,
wonne himselfe great reputation by his
famous deedes. *Paulo* the *Exarche* had re-
course to him, the *Gracian* Armie beeing
broken, and siegelayd to *Rauenna* by *Luit-
prand*. He re-gained *Rauenna*, made the
Kings nephew his prisoner, slew the duke
of *Vicenza*, and re-seated the *Exarche* in his
due rights. Hee bridled the *Aquileians*,
who troubled the publike peace, and put
courage into the soules of the yonger sort.
He was slaine, by reason of the dissensions
of *Iesolo*, the eleauenth yeare, and fift mo-
neth of his Principalltie.

4. *Theodato Hipato*, sonne of *Orso*, was
proclaimed Duke 5. yeares after the death
of his father: during which time, the peo-
ple were gouerned by a Marshall or Ma-
ster of the Souldiers: and forsaking *Herac-
lea*, he brought the State to *Malamocco*.
There he was the first created, and limited
his Confinnes with *Astolpho* King of the
Lombards. He was also slayne by *Galla* a
Citizen of *Malamocco*, in the thirteenth
yeare of his Principalltie.

5. *Galla* de *Malamocco*, a wicked and
seditious man, yet shewing himselfe as
Protector of publike peace, was esta-
blished in the place of *Theodato*. But his
wickednesse being knowne, and that (be-
ing but a subiect) he would needs make
himselfe absolute Lord, hauing before

slayne his chiefe Maister *Theodato*: the
people plucked out his eyes, and tooke
from him the Dignitie, which hee had a
yeare vsurped.

6. *Dominico Monegario*, of *Malamocco*,
was seated in the steade of *Galla*. Some-
what to bridle this Dukes autoritie, the
people ioyned two yearely Tribunes with
him. But he, being a man audacious and
arrogant, fought to tyrannize ouer the
people: wherat they growing into fustie,
plucked out his eyes, the eight yeare of his
Principalltie.

7. *Mauritio Galbaio*, a noble *Heracleian*,
for his iustice, wisdom, and wealth, was
chosen to this dignity. He made his sonne
Duke with him, and they gouerned toge-
ther. In his time, the Church of *Grada*
being molested, he sent an Ambassadour
to Pope *Stephen*, to accord the difference.
The Bishopricke of *Saint Peter de Castello*
Olnelo, was then created. And he died,
hauing gouerned twenty three yeares.

8. *Gionanni Galbaio*, hauing bene Duke
nine yeares with his father, gouerned
the Common-wealth yet nine yeres more,
and after the sayd time, hee made *Mauri-
tio* his sonne, companion with him in the
Principality. But they being both of vn-
sufferable and wicked life, hauing murder-
ed *Iohn* Patriarch of *Grada*, throwing
him downe headling from an high tower:
Fortunatus, successeur in the Patriarchate,
made a conspiracie against them, and an-
other was elected Duke. Wherat, being
not a little confounded, the father fled in-
to *Fraunce*, and the sonne to *Mantua*, the
sixteenth yeare of their rule.

9. *Obeferio*, being elected Prince by
them that had intelligence with *Fortuna-
tus*, tooke his brother *Beato* as his associa-
te, and *Valentine* beside (being their third
brother) was admitted with them in the
same dignitie. And it is worth the noting,
that of these three brethren, *Beato* is onelie
placed in the ranke of Dukes in the Coun-
sell chamber of *Venice*; whereas *Obeferio*
incited *Pepin* King of *Italy*, to make warre
on the *Venetians*: and *Beato* maintained the
Common-wealth, raigning five yeares.

10. *Angelo Participatio*, after he had wel
borne himselfe in the warre against *Pepin*,
was elected Duke, the people being sum-
mond to the *Rialto*. He founded the Dukes
palace, in the same place where that now
builds, standeth. The diuision of the Empire

was made in his time, and the Venetians left in their owne liberty. The Citie was diuided into wards, streets, and precincts. The *Pregadi*, and the *Quaranta*, who (for criminal offences) was then instituted among them. He gouerned 18. yeares.

11 *Giulimiano Participatio*, hauing beene an associate in the dignity with his father, was (after his death) confirmed by the people. Hee repealed home his brother *Iohn*, who was then at *Constantinople*, & accepted him as his fellow ruler: hee made the peoples authority greater then before, & gaue ayde to *Michael* the Emperour against the Sarazins. The body of Saint *Marke* was in his time brought from *Alexandria*, accepting it into his protection, and the Church remaining at this day, was consecrated in his memory. He died the second yeare of his dignity.

12 *Giovanni Participatio*, remained in the royalty, and enlarged the Church of *S. Marke*, placing therein a great number of Priests and Canons, & appointing a *Primicerio* to gouerne them. Hee caused the head of *Obelerio* to be cut off, whome hee had besieged in the Isle of *Curtia*. He made war vpon the *Nauratines*, and ouercame them. In the end, a conspiracy was deuised against him, and beeing confined to *Grada*, in the eight yeare of his Principality, hee shaued his head and beard, and made himselfe a Monke, in which estate he dyed.

13 *Pietro Tradomico* of *Pola*, hauing carried himselfe to the peoples contentment in the warres against *Pepin*, was elected Duke. He ioyned *Iohn* his son in rule with him, and gaue succour to the Emperour of *Constantinople*, who made request thereof by *Theodosius Patricius*. He was made *Protospatary* of the Empire: in help whereof, he sent 60. Gallies. *Lewes 2.* granted him many priuiledges, and in the end, hee was slaine by a sedition, in his 27. yeare.

14 *Orso Participatio* hauing appealed the sedition, was made Du. The Turks hauing spoiled *Dalmatia*, euen so far as *Grada*, were vanquished by him and *Giovanni Participatio* his son, whom he made associat with him in his gouernment. *Basilus* the Emperour, highly honoured him for that good service, and made him *Protospatary* of the Empire. He gouerned 17. yeares.

15 *Giovanni Participatio*, being confirmed in his dignity, tooke and burned *Coma-*

chio, wasted the Countie of *Rauenna*, to reuenge himself on the Count of *Comachio*, who had imprisoned and wounded into death his Brother *Bradoario*. He growing ouercome with sicknesse, caused the Church of Saint *Cornelius*, and *S. Cyprian* to be built at *Malomocco*, and hauing gouerned five yeares, and sixe moneths, renounced the Dignity.

16 *Pietro Candiano*, was elected after the voluntary dismission of his Predecessour. He was a valiant man, and verie expert in Armes; and yet notwithstanding, greatly addicted to deuotion. He went (in person) with ten Gallies against the *Nauratines*, who (as Theeues) robbed and pryloined from the Venitians. Fighting valiantly against them, hee dyed at the second time, with the Weapons in his handes. He gouerned no longer then fife moneths.

Dominico Tribuno, is set (by some) in ranke with the Dukes: but others, lesse curious in search of the History, haue omitted him, because he was duke but three moneths, and thirteene dayes, and nothing is remarkable in his time, but a certaine priuiledge, granted by him to *Chioggia*.

17 *Pietro Tribuno*, sonne of *Dominico*, was elected Duke. He obtained of *Guydo*, Emperour and King of Italy, a confirmation of all ancient Priuiledges. The Barbarian *Hunnes* came againe into Italy, and burned *Heraclae*, *Capo de Argier*, and *Chioggia*. This Prince ouercame them, with very much honour: and this was the third time, that those Strangers fought to vsurp on that State. He gouerned twenty foure yeares.

18 *Orso Badoaro*, called himselfe *Participatio*, and was the first that chaunged his name. He sent for his sonne *Pietro* to *Constantinople*, and hee was made *Protospatary*. In the yeare nine hundred and twentie, hee obtained of *Rodolphus*, Emperour and King of Italy, the confirmation of the Venitians ancient authority, to stampe Moneyes. Hee addedd himselfe wholly to piety, and in his 30. yeare, he renounced the Dignitie, to make himselfe a Monke, and liue priuately.

19 *Pietro Candiano* the second, was a worthy man, and made Warre on *Lanterio*, Marquesse of *Istria*, who hindred the Traffike of the Venitians. He ouercame him

him, and re-conquered the people of *Capo d'Istria*. He vanquished *Albertus* sonne to the Emperour *Berengarius*, who impatronizing himselfe of *Rauenna*, impeached the passage of the Venitians shippes. In his time, Maidens were stolen by the *Testaines*, to ioyn in marriage with them; but they were soone recouered. He gouerned seuen yeares.

20 *Pietro Badoaro*, the sonne of *Orso*, was redeemed by him from the Sclauonians. He gouerned but two yeares and seuen moneths, alwayes in peace, which he much affected. *Berengarius* the Emperour did him many fauours, for his great deserts.

21 *Pietro Candiano* the third, sonne to the second *Candiano*, associated himselfe in his dignity with his sonne *Pietro*: and at two seuerall times armed three & thirty Shippes against the *Narentines*; but at the second time, he made peace with the. His sonne being reproued by him for his bad behauiour, reuolted from him, and against the Common-wealth. The people would haue slaine him, but hee was sent thence into exile: wher ioyning with *Guydo*, sonne of *Berengarius*, hee endangered the Commonwealth: wherat his Father greewing, died in his fiftenth yeare of gouernment.

22 *Pietro Candiano* the fourth, being repealed from exile (albeit the people had sworne neuer to receiue him) was made Prince with very great applause. He dealt in such sort with Pope *Iohn* the twelfth, that the Church of *Grada* was made Patriarchall, and Metropolitane of all the Venitians State, and of *Istria*. *Otho* the Emperour, granted him many honourable priuiledges. He ruined *Vderzo*, and was slaine with his Sonne in a sedition of the people, hauing gouerned about twentie yeares.

23 *Pietro Orscolo*, was a man altogether deuout, and was elected by the people against his will. He would very often walk in an vnknowne habit, to visit the houses of poore people and Hospitals. Hee appeased the dissensions between the Venitians, and them of *Capo d'Istria*, who yielding themselves tributary, hee went with *Nesto Romualdo* of *Rauenna*, to liue Religiously. He gouerned two yeares and two moneths, doing many worthy and charitable deeds.

24 *Vitale Candiano*, Sonne of *Pietro* the third, made the confederacy with the Emperour *Otho*. He fell sicke so soone as hee came vpon his charge: wherefore hee became a Monke, hauing gouerned about a yeare.

25 *Tribuno Memo*, was very rich, but no man of State. In his time happened great dissensions, betwene the families of *Moresina* and *Caloprias*; by reason whereof, many notorious murders were committed. He tooke part with the *Morisini*, which caused the faction to withdraw themselves to *Verona*, to the Emperour *Otho*. He gaue the Isle of *S. Giorgio Maggiore* to the Abbot of *Moresini*: and renounced the Principality in his twelfth yeare, entering into Religion.

26 *Pietro Orscolo* the second, beeing a very discrete man, ordered the matter so well with the Emperours *Basilus* and *Alexius*: that the Venitians were exempted from Tolles and Taxations. *Otho* the Emperour lying at *Verona*, did highly fauour him; and, among other graces, to holde one of his sonnes at Baptisme. Hee was the first that extended their Confines on the Sea, winning many places in *Istria* and *Dalmatia*. Hauing caused the Church and Pallace to be finished in his time, hee dyed in the eighteenth yeare of his Principality.

27 *Ottone Orscolo*, hauing Gouerned some space with his father *Pietro*, was confirmed in the dignity, at the age of eighteene yeares. He wunne such reputation, that *Geta* King of *Hungaria*, gaue him one of his Sisters in marriage. In person he conquered them of *Istria*, who were become Rebelles; and went into *Dalmatia*, in the enterprize agaynst *Cresfransu*. At length, the malicious enuiers of his glories, deuised a Conspiracie agaynst him, vpon the which, he was confined into Grece, in the seauenteenth yeare of his rule.

28 *Pietro Centranice*, or *Barbolano*, succeeded next to *Otho*. But hauing not well qualified all dissensions, as well concerning the Cittizens remoouing, as the other Neighbours; he was compelled to forsake the dignity, and make himselfe a Monke. *Orso*, Brother of *Otho*, returned from *Constantinople*, beeing Patriarche of *Grada*, and he was constituted in expectation of *Othos* coming. He continued

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about a yeare in the Palace, and forsooke the Principality, newes being brought of *Othos* death. *Dominico Orseolo* would then perforce usurp the dignity; but he was expelled by the people the next morning, & died at *Raenna*.

29 *Dominico Flabanico*, was elected during his exile, by the faction of them that had excluded *Dominico Orseolo*. In his time and in the year 1040. the national Council was held, for government of the Ecclesiasticks. He made the family of *Orseolo* suspicious to the State, by his owne meanes, and laboured for their vtter supplantation. He gouerned ten yeares, foure months, and twelue dayes.

30 *Dominico Contarini* was verie pleasing to the people. He brought *Dalmatia* to peace, being heavily burthened with the rebellion of *Zara*. He fauoured the Normans against *Robert* King of *Apulia*. And the discord which hapned betweene the Common-wealth, and *Papa*, Patriarch of *Aquileia*, was by him qualified. Hee builded the Monasterie on the *Lido*, and dyed in the eight and twenty yeare of his Principality.

31 *Dominico Silino*, won himselfe such reputation, that *Nicephorus*, Emperour of *Constantinople*, gaue him his sister in marriage; by whose perswasion, he made war vpon the forenamed King *Robert* of *Apulia*, and (at the first attempt) returned with a very honourable victory, possessing himselfe of *Duras*. But at his second aduventure, hee fought with small aduantage; whereby ensued the diminution of his credit. He pergetted the Church of *Saint Marke* with Marble, first and before any other, causing it also to be beautified with an artificiall Checkerworke. He died in the thirteenth yeare of his gouernment.

32 *Vitale Faliero* being made Duke, he immediately obtained of *Alexius*, then Emperour, to haue the soueraignie of *Dalmatia* and *Croatia*. *Henry*, successor in the Empire, did him many great fauors: and comming in deuotion to Venice, hee helde one of his daughters at Baptisme. The Office of proprietaries was constituted in his time, and the workmanship of *S. Markes* Church continued. He died in his sixteenth yeare.

33 *Vitale Michele*, by his worthy aduentioning on the sea, did very farre extend

the Commonwealthes limites. Hee made the Easterne warre (by the perswasion of Pope *Urban* the second) for Conquest of the Holy Land, with the Princes of Christendome. The Isle of *Smyrna*, *Suria*, and *Ierusalem* were then recovered from the Infidels. He died in his sixt yeare.

34 *Ordelscho Faliero*, sonne of *Vitale*, assisted King *Baldwine* against the Infidels in conquest of the holy Land: and made such progression, as they deuided the Empire betweene them, thoroughout all the kingdom of *Iudea*. In the 8. yeare of his Principality, *Malomocco* was almost alburied and submerged; by reason whereof, the Episcopal See was transferred to *Chioggia*. He went in person to the Warre against *Zara*, which was become rebellious, and winning the victory: he would needs returne thither againe a second time, and on the like occasion, where hee died in Armes, in the fifteenth yeere of his Principality.

35 *Dominico Michele*, being made Duke for his high repute and merite, went to giue aide to the Christians in the Holie Land. With 200. well appointed shippes and Gallies, he made the Infidels to raise their sledge from before *Ioppa*. Hee tooke *Tyre*, which he gaue to *Paimond* Patriarch of *Ierusalem*. *Emanuel* the Emperour made war against him, fro whom he won *Chio*, *Rhodes*, *Samos*, *Mitylline*, and *Ister*. He renounced his principality, in the 13. yeare of his rule.

36 *Pietro Polani*, kinsman to *Michele*, was a very wise man, in so much as he was made Arbitrator of the difference between *Conrade* and *Emanuel* the Emperour. Hee made war against them of *Pisa* & *Padua*, whom he conquered. He armed himselfe against the Duke of *Apulia*, in behalfe of the same *Emanuel*, to whose Empire hee added many worthy possessions. Some say, it was his sonne that won all the battailes, and that himselfe being false sicke, returned thence, and dyed in his 18. yeare of rule.

37 *Dominico Morefisi*, hee swept the Gulfe of certaine Pyrats of *Ancona*, the cheefe whereof being called *Guiscardo*, was taken and hanged. Hee layed sledge vnto *Pola*, which he tooke, with *Parenteo*; which Citties were become rebellious in *Iliria*. He held confederacy with *William* king of *Sicily*, of whom hee obtained many

many exemptions for the Traffike of his Merchants. *Zara* made the Metropolitane Cittie (at his instance) and hee so preuayled, that *Dominico* his Sonne was made an Earle. Hee beautified the Buildings of the Cittie of *Venice*, and began the Tower of *Saint Marke*. He dyed seauen months after the eight yeare of his Election.

38 *Vitale Michele* the second, subdued the *Tarentines*, which now had rebelled the third time: He imprisoned *Prich*, Patriarch of *Aquileia*, and twelue Chanoys. In an hundred dayes, he put forth an hundred Gallies, and twentie Shippes on the Sea, against the Emperour *Emanuel*. The great Family of the *Iustiniani*, were, in his time brought to one onely man, and hee was become Religious; whom hee tooke forth of his Monastery (by the Popes consent) and gaue him his owne daughter in marriage, because hee would not haue so worthy a house to be extinct. There hapned a great Pestilence in his time, the occasion whereof, the people (in their weake iudgment) laid vpon him. He was wounded, and dyed, hauing gouerned seuentene yeares, and xxvii. daies.

39 *Sebastiano Ziani*, was the first that euer was elected by the eleauen Electors. In his time there was a great Schisme in the Church, by meanes of the Emperour *Fredericke Barbarossa*, who caused *Alexander* the third to forsake the See, *Ottavian* hauing bene made Anti-pope, *Alexander* made his retirement to Venice, where hauing a long time serued in the Monastery of *La Charita*, he was in the end known, and taken thence by the Prince and Seignoury. Heereupon, *Barbarossa* made warre against the Venetians: but his sonne *Ottavian* being taken, he mediated reconciliation betweene them. He died in the fift yeare of his gouernment.

40 *Orio Malpiero*, or *Maltepreira*, was the first Duke elected by the forty, and for that purpose was created by the death of *Ziani*. Hee had sixe Concellors allowed him to authorize his deliberations. Hee reconquered *Zara*, that had now the fourth time rebelled. Hee sent supply vnto the Christians against the Moores, who began to usurpe in the holy Land 88. yeares after that *Baldwine* had deliuered it. *Protonotarius* was recovered, and *Andronicus*, successor to *Emanuel* the Emperour, deliuered

many Venitian Marchants. Hee renounced the Principality in his 14. yeare, and entred into Religion.

41 *Henrico Dandolo* was likewise elected by the forty. They of *Zara* were once againe vanquished, and *Pola* conquered. In his time was the surprisall of *Constantinople*, & the acquisition of the East Empire, wherein hee assisted the Princes and French Barons. He died in his thirteenth yeare, being Generall of all the Christian Army.

42 *Pietro Ziani*, sonne of *Sebastiano*, was made Duke within a while after the death of *Dandolo*; the Consecratory being then first instituted. In his time came Ambassadors from *Athens* and *Acchaia*, to submit themselves in obedience to the Common wealth. *Candia* was then peopled with a Colony of noble Venitians. He married *Constance*, daughter to *Tancred* King of *Sicily*. In the end, he renounced the Principality, hauing gouerned 24. yeares.

43 *Giacomo Tiepolo*, was made Duke by chance, in concurrence of *Renier* *Candalo*, who had as many voices as he. *Candalo* rebelled, and the seditious were severely chastised. *Zara*, that had long borne the yoke, was now reduced vnder obedience. He had Warre against them of *Ferrara*, and against *Essexino*, who would haue inuested himselfe with *Padua*. In conclusion, he gaue ouer the Principality in his 20. yeare, and died soone after.

44 *Marino Morefisi*, was made Duke by the one and fortieth, by reason of the precedent concurrence. In his time was another Courty Noble man sent into *Candia*, who builded the *Canea*. He made Warre against *Essexino*, who besseged *Manissa*, and who (in a furious rage) slewed 1200. *Paduans* to behoewe in peeces, which he had with him then in his armie. He died in the 4. yeare of his Principality.

45 *Renier* *Zeno* *Podescha* at *Bernengo*, was elected Duke, and sent to be seerch thence with foure Gallies. Vnder him, the Commonwealth wonne a famous victorie, against them of *Genes*: but the contentment therewith was very breefe, because *Michaell Paleologus*, expelled both the French-men and Venitians out of *Constantinople*, being ayded by the Geneway forces, which was eight and fifty yeares after the surprizing of the sayde Cittie: yet once more (after that) the selfesame

people were againe reconquered: and hauing gouerned this dignitie 16. yeares, he dyed.

46 *Lorenzo Tiepolo* was made Duke, in memory of the victory hee had against them of *Genes* at *Tyre*. Hee allyed two of his sonnes (verie Nobly) with two strange Ladies: by reason whereof, a Lawe was then made, that the like might not be afterward done. He brought *Serbia* in obedience to the Common-wealth, and the *Bolognians* were vanquished by him: hee gouerned seuen yeares, and fise and twenty dayes.

47 *Giovanni Contarini*, being aged eighty yeares, and Attorney of *S. Mark*, was made Duke. The law against illegitimates was then enacted, and they excluded from all publike Offices. There were some rebellions moued in *Iliria*, and by them of *Genes*; but they were quickly appeased. At length, thorough vnelidicness of age, and by aduice of the Senat, hee gaue ouer the dignitie, hauing gouerned in this authority four yeares, and six moneths.

48 *Giovanni Dandolo* was elected, being then absent. The City was (in his time) much afflicted by water, & an earthquake. He made warre in *Iliria*, agaynst the Patriarch of *Aquileia*, and the Count of *Gortia*. At the instance of Pope *Nicholas*, he assisted the Archbishop of *Tripoli* with 25. Gallies. He died seuen moneths after his eight yeare of rule.

49 *Pietro Gradenigo*, a man of great courage, deliuered the Common-wealth from two important dangers. One, was a high disgrace, which happened in a battell against them of *Genes*. The other was the conspiracy of *Balamonte*, which was boldly checked with weapon in hand, vpon the place of *S. Marke*. It was then ordayned, that Noblemen onely should gouerne, and the counsell of ten was then instituted. Hauing ruled 22. yeares, and nine moneths, he dyed.

50 *Marino Giorgio*, was a man of such life, that they termed him a Saint. *Venice* was continually excommunicated in his time, by reason of the taking of *Ferrara*. *Zara* rebelled again the sixt time, & much labour it cost, to reduce it vnder obedience againe. After hee builded the Monastery of *Saint Dominicke*, and died (at the age of eighty and one yeares) in his first

yeare, hauing gouerned ten months, and ten dayes.

52 *Giovanni Soranzo*, had the honor of reconquering *Zara*, and many other places, which had reuolued in his predecessours time. *Negropont*, was re-obtained, & war afresh commenced against them of *Genes*. The excommunication was quitted from *Venice*, by the interposition of *Francisco Dandolo*, kneeling before the Pope, with a Chaîne of iron about his necke. The number of Attorneys of *S. Marke*, was increased to sixe. Hee gouerned fixteene yeares, and six moneths.

52 *Francisco Dandolo*, who had so lowly humbled himselfe for his Countreys good, was therefore exalted to her highest dignity. They of *Fola*, and of *Valesia*, submitted themselves to the Common-wealth, which gaue way vnto the warre against the Patriarch of *Aquileia*. *Padua* was taken on *Albert Scaliger*, and *Trenisfa*, and the County remained to the Common-wealth. This man was of the league with the Christian Princes, against the Turke, and in his time were fixtie seuerall Ambassadors at *Venice*. He gouerned ten yeares, and ten moneths.

53 *Bartholomeo Gradenigo*, Attorney of *S. Marke*, was made Duke at twenty fix yeares of age, by the intercession of *Andrea Dandolo*, and his cessation. In his time was *Venice* myraculously deliuered from a mighty imminent inundation. *Candie* rebelled, and the rebelles were severely punished. There hapned a great dearth in the City, which droue the people to discontentment: he dyed in his fourth yeare.

54 *Andrea Dandolo*, who had before resigned his place vnto *Bartholomeo Gradenigo*, caused the dearth for to cease; by sending for great store of Corne out of *Sicily*. Hee obtained of the King of *Babylon*, free Nauigation into *Egypt*. *Zara* rebelled the seauenth time, and was reprinted.

The Warre betweene them of *Genes* and the City, was troubled by two great accidents: happenings; the one, was an Earth-quake very dreadful, and the other, was a greuous Pestilence: Hee gouerned twelue yeares, wanting some fewe moneths.

55 *Marino Faliero*, was elected Duke, being then Ambassador at *Rome*. Hauing

recei-

received an iniurie by some particulars, which was not reuenged according vnto his owne desire: hee determined in the eighty yeare of his age, to make himselfe absolutely Lord, without any controule. The conspiracy being discouered by *Nicholas Lion*, he had his head smitten off with in the Pallace. And it was ordayned, that his Picture should not be placed amongst the other dukes, but the place being left voyde, had only this Writing: *This is the place of Marino Faliero, who, for his grievous offence, had his head cut off: hee was duke but ten moneths.*

56 *Giovanni Gradenigo* had an excellent spirit, but a much mis-shapen countenance. The warre was renewed against the *Genes*, which terminated with a mutual peace. He had warre against the King of *Hungarie* for *Dalmatia*. *Trenisfa* was besieged in his time, and thither he went in person. Hee gouerned one yeare, three moneths and foureteene dayes.

56 *Giovanni Delfino*, was elected Duke when hee was in *Trenisfa*, defending it against the King of *Hungary*. The Senate sent to demand free passage for him; which being denyed, he came forth with two hundred horse to heare the enemy, and so attained to *Marghera*, where the Senate in person receiued him. In short time he gaue end to this warre, and recovered *Conciliano*, *Servalla*, and *Asola*. He made peace for the souerainty of *Dalmatia*; and dyed aged forty and five yeares, hauing gouerned four yeares, two moneths, and cleuen dayes.

58 *Lorenzo Celsa*, vpon a false bruite, of a victory against them of reuolued *Genes*; was made Duke in concurrence of *Pietro Gradenigo*, *Leonardo Dandolo*, and *Marco Cornaro*. *Candie* rebelled againe, and it was regained with a very great difficulty. On this occasion, a lutt and feast was publicly made in the place of *Saint Marke*: he dyed two daies after the fourth yeare of his Principallitie.

59 *Marco Cornaro*, a man very wise and learned, was sent into *Candie*, which was rebellious, and there he made a cruel bloody warre: the Pope graunting plenary Indulgence to all such as went thither. The Rebels being severely punished, the common-wealth sent to Pope *Vrbane* the fixt, a certwaine number of their Gallies. He gouerned two yeares, five moneths, and four

and twentie dayes:

60 *Andrea Contarini*, fled to the *Paduans* fearing to be elected Duke, and as prefiging the ruine which (in his time) would betide the Common-wealth. First of all, he made warre with them of *Trenisfa*, then soone after, with *Carrara* for the confines of *Padua*: and such was the fortune, that *Chioggia* being taken, the City of *Venice* found it selfe to bee in extreame danger. But in the end, he went and opposed himselfe (in person) against the enemies, vanquished them, and regained *Chioggia*: he dyed, hauing gouerned fiteene yeares, four moneths, and fiteene daies.

61 *Michele Morosini*, was a man well furnished with Learning and Wisdom. Some say, that in his time the life of *Theodosius* was taken, and not in the time of his predecessour *Contarini*. There were diuers Lawes then made (and amongst others) it was ordayned, that Homicides, who had formerly benee hangd, should afterwards haue their heads smitten off. He liued but four moneths, and five daies in his dignitie, and dyed in the threescore and foureteene yeare of his age.

62 *Antonio Venier*, was a rigorous obseruer of Iustice. He confined one of his owne Sonnes in exile, because he had (ouer-lightly) offended the familie of a noble *Venitian*. Hee made league with *Galeazzo* the Vicount, against *Carrara*, where-vpon he tooke *Padua*. He assisted the Emperour *Emmanuel* against the Turke; and gaue aid also vnto *Sigismund*, King of *Hungaria*, who afterwards came to the Empire. The place of *Saint Marke*, and that of the *Rialto*, were greatly beautified in his time. Hee dyed two moneths, and three dayes, after the eighteenth yeare of his rule.

63 *Michele Steno*, had the dignitie of Attorney of *Saint Marke*, with that of Duke. Hee wonne an important battell against the *Genewais*. *Carrara* was now the last time vanquished, and *Padua* and *Verona* surprized. They of *Piscenza*, to free themselves from his tyrannie, yielded themselves to the Common-wealth. *Ladislaus* King of *Hungary*, did likewise forgoe *Zara*: Hee dyed, hauing gouerned thirteene yeares, and three dayes.

64 *Thomas Mocenigo*, was first General of the Gouffe. He embraced peace, to the end, that the Citizens might traffike.

Filina

Vdina became obedient to the Commonwealth, with the Countrey of *Friuli*; by means of the Lords of *Sauorgnani*, who were made noble-men of *Venice*. The *Florentines* were also succoured against the Duke of *Milaine*. In his tenth yere he died.

65 *Francesco Foscarini* stoutly repressed the Duke of *Milaine*, who proceeded too farre on the liberties of *Italy*. *Brescia*, *Bergamo*, and other Citties of *Lombardy* were then wonne: amongst which were *Loda* and *Parma*, and *Rauenna* in *Romania*. Hee made also a large progresse on the Seas, such into *Morea*. The Senate assisted *Paleologus* the Emperour, against the Turks, who vnrped *Constantinople*, in the yere 1453. Hee was made Arbitrator by the Duke of *Milaine*, in certaine differences of neighbour-hood. The King of *Dacia* was made a noble *Venitian*: And afterward, the Duke (in regarde of his age and infirmities) was dismissed, having gouerned thirty foure yeares, and fixe moneths.

66 *Paschale Malapiero*, was appointed in the place of *Foscarini*, being Attorney of Saint *Marke*, who dyed two dayes after his dismissal. He made a Lawe, That in following times, the Duke should not be deposed. In his dayes, the famous *Arte of Printing* was brought into *Venice*. The *Arts* were greatly encreased: And hee maintayned the people in peace, during foure yeares, fixe moneths, and fixe daies that he gouerned.

67 *Christophoro Moro*, a Procurator of Saint *Marke*, was made Duke. He liued for some time in peace, till the second yere of his gouernement; and then the *Turke* (proud of his surprizall of *Constantinople*) declared warre against the *Venitians*. He made peace with Pope *Pius* the fift, and the Duke of *Burgundy*: But the Pope dying, they remayned alone, and maintayned warre which lasted twentie yeares. And yet he dyed, hauing reigned nine yeares, and fixe moneths.

68 *Nicholo Trono* had such good hap, that (in his time) the Commonwealths affaires went well against the *Turke*. *Pietro Mocenigo*, General in the *Archipelagus*, vnnited his power with the Pope. The king of *Naples*, and they of *Rhodes* sent eightie five gallies together, and tooke *Satalia*, a City of *Pamphilia*. He made league likewise with the King of *Persia*, against the *Turke*. *James* King of *Cyprus* comming to

Venice, espoused *Catharina Cornara*, adoptiue daughter of Saint *Marke*. He gouerned one yere, eight moneths, and fixe dayes.

69 *Nicholo Marcello*, Attorney of Saint *Marke*, after some laws made by the *Correctors*, was elected Duke. In his time there was a conspiracie in *Cyprus*, to haue the Kingdome fall into the power of *Ferdinand* King of *Naples*. *Pietro Mocenigo* went thither with a great Armie, where he appealed all troubles, and feuerly chastised the Rebels. *Scutari*, a Cittie in *Liburnia*, was besieged by the *Turke*, and valiantly defended by *Antonio Loredano*. This duke gouerned one yere, foure moneths, and seuentene dayes.

70 *Pietro Mocenigo* was elected Duke, in desert of all his worthy deedes. *Lepanto* was besieged in his time by the *Turke*, and vertuously maintayned by *Antonio Loredano*. They brought their power likewise before the Isle of *Stalimens*, but the same *Loredano* (by his valour) defended it. The daughter to King *Ferdinand* came to *Venice*, with the Cardinall her brother, where they were royally entertained. This Prince caused a Money to be stamped, which hee furnished by his owne name: And gouerned but two yeares, and nine moneths.

71 *Andrea Vendramino* had such ill hap in his gouernement, that the *Venitian* Army was two severall times put to flight by the *Turkes*: Once, neare to *Croja* in *Albania*, and the other in the countrey of *Friuli*. He was a goodly man of person, and had a most beautifull Lady to his wife, by whom he had as goodly children, whom he allied in marriage with the chiefe Families: he gouerned one yere, and eight moneths.

72 *Gionanni Mocenigo*, brother to *Pietro Mocenigo*, hauing continued the warre against the *Turke*, in the end made peace with him: ordering the matter so, that he left *Scutari* and *Stipula* in liberty of Commerce, and power to keepe a Deputie at *Constantinople*. Hee made warre against *Ferdinand* King of *Naples*, at the instance of Pope *Sixtus* the fourth, which occasioned the long warre called *Sociale*. In the end, peace was made, the Commonwealth hauing gotten *Rouigo* & *Polefano*. The Cittie became much disgraced by fire, and a pestilent sickenesse: The prince dyed,

dyed, hauing reigned seauen yeares, and fixe moneths.

73 *Marco Barbarigo*, the plague being ceased, caused all to be new builded, which the fire had defaced in the Pallace. Hee was greatly differing from all other Princes, to wit, in pardoning, and forgetting particular injuries doone vnto him: but such as were comitted against the State, he would haue reuenged with strictest feueritie. The grand Signeur or *Turke* sent a particular Ambassadour vnto him, to congratulate his election. He gouerned but nine moneths.

74 *Agostino Barbarigo*, withstood the progresse of *Charles* the eighth King of *France*, when hee made warre against them of *Arragon*, for the Kingdome of *Naples*, which he conquered. The *Turke* vnrped on the Common-weales of *Lepanto*, *Modona*, and *Corona*. The Kingdome of *Cyprus* was brought vnder the tutelage of the Senate, and *Qu. Catharina* brought thence to *Venice*. The office of *la Sante* was created, by occasion of the pestilence: This Duke gouerned fiftene yeares, and twenty one dayes.

75 *Leonardo Laureadano* sustained a very rigorous war, against the chiefe Princes of the world: there beeing a League made betweene the Emperour *Maximilian*, the King of *France*; them of *Naples*, and the Dukes of *Sauoy*, *Ferrara*, and *Manina*, incited thereto by Pope *Iulius* the second. All the whole estate of firme land was surprized, except *Trevisa*, but in the end it was recovered. He liued in the Principality nineteene yeares, eight moneths, and twenty dayes.

76 *Antonio Grimani*, being General, had a most infamous dis-rout or foile, by which occasion, hee was dismissed of the charge of Procurator of Saint *Marke*, and confined to *Cherso*. He brake his limitation, and withdrew himselfe to *Rome* to the Cardinall his sonne: where he had so many worthy Offices imposed vpon him, as, not onely he was re-established in his Attorneys place againe; but he was likewise made Duke, at the age of foure score and two yeares, and gouerned but one yere, ten moneths, and two dayes.

77 *Andrea Gruti*, gaining the best part of the glorie, for the reprizall of *Padua*, was in very great esteeme. Hee dealt with the King of *France*, (to whome he

was prisoner) that his Maiestie allied himselfe with the Commonwealth, and *Brescia* and *Verona* were reconquered. He knew very well, how to make his carriage pleasing to the Senate, during the warres betweene *Charles* the fifth, Emperour, and King *Frances* the first, as also against *Solyman*. He gouerned fiftene yeares, seauen moneths, and eight dayes.

78 *Pietro Lando* continued the defence of the Commonwealth against the *Turke*: with whom (at last) he made a peace, knowing how to make vse thereof, and maintaine his owne charge, whilest the warre continued betweene *Charles* the fift, and King *Frances* the first. Hee gouerned fixe yeares, and eight moneths.

79 *Francesco Donato*, making benefite also of this peace, beautified the Cittie with many goodly buildings, besides that of the Pallace. He sent succor to the Emperour, against certaine Rebels in *Germanie*. The Princes of *Gwisle*, coming to *Venice* in his time, were entertained as fitted their degree. He gouerned seauen yeares, and fixe moneths.

80 *Marco Antonio Trevisano*, a man altogether deuout, laboured that the Commonwealth might abound in goodnesse and ciuill manners; preuenting (by his owne worthy example) that vices should not be winced at, as, in too many countreies they are. He gouerned a yere, wanting three dayes.

81 *Francesco Veniero*, could so well skill of gouerning the Commonwealth, that albeit the *Turke* (in his time) made warre in *Apulia*, and the King of *France* in *Tuscany*: yet all was well at *Venice*, and the Queene of *Poland* royally welcommed thither. He gouerned two yeares, one moneth and twenty dayes.

82 *Lorenzo Priuli*, was solicited (by the Pope) to make warre against the Emperour. But, he being a friend to the Commonwealth, by no means would offend him, but mediated a pacification of those affaires. In his time peace was made betweene *France* and *Spain*, and *Charles* the fift dyed. This Prince gouerned three yeares, eleauen moneths, and eight dayes.

83 *Girolamo Priuli*, brother to the preceeding prince, enioyed those great honors, which Pope *Pius* the fourth gaue vnto the common-wealth: And all his delight was to heare ambassadors in the hall of Kings.

In his time the Council of *Trent* was concluded, whither he sent (as Ambassadors) *Nicholo de Ponte*, and *Mattheo Dandolo*.

The Common-wealth helde (at Baptisme) the sonne to the Duke of *Sauoy*, by a Deputie borne of *Margueret of France*. He dyed, hauing gouerned eight yeares, two moneths, and foure dayes.

84 *Pietro Loredano*, by the concurrence of two others, was elected Duke, contrarie to the hope of all, or his owne expectation. The *Arsenal* was burned in his time, and there then also happened a very great dearth of all things. *Selim*, successour of *Solyman*, tooke occasion to breake peace with the Common-wealth, demanding of them the kingdome of *Cyprus*, and moued warre vpon this Subiect. He gouerned foure yeares, fiue moneths, and eight dayes.

85 *Luigi Mocemiga*, warre being kindled against the Turke, lost the kingdome of *Cyprus*, *Nicosia* being taken, and *Famagosta* surrendered. The Common-wealth made league with Pope *Pius* the fifth, and *Philip* King of *Spaine*, so that their armies (being ioyned together in the yeare of our Lord, one thousand fiue hundred seueny one) they obtayned a worthy victorie against the Turkes. Soone after, *Henry* the third, king of *France*, came to *Venice*, where he was magnificently entertained. This Prince dyed in his seauenth yeare.

86 *Sebastiano Veniero*, was elected by common voyce, and with such applause, that diuers Turkes ranne to him and kissed his fecte. He created fiue Correctours of the Lawes, for ruling the affaires of the Pallace. The City was deliuered of a dangerous plague, and the Pallace was againe very greatly defaced by fire. This prince gouerned not aboue a whole yeare.

87 *Nicholo de Ponte*, was created Duke, a man very learned in all the Sciences, and whereof hee had made publike profession in *Venice*. He passed thorow all the honors of the Common-wealth, wherewith the Citizens could possibly gratifie him. The Seminary of *Saint Marke* was instituted by him. Certaine princes of *Iapponia* arriving then at *Venice*, were by him most honourably entertained. He builded the bridge of *Canareggio*: and gouerned seuen yeares, nine moneths, and thirteen dayes.

88 *Paschale Cicogna*, Procuratour of *S. Marke*, was elected when he was at diuine

Service in the Church. In his time there was great warres, betweene *France* and *Spayne* about *Piedmont*, and betweenthe Emperour and the Turke, for some parts in *Hungaria*. He caused the towne of *Palma* to bee builded, in the confines of the Countrey of *Friuli*, and a new castile or fortress, in the Isle of *Cephalonia*. He had the honor of the wonderfull bridge of the *Rialto*, which he builded: And gouerned ten yeares, or thereabout.

89 *Marino Grimini*, Procuratour of *Saint Marke*, was so highly in grace and fauour of the people, that on the day of his Election; they declared extraordinary signes of ioy, and continued them for many following dayes. The second yeare of his Principality, he caused the dutcheffe his wife to be crowned in great triumph. At which time, Pope *Clement* the eight sent her the Rose of gold. In his time was much ioy and triumph made, for the peace concluded betweenthe Kings of *France* and *Spayne*. Vpon occasion of the Popes comming to *Ferrara*, obtained by the Ecclesiasticall Estate, the Cardinal *Aldobrandino* passed thence to *Venice*, where he was most honourably wel-comed, with diuers other Cardinalls. There was such an extraordinary ouer-flow of waters, in the fift yeare of his Principality, that the Barkes, Boates, and Gundoloos floated on the place of *Saint Marke*, euen as if they had bene in a full maine riuer. He dyed, and was much moaned of the people, hauing gouerned ten yeares, and eight moneths.

90 *Leonardo Dandolo*, hauing by his worthy deseruings, singuler wisdom and dexterity, mannaged passed affaires, and gone thorow all honors of the Common-wealth, giuing euident testimonie of his care and faithfullnesse; was aduanced in the place of *Grimani*, the tenth day of Ianuary, 1606. He had bene sent Ambasadour to *Constantinople* to *Mahomet* (hee being newly come to the Empire of the East) in the Common-wealths name, to salute him with accustomed complements. He hath such a practick braine, & so happily a memory, seated in a soule so religiously zealous for common benefite; that the Senate hath referred more vnto him, than to any other of his Predecessours.

The Citie hath (in his time) bene communicated, by *Paulus Quintus*, now Pope,

Pope, about some pretentions appertaining to his See: But it may well be sayd of this Prince, that, against such Thunder-clappes and Lightning flashes, hee hath shewne himselfe an immouable rocke, in defence of that estate in generall. In like manner, two principall Pillers of Christendome, threatned great disaster and ruine: but that most Christian *Henry* the fourth, King of *France*, embracing those two Colomnes, vpheld both the one and other, and redressed all discontentment, by the entermise of his Ambassadors, and hath erected a triumphall Arche, to the immortalitie of his glorie. This Prince now liuing happily in peace, doth daily acknowledge to *France*, his particular affection for such fauour, & may (in time) much better declare it. God long preferue him, and all other good Princes.

CHAP. III.

¶ Of Wounds made by Gun-shot, and other ferie Engines.



In the yeare of our Lord, 1536. the victorious king *Frances* sent a great Armie vnto *Piedmont*, to *Viaille Thurin*, and to recover those townes and castles, which had bene taken by the *Marquesse Du Guesle*, Lieutenant generall of the Emperour, where Monsieur the Constable, then great Master, was Lieutenant generall of the Army, and Monsieur de *Monte-jan* Captaine generall of the Footmen (of whom I was then Chirurgian.) A great part of the Armie arrived at the *Pas of Suse*, where we found the enimie keeping the passage, and had made vnto themselves certayne forts and trenches, in such sort, that before they could be raied from thence, wee entered into battell: in which conflict there was many hurt and slaine, as well on the one side as on the other. But they were enforced to quit that passage, and to recover the castles, which they held not long, but were compelled to giue it vp, marching away in their shirts onely, hauing each of them a white W and in their

hands: of whom, the most part went to the Castle of *Villane*, where there was about some two hundred *Spaniards*. To this castle my Lord the Constable drew his forces, because hee would make his way cleare before him. It is situate vpon a little Mountaine, which giueth great assurance to those within, that there can bee no Ordinance planted against it, to batter it downe. They were summoned to restore it vp, or else were threatned to haue it battered in peeces, which they flatly refused: answering withall, that they were as good and faithfull seruants to the Emperour, as Monsieur the Constable was to the King his maister. Their answer being vnderstoode, the same night there was mounted two great Cannons, by the force of armes with ropes and cordes, by the *Switzers*, where, (as misfortune would) those cannons being planted, a Gunner by indiscretion fired a barrel of Gun-powder, wherewith he himselfe was extreemely burned, together with tenne or twelue soldiers. Moreover, the flame of the powder was the cause of the discouerie of the Ordinance, whereby those of the Castle, the night following, discharged their Ordinance at that place where they discouered our Cannons; insomuch, that we had many of our men hurt and slaine.

The morrow after, very early wee beganne the battery, and in few houres after the breach was made; which those of the Castle perceiuing, desired a parley, but it was too late; for in the meane time some of our foot-men, perceiuing them to be astonished, mounted the breach, and entered the Castle, putting euery man to the sword, except onely a certaine beautifull *Piedmontese*, which a great Lord entertained into his seruice. The Captaine and Ancient were taken aliue, but were presently after hanged vpon the Gate of the Towne, to terrifie the rest of the Emperours souldiers, not to be so foole-hardie, to hold such places against so great an armie. Now, the souldiers of the Castle seeing our men rushing in vpon them in such great furie, made all the resistance they could to defend themselves, in killing and wounding a great number of our Souldiers with their pikes and muskets, where the Chirurgians had a great deale of work cut out to their hands.

I was (at that time) but a yong Chirurgian,

The Castle de Villane besieged and taken.

The Author
entrench into
the matter.

gian, and but little experienced in the Art, because I neuer (as yet) had seene the curation of anie Wounds made by Gun-shot. True it is, that I had read *Iohn de Vigo*, his first booke of Wounds in generall, chap. 8. where he saith, That those wounds made by fiery Engines, do participate of venosity, because of the Powder; and for their curation, he commands to cauterize them with the Oile of Elders mixed with a little Treacle: yet neuertheless, because I would not be deceived, before I would make vse of the said boyling oile, knowing that it brought with it extreme paine to the Patient, I obserued the methode of other Chirurians in the first dressing of such wounds; which was by the application & infusion of the foresaid Oile, as hot as possibly they could suffer it, with Tents and Setons: wherefore I became emboldened to do as they did. But in the end my oile failed mee, so that I was constrained to vse in stead thereof, a digestiue made of the yolke of an egge, Oile of Roses and Terebinth. The night following, I could hardly sleep at mine ease, fearing lest that for wāt of cauterizing, I should find my Patients, on whom I had not vsed of the foresaid Oyle, dead and empyofoned; which made mee to rise early in the morning to visit them: where, beyond my expectation, I found those on whom I had vsed the digestiue medicine, to feele but little paine, and their wounds without inflammation or tumor, hauing rested well all that night. The rest, on whom the foresaid Oile was applied, I found them inclining to Feauers, with great paine, tumor, and inflammation about their Wounds: then I resolved with my selfe, neuer to burne so cruelly the wounded Patients by Gun-shot any more.

When we entered *Thurin*, I was tolde of a Chirurgian, who was exceeding famous, especially for his curing wounds made by Gun-shot, with whom I found the means to acquaint my selfe: yet it was neare two yeares and a halfe, before hee would acquaint mee with his Medicine which hee called his Balme. In the meane time, Mounseieur the Marshall of *Monte-jan*, who was Lieutenant general of the King in *Piedmont*, dyed: then I tolde this Chirurgian, that I had a desire to returne to *Paris*, withall, requesting him, that he would performe his promise, which was,

to giue me the receit of his Balme, which he willingly did, seeing that I was to leaue that country. He sent me to fetch him two yong whelps, one pound of earth-worms, two pounds of the oyle of Lillies, six ounces of the Terebinth of *Perice*, and one ounce of *Aqua-vita*: and in my presence, he boyled the whelps aliuie in the said oile, vntill the flesh departed from the bones. Afterward, he tooke the wormes (hauing before killed and purified them in white Wine, to purge themselves of the earth which they haue alwayes in their bodies:) being so prepared, he boyled them also in the said oile, till they became dry; this he strained thorow a napkin, without anie great expresseion; that doone, hee added thereto the Terebinth: and lastly, the *Aqua-vita*, and called God to witnesse, that this was his Balme which hee vsed in all wounds made by Gun-shot, and in others which required suppuration; withall, praying me not to divulge his secret.

From thence I returned to *Paris*, where shortly after, Mounseieur *Siluius*, Lecturer of the King in Physicke, a man greatly esteemed among learned men, requested me one day to dine with him, which I did willingly; where hee asked me many Questions, and among the rest, of the essence of wounds made by Gunne-shot, and of the combustions made by Gunne-powder. Whereupon, I presently prouoed vnto him, that the powder was not any thing venomous at all; because that no Simple that enters therein is any way venomous, much lesse the composition. Also, I haue seene by experience, that some Souldiers being hurt, will take of the said powder in wine, saying, That powder so taken, doth preferue the body from the ensuing accidents, the which I approue not. Also, others hauing vlcers on their bodies, doe commonly vse of the said powder drie, and heale them without any daunger at all. And as for the Bullets, they can not containe any such heat, that they should haue the facultie of burning: for a bullet being shot against a stone-wall, it may presently be helde in the naked hand, although the collision made against the Stones, should (in reason) heate it the more: And as for combustions or burnings made by Gun-powder, I neuer found any particular accident in it, whereby the cure ought to be diuersified from the cure of other combustions.

Gunpowder
not venomous

wounds made
by gunshot,
are without
combustion.

History.

Ysa Sirly
the Father of
God.

History.

For the Po-
wer brought to
the end of
the Bullets.

buftions. Whereupon, I related this History. A certaine boy of the Kitchen, of Mounseieur the Marshall of *Adonte-jan*, fell into a Caldron full of oyle, almost boyling hote; to dresse whom being sent for, I went presently to an Apothecarie; demanding of him such cooling medicines, which are commonly applyed vnto burnings. An ancient Countrey-woman being by; hearing mee speake of this burning, counselled me to apply for the first dressing (to prevent the rising of pustules or bladders) of rawe onions, bruised with a little salt. I demanded of this woman, Whether she had euer made experience of that Medicine before: Shee presently sware vnto me in her language; *Si meste, à la fe de dé*; which did incite me to make experience heereof, on this scullion of the Kitchen, where truly I found the morrow after, that in those parts, where the Onions had touched, to bee altogether free from vessicles or blisters, and the other parts, where the Onions were not applyed, to be much blistered.

Not long after, a certaine Dutch-man, one of the guard of the said Lord de *Monte-jan*, hauing drunke hard, by indiscretions set his Flask afire, which caused a great disaster, both to his hands and face; and being called to dresse him, I applyed of the saide Onions on the one halfe of his face; and on the other side, of other common remedies. At the second dressing, I found that part where I had applied the Onions, to be altogether without blisters, or any excoriation, and the other altogether blistered: then I first purposed to write of the effect of the said Onions.

Moreover, I tolde vnto the sayd *Syluius*, that for the better extraction of bullets which are hidden in any part of the body, it is requisite, the Patient should be placed in the same situation, that he was in at that time when he was wounded. Many other things I discovered vnto him, which are contained in this Booke following. My Discourse ended, he prayed me very earnestly, that I would publish it by writings; to the end, that that false opinion of *Vico* might be altogether abolished, the which I willingly consented vnto, and caused many instruments to be cut, such as had not bene divulged, for the extraction of Bullets, and other vnaturall things out of the body.

And it was first Imprinted in the yeare, 1545. and well receiued, which caused me to renew it agayne, and publish it the second time, in the yeare 1550. and lastly, in the yeare, 1564. where I haue enriched it with many other things, because I haue since followed the warres, haue bene in many battells, and besieged Townes, as in *Mos* and *Iudin*. Also, I haue bene entertained into the seruice of five Kings; where I haue alwayes discoursed with the most excellent Physitians and Chirurians of those times, to learne and discover, if there were any other methode or way, to cure those wounds made by gun-shot; whereof the most part (specially those that haue followed the warres, and are guided by reason and experience) are of my opinion, which is, to vse Suppuratiues in the beginning, and not boyling oyles. And I did protest moreouer to the sayd *Syluius*, that I haue found those wounds as easie to cure (being in fleshy partes) as all other great contused wounds are. But, where the Bullet meeteth with the bones and neruous parts, it teareth, dilacerateth, breaketh, and shuicreth in peeces, not onely where it toucheth, but also the circumiacent parts, without any mercy; causing great accidents, which happen specially in the iointures or ioynts, and in bodies of euill constitution, and in time subiect to corruption, that is to say, where the Ayre is hote and moyst, then is the cure most difficult, and oftentimes impossible; not onely of wounds made by gun-shot, but also of those which are made by other instruments; yea, though they were but in fleshy partes.

Therefore, the foresaid accidents do not proceede from the venosity which is in the powder, or by the combustion or burning of the Bullet. For prooue of which, I will alleadge this obseruation, which I haue experimented (not long since) on the person of the Earle of *Gordon*, Lord of *Achindon*, a Scottish-man, whom I cured by the commandement of the Queene-mother, who was hurt with the shot of a Pistoll cleane through both the thighs, without fracture of the bones; he standing so neare the mouth of the Pistoll, that the fire tooke holde of his breeches; neuertheless, hee was perfectly cured in two and thirtie dayes, without a Feauer or anie other euill accident. I

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dress

The cause
these marks
wounds by
gun shot hard
to be cured.

History.

dress him at *S. Iohn de Latran*, in the house of the Archishoppe of *Glasco*, then Ambassadour for *Scotland*, who came every day to see him dress. Moreouer, for testimony, I could produce Mounseieur *Brigard*, Doctour Regent in the facultie of Physicke, who was an assistant with me; together with *James Guillemain*, Chirurgian to the King, and sworne at *Paris*, who was with me vntill his perfect curation. The same likewise Mounseieur *Hautin*, Doctour Regent in the faculty of Physicke can testify, who sometimes came to see him. Also *Giles Buzet*, Scotchman and Chirurgian, cury of them maruailing how hee became so soone cured, without the application of hot and sharp medicines. Now, the reason wherefore I haue made this little Discourse, is to demonstrate, that it is about 30. yeares agoe, since I first found out this manner of curing wounds made by gun-shot, without the vse of boiling oiles, or any other sharp or burning medicines, vnlesse I was constrained to vse them, for such accidents which hapned in *Cacochymed* bodies, or through the euil disposition and malignancy of the ayre, as I will shew more amply in this Discourse following, which I made vnto the deceased King, after the taking of *Rome*.

CHAP. IIII.

A Answer vnto a certayne demaund, propounded by the victorious Prince Charles the ninth, as touching the qualitie and Efficacy of wounds made by Gunne-shotte, at his Maiesties retourne from the siege, and taking of the Towne of Rome.



Occasion of this discourse.

One day pleased your Maiestie, together with the Queene-Mother, my L. the prince of *La Roche-sur-Yon*, and many other Princes and great Lords, to demaund of me how it came to passe, that in these last warres, the most part of such Gentlemen & Soldiers, who were wounded by Gun-shot, & other instruments of war, died, or were very hardly recovered from their diseases, although the wounds they receiued were but of small appaare, and the Chirurgians which were employed for their cures, did performe their du-

ties according to Art; I haue bin the bolder to publish this discourse, to satisfie (in some measure) the duty of my Art, & that my Profession might not be spotted with the least dishonor; and that your Maiestie might vnderstand the reasons, which might haue bin the cause of the death of so many valiant me; the most part of whom I haue seene (to my great griefe) to finish their dayes pitiuously, without any possibilitie in mee, or anie other more experienced then my selfe to giue them remedy.

I know that this following Discourse will astonish some, who reposeing themselves vpon their owne particular opinions, and not examining the matter deeply, will finde the first front of my disputation very strange, because that the contrary hath bene so long imprinted in their fantasies. For I doe hold, that the cause of the malignancy of wounds by Gun-shot, not to proceed from any poyson or venomous quality in the powder (as they imagine) or from the Bullet it selfe, being rubbed or infused in any venomous mixture. Neuerthelesse, if their meekenesse and patience will extend so farre, as first to weigh the moriues, which first moued me to vndertake this subiect, which was a zeale of the publike good; towards the which the Lawe of Nature bindeth me, to shew the vttermost of my power in such things which the singular prouidence of Almighty God hath reuealed vnto me. And secondly, that they will examine with iudgement, the reasons which I shall vse in this present Treatise: then I shall bee certayne, they will both accept my labour thankfully, and free it from all future calummie. Otherwise they will shew themselves to be so ill affectioned toward me, as if I should present my selfe before them, enriched with all the treasures of the auncient Philosophers, and they should place mee in the number of the poorest and ignorantest men in the world. To preuent therefore all the Arguments of venome and poisoning, which the Adversaries heere about mentioned may alledge, I will make it plaine vnto your Maiestie, that such as are wounded by gunne-shot; I say the malignancy of such wounds, not to proceed from the venome of the Powder, being of it selfe simply considered: and much lesse from the obulsion or cauterization which the Bullet

Insinuation into the good acceptance of those who are of the contrary opinion.

The present disposition is taken from Philosophers, Physicians and Chirurgians.

The Author propooseth points, which he would rectifie, vnto the poyson of the powder, and the first of the Bullet.

The composition of the powder.

Bullet so heated by the fire of the powder can make in those parts, which it rendeth & dilacerateth thorow the violence thereof: although neuerthelesse some do strue to maintayne; alledging for all, reasons, That a certayne Tower full of powder hath heeretofore bene seene ruinated in an instant, onely by the means of a Cannon shot. Also of a thatched house set on fire with a Musket shotte. Moreouer, because that such wounds which are made by Gunne-shotte, we commonly behold their Orifices and other circum-iacent parts so blacke, as if an actuall Cauter had passed thereon. As also the fall of a certayne escarre, as they say. All which Arguments are so ill framed, that they deserue no authoritie, being builded on so slender a foundation: much lesse, that the resolution of your demaund should be taken from them, as I trust to giue you plainly to vnderstand in the Disputation following. Which (after I had seene a great number of those wounds, and diligently obserued them, handling them according to the methode) I haue collected from the auncient Philosophers, Physicians, and Chirurgians to present vnto your Maiesty, and to withdrawe your minde from the admiration of the lamentable death of so many braue Gentlemen and Souldiers.

Now, to enter into the matter proposed, and to answer the Arguments before alledged, we are first to examine, whether there be any poyson inclosed in the powder, or no: And if there bee, whether it may infect by means of the pretended poyson thereof. Which, that it may appeare plainly, wee must search into the composition of the sayd powder, considering that it is not of substance simple, but compound: and so by examining the nature of such Simples, which enter into the composition thereof: I meane their qualities, effects, and operations, we shall the sooner attaine to the scope and intention pretended.

As for the Simples it is a most assured thing, that there are but three in all, which make the composition thereof, that is to say, coales of willow or birchy sulphure, and salt-peter, and sometimes *Aqua-vitæ* which ingredients severally considered, are altogether exempt and free from poyson, or any venomous quality: And first

for the coales, there is not any thing considerable in them, vnlesse it bee a drying quality, of subtile substance, by means whereof it is apt to take fire, euen as a linen cloth burned into Tinder doth the sparkes that fall from a Flint stone. Sulphure is hote and drie, neuerthelesse, not excessive, and of a more oile and viscous substance, yet not so easie to inflame as coales, although it doth retaine the fire more forcibly when it is once inflamed, and is very hardly extinguished. As for the salt-peter, it is such, that many make vse thereof instead of salt. Now let vs examine, whether there be any venosity in the nature of these simples; namely in that of sulphure; which is the most suspected. *Dioscorides* in his first booke, chap. 37. prescribeth it to be taken in an Egge, in the astmaticke passion, coughes, and to such which spit matter, and those that haue the Taundise. And *Galen* in his ninth booke of his Simples, cha. 36. ordaineth it as a topicall remedy, vnto such who are bitten by venomous beasts; and in all malignant praeisles or itchings; as for the *Aqua-vitæ*, it is a thing subtile, that it will evaporate if it be set in the ayre; besides, it is vsed by most Chirurgians inwardly in drinks, and outwardly in embrocations as a most singular medicine. These things considered, make mee to affirme, that the whole composition of powder is altogether free from venome or poyson, seeing that the ingredients are altogether cleare from the least touch in that kind.

Moreouer, I haue obserued it to bee the practise of the *Hollanders*, being wounded by Gunne-shotte, to dissolve two charges of powder in Wine; and to drinke it off, hoping, by that means to be freed from all future accidents which might happen to their wounds (although I doe not approve thereof, because it is a most insufficient remedy.) Also, such vners which are made through the combustion of powder, are of no other nature then those that are made by fire, or scalding water. But, wherefore should I alledge any fortaine example? Do we not see amongst our owne Souldiers, I do not know on what occasion, but only to shew themselves braue fellows; to empye their charges of powder into their cuppes, and drinke it without anie inconuenience at all; and others in like manner, being!

Salt-peter is Sale of stones.

Refutation of
those that af-
firm the Bul-
let to be im-
poysoned.

hurt on any part of their bodies, will apply of the same vpon their vjcers to drie them, and finde much profit by it. As for those which do affirme that it is not in the powder, but the Bullet, which being subtilly pierced in many places, or filled vp with venome, or stipped, rubbed, or mixed with any poyson, causeth the aforesayd daungerous accidents: To such do I answer without further trouble, that the fire set to the powder, is sufficient to purifie the poyson of the Bullet, if any there were; the which can not be done, by impoysoned Swords, Pikes, Arrows, and such like, because they passe not thorow the action of the fire. Briefly, to confirme my opinion to be true, there is not anie one of those that were in your Maiesties Campe at *Rohan*, that doth not assuredly know, that those Bullets which were shotte against those of the Towne, to be altogether free from poyson. Neuertheless, the besieged Towne-men affirmed, that all those Bullets were poysoned. Also, the Souldiers of your Maiesties Camp had the same opinion, of such Bullets which were shot at them out of the town, that they were all impoysoned, by them; rather beleeving and iudging of the qualitie of the wounds by their euill successe, than by the Causes whereby they were made.

True it is, that as in Physicke, according to the Sentence of *Hippocrates* in the *Epidemics*; as *Galen* noteth on the twenty sentence, and the twenty one of the third Section of the third booke, all diseases are called Pestilentiall and venomous, being from common and general causes of whar kind, soeuer they be, and such kill many persons: so in the like manner, we may call such wounds as are made by Gunne-shot venomous, which are more difficult to heale then others; not because they doe participate of any venomosity, but from some general cause depending, either fixt to the *Cacochymie* of the body, putrification of the aire, or the corruption of the victualls, whereby those vjcers, are brought to be more malignant *Cacochymies*, and rebellious to all medicines.

Refutation of
those that af-
firm that the
Bullet causeth
combustion.

To affirme, that it is onely the combustion of the bullet, which causeth the aforesaid danger; I cannot conserue their reasons, seeing that the Bullet is (for the most part) made but of lead, and therefore vn-

ble to indure any great heate, without being altogether dissolued, which we neuertheless doe see to passe thorow a coat Armour, and to penetrate the body through and through, and yet to remaine whole.

Moreover, we do obserue, that if a Bullet be shot against a stone, or against anie solid matter, it may in the same instant be handled of vs in our hands, without feeling any notable heate, although the violent striking and collision made against the stone, should in reason encrease the heate, if anie there were. And which is more, if a Bullet bee shot against a bagge full of powder, the fire will not endanger it. This I dare be bolde to say and affirme moreover, That if a quantitie of powder should take fire, being kept in a Tower, or any other place, by the means of a Bullet shot, it was not the heate of the Bullet, but rather the violent striking of the Bullet against the stones of the said Tower, which might cause sparkes of fire to fall amongst the powder; even as the smiting of a Steele against a flint stone. The like we may iudge of such thatched houses, which haue bene set on fire by a musket shot, to haue rather proceeded from some wad, either of Towee or Paper, rammed in with the powder; and so fired with it. But that which doth most confirme mee in the assurance of mine opinion, is, that if a ball of Waxe be shot out of a Musket, it feelth no force of fire at all; for then would it melt; neuertheless, it will pierce an inch board. An argument of sufficient weight to prooue, that the Bullets cannot be so extremely heated by the force of the powder, that they should cauterize and burne, as many haue esteemed.

And as for that blackenesse, which is ordinarily found to be about the Orifices of such wounds, and other adiacent parts: I affirme, that this accident doth not proceed from any qualitie of fire accompanying the Bullet, but because of the great conuulsion that it maketh: For it cannot enter into the body otherwise then by an extreme and incredible force, because it is of a round figure.

Vpon this point, if the wounded persons themselves be demanded, I beleue they will testifie the truth of my saying, because they are no sooner strooke with the Bullet, but they doe feelee in the same instant, as if a club or some other heauie

An example
of a Bullet
Waxe.

Three
kinds of
Bullets.

Whence it
proceedeth,
that wound
made by gun
shot, is ordi-
narily blacke.

burthen

burthen were false on the offended party, in the which they feelee a heauy paine, with a benumbed stupification of the part; which dissipateth and sometimes extinguisheth the naturall heate, together with the spirites contained therein; from whence there followeth oftentimes a gangrene and mortification of the part, yea sometimes of the whole body. And as for the Efficacie which they affirme there to be, and fall away as they say, they doe abuse themselves: for it is onely some certaine portion of the membranes and confused steth, dilacerated by the Bullet, which becometh corrupted, and so separateth it selfe from the found parts which are greatly confused.

Although that these reasons doe make it manifest enough, that there is no venomous qualitie in the powder, nor action of fire carryed with the Bullet; neuertheless, many, building their opinions vpon naturall Philosophie, doe maintayne the contrarie, affirming that Cannon shot is like vnto the clappes of Thunder, which burst forth of the Clouds in the middle Region of the ayre, and so fall violently on the earth. From the which similitude they would inferre and conclude, that there is both fire, and a venomous qualitie in the Bullet: as it proceedeth out of the mouth of the Cannon. I know (I thanke God) that Thunder being ingendered from a grosse and viscous exhalation, by means of vapour conioyned with it, doth neuer breake forth of the Clouds to penetrate heere below; but it draweth and bringeth immediately with it a certaine fire, sometimes more subtle, sometimes more grosse, according to the diuersitie of the matter, whereof the exhalation is composed. For *Seneca* writeth in the second Booke of his *Natural Questions*, chapter 49. that there are three kinds of Thunders, all differing the one from the other, according to the quantitie and manner of their inflammation. The first, by reason of the matter thereof, it being most thin and subtle, it doth pierce & penetrate suddenly the objects which it toucheth. The second kind, by reason of the violence thereof, breaketh and dissipateth the same things, because the matter thereof is more violent, and compact as a tempest. The third sort being composed of a more earthie matter,

burneth with manifest tokens of the heate thereof. I also know, that the Thunder is of nature pestilentiall and fetide, because of the grosse & stinky matter thereof, which being burned, leaueth behind it such a stinking fauor, that all animals do so much avoid it, that if it do happen to fall into their denness, other places of haunt, they will vterly abandon and forsake such places; so much do they hate the infectious stinke of that poison. The same is noted by *Olau Magnus*, in his *Septentrional Historie*, that in certayne places where Thunder hath fallen, presently after the fall thereof, the fields haue benee found afterwards to be couered & strewed ouer with sulphure, neuertheless vnprofitable, and almost extinguished. For all these reasons, I must not confesse, that the blows of Gun-shot are accompanied with poyson and fire, as the clappes of Thunder are. For although they doe agree the one with the other, in some similitude, it is not therefore in their substance and matter, but rather in the manner which they haue to batter, teare, and dissipate the objects which they doe meete with, that is to say, the clappes of Thunder through the force of fire; and of the bolre or stone sometimes engendered therein: and the blowes of Gunne-shot by the means of the Ayre forced away by impetuosity, and so conducting the Bullet, causeth the like disaster. What if I should be conuicted by stronger Arguments, so that I were enforced to auouch, that Thunder and the Cannon to be of the like substance; yet I should neuer bee forced to say, that the shotte of the Cannons and Muskets doe participate of a fierie qualitie. *Plinie* saith in the second Booke of his *Historie*, and the 51. chapter, that among Thunder, one kinde is composed of a marvellous drie matter, dissipating all such things it meete withall; neuertheless, without anie signe of burning: others, of a more humid nature, which in like manner burneth not; but blacketh and discoloreth much, more then the first. Others are composed of a very cleare and subtle matter: the nature whereof is most marvellous, forsooth that it is not to be doubted (as *Seneca* hath well said) that there is therein a certayne diuine vertue: and it is in melting Golde or Silver in a mans purse, the purple it selfe not being so much as touched therewith.

Answers to
the contrary
Reasons.

A marvellous
effect of thund-
ers.

Stiff 3 Also

Also in melting a sword, the scabberd thereof remayning whole. Also, in dissolving into droppes the yron head of a Pike, without burning, or so much as heating the wood. In shedding the wine out of a vessell, without burning or breaking of the caske. According to the aforesayd testimony, I can assure you, and that without any prejudice, that those Thunders, which onelie breake and dissipate without any burning; and such which do leaue effects full of great admiration, not to be much vnlike in substance to the Cannon shot, and not those which carrie immediately with them the action of fire.

Example.

To proue my saying true, this one example shall suffice. A certaine Souldier receyued a wound in his Thigh with a Musket shot, from whence I extracted a bullet; the which being wrapped in the Taffatie of his breeches, made a very deepe wound. Neuerthelesse, I drew it forth of the wound with the same Taffatie, it being without any signe of burning.

And which is more, I haue seene many men, who not being shot, nor anie thing touched therewith, vnlesse it were in their apparel only; haue receiued such an astonishment by a Cannon shot, that onely passed nere them: that their members thereby haue become blacke and liuid; and shortly after, haue fallen into a gangrene and mortification, whereof in the end they haue dyed.

These effects are like vnto those of the thunder before spoken of. Neuerthelesse, there is not in them any fire or poyson: which maketh mee conclude, that there is no poyson in the common and ordinarie powder. Seeing therefore, that this disaster was common to all those which were hurt in these last warres, and yet neither by fire or poyson that so many valiant men dyed. To what cause may we impute this euill? I am so confident of the true cause (my Liege) that I hope presently to make your Maiestie vnderstand the same, to the end that your demaund may be fully satisfied.

Those which haue consumed their age and study in the secrets of naturall Philosophie, haue left vs this amongst other things, for authentick and appooued of all times. Which is, that the Elements doe symbolize in such sort the one with

the other, that they doe sometimes transfigure and change themselves, the one into the other, in such sort, that not onelie their first qualities, which are heate, coldnes, driness and moisture: but also their substances are changed, by rarification or condensation of themselves; so the fire doth conuert it selfe ordinarily into ayre, the ayre into water, the water into earth; and contrariwise the earth into water, the water into ayre, and the ayre into fire. The which wee may dayly behold, and proue it by those bellows of Copper which the Dutchman brings vs, being composed in the forme of a Boll, which being filled with water, and hauing but one hole in the middle of the Spherick forme thereof: receiue the transmutation of the water within it into ayre, thorow the action of the fire, neare vnto the which the Boll must bee placed; and so thrusteth the ayre forth of it with violence, making a continuall noyse or sound, vntill all the ayre be gone forth of it. The like may be knowne by Egges or Cheshenuts; for eyther of them being put into the fire before they are crackt, or the Rhinds broken, presently the watery humidity contained in them, doth conuert it selfe into ayre, through the action of the fire: and the ayre in making his passage, bursteth the shell, because it occupieth more place being in the forme of ayre, into the which it was changed by rarification caused by the fire, then it did vnder the forme of water; and not finding passage, is constrained to make one by violence, according vnto the proposition helde for most certayne and true amongst all Physitians; that is to say, of that one part of earth is made tenne of water: and of one part of water is made tenne of ayre, as of one part of ayre ten of fire. I do say and affirme so much of the matters contained in the said Gun-powder, which by means of the fire is conuerted into a great quantity of ayre; the which because it cannot be contained in the place, where the matter was before the transmutation thereof, is compelled to issue forth with an incredible violence: by means whereof, the bullet breaketh, shinereth and rendeth all that euer it meets with, yet doth not the fire accompany it. Euen as wee see a Bow, or a Sling shoote forth an Arrow or Stone, without any aire at all.

But

The effect of
Artillery like
the thunder

But the bullet driueth before it such a suble winde, and so swiftly agitated, that sometimes the very winde it selfe, without the action of the Bullet, causeth strange and wonderfull effects. For sometimes, I haue knowne it make a fracture in the bones, without any diuision of the flesh. And herein it may be compared (as wee said before) vnto the effect of Thunder: euen so we see, that if the saide powder bee inclosed in Mines and Vaults of the earth, and being conuerted into aire thorough the action of the fire set vnto it, howe it doeth ruinate and reuerse huge masses of earth almost as bigge as Mountaines. Also in this yeare, in your Maiesties Towne of Paris, a certaine quantity of powder, but newly made in the Arsenall, by taking fire, caused such a great tempest, that the whole Towne shooke at it: for with an horrible fury, it leuelled with the Earth all the houses neere vnto that place, and discomered and battered down the windowes of all those that stood within the fury of it. And to be briefe (euen as a clap of thunder) it did reuerse heere and there many men halfe slaine; taking away from some their eyes, from others their hearing, and left others no lesse torne and mangled in their members, then if foure horses had drawne them in pieces: and all this by the only agitation of the ayre, into which substance, the powder was conuerted. The which, according to the quantity and quality of the matter thereof, and according to his motion, either more or lesse violent, hath caused so many wonderfull accidents in our Prouinces; altogether like vnto those which are caused through the inclosing of windes in the bowels and cauities of the earth, not being perspirable. The which, struing to haue vent, bloeth with such a strong and violent agitation, that they make the earth to tremble & quake therat: thereby demolishing Cities, and ruinating buildings, and transporting them from one place to another. As the Townes of *Megara* and *Egina*, anciently much celebrated in the Country of *Greece*, perishing by Earth-quakes can witness vnto vs.

I omit to discover (as but little serving to our purpose) how the winde enclosed in the Entrailles of the earth, maketh a noyse of diuers sounds, and very strange, according to the diuers formes of the

conduits and passages, through the which it isfluent by, euen after the manner of musickall Instruments; the which being large, do giue a great and base sound; & being narrow, do make high and sharpe notes, and being crooked or replied, make diuers sounds; as wee see by experience in the Huntsmans home, and in Trumpets, the which also, being moistened with water, do make a hollow gurgling sound.

In like manner, these noises, mumblings, and clamors, are sundry wayes diuertified, according to the places whence they proceed; in such sort, that sometimes hath bene heard a clamorous cry, representing (as it seemed) the assault of a City, the cries and lowings of Bulls, or the neighing of Horses, roaring of Lyons, found of Trumpets, reports of Artillery, and many other dreadful things; yea sometimes humane voyces. As it is reported by one, who had heard a voyce (as it were) of a woman beatings, which made (as he imagined) such a wofull and grievous lamentation; where-with he became so greatly affrighted, that he had scarcely breath sufficient to make this report. But when he had well vnderstood the cause of this plaintiue voyce, he was presently deliuered from that feare, which otherwife might haue killed him.

But haue perhaps will say, that these things haue alwayes bene, and no lesse ordinary in the times past, then they are at this present: and therefore it is a great folly in me to alledge them, for efficient causes of the death of so many men. The which imputation, I should freely confesse, if I should present them for such: but seeing, that by them I would onely parallel and compare the impetuosity of Artillery, with that of thunder, and the motions of the earth; which being so, it will appeare, that it maketh nothing against my first intention, as I hope to demonstrate cleerly, that I am slandered without a cause, if you please to giue eare to the deduction following. In the which, I will plainly and briefly describe the true causes of the late mortality, which happened among your Highnesse Soldiers.

Amongst the things necessary for our liues, there is nothing that can more alter our bodies, then the ayre; the which, continually (willing or vnwilling) we inspire by those conduites which Nature hath ap-

Diuers sounds
issuing out of
the veins of
the earth.The true ex-
planation of
the question.

pointed

pointed for that end; as the mouth, the nose, and generally through all the pores of the skinne and Arteries therein infixed, whether wee cate, drinke, watch, or sleepe, or doe any other action, whether Natural, Vitall, or Animall. From thence it commeth, that the aire inspired into the Lungs, the Heart, and the braine, and vniuersally in all the parts of the bodie, to refresh, and in some measure to nourish the same, is the cause that a man cannot liue one minute without inspiration; according to the which wonderfull benefit, the excellent Physitian *Hippocrates* hath pronounced, and that truly, that the aire hath a kinde of Diuinity in it; because, that in breathing and blowing ouer all parts of the world vniuersally, it doth circumuolue all things therein containd: nourishing them miraculously, strengthening them firmly, and maintaining them in an amiable Vnion; altogether symbolizing with the Starrs and Planets, into the which the diuine providence is infused, which changeth the aire at his pleasure, and giueth it power not only ouer the mutation of times and seasons, but also of the alteration of naturall bodies. And therefore the Philosphers and Physitians haue expressly commanded, that we should haue a principall regarde vnto the situation and motions of the heauenly bodies, and constitutions of the Ayre, when the preferuation of health, or the curation of diseases are in question; but especially the course and mutation of the aire is of great power, as wee may easily iudge by the foure seasons of the yeare. For the Aire being hot and dry in Sommer, our bodies in like manner doth thereby become heated and dried: and in winter the humidity and coldnesse of the ayre doth likewise fill our bodies with the very same qualities; in such order neuertheless, and in so good a disposition of nature, that although our temperatures seeme to bee changed, according to the foure seasons of the yeare; we neuertheless receiue no harme thereby, if those times doe keepe their seasons and qualities free from excess. But to the contrary, if the seasons be so peruerred, that the Sommer is colde, and the Winter hott, and the other seasons in the like distemperature; this discord bringeth with it a great perturbation, both in our bodies and in our spirits,

constrained neuertheless to receive the danger, by reason that the causes are extreme, and on every side encompass vs; so that we are constrained to lodge it in vs by those Organes and Conduites appointed by Nature to that end, as partly, to expell the superfluous excrements of our nourishment, and partly to receiue the said externall causes, which is the ayre or winde, producing in vs diuers effects, according to those parts of the world from whence they do proceed.

For, it being so, that the Southerly Windes are hot and moyst, that of the North cold and dry; the Easterly Winds for the most part are cleare and pure, and the Westerly cloudy and subiect to rain; yet it is a most assured thing, that the aire which we do inspire continually, holdeth in all, and through all, the qualitie that is most predominant. And therefore, wee should of necessity consider in all diseases, and the inconueniences which happen therein, the quality of the winds, and the power which they haue ouer the bodies; as *Hippocrates* hath learnedly left vs by writing, in the third Booke of his Aphorisms, Chap. 1. and 17. saying, That our bodies do receiue a great alteration through the vicissitude of the times and seasons of the yeare. As by the South-winde our bodies are subiect to all diseases, because that moysture is their primitive cause: it also weakneth our naturall heate, the which in the opposite case is much fortified thorough a cold and dry winde, which also maketh our spirits more quick and subtle. The verity of which sentence, the inhabitants of the Territory of *Narbonne* doe too much experiment to their damage. For being themselves betweene the lushet and healthfullest people of all *France*; yet neuertheless they themselves are very sickly for the most part, their bodies leane, their countenances sad and heauy; their faces tawny, or of an Olive colour; do manifestly shew the same. Also among other diseases, they are almost all subiect to the white Leprosie; and the last Vicers which they haue, which we make no account of at *Poitiers* or *Paris*, do ordinarily continue with them a whole yeare together. Not for any other cause, as they themselves confesse, and as all strangers know that haue liued in their country, but onely because they are for the most part,

The alienation of seasons cause of diseases.

blasted

Hyp.in the Preface of his Prognost.

Hyp.in the beginning of his booke de Aere loca & aquis.

blasted and breathed vpon with a Southerly Winde, which in their language they call *Altan*, & maketh the aire to be grosse and cloudy; causing in their bodies all the effects which are attributed by *Hippocrates* to the Southerly winds, in his third booke and fifth Aphorisme, that is to say, when it reigneth, it dulleth the hearing, dimmeth the sight, swellth and aggrauateth the head, weakneth and abateth all the forces of the body.

Also, when *Hippocrates* compareth the temperatures of the one qualitie with the other, he resolueth vpon this point: That the dry seasons are farre more healthfull then the humid, that haue continued for a long succession of time, because excessiue humidity is the true matter of putrefaction, as experience telleth vs. For wee see, that in those places where the Marine or Sea-winds haue long blowne, all kinds of flesh (though neuer so new and fresh) will corrupt in lesse then an houre. These things being considered, that it is most necessary for the conseruation of our bodies in health, that the seasons should follow their naturall temperatures, without any excess or contrariety, there is no doubt to be made, but that our bodies will fall into many vnaturall diseases, when the naturall qualities of the seasons are peruerred thorough the euill disposition of the aire and winde, that predominateth therein. It being so, that for these 3. yeares space here in *France*, the seasons of euery yeare haue not kept their ordinay qualities. In the Sommer wee haue but little heate. In the Winter a little or no cold at all. Also the other haue bene continually distemperd with raine and moysture, together with much southerly winds whose nature we haue declared before, & this throughout all *France*.

I know no man so little scepse in natural Philology, or in Astrologie, which will not finde the aire to be the efficient cause of so many euils, which for these 3. yeares space haue happened in the Kingdome of *France*. For from whence should proceed those contagious Pestilences, which happened indifferently to old and young, so rich and poore, and in so many places, but from the corruption of the Ayre? From whence should proceed so many kinds of Feauers, Pleuritis, Apoplexies, Catarrhs, defluxions of small Poxe and Meazles?

So many kinds of venomous Beastes, as Froggies, Toads, Grasshoppers, Caterpillers, Spiders, Flies, Walpes, Snailles, Serpents, Vipers, Snakes, Lizards, Scorpions, and Aspidicks, but onely from a putrefaction resulting from the humiditie of the aire, accompanied with a languishing heate. This is it (I say) that hath engendered in vs, and in all the Country of *France*, so many strange and vknown accidents. Behold therefore how our naturall heate hath bene weakned, how our blood and humors haue bene corrupted through the malignity of the ayre, which these Southerly winds haue caused, thorough the hote and moyst quality thereof.

Thus much I haue obserued, that where there hath bene need of Phlebotomizing, there hath bene but little blood drawne from any, whether they were young or old, wounded, or not of so good or euill temperature, but it hath bene corrupted, and appeared of white or greenish Colours. This I haue alwayes obserued in these last Vvarres, and in other places where I haue bene called to cure the wounded: such as haue bene phlebotomized by the prescription of the Physitian, either for the prevention of accidents, or the furtherance of the cure. In all which, I say indifferently, I haue found the blood putrified and corrupted.

This being so, it must needs follow, that the fleshy parts of our bodies cannot be otherwise then euilly disposed; and all our bodies Cacochymate; seeing that their nourishment which is the blood, is putrified, and the ayre altogether corrupted. From whence it followeth, that those bodies which were wounded in the fleshy parts, were difficult to cure, considering that there was in them a perdition of substance, the which hauing neede of the regeneration of the flesh, could not bee accomplished, neither by Medicines, nor any Art of the Chirurgian; such & so great was the Cacochymie or euill constitution of their bodies. Euen as in an Hydroticke person, there can no flesh be regenerated, because the blood is too colde and swarty; and in the Elephantick or leprous disease, the flesh and other parts do abide in putrefaction, because of the corrupted blood whereby they are nourished. In like manner, in wounds of Cacochymed bodies,

A Gualtitude.

lib. 13. Aphor. 15.

dies, there can be no regeneration made of any good substance, because that to restore a lawdable flesh in the wounded part it is required, that the blood should not offend neither in quantity nor quality, & that the offended part bee in it naturall temperature. All these things were wanting in the times of these last Varres: and therefore it is not to be wondered at, if the wounds which were then received (although they were but small and of little consequence in the noble or ignoble parts) haue brought with them so many tedious accidents, and in the end death; because that the aire which doeth encompasse vs, maketh the wounds to be corrupt and putrified, by reason of the inspiration and transpiration thereof, especially when it selfe is corrupt and putrified, by altering & corrupting the humors.

Intollerable stinke proceeding from the wounded parts of men.

Of this point I haue had the experience in many Wounds, which I haue bin called to dresse, that haue rendred a most insupportable stinking fauour, as a certaine witness of corruption and infection, in so much, that the assistants could hardly endure to be present at their dressings. It need not to be here alledged, that this was for want of being cleanly kept, or often dressing, or for not administering to them things necessary: for this corruption was as common to Princes and great Lords, as vnto poore soldiers; whose wounds (if by chance one day escaped) whetein they were not drest, so great was the number of the hurt soldiery you should finde in them the morrow after, a great quantitie of worms, with a marvellous stinking fauour. And moreover, there hapned vnto them many Apostumes in diuers parts of their bodies opposite to their hurts. For if they were shotte in the right shoulder, they should haue an Apostume on the left haue; and if the wound were in the right leg, the Apostume would arise in the left arme. As it hapned to the late K. of Navarre, to Monsieur de Neuers, and to Monsieur de Renclan, and almost to all others. So it seemeth, that Nature being so much oppressed with corrupted humors, could not be sufficiently purged and discharged of them by wounds onely, but sent some part of the corruption to some other part either hidden or apparent. For, if the Apostumes appeared not outwardly, they should be found in the inward part; as in

Venemous wounds.

the Liuer, Lungs, or Spleen. Fro those putrefactions were stirred vp certain vapors, which through their combination with the heart, causeth continual Feauers, with the Liuer, a let and hinderance of the generation of good blood; & with the brain swoonings, faintings, convulsions, and consequently death.

Now because of those aforesayde accidents, it is vnpossible for any Chirurgical (were he neuer so expert) to correct the malignity of the aforesaid wounds: neither those that are employed therein, ought not to be reprehended; because it is impossible for them to warre against God, nor against the aire, wherein oftentimes are hidden the rods of his diuine iustice. If therefore, according to the sentence of ancient Hippocrates, who saith; That all contused wounds ought to be brought to suppuration, thereby to be perfectly cured; which method wee are sometimes constrained to change, because of the putrefactions Gangrenas and mortifications which doe accompanie such wounds, thorough the corruption of the aire; and can any blame or accuse vs, because we are constrained through necessity to change and alter that manner of curation, and insted of suppurative medicines to vse other remedies, to resist such accidents which not onely happen in wounds made by Gun-shot, but also by swords or stauers; which remedies shall be described in this present Discourse. Besides humane causes, that man is ill instructed in the knowledge of Celestiall things, which doth not becompe for certaine, that the wrath of God hangeth ouer vs, to punish the faults which ordinarily we commit against his Maiesty. His scourges are prepared ready, his rods and weapons haue they ministers alwayes at hand, to execute the commandment of his diuine iustice, into whose sectors I dare enter no further, but will conclude with the opinion of the best aduised Practitioners, that the principall occasion of the aforesaid mortallitie, did proceede from the pure and determinate will of God, who by the temperature that he hath giuen to the ayre and windes (as the Heraldes of his diuine iustice) hath made vs apt to receiue the aforesaid inconueniencies, which we haue incurred by our iniquities.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

¶ Of the Excellencie of the Arte of Physicke, going farre beyond all other humane Arts and Sciences whatsoeuer.



What humane Arts are vnto becom.

All Arts intended for the use of man.

Diuinity expected from all humane Arts.

The nature and quality of knowledge in humane lawes.

The place allotted to physick in the second degree.

¶ We vnderstand humane Artes (as well Liberrall as Mechanicall) to bee all those, that Man (inspired by God) hath inuented for his necessitie, commoditie, or recreation. Amongest which also is Physicke, the practise of naturall Philosophie vpon the bodies of men, for whom all mechanickall Artes were deuised; as Artes liberrall for exercise of the minde. We except onely from all ordinary professions of Man, the sacred Science of Diuinity; which we vnderstand, not to come within compasse of this comparison, when we extoll Physicke to be aboue all humane Arts: because it is neither Art or humane Science; but a matter merely and purely diuine, not inuented by men, but infused by God; concerning soules, and not bodies; eternall, infallible, immutable, hauing (for object) God Almighty, Creator of the World, who made it of nothing, and for the seruice of man. In whom we are to consider a reasonable soule, the body, and benefits which are giuen vnto him, for the support and maintaining of his life.

Diuinity hath her especial care of the soule, and next to her, Moral Philosophie. Skill and knowledge; restrained vnto humane Lawes, do discourse on goods and proprieties appertaining to men, rendering to euery one that which is his owne. Betweene them both is Physicke, conseruing the body in health, expelling Diseases, and sauing from death, so farre as it pleaseth God to permit. If then the excellency of professions, is to be esteemed in and by their subiects, according as they ought to bee: Physicke will then assume the second place, For, the soule is more then the body, and the bodie more then garments.

I will not heere contest with my Grand Masters the Magistrates, who haue power ouer mens bodies, as well in case of

life, as death: for their authority is nothing else but a mere declaration; either of pardoning, or punishing with death, according to the quality of desert. As for the power of absolution or pardon, if it be in grace, as the sole Prince or Soueraigne Magistrate may do it: it proceedeth from the priuiledge giuen him by God, and not from any knowledge of the Lawes. Like to the other, that declareth the innocence and preuention of the accused: the which is properly to saue, or giue life, because the party standing so accused, hath not therefore deferred death.

And as for power of putting to death, therein is no praise; at least, it ought not to be compared with the power of sauing life. For, so much doth the Physicion (the grace of God assisting) to man, being attainted with deadly diseases, and doubtles should dye, except they were succoured in such manner. Now, whether it is effectable, or no, and that (by the Art of Physicke) life may be prolonged: that we shal more amply relate in the following chapter. Onely our intent heere, is, to shewe the excellencie of man; to confirme the excellency of that Art, which is dedicated onely to his conseruation.

The principall dignity of Man, is in this, that God hath vouchsafed to bestow on him his owne Image and resemblance, giuing him an immortall soule, capable of the Diuinity: in regard that all things were submitted to him, for his necessitie, commoditie, and recreation; hauing made (for his seruice) Heauen, Earth, the Sea, and all that is in them. For God hath no need of any thing, made by himselfe: All is for our vse, and therefore it is easie to vnderstand and know, that Man is more worthy and excellent then all the worlde. So, to speake truly, Heauen and Earth, which haue had a beginning; were ordained for an ending, and to we xolde like a Garment. Onely Man shall neuer end, but change his condition, and of being mortall, he shall become immortall; in a short while after the soule shal receiue her diuorce from the body, taking it vp again, in much more glorious manner then before, and in such a perfect temper, as neuer can be subiect to corruption.

Seeing then, that Man is the worthiest thing in all the world, beside al other whatsoeuer: the Science ordained for his person,

The power of Magistrates in cases of life or death, holding their authority from God.

What diuersity there is betweene the two powers, of sauing life, and putting to death.

Wherein the clearest dignity of Man doth consist.

Man was created neuer to haue ending, but to change his present condition.

Man the only worthy thing in all the world.

son, must needs bee the most excellent aboue all other, next vnto that which properly concerneth his Creator. For, Man is the most worthy creature of all, and (by consequence) the Art or Science which maintaineth him in life and health, is the onely excellent of all humane Arts. This is a strong argument, for the preheminece and dignity of Physicke, according to the singularity of the subiect whereon it discourseth.

I could giue a glance at some other matters, which make (in like manner) for his commendation: As his Antiquity, Necessity, and Vtility, together with the Authority of them, that haue the more reuerenced and esteemed him, for the same reasons. As concerning his Antiquitie, no man doubteth, but it is as olde as the transgression of *Adam*, and that so soone as he had sinned, he (thereby) became subiect to sicknesse. He must needs be Physitian to himselfe, to whom God had giuen knowledge, concerning the vertue of all things whatsoever, and causing him to giue them feuerall names, answerable and according to their feuerall proprieties.

Prophane Histories, doe attribute the inuention of Physick to god *Apollon*, which is the Sonne: signifying thereby, that from the Sun proceedeth the vertue of Plants, and other medicaments, which the earth produceth. Hereupon they conclude, that *Esculapius* (the first that made profession of this Art) was his sonne; and he the Father of *Macchaon* & *Podalirius*, vulnerarie Physitians (otherwise called Chirurgeons) who were in the warre of *Troy*, the History whereof, is the very ancientest in the world.

Now, concerning Antiquity, it is one of those conditions, that commendeth something; provided, that it hath bene continued. For, if it be neither vfe-able, nor beneficiall, it will soon haue ending. But we see (euen to this instant) that Physicke hath bene well maintained, euermore in augmentation, beauty, and liberall bounty. And that, by industrie of the cheefest persons that haue bin, not onely Philosophers by profession, but likewise by Kings, Princes, and other men of greatest esteeme, it hath bene highly honoured, according as ancient Histories, and their learned labors left to vs of Physicke,

do plainly testifie.

True it is, that the *Romaines* did let it passe by them, for about fixe hundred yeares, as holding it in detestation for the cruelty of some Chirurgeons which came forth of *Greece*, a Nation to them very superstitious. But since those times, Physitians were honoured, much respected, & maintained in *Rome*; holding ranke with the cheefest Noblemen and Knights.

Now, touching the Necessity thereof, it is so manifest, as nothing more. But it seemeth, that this may diminish the excellency of the Art; because it is not acceptable or desirable of it selfe, but onely for neede. Like as in Moral Philosophy, that is most esteemed, which is desirable of it selfe (As to haue children, then affectable, for some other respect, as to haue goods for other children;) Euen so, Physicke, being not desirable of it selfe (like to Musick) but for necessity; it appeareth to be the lesse commendable, euen as Mechanical Arts, which cannot passe without vfe. Yet notwithstanding, this is contrary; for, the more necessary Physick is, so much the more it is to be desired: and the excellency of her effects, maketh her to be the more excellent.

And heere, Vtility or commodity ioyneth with it, commending it in the highest degree. For, as there is nothing in the world more welcome then Health, nor more desirable then long life: Physicke, providing both for the one and other, is the more beneficiall to the contentment of men, then any other humane Science can be. For (by the contrary) as whoeuer that hath not health, is vnprofitable to the world: euen so he hath lyued but a litle while, brought therto the lesse benefit with him. For, as the Father of Eloquence sayd, *We are not borne for our selves onely, but our Parents, Kindred, & Friends, our Countrey, yea the whole world; all these do vinge from vs some emolument, and commodity.*

It remaineth now, to confirme all these reasons by great and good Authority, of such as haue much esteemed and extolled Physicke, and the professors thereof, commending it infinitely by their VVritings. In the performance whereof, I shall content my selfe, with the exhortation made in *Ecclesiasticus*, and the remembrance of our graue father *Hippocrates*. Nor is he to

Physicke neglected in Rome for some time.

Of the necessity of Physicke.

Physicke not desirable of it selfe.

Mechanical Arts cannot passe without vfe.

Of the vtilitie of Physicke.

Sicke men are vnprofitable to the world.

Exhortation, of the *Sacred*

Authority for the honour of Physicke.

bee

The Antiquity, necessity, and vtilitie of Man.

Adam was Physitian to himselfe.

What attribution is made to Physick by prophane histories.

Chirurgeons termed vulnerarie Physitians.

Philosophers, Kings, and Princes, haue bin Physitians.

be suspected in the matter, because he was a Physitian: for, he was neuer mercenary, nor at the seruice of any man; but free and most liberal of his profession. And he it was, that first diuided Physicke from Philosophie. Because (in elder daies) Physitians were not distinguished by themselves, but Philosophers did contemplate vpon diseases, and their remedies among naturall things: for their vfe principally (as *Celsus* witnesseth) who had most need aboute other, in regarde of their bodyes weaknesse, being overcome with continuall depressions of Age.

Hippocrates then was the first, that diuided this Art from Philosophy, and made profession thereof publickly; as (afterward) did *Diocles*, *Praxagoras*, *Chrysippus*, *Herophilus*, and *Erasistratus*, all his successors. And they (at length) diuided Physicke into three parts, for better accommodation thereof to sicke persons: referring mechanical people to manuell operation, called Chirurgery, and the preparation of Medicines, which are termed *Pharmacie* or Apothecaries skill, according as (in these our daies) it is exercised among vs. But it is by mercenary people (for the most part) whose testimonie in the Art of physick, can carry here no credit; no, not that of *Galen* himselfe, although he was one of the first subiected seruants thereto.

Wherefore that shall satisfie me, which is recorded by so great a Father, after I haue made recital of the words of *Ecclesiasticus*, the wisedome of *Iesus* the sonne of *Sirach*, writing thus in his 38. Chapter, verse 1. *Honor the Physitian with that honor which is due vnto him, because of the necessity thou hast of him, for the Lord hath created him.* 2. *Healing cometh of the most High, and the Physitian shall be honoured euen of Kings.* 3. *The knowledge of the Physitian exalteth his head, and in the sight of Princes he shall be had in admiration.* 4. *The Lord hath created Medicines of the Earth, and he that is wise will not abhorre them.* 5. *Was not the water made sweete with woode, that men should knowe the vertue thereof?* 6. *So he hath giuen knowledge vnto men, that he might be glorified in his meruallous workes.* 7. *With such doth he heale men, and taketh away their paines.*

8. *The Apothecarie maketh his commixtions, and yet hee cannot finish his owne work: for, it is from God, that health cometh ouer*

all the earth.

9. *My sonne, saile not in thy sicknesse, but pray vnto God, and he will make thee whole.*

10. *Leaue off from sinne, and order thine hands aright, and cleanse thine heart from all wickednesse.*

11. *Offer sweete Incense, and fine Flour for a remembrance; make the Offering faire, for thou art not the first giuer.*

12. *Then giue place to the Physitian: for the Lord hath created him, let him not goe from thee, for thou hast need of him.*

13. *The houre may come, that their enterprizes may haue good successe.*

14. *For they shall also pray vnto the Lord, that hee would prosper that which is giuen for ease, and their Physicke for prolonging life.*

These diuine words do conclude (Seuerie sufficiently) our purpose, for the dignity, excellency, necessity, vtility, and prerogative of Physitians: condemning all such, as hold them in vile estimation, and (in them) do despise the great goodnesse of Almighty God, who hath bestowed vpon men such meanes of healing. Let vs now heare what was spoken by the learned *Hippocrates*. The good olde man, in the Booke of the Lawe, complained so long since, that (euen in his time) Physick was but slenderly esteemed, in regarde of abuse; much more then must it neede be now at this day.

The Art of Physicke (saith hee) is the most apparent of all other: but by the ignorance of some that vse it, and such as indge of the Professours, it is too farre overgone by all other Artes. The faulte (methinks) proceedeth principally from this: That in Cities, there is no punishment appointed to the Art of Physicke, as to others. Except dishonour done it; which arduous afflictions sufficient for such as sayle therein.

They may well be compared vnto the Actors in a Tragedie, who haue the habit, visage, and outward behaviour, of those persons which they represent and counterfeit. In like manner, there are many Physitians in name and repute; but verie few that are the men in dede. For, in him that would truly haue the knowledge of Physicke, fixe feuerall qualities or conditions, are necessarily required, which followe thus. 1. The Nature. 2. Discipline. 3. Good Manners. 4. Learning from his Child-hood.

Sufficient proofe for the authority of Physicke.

Hippocrates lib. de Legap. 16.

A familiar comparison for the bold abuses of so singular a Science.

Ttt

5. Loue

Physicke distinguished three feuerall waies.

Galen distinguished three respects.

Indignity

End. 1558.

Concerning the Apothecaries.

is ordained them by Nature: who (being ignorant) do despise the healthfull manner of living. For, the Science of Physicke, providing for the health and life of Man, hath such vertue; as if any one shall rashly contemne the ordinances thereof, he not only lieth in misery, and all irksomnesse of diseases, but also cutteth off his length of life, and abridgeth the terme which Nature had prefixed for him, anticipating his death, and (as we may well say) thereby cutteth his owne throte. As much to say, when (by vsing euill gouernment) he consumeth his radical humour, sooner then it was ordained for him, or suffocates, or quencth his naturall heate: on both which, do consist the continuance of life.

Now, if such be the law and nature of contraries, that they are said to be in one and the same subiect; as, if the one hold, the other also must do the like: it followeth then necessarily, that if the one can shorten life, the other like wise can prolong it. And seeing it is most euident, that if the life of Man may be abridged, by diuers fautes and blemishes of excess: it may also as sufficiently be concluded, that life may be prolonged by good gouernment and discrete order. For, although the discommodities, which depend vpon the principles of our generation, are not (by any means) to be auoyded or preuented (as the effluxion and continuall dissipation of our whole substance, which is done by naturall heate, being the reason of Ages sooner ensuing, in regard of excessiue and ineuitable exsiccation:) yet notwithstanding, it may be tardyed by Physicke, and so hindered, that the last day shall not come so soone, nor so hastily.

Hath it not bene (almost) in generall obseruation, that diuers haue lien gasping, yea, euen ready to giue vp the ghost, who (neuertheless) haue bin continued in life for longer time, by taking a small quantity of Malmesie, *Aqua vita*, *Aqua Imperialis*, the Confection of *Asteris*, or some other cordiall thing? The period and last limit of life being then so neere; hath it not bene deferred (by those means) vntill another houre? It is reported of laughing *Democritus*, that being entreated by his Houehold seruants (seeing his health very crazie) that hee would banish

all grieue and sorrow from his house, during the *Thesmophorian* Feasts, which were then neere at hand, by prolonging his life till then: that he did it by the sence of Honey, though some others say, that it was by the fauour of hot bread. Thus you see what our Physitions haue deliuered, when there is a varie great apparence of truth.

We haue heard the two parties plead and debate, by contrarieties of sentences and reasons on either side: it behooueth now, to qualifie the contention, and to resolute on this which hath the best hold. And to the end, that it staye doe not with the greater cunning; it is necessarie also, to distinguish the termes of life; that some are super-naturall, others naturall, and others accidentall, which wee call *horned on abridged*.

We call those super-naturall, which GOD Almighty ordained: and prefixed to some, out of his owne mere will, such as are not to bee inhibited by any Act or Councell. As the date of verie long life, which God appointed in the first Age of the Worlde, and before the Flood, for the multiplication of mankind: and especially to *Noah*, for the restoration thereof.

Those which we terme naturall, are they that be bestowed vpon every man, according both to the cunctidit of temper and building, as they are in the principles and foundations, whether strong or weak. In regard whereof, some may live long, others lesse while; according vnto the order of Nature.

And they that doe attaine vnto these termes (the grace of God assisting) except they fall into disorder, or some inconvenience happeneth to them; which are (already to bee called) the limits or termes of the third kind, and which we haue named accidentall, or accidental, that may happen in, or to any age, by casual, and inopinate causes; as *Vounds*, *Poysons*, *Burnings*, *falls*, *ruines*, *shipwracks*, *plagues*, and other populare harmes. Such inconveniences are (most often) ineuitable, and it lieth not in the Science of Physicke, to vie any precaution, against them; but onely to heale the harme already happened, if it be possible. So leauing these termes of life to the arbitration of fortune (which is nothing else, to speake more piously) then the

then the pure will of God, without order of Nature, as elsewhere we haue entrusted: let vs speake onely concerning the terme of naturall life, and explicate the manner thereof more amply.

All the Philosophers and Physitions do agree together, that we ought to measure and bound the continuance or duration of our life, on that which may lengthen our naturall heate, and the radical humour. Now, to the end that these things may last the longer in vs, our good Mother Nature (as *Galen* speaketh) hath placed in vs a meruailous power, which by continuall application of Nourishment, defendeth the ordinary dissipation of our substance and Radical humour, maintaining our naturall heate, as well by this means, as by respiration, and the pulse of Arteries.

But such a kinde of power as we terme Nutritiue, being limited, and not infinite; cannot alwayes defend and conserue the sayde humour in suggesting another. Whereby it cometh so to passe, that the body waxing dry, by little and little, procureth thence, that that power (afterward) is not well exercised in it selfe: but weaketh dayly more and more, so that in the end, the bodies power ceaseth, from being nourished sufficiently. In this manner, those parts becoming saplesse and withered, the body waxeth meager & diminisheth; and so passing on further thus, it dryeth; and then this condition is called wrinkled Age. This is the principall natural necessity of corruption and death, to all bodies begotten: for death ensueth then, when the humor primitive, sustaining or radical, faileth, and natural heat becommeth quenched; and this is the end of life, which we terme naturall ending.

As concerning the Art of Physicke: *It is an Art (saith Auicenne) that exempteth not from death, nor can conduct every one, so farre as to the latest terme of humane life. But it assureth and exempteth from two things; the one is from putrefaction, that it can no way seize, vpon the body, except it be by some externall occasion, as the Pestilence, or poyson; the other is in defending the naturall humiditie, to the end, that it may last the longer, and bee the slower in consuming.*

These two things are in the power of Physicke, whereby it may prolong life, for

so long time as it is due, according to the temper of euery man, and that by three means. The first whereof, is, to pre-occupate strange heats; to hinder opilation; and to eiect the excrements, from whence ensueth the generation of putrefying; or when they are engendered, to qualifie and quench them. The second is, the due administration of drinking & eating; in substance, quality, quantity, time, and order. The third is, to abstaine from things, which, in consuming and exhausting the Radical humour, in a very short while doeth resolute, or dissipate together the naturall heate; as excessiue traualle or labour; yle of sharpe or piercing things, watchings, cares, and diuers passions of the minde. But about all other, immoderate carnall Copulation, and at incommo- dious houres; with some other such like things, which a man may, and ought to shunne, by following the good and wholesome ordinances and rules of Physicke.

But (say you) no man neede doubt of these things, for euery one will gladly agree, to moue the foresaide Reasons, that such cannot but live long, as keepe within the compass of temperance, and haue an especiall care of their health. This is not the matter, of attaining vnto the end and terme ordained by Nature, without abridging or shortning it, although this is a case verie rare. But I demand principally, whether the end and naturall period of life, maybe aduanced and prolonged by the Art of Physicke, or no? The Answer hereto, is, That life is not onely conserued by Physicke, but likewise prolonged. For, it standeth with good reason, that the thing, must needs be the more confirmed and sustained, the principles, foundation, and produced causes whereof, may be continued and extended, yea, & (especially) made the stronger. Nowe, the principles of life (that is, naturall heate, and the primitive humor) if they cannot bee re-integrated, yet (at least) they may be repaired, & made more vigorous by this Art, According as the curing of *Hedickie* or conuulsall Feauers doth shew vs, and the recovering or amending of euery complexion; whereby the naturall heate is ordered and tempered.

If then, by way of liuing humectiue,

T t t 3 or

For such as despise the art of Physicke.

The radical humour and naturall heate

If disorder do shorten life, good gouernment may prolong it.

The reason of the foules stealing of age vpon vs.

Life kept and stayned in great excessiue by drinks and Cordials.

*A Philosopher that laughed at the folliet of the worlde.

The several termes of life distinguished by themselves

Of super-naturall life as before the Flood.

Naturall life giuen to euery one, though not alike.

Accidentall life hapning in any age whatsoeuer.

Inconueniences no way to bee auoyded.

Naturall heate and the Radical humor do prolong life.

An admirable power giuen vnto Nature.

There is of our four common ages writing like Age.

Auticenne his words concerning the Art of Physicke, affirming it two things helpful to mans life.

Three feuerall means for the prolonging of life.

Testimonies of some particular things hurtfull vnto health.

A yielding to the former allegations, with a further obiectiue.

An Answer to the principall point in question, concerning the power of Physicke

The way and means for preferring the radical humor and naturall heate.

Concerning moistening of the solide and spermatike parts.

A further enforcing, for better information in the maine Arguments.

How Physick enstrueth to alter temperatures.

or moistly, as by Bathes of pure fresh waters, and other such like remedies, the radicall humour may be the longer conserved; which otherwise would be ouer soon consumed; and naturall heat kept temperate, so that it may consume her feeding the more sparingly, by defect whereof, death naturally ensueth: wher is the man who wil not confesse, that life may be prolonged by Physicke, which else would haue bin much shorter, and according to Nature? I know well, and I confesse it, that the solid and spermatike parts, cannot be moistned substantially, & of themselves: neuertheless, you will grant, that they may be moistned through the voided spaces and pores, by which the feeding humour insinuateth it selfe, and whereby also the wasting of the radicall humour is the more tardied. And it is almost in the same manner, as when we put water with oyle into a Lampe, to the end, that the Oyle may the more strongly resist the flames deuouring.

But yet (say you) although the termes of life may be lengthened, yet it is not strongly enough proued by this argumēt. Let me then reply, that of the Complexions or tempers of the body, that of the most and cheefest life, is moisture, or that which is in like manner (or together with it) hot and moist, which vulgarly wee vse to terme Sanguine: the contrary, which we call Melancholy, is of far shorter life. So that, whensoever both of them shall vse one gouernement together, and like maintaining; yet notwithstanding, the first will be of longest lasting, because it hath the terme of it owne life furthest off, from the principles of it own generation. Now, the Art of Physicke enstrueth, & the vertue thereof is so great; that it can change (by little and little) the naturall temperature of cold and dry, into their contrary: as Galen teacheth how to do it, in his two last bookes of the preservation of health. Doth it not follow then hereby immediately, that the terme of life may likewise be prolonged by the Art of Physicke? Yes, and that some one, unfortunately borne, and (euen bound as it were) to shortnesse of life; hath yet changed the condition, and become thereby farre more liuely and chearful. Onely by this meanes (in mine opinion) that euerie one easily vnderstandeth, how to learn of an-

other; which is nothing else, but how to lengthen the limits of all Ages, whereby ensueth, that the course of euery life may be prolonged.

And first of all, that the vigor and flour of youth, may long time be preferred by the Art of Physicke, Galen declareth it in this manner: *There are two principall ends in the conseruation of health, which are in our power: namely, to restore the substance dissipated by meats and drinks conuenient, & to resist the excrementes proceeding from them.* If no defailance bee made in any of these: the body (so long) shal inioy helth, and will bee very long time conserved in the strength of his owne vigour. In like manner, and by the selfesame reason, Age (altogether vnaoidable, of such as ought to dye by naturall death) is to bee prolonged by the helpe of Physicke: for that swoonings, trances, and the pale asbie countenances of extreme olde Age, shall come very slowly.

Heereby finally we may conclude, that as in all ages (for we may in like manner, and much more easily, vnderstande the termes of childhood, infancy, & youth) and euery estate of life: the termes may be prolonged by Physick, for further time then they are ordained by Nature. And these are the limits, which God (the principall Authour of Physicke) would haue subiected to this Art: which are in our power, so long as God permitteth, and cutteth not our third of life, vntill it pleaseth him. Euen as in like manner heerebefore, and beyond all the order of Nature by him appointed: he sustained and prolonged life myraculously, without anie Physicall helpe, yea, euen without eating and drinking.

CHAP. VII.

Against such as hold opinion, that Physicians do delay, and prolong hurts & diseases, and are meere abusers of the world.

There is not any other Art, so much subiect to slander and calumnie, as the Art Military, and that of Physicke: which

Euery one is content in desire how to lengthen out life in all degrees.

Galen lik. xvi. de Regimen. cap. 9.

The fleeting of Age to be helpe by physicke.

Life in all degrees of Age, may be prolonged by physicke.

Chap. 7. Of Physitions prolonging diseases.

which agree likewise (very wonderfully) together in many other things, as may more at large be discerned, by diuers discourses following. For, to explicate (familiarily) the decays of Physicke, I shall often borrow similitudes from warre-like actions, and namely at this instant (mee-thinks) I may serue my turne with one, which aptly offers it selfe for my purpose, thus. If a Generall besiedge a Towne, & take it not within some promised time, or else so soon as they hope, who are far off, without knowing how it might be taken; although the Captaine performed his utmost diligence: he shall be suspected and accused in diuers kindes, as of negligence, slothfulness, intelligence, corruption, treason, ignorance, precipitation, or tardinesse in his enterprizes, badde conclusion, pusillanimity, or some other defect in his charge, & yet all these viterly false. But they which iudged thus peremptorily, knew not what resistance the besiedged made, what good prouision they had, what strength of men, and all things requisite to defend themselves, beyond the expectation of the besiedged; who might be abused by his scouters and spies, and diuers, making report of the estate of the place, and of some other exteriour semblances, whence might be imagined, what was within the Towne.

So farcth it with the Physition, who besiedgeth any disease, treacherously entred into the bodye of Man, to enforce him forsake the place. Oftentimes, hee is abused by exteriour signes, and very goodly outward resemblances: whereby, thinking that he is at the end of the Cure, he is compelled to beginne againe. For, hee meeteth with more corruption and ill humours, then hee knew how to fore see, the Disease making farre greater resistance, then the Physition thought on: reinforcing, and repaying it selfe dayly more and more, against the best succour and remedies applied. So that the sicknesse will last longer, then himselfe that hath it expected, and cannot be cured so soone, as (perhappes) the Physition promised, or others imagined, that had intelligence thereof. Whereuppon, hee groweth suspected presently, eyther of ignorance, or of negligence, of couetousnesse, malice, or some other vice, which induceth him to lengthen out the disease,

longer then it ought to be.

As touching ignorance, I suppose it could not bee so, but that the Physition was held to bee skillfull, expert, and an honest man. If hee proued not such a one, it was ill done to call him, and to commit the patients life into his handes: so that the Patient may well say, as Iesus Christ replied vnto Pilate, Iohn 19, verse 11. *He that deliuered mee to thee, hath the greater sinne.*

As for negligence, I grant that there are Physitions learned, expert, and men of good esteeme, who may passe (somewhat ouer-lightly) their visitation and curing of sick perfonnes: but I can neuer thinke, that it should bee to any such end, as to prolong the paine; but rather that it is a negligence of inaduertence, as may happen in diuers of their other sayffaires. For which, there is very good remedy by earnest solicitations, inciting them (as they ought) to doe their dutie, and wishing them to be more frequent in attendance; or else, by giuing them a coadiutor or assistant, to make them the more diligent in their care.

The most that is to bee doubted (in mine opinion) is greedie Auarice: For the vulgar sort thinke, that Physitions (commonly) lengthen out Diseases, and draw the into some time of continuance, to deriue the greater profite from them. Wherefore, I would gladly stand somewhat the longer vpon this point, to reure this false opinion, which is the most erroneous of all.

First, I am of the minde, that the Physition should bee an honest man, in regarde, that hee ought to loue his owne Honour and Reputation. I desire also, that hee should profite in his profession; as euerie one should gette Goodes honestly by his Vocation. If hee bee an honest and Worthie man; hee hath bowelles of Christian Compassion, and neuer will suffer any man, (by or with his will) to languish out in sicknesse or disease: but if hee bee no such man, hee ought not to bee employed, as I haue formerly saide. But if hee be badly enclined; he may make his aime and intent, to grape vp Wealth; getting a name for no other end, but to become rich. Yet let me tell yee, if hee prolong Diseases, which he may and can shorten: hee

Concerning ignorance in the Physition.

Iohn 19, 11.

For Negligence in their attendance, on sick & weak patients.

Auareice and couetousnesse to prolonge patient in paine.

The Authors auareice concerning this couetous point, in behalfe of good and honest Physitions.

The former discourse altered vnto the Physitions labour.

The best Art man may be deceiued in his owne skill.

The Art of Warre & the Art of Physick compared together in badnes of fortune.

Is a matter
of no great
consequence
to be famous
and to haue
great refert
of Patients.

he is no able man, but goeth quite contrary to his intention. For, if he can cure in lesser time then other men do, he shall be in the greater request: hee shall haue such crowdes of patients resort vnto him, as hee can hardly come neare them himselfe, and rather they wil giue him a french Crowne, then a Testir to any other. For, what is hee, that would not rather pay double, treble, yea foure-fold more then ordinarie, to be so soone recouered? If, to some other Physitian, who commeth ouer-late to the cure, ten Crownes bee giuen: there needeth no complaint, if sicke Crownes be distributed to him, that shall abridge the time of a mans agony, in halfe the third or fourth part of sufferance.

Physitions
are not able
to cure or re-
couer at their
own pleasure.

But, to speake vprightly, it is not in the Physitians power, to doe any such acte at his owne pleasure. He would gladly with it so, that he had such a vertue, as to heale by touching, seeing, or the very first receipt giuen, or onely by good gouernement, or any other such light direction: He should haue the lesser paines, be tenne times the more esteemed; and gaine infinitely to his owne advantage. Oh good God! how soone might hee be rich, that could be so prosperous and successfull. It is not then to be imagined, that Physitians (prouoked by couetousnesse) should delight in prolonging diseases: seeing they may gaine so much with good-will, reputation, yea, and extraordinarie recompence, if they had power to cure with such expedition. But I pray you tell me one thing, Is there a Physitian, that hauing parents, kintred & familiar friends, of who he wil take nothing for his paines? Can hee cure them (for his credite sake) in lesser time: the disease being alike, and the subiect answerable? Hee winneth nothing by the length of such sicknesses: it is enough if he loose not the good opinion conceived of him, and diuers kind of offices done vnto him. Let mee say moreouer, when himselfe, his wife, or children lie sicke; they depend vpon his owne experience, and neede not to haue any delay in their recouerie: but can hee sooner cure them, then any other being in the same distresse? Questionlesse, it is a great follie, to thinke, that Physitions should be so forgetfull of themselves, as, to prolong diseases willingly, and with their know-

Physitions
should take
small delight
in lingring
diseases.

ledge; in regard of iust affection to their owne honour and profite.

It may fall out with them, as it often doeth to hardie Souldiours, in besieging some appoynted or determined place, who thinke to effect the businesse in three dayes compass, and yet continue there a moneth before it, without dissembling or sparing any paines. They were perswaded, that a wall could not resist tenne shotte of the Cannon; and yet it out-stood more then an hundred. They held opinion, that the besieged were not stored with victuals and munition, for about eight dayes; and finde them furnished for more then two months. Whatsoeuer is thought or conceiued in this kinde, be they neuer so many, they are but coniectures, idiomes of some resemblance, examples and obseruations, which faile as often as they speed. And yet (for all this) the valiant Capitaine assaillant, ought not to be accused, for ill doing his duty, when hee performed all that Arte and Industrie could require.

In all respects, this is the Physitians case, who is most excusable altogether, when hee sayleth in the quantity and efficacy of his remedies. For this is the principall matter (as Galen auoucheth in many places) that makes the Arte of Physicke coniectural, *Defining coniecture to be a meanes or condition, between perfect knowledge, and pure ignorance.* Therefore it ought to be interpreted to the best, and taken in good part, what successe the remedies sort vnto, which learned, expert, diligent and honest Physitian applyeth fittest for the purpose, and the most iustly as is possible for him; euermore referring the euent and issue to Almighty God, who giueth and taketh, augmenteth and diminisheth the power of those remedies, according to his best pleaseth him, whether the disease shall be soone or slowly ended; one while indifferently amending, an other while agayne as doubtfully depending.

Malice or spleene now remaineth; which may be suspected in the Physitian. If there be the very least occasion of rancour, hatred and ill will betweene the Physitian and his patient: there was no good aduice or discretion, in calling such a man to the businesse. For (on the contrary) it is very expedient, that the sicke per-

Another fa-
miliar allu-
sion of Martial
discipline to
Physicke.

Of purposed
malice to do
harme priuily

How malice
in the Physit-
ian vnder-
stood by the
common peo-
ple, in their
misgirt inter-
pretation.

No recourse
can be had
to such
treacherous
dealing in a
Physitian.

Of malice
harred in the
physitian to-
wards his pa-
tient.

How sickness
undermineth
the strength
of Nature, to
gaine the v-
per head
thereof.

son should loue his Physitian, and he him agayne in like manner, although they haue no knowledge of each other, eyther by name or action. In this case, a strict concordance of amity, ought to be contracted betwene their hearts: For other-while, the patient will neuer kindly receive his Physitians best succour, nor the other care for administering, where hee findeth his paynes not to bee affected. As for deliberate and purposed malice, with an intent to doe hurt secretly; if there be any Physitian to be taxed with such a sin: hee ought rather to be rancored with impositions, and not any way to bee imployed.

But, I vnderstand by the vulgare sort, that they take this word Malice: in another kinde of sense, to wit, that Physitians (with their intent and knowledge) doe cast downe their patients bodies ouerlowe; by abstinence and euacuations, euen endangering the very latest passage. And that this is done, but in ostentation of their Arte, and to winne the worthier reputation, when they can come off with any credit or else they saue and shield it, with some prognosticke opinion, conceyued at the beginning and vnder taking the businesse, that the patient was (euen then) in danger of death; but this doth proceede from such, as haue formerly fallen into the same perill. Thus doe I comprehend the doubtful coniecture of the common people, and (many times) they spare not to speake it.

In very truth, it were most maliciously, traitorously and wickedly doone, if any Physitian should play such pranks with a poore sicke bodie: yee, as vilely done, as if a man should throw such a one into a river, as knew not how to swimme, hoping quickly to cast a cord after him, thereby to get him on shore agayne. For it may so fall out, that the party thus lowled and submerged in the water, knowes not how to catch the cord, or cannot hold it strongly enough, or hath not power sufficient to be drawne forth, and so is drowned in this distresse. But surely, it is not credible or likely, that any Physitians should be so bad minded, as to bring sicke bodies so low by their applications: which (if they are not) ought to bee well instituted, and accordingly as best appertayneth to the case. It is the disease it selfe, which con-

tinually undermineth the forces of nature, encreasing still his owne power to a certayne poynnt, which is the vigour and foraigne condition of the sicknesse. After which, if the disease be curable, ensueth the declination, and diminution of the maladie; and thorow all these accidents, the patient proceedeth on to health, as wee shall haue fitter occasion to speake of hereafter.

There are people somewhat more modest, who say not, that Physitians do rake downe their patients bodies so lowe, and bring them into danger: but that they stretch forth the sicknesse in length, eyther by their indulgence (that is, by ouermuch pleasing the sicke persons humour) or to binde him in the larger advantage to them, by recouering him out of a long lingering maladie. As touching indulgence, or tender-heartednesse, it is verie true, that many sicke men affect rather, to be slowe in recouering, then speedily, onely by being the gentler handled: which is an excuse sufficient for the Physitian, provided, that hee makes protestation thereof, for safetie of his owne honour and reputation.

As for such as prolong sickness, thereby to deriue the greater benefite: that were a smooth-faced kind of treason, and (indeede) meere villany. And surely, it cannot be credible (if the Physitian do vnderstand himselfe well) that he should (at any time) offer to delay a disease. For, he is not able to measure, or comprehend the times length; and, by giuing way to such protraction, the interior cuill may grow the worse; wherein is greater perill, then delaying simply, or the cure waxing long. It is another maner of thing, then vicers dealt withall by the Chirurgian: for they may well bee maintayned, without any prejudice to the person, because the inner parts of the body may be safe enough, purging themselves by the vicer, and that there be no other harme, then the vicerated parts.

For prooffe whereof, wee oftentimes appoynt, that Fistulaes should be entertayned with delay, and make issues and fontanelles in many places of the body, which wee must haue kept open for verie long time. But inward maladies are of another consideration, and neuer ought to be dallyed withall: but if they can be cured,

Of such as
are more mo-
dest in com-
plaining on
Physitions, for
lengthning their
diseases.

Of prolong-
ing sickness
for the larger
benefit.

Vicers and
sicknesses of
the body are
not equall in
curing.

Inward sick-
nesses are so
speedily cured
and no way
delayed.

red, to procure it with all possible speede, or so soone as may be.

Another point of calumny, is, that Physitions doe abuse the world, that men may well be cured without them; nay, much better and sooner: and, they doe nothing else but deale confusedly. Wee haue already sufficiently confuted this folie, by the sacred authority of *Ecclesiasticus*. Notwithstanding, I will borrow one similitude more from that famous (and as much wronged) Militarie profession, our Arte holding therein equall comparison. Some places doe gladly yeeld themselves to the besieger, in regarde hee hath cutt off all their victuals and prouision. Others, at the very first view of the Cannon: Other at the first assault: And contrariwise, some there are that remain impregnable. Now, if we should argument in this manner, we daily see places, that yeelde themselves without enforcing: what neede is there then of besieging, assaulting, fighting, ruining the walles or any other hostile acte? What neede we to make warre on Towne or Cittie; when (many times) wee see them voluntarily submitte themselves? It is then but an abuse, and a foolish idle expence to the country (how feditious fouer it be) to haue Souldiers, Artillerie, and any other furniture for warre: where such employment is counted a meere inuention, and cheating of the people, who liue free from such molestation, and all goes well with them.

To our purpose then. If all places be feeble, and no resistance is made, by men well munited, and provided with courage, and other things requisite for their defence; those places may easily yeelde themselves. As the like doe light diseases, against which needeth no force of notable remedies; but many times do weare away of themselves: yea, and sometimes the very strongest, as burning feauers, when there is no great munition within the body to entertaine them, but that the naturall forces make worthy resistance, against the insolencie of the euill. Otherwise, there is neede of succour, to employ batterie, and all kindes of the best remedies: albeit often it commeth so to passe, that all these doe aduantage nothing, the disease remaying still incurable.

What benefite is it to forrow then, or say, that the partie might haue bene bet-

ter holpen without all this, or that the patient is meere abused? Rather account that truly for an abuse, if a man promise cure of a disease, which is held to be incurable; hee not knowing any remedie, that hath power sufficient to ouercome it: Euen as he shall be abused, that attempteth to compell a Towne to yeelde, by blowes of his fists, or to beate downe the walles with a harquebuzze shot: where the Cannon is rather too litte, and no answerable engin or instrument is to be had. Such are the notable abuses, & true cheateries, which Mounte-banke Empirickes impose vpon the people; promising the curing of all diseases, and more then all many times. Wel may it be said, that they abuse the world, and not naturall Physitions, being learned, expert, and approued honest men.

CHAP. VIII.

That it is neither sinne, nor any acte ill done, to call for the Physition, and to vse his remedies, when men are diseased.

Here is an other kinde of error grounded on the foolish superstition of some Idees, who thinke it an offence to God, if they call for the Physition, to cure their harms & sickness; saying, *It is to contradict, and oppose our selues against the will of God, who hath visited them with such an affliction, and onely for their good: because, by chastising the bodie, the soule is purged from sinne.* Adding further, as maister *Gwydo Chauliac* declareth in his singular chapter. *God hath sent me, as he pleased, and he will take from mee, when he pleaseth, the name of God be blessed, Amen.* Referring their health and recouerie (wholy) to the intercession of the Saints and the Saints of *Paradise*, making Vows, Almes, Prayers, and Pilgrimages, &c.

This opinion most erronous, is easily refuted, by that which wee haue already alleaged, out of the Booke of *Ecclesiasticus*, where he piously exhorteth the sicke (and with great wisdom) *To reconcile himselfe first to God, whom hee hath offended: and after, to giue way to the Physition, whom God hath created, & giuen him know-*

Where the Physition is refused, no meruall if the cure grow desperate.

Such are they, who are so desirous about the countie.

God onely is the giuer, and maintainer of health, by such means as hee hath appointed.

Proud and arrogant words in tempting God.

There is small wisdom to tempt God in his hidden manner.

Careless Countenances that will not stand out what they say, but rather desire that God should take their ouer-sight.

Althings that God can doe, hee will not to please presumptuous men thereby.

The whole of the Will is to every sick person.

Chap. 9. Of Ingratitude to Physitions.

ledge, to be glorified in his wonderful works. It is most true, that God sendeth afflictions for our chastisement, and hath made vs subiect vnto them, because wee should acknowledge our owne infirmities. From him also proceedes health and recouerie, by those means which he hath ordered in nature: giuing vertue to plants and other creatures, to ouercome and expell diseases: ordaining the Science of Physicke, & the Apothecaries skill to that effect, euen as well as Tillage and husbandrie, ordained for the sustentation of men, and support of this fraile and mortall life.

Well may we say then, that these are the meanes which ought not to be despised; for, a wise man will no way disdaine them. Otherwise it is to tempt God, as if (vainly) we would haue him to worke myracles, according to our appetite. For, he that saith, *If God will that I shall be healed of this sickness, I shall be healed, without vsing the Physition: And if I must die, the Physition can not saue mee.* This is euen as if hee should say, *If I must yet liue a yeare longer, and that is so appointed by God: I shall safely liue without eating or drinking, and then such expences may well be spared. For if I must liue so long, it is impossible that I should die before, although I neither eate nor drinke.*

An extraordinary folie and rashnesse, for a man to promise to himselfe, that God will worke a miracle vpon him: euen to tempt him by such an essay, trauing foode fit for him, and appointed by God for the nourishment of his body. Is not this meely tampering of God, to trie whether hee will worke against the order of nature, or no? He may suffer him to die in this folie by meere extremitie of hunger; and the poore Idiot shall then finde by effect, that he vainly collected this fantastike brutallie in his minde, that God should maintaine him in life, without receiuing sustentation. If God will, he can doe so, but we know the ordination of his owne will, for all men to make vse of his blessings in their food, whereto we are to keepe vs, and not to seke after other extraordinarie means, which are vngodly to vs; and not to bee employed, according to our presuming appetites.

So standeth the case of Physicke, appointed by God for the health of the sicke, and conseruation of them in sound condi-

tion. For, whoeuer will be cured otherwise, and hath gotten an opinion, that if he must haue health, he may haue it without helpe of the Physition; who hath the only meane to doe it: he tempteth God; and expects, that hee should performe a miracle, foolishly contemning the naturall course, which God ordained against diseases. Euen as if his house were on fire, and hee will suffer none to quench it with water, saying: *If God will that it should be saved, the fire will be quenched by other means.*

CHAP. IX.

Concerning the ingratitude and unkindnes in sicke and diseased persons, towards Physitions.



Ingratitude is most odious both to God & men, and hath iustly bin reputed for so notorious a vice: as he that speaketh of Ingratitude, speaks of all the euils in the world. And this is so common amongst men & especially in the case of Physitions; as I am amazed many times, that any generous heart will be a Physition: his profession beeing euerie where subiect to calumny, and conline germane to Ingratitude.

But there are some friends, men of reason, honest and acknowledging, who can see cleaneely couer this offence: seeming willing in any goodnes towards the profession, and not altogether so vthankfull as others are. For there are some who complaine in contencie, as they haue protested publicly, & very often: that (next vnto God) they hold their liues of such & such Physitions. And, having acknowledged (according to their faculty) the labor and industry of the Physition, will also confesse freely, that they are vnable to recompense him with all their goodnes, as therein they speak no more then truth. For, if they owe their liues to the Physitions succour, their life is of greatest value about all their goodnes is not in their power to discharge that debt, although they giue him all their substance.

But the worst point of recompence, is their thankfull acknowledgements to the Physition, saying; they stand obliged to him, and

Physicke ordained by God, for benefit of the sicke and healthfull, and that no man should despise it.

An ingratefull man is the only foule name in the World.

Outward professors of loue to physitions, all in ceremony, but little in acte.

Life is more worth then all the wealth in the world.

Wherein the chiefest point of recompence consisteth in gratifying Physicians.

The common words of many ingratefull men in their wretched times.

How the words of fauouring life, and preserving from death, are harsh to many nice hearers.

Cures performed by physicians in extremity of danger.

The words of Herophilus, concerning physicians.

and are indebted to him for their life. This is euen as much, as if a man should snatch a sword out of anothers hand, that stooke ready to kill him therewith; or a strangling cord, by which he meant to end his daies. Were it your case, stood you not beholding to that man for your life? And could (all you had) make him sufficient recompence? Some will say, I haue well payed my Physician, yea, ouer-payd him; haue giuen him so much euery day, I owe him nothing. If he haue made me well, I haue as wel requited him. Alas poore man, that which is giuen to the Physician, is a small acknowledgement, for so great a good as thou hast receiued: for thou payest or recompencest him with the fruit of his own labour: If hee preferred thee from death, (as happily he did, the grace of God assisting) there is no equal recompence in thy power, except thou expose thy life for him, as he made no spare of his for thee. In this manner thou remainest (for euer) indebted, and thus thou confessest truly thy obligation, when (with an intire and vpriight heart) thou makest such an acknowledgement to him.

I know there are some, who wil thinke these words to be hard, and harsh; when I say, he faued thy life, and preferred thee from death; notwithstanding, it is discerned euidently. Put the case, that a man being wounded, loseth his blood in extreme abundance, and doublelesse dyeth instantly, except the blood be staied: he that puts his finger into the wound, & thereby ceaseth bleeding; is not he worthily said, that hee saueh life? As much, and farre more doth he, that restraynes it by medcins, and so consolidates the wound, as (otherwise) it could not be healed. As much also doth he, that restrayneth a fluxe in the belly; an extreme vomiting, or some other pernicious and deadly vacuities: Or (conueniently) healeth a Pleurisie: Or him, whom the Squinzie hath stuffed and balle strangled. As much (alquestionlesse) doth he, that catcheth a child out of the fire, where he had bene burnt to death, but for such present succour.

No lesse account ought to be made of Physicians, who make prouision against inward euilles, and succour nature secretly by diuers means, the power whereof appeareth by worthy effects; because they are (as Herophilus saith) *The hands of God.*

For he releueth and draweth from deadly dangers, by the means of apt remedies, which the Physician vseth in needefull time. Is it not then a worke more diuine then humane, and can no way be sufficiently recompenced? whereof *Ecclesiasticus* spake very well. *The Science of Physicke, and knowledge in the Physition, shall exalt his head, and make him admirable among Princes: the Physition shall be honoured of Kings.* These are the principall acknowledgements due vnto him, honour and gratitude, as a certaine obligation: and not perswasion, that money can returne him sufficient, or equall recompence.

But there are some, that doe deale farre worse, who, after they haue bene healed, by the means of good and loyall succour: can not endure to betolde, that they are beholding to the Physician, but growe hatefull against him, that saued their liues. Oh extreme ingratitude! but yet not only in these our daies: For *Hippocrates*, in his Epistle to *Damagetus*, maketh *Demonstrations* to speake in this manner. *I thinke (saith he) O Hippocrates, that in our Science, many things are subiect to oblique and ingratitude. For sicke persons (if they escape) referre their recoverie to the Gods, or else to Fortune, or else to their owne good complexion, robbing the Physition of all honour: Whome (oftentimes) they haue afterwards, being angry and offended, that anie should thinke them beholding, or indebted to him. Moreover, they will not attein or confesse their obligation: but rather are well pleased, that ignorants in the Arte (who neuertheless liue by the Profession) should be of the same temper, kicking enuiously against him, &c.*

This suiteth (best of all other) with these our daies. For, the most part of sicke people now referre their recoverie wholly, to some he-Saint or she-Saint of *Paradise*, to whome they vowe and deuote themselves.

And although (many times) they do not performe their voves; yet can they follow that which the Italian sayd: *Passato lo malo gabato lo Santo*: The disease being past, the Saint is cheated. Euen (for all the world) as men make great promises to the Physician; so long as the extremitie of anguish lasteth, protesting to giue him mountaines and maruailes; yea, to pay all in Golde and precious Stones, or else, a good pension all his life time.

Recklesly

Ingratitude the very highest degree, baste him that preferred their liues.

Highly Damag.

Our times learned ingratitude of some Ages, was not a little of thankfulness.

In

Mountaines promised, and yet none were performed.

All means devised to rob the Physician of his due.

For performing of promises to physicians.

There are too many such in these ingratefull times.

Two are compared as agreeing with the physicians fortune.

In briefe, much goodnesse is pretended to be doone him; but when the patient cometh to health, then hee is of a quite contrary minde: Either, that the Physician performed not the cure, but that it might haue bene doone without him. Or else, from the follemne vowe he made, came the cause of his recouerie; with the good attendance of his Keepers, and diuers comfortable broaths: Or else, from the Apothecarie, to whome hee rather will attribute all the successe, rather then to the Physician; although the other did nothing, but by his direction. Else, hee will attribute it vnto the goodnesse of his owne complexion: or to some casual chauncy, by some disorder in him committed, and doone: some of these must haue the reference of his healing: So that the Physician shall surely haue the smallest part; or rather none at all, of the honour, gratitude, kindnesse and recompence.

And as concerning promises, the man being recouered, then hee considereth; what charges the sicknesse hath cost him; how long hee hath depended vpon the cure, and what an hinderance it hath bin vnto him. Thus his debt to the Physician is forgotten, and to him hee imputeth a part of his expences, reputing all superfluous, and keeping his bodde ouer long, hoping hee should haue bene restored much sooner, and with a great deale lesser charges. So that (in his account) the Physician should be indebted to him: and if hee could finde Iudges answerable to his minde, hauing iudiciall authoritie, he would haue him condemned in the greatest part of his expences. Heete is good acknowledgement of a benefite receiued; was there euer the like ingratitude?

Surely, I can compare it with none other, then as if a man should strangle himselfe by depayre; or otherwise, and some one coming to succour him, did cut the cord: when the other (maliciously) afterwards, should make him pay for cutting the halter. Or an other man, ready to be drowned in the water; any man endeavouring to saue him, put his own life in perill (by chance) to are a lappet of his garment; and the drowned man (after) to enforce repayment for his torne garment. So, they which should be payers, doe

become demanders; confessing neither gree nor grace, for all the good seruice performed vnto them: but rather affect, that an ignorant varlet, or some chame-chamber woman; procured their healthfull recovery, when the cure and industrie of the painefull Physician. And I guesse this to ensue from one of these two reasons; eyther that they are so dull and forth, as they haue not the capacitee of comprehension. Or else, knowing it well enough; they are ashamed and confounded, for not hauing the will to acknowledge and confesse it. Well may I then conclude, as I beganne this Chapter: Ingratitude is most contemptible to God and men.

CHAP. VI.

That the vulgare sort doe account it nothing, if they be not cured or healed contrary to their owne opinion. That the latest applied remedies haue all the honour: And happy is the Physician that cometh to the declination of the disease.



Our next ensuing error, is strongly in cōiunction with the former, and (oftentimes) is the cause of the sayde Ingratitude. For, if a sicke person bee not healed against his owne opinion, or of such as come to visite him; there is nothing at all doone, and therefore they know not how to conceiue of the Physition.

Now, to heale or recouer a man against opinion, consisteth of two partes: One is, to heale in least time, and (as it were) at vnawares. As, if the disease last commonly with so much access, or so many daies; to cure it in much lesser space. For otherwise, say they: Well sir, the malady hath made his full course, and yet the Physition hath doone little or no seruice at all; as well might it haue bene done within the same time. Poore iudgements, doe yee not beholde, that in one and the same kinde of infirmities, some are short, and others long? There are tertian Feauers or Agues, and of continuance

Two imagined reasons of this base ingratitude to well deservers

Recovery contrary to opinion, is distinguished two wayes. 1. Of healing in lesser time, then the disease lasteth.

Of tertian Fevers, and them of continuance.

nance also, which last and hold for a month or two, you imagine, that the Tertian should not exceed (at the most) a few days, which are fourteen daies, and the continuer to consist of leauen, eleauen, or foureteene, as you haue heard Physicians speake, which is the terme of exquisite feauers. But you know not, that of a thousand, we shall hardly meete with two such, because the most part are confused and mingled, whereby their terme is much more lengthened, as in all diseases engendered of diuers humours.

You imagine (and it is true) that if the tertian Aque doe end within three weeks, or a month, being well beaten by our remedies: that (but for such encountering) would haue endured two or three months, as hath bin seene in many others. Was it not well rebated, and cunningly out-kept for the patient? Yet nothing at all is done (saith he) if much more be not performed, then he pretended. For he is of the mind, that a Physician may handle sicknesse, as men doe Stirrop-leathers, in lengthening or shortening them as they list. The acte is not sufficient to abate or extenuate a quarter, a third part, or the moiety of the paine, and to hinder or appease those diuers accidents, which commonly happen in all kindes of diseases, deliuering found and probable reasons, for the best account that can be possible, and the charges equall to his owne desire.

Yet this is falling into an other part of vulgar opinion, as namely, that all is nothing worth Sir, except ye can heale such as are held for dead. For, admit the sicknesses to be deadly, as all diseases are, which we call eager (that is to say, curing, goes on swiftly, and is not without terrible accidents) if the patient or his visitants hold opinion, that this great danger may be recovered, and it prooue to be so: yet still nothing is done. Contrariwise, if the sick man chauce to die, then the Physician is in all the fault. For the assistants were persuaded (though the Physician found the contrarie in his prognosticke rule) that he might be recovered. But if they imagine that a man will dye, or hold him already for dead, then the Physician beholdeth great wisdom. For, though he doe nothing else, but appoynt Broaths for him, with some drogneries or confectiones, especially restorative and cordiall things

(albeit they are not to any purpose,) yet hath he performed a chiefe piece of work. Here is a rare cure; hee hath recovered such a man, giuen ouer for dead: he hath rayed him agayne: Oh, he is a great and worthy man, & pittie it is he should wand.

The same Doctor, at the very same time, hath another patient, whose sickness is not reputed deadly, because the euill lies more closely concealed. He takes very great payns to restore his health, and to compasse his intent, imployeth all his skill and industry for the patients safety: whom he knoweth to be in greater danger, then all the friends (standing by) doe or can imagine. At the last, he dyeth, quite contrary to their common opinion. Look then vpon Maister Physition, his reputation is suddenly lost, and then they tell him: That hee meddled with too many matters at once: The other man was much better gouerned. Thus, neuer is any thing doone of value, if it be not performed, against the hope and expectation of the vulgare.

An other error propounded in this Chapter, is, the attribution of the successe in the cure, to the latest administered remedies: euen as they refferre the occasion of sickness, to the last hurtfull acte that the party committed. As if a man had fed on some fruit, salad, or other thing lesse ordinary, & (soon after) the party falls sicke, of some disease more then of a months continuance) yet that must be the only cause: neuer remembering other precedent disorders, which procured the greater part in preparation. For, euill humors will haue a meeting together by little and little, till they come to a certayne quantity, against which, nature hath power to resist no longer. Euen as wee see a Glasse (set in the raine) to fill it selfe by many drops of water, so long as till they come to the brim: but being full, the least drop then following, makes an ouer-flow. Euen so, the least addition, to that which nature hath already supported, makes hir to sinke vnder the ouer-plus: as a yong Mule, vied to a common charge: how little sooner is added to her vsuall burden, she is (by no means) able to beare.

It was not then the last morsell, meate, or disorder, that did the harme, the precedent riots had performed their parts before. Euen as in the felling of a tree, 100.

CURES

The recovery of one patient, is more warrant for all others in the like case.

3. The third proposition.

Sicknesse imputed to last occasion, while the infirmity had bin of longer continuance.

Nature is so sufficient of itselfe, that needfull addition breedeth but diseases.

Perfession may do somewhat in physick, but not absolutely performe the Cure.

The Arguments still holding between Physicks and Skill stay Difficultie.

It is not the last application in physick, that is the Master-piece.

Sicknesse may seeme sudden, but they haue other precedents occasions.

cure (giuen with an Axe) appeare to be in vaine, and fill it stands; for tis the blundered and cleaneueth stroke that ouerthrowes it. Now, if a man shall say, the last oide blow did the deed; should he not do great wrong to all the rest? As also, when a strong Tower hath endured 1000. discharges of the canon, and at the last shot of all, it falleth: Did the last do any more then the first? It is all one in iudging of remedies, which abate the harme, and expell sicknesse out of the body. The last application (whatsoever it was) may haue the honor by vulgar censur, speaking according to their capacity: but what was the labour and paines performed before, of purging, glysters, drugges of diuers kinds, administered both within and without, did all these nothing? In the end, some one thing is added, and then the man is made well. Popre idle opinion, if this last admired acte had bene done at the first, it had serued to no vse at all: but after the hor seruice of so many other remedies, which controuled and disheartened the euill, shaking, and renting it from the root; the least thing in the world could then quite displace it.

Like to poore belied people, no longer able to hold out; let but a man be slain among them, and they yeelde themselves immediately. Shall it therefore be said, that all the battery, all the assaults, cutting them off from vitailles, and other good means for conquering; these serued to no purpose at all? But only he did the deed, that discharged the last Musket, and yet (notwithstanding) he killed but one man: If he had slaine a chiefe Commaunder, it had bin a matter of much more moment; Euen so, a bribe or ricker, hung about the necke; or drugges tied about the writh of a man; shall haue the honour of healing Agues, affirming, that they could not be cured by any other applied good orders, directions, remedies, and great medicines. This is all one, as if the disease hung by a twine thred, which may easily be broken by perswasion and opinion; and thereupon the sicke man restored: but if this had bene applied in the beginnings, the patient could not haue bene cured, by an hundred times as many perswasions, or the very strongest imaginations. Perswasion & imagination may do somewhat in healing, but not all, nor alone of themselves. Thus you see how true and

certaine remedies, are robbed of their due honour, by iudging ill of the successe, because men would be cured suddenly, before any thing at all is done to effect it: otherwise, all induer else is but in vaine, & serueth to no purpose. He only is the author of the happines, after whom (immediately) a man findes himselfe to be recovered.

And because it is commonly said (which is the fourth point of this Chapter) *Happines is the Physition, that comes to the declining of the disease*, we must imagine, that what soeuer was done before, health stood at the doore; tarrying but for his entrance; healths introduction is attributed to him. And although that Physition shall do nothing at all, nor appoint or giue direction; yet (say the people) he is the cause of the happines: and if he had bin sent for at the beginning, the sicke man had sooner bin got on foot. But if the Physition be wise & honest, he will not be bonneted with this honor, consenting to theiue's larceny and detraction, against them that well entreated the patient, & (vnder God) were truly the Authors of his restoring. Rather he will reforme those poore opinions, by shewing them, that the accidents formerly past, were of the nature of the sickness, which hath had such a course; and that (by good directions already administered) all succeeded well, and to the aduantage of the patient.

If he doe otherwise, and attribute that honor to himselfe, or accept it from their vulgar ignorance, he commits a shameful wrong, and the like leueth may afterwards hang at his owne ease. For, of what sufficiency or reputation farther he be, it may so come to passe, that another Physition shall be called, vpon the ending of the cure by him taken in hand at the first, and he may ascribe him the same kinde. Euen as a man, therefore ought to be well aduised, and honestly consider his selfe, with such honor, as is due vnto him; boasting his colleague or fellow-labourer in painfull endeauours, yelding good and faithful testimony, of each others laudable performed actions. Accounting himselfe happy (newer than euer) that he came to the declining of the disease; where, taking no more paines, yet he shared a part in the gratefull acceptance, due vnto them that were employed from the first beginning.

Vvv 2

CHAP.

4. The Physition is esteemed a happy man, that comes to the ending of an infirmity.

No honest man will be the bane pretturer of another mans truly deferred reputation.

Who soeuer doth another man wrong, may meete with the like himselfe.

A duty necessarily requir'd among learned and honest physicians.

The sick man accounteth nothing to be well done, if it be not answerable to his owne opinion.

It is nothing to cure sicke men, except they be reputed for dead, or very neere it.

Men repute themselves iudicious and wise in their owne conceits.

CHAP. XI.

Against such as censure and iudge of Physicians sufficiency, by their success: which oftentimes is more due to a happy chance, then skill or knowledge.

Badly can a blinde man iudge of colours, no more can a foole of Physicke.



HIS is a great matter, that the Science of Physicke should be so obscure & profound, as nothing more: and yet notwithstanding, there is not any so foolish but will take on him to censure the knowledge of a Physician. To iudge soundly & iustly, concerning the sufficiency of anie man: it behooveth him (at the least) to be of the same profession, and to know something therein too. It must needs then be great rashnesse, for men that vnderstand nothing in Physicke, to enterprize to iudge, who are the best and most skillfull Physicians. Their eye and censure waies on the success of their practise; & if from one hitale (by chance, or sodainly, as we said before:) he is censured for a singular Physician, although he did not any thing deserting speech. On the contrarie, the Physician little knowes, whether the patient shall die, or linger long in the agonies, which the vulgar esteeme lightest of all. Modesty will neuer say, such a man is more or lesse skillfull, if he be repared among men of knowledge: but will rather say, he is not happy among these men, and consequently, no great Physician; euen more censuring by the success.

Good and ill hap awaiteth vs, by the actions of al men, and consequently vpon Physicians.

It is vndoubtedly true, that in all things there is a happinesse and unhappinesse, & (as the Italian saies) *La buona e la male fortuna, Good fortune and bad.* And the best happinesse for the Physician is, (not to be called or employed for such as are certain to die: For, there is no reputation to bee had, no, nor in respect of friendship; neuertheless, he shall be sure nor to escape blame, although he hath done his very vtmost endeavour; and ought to bee no lesse esteemed, then if the patient had escaped. Euen as we may say of a Captain, that shall defende a Town to the very last Effort and labour, hauing enter vp all the horses, Affes, Dogs, Cats, Rats, which the besieged place could afford, hides, parch-

ments, and other vile foodde (as is sayde of them of *Santerre*, in the yeate 1573; who fed vpon the very tiles and flates, making bread of them, as I know not how.) Hauing lost the most part of his men, the wall all battered, and no meanes whereby to resist any longer; constrainedly (in the end) renders vp the Towne. Shall hee deserve lesse commendation (nay rather not farre more) then he that sau'd his own towne, being well munitioned and provided of all things needfull, which he preferred without any paine, & very easily might do so?

If this case should bee controuersied, it were easie to be decided; provided, that the censurer be a man of iudgement, and not transported with affection, as the most part of men are, in being wilfully blinded. Wherevpon ensueth, that they will not bee perswaded, but that there must bee a fault in the Physician, if the patient (of whom he is most carefull and diligent) amend not as they desire and hope. Nor doth this case differ from the Captaines, that was the Governour of the lost Town, against whom remaineth continuall rancour and discontentment; because he did not sufficiently foresee the sieges affaires; but thus is all his paines busshle in particularities of opinions, euen to the valew of a straw: Whereas contrarywise, he shall be accounted for a valiant man (although hee bee the basest villaine in the world) if hee haue but good success in his enterprizes.

Assuredly, it is no meane matter, for a man to bee happie in his attempts; but this happinesse dependeth not vpon his knowledge or sufficiency, because it is an especial gift of God; without which, he may be called to succour such as shall escape, continuing and effectuating the vertues giuen to remedies; as also, in not being called to such as shall dye: to whome the greatest paines and skill profiteth nothing. It is then verie ill done, to censure the sufficiency of a Physician by success, which is more due to happinesse, and to the grace of God, then to all the knowledge that can be in man.

And yet wee may not from hence inferre, or conclude, that it is all one, whatsoever Physician is called, to say; If God will that the sicke man shall recouer, hee will bestow his blessing on the remedies, if they bee misfitted by the most ignorant

No thanks for Generall cause a Town, which is able to withstand all resistance.

Men are our much add, and led by their own passion, as willfully blinded.

It is a great matter for a man to bee happy a life, and a life of such a nature.

For such as desire all good measures, they are dayned for their localities.

Impatience is vpon diuers other accidents, by ignorance of such as are severe censurers.

man in the world, and they shall prooue happy. It is very true, but yet it is to tempt God, as we haue formerly alleadged. As if we would haue him, that of stones, he should make bread; and, of a remedie to no purpose, make it profitable. It is a common saying: *Helpe thou; and God will assist thee.* Let all the best meanes bee sought that may be vied, and referre the issue to God, in whose hands are all things.

CHAP. VIII.

Against such men, to whom all things are specified, and Physicians slandered, in the most part of these accidents, which happen in diseases.



NONE of the very great paines, which a Physician (being the most generous, and of the best spirit) hath, is, to support the reproaches, and false accusations of the sicke person, or of his assistant friends, who are so unreasonable; that all the accidents which do happen in sicknesse, they attribute them to the remedies; and those of good success, they doubt whether they are due to the Physician, or no.

For, first of all, when they see the person very weak, they accuse the abstinence and paucitie of food, appointed to him by the Physician: or else letting him bloud, or the purgation; and that they are the causes of the weaknes, imputing no vertue to the remedies, which (in diminishing the euill and bad humours) sustained the sicke body in farre greater strength; for, but by the vfe of them, his estate would be a great deale weaker. That this must needs be so, do we not see some, who, condemning abstinence, bloudletting and purgatiues, become in farre more feeble condition? If they that make no vfe of such remedies, maintaine themselves in greater strength then other; one then might better say, that the remedies are the occasion of weaknes; but on the contrary, we behold those despisers to be more feeble, and (in the end) to die sooner then the other.

So is it of the other accidents, imputed vniuually to the remedies, as vomiting, flux of the belly, distaste of meates, alteration, paine, want of sleepe or watching, raving

and such like, happening by reason of the disease properly, & from the nature thereof: but not from applied remedies as ignorant people suppose. For, if after the patient hath taken something, by ordination of the Physician, or onely some matter is applied vnto him, and then (quickly after) he hath a casting, or fluxe in the belly: this was the cause, by reason he did it not before. After such a medicine receiued, this Syrope, that Restauratiue, this Cordiall potion is so distastefull, as nothing can be more, alteration hath made the impressure far greater then before.

It is true, that these occurrences happen after, but not thereby caused. And is it not as ill argued, if a man should say: Since it is snowed, my cloake grew more warme then it was before; therefore the snow was the cause thereof. Or otherwise, Since I fed on that Capon, I haue had the head-ach, the Collicke, or fluxe in the belly; therefore the Capon caused all these accidents. Sillic capacities, whatsoever commeth after, proceedes not from all that which hath preceded. The fluxe in the belly, the casting, distasting, alteration, lacke of sleepe, raving, and the like other causes (to you vknowne) which produce such effects in their due time; was, as the learned Physician knew how to direct the medicine, by breaking the course of the disease, foreseeing the dangerous accidents, and diminishing them. All which notwithstanding, in despite of what hee hath done, the sicknesse will make his part good against him, and encrease it selfe to a certain point commonly called, the estate of the disease: but that may grow on more gently, then is to be permitted.

And if alteration, distaste, and other accidents doe encrease, after the vfe of some medicaments well appointed: beleaue assuredly, that they are from the diseases further progression, notwithstanding all the re-trenchings and resistances formerly made. Credite also, that the sicknesse would haue bene more furious, and the aforementioned accidents lesse supportable, if no meanes had bene made against them: as we see by good experience, in such as mis-prise those remedies. For if it be true, that many do die through want of helpe (which is a Maxime receyued generally) it must needs fall out then;

Vvv 3 that

Of idle Arguments, pretending causes without any true fence of reason.

When the sicknesse is violent, it checketh much skill in the physician.

Willfull refusal of helpe killeth many, and diuers dye for lacke of helpe.

that they haue had more accidents, & more tediousnes, then such as escape in the like perils. There is no need then of suspending, or calumniating the remedies, which haue bin, followed by some accidents, olde or new, and then to say: This frontall (after the vse of it) he hath slept lesse, or rauced more, for the frontall was no cause thereof, but the sickness is selfe, that could not by the best meanes then be tamed.

Faults are easily found, but few good reasons can be shewne for them.

Next, after the Cordiall portion, he had the hiccok, the disenteric, or the cramp. It is very true, but this taile belongs not to this Calfe, as we say in the common Proverb, this is another maner of straine. I deny not, but remedies may be shewed occasions sometimes, for they may be ill ordered, and but badly to the purpose. But Ieter presume, that the Physition should be learned, diligent and affectionate: of all which he should continually relish, for the better interpretation of his ordinaices, and recueing them in the more respect; attributing rather to the disease, or the expresse will of God, those accidents which happen (be they new or olde) then to the remedies. For there are diuers sodaine encounters, and which cannot any way be foreseene, to make a garde or prevention of them: as sometimes of a very light medicine, we shal proceed so far as bloud, because the patient was then vpon the poynce, of hauing the fluxe in his belly.

Of diuers encounters, no way to be foreseene or prevented.

The Physition, who can not diuine, especially on a neutrall body, neither sicke nor sound, that keeps not in bed, because he would be no sicker then he listeth: if nature make some euacuation of it selfe; hee (knowing it needfull) makes his medicine light enough. It hapneth hereupon, that after the operation, nature passeth on further, and makes a flux in the belly, which continueth inordinately: because the expultrix vertue, being pricked by the eagre and mordicant excrements, cannot of her selfe retraineth them. And the matter being corrosiue, cuts out the way as it passes along, that bloud ensueth of it. The medicine must endure the accusation of all this, which (notwithstanding) gaue but two or three small sieges: all the rest was but a surrounding, & as a meere torrent of humours, gathered together of longer time. As sometime it comes to passe, that a man pulling but one stone out of a wall; a fadome or two follows after, because it was

so old and ruinous. Against a strong wall, there needs a Cannon or double cannon; but for a weak and feeble wall, a silderpece there will make a great breach.

And also, to iudge well of the effects of medicins; their true condition & estate must first be knowne, which none can so well do as the Physition, and not to iudge only by the effects. For, if during the operation, or soone after, we see that happen, which is not of that nature, caried or forced from the medicine; it is not to be attributed thereto. No more then as if a child, should giue a blow with his fist to a drunken reeling man, and hee should suddenly fall to the ground. It was not the stroke of the hand, that had such strength; but the wine or strong drinke which had ouercome him, whereby the fall happened to him.

Neuerthelesse, some one may reply by the selfsame comparison, that in like manner, to a sicke man (very weak) a light medicine being giuen, it hath the power to ouerthrow him to the ground. Then may we well couple therewith this other comparison; If a man should giue a fillop on the arme, to a woman being great with child, immediately after the should miscarry. Hapned this by the fillop? The arme is far hapned from the belly, & the fillop too light to enforce it: It is to be vnderstoode then, that from some other inward occasion, this so sodaine mis-hap received such vigour. Euen so, many other things doe meet together of themselves, not any way depending one vpon another; but casually & accidentally, & the causes (commonly) neuer preceded, or by any means discerned.

The quality & condition of remedies must be knowne rather then their effects.

Comparisons that hold no true correspondence with the rule of physick.

The policy of Gonello, to make good what hee promised to the Duke.

Many are moderns in giuing counsel; but few or none can giue right direction.

The fool cunningly beguiled the Duke in his matters, for the winning of his wages.

CHAP. IX.

¶ Thus there are more store and plentie of Physitions, then of anie other sort of people.



Finderecorded, that *Alphonso de Este*, Duke of *Ferrara*, being on a time in familiar conference, demanded; of what trade or profession there was most people. One answered, of Cordwainers or Shoemakers; another saide, of Tailers; another, of Carpenters; another, of Mariners; and another, of Lawyers. *Gonello*, a famous Buffone,

A pretty question asked by the Duke of Ferrara.

Buffone or Iester, replied, that there were more store of Physitions, then of any other kinde of people: and waged agaynst the Duke his matter (who was far off from any such conceits) that he would approue his wordes, within the compasse of foure and twenty houres.

On the morrow morning, *Gonello* went from his lodging, with a great Night-cap on his head, and a Kerchiefe binding vp his chin, and then a huge harte covering them all, beside a warme cloake about his body. In this furnishment, hee tooke the way towards the Pallace of his Excellencie, along the streete called *La rue des Angers*. The first man he met withall, demanded of him, what he ayed? Where to hee answered, that he had an outrageous pain in his teeth. O my good friend (sayde the other) I know the best receit in the world for it, telling him the matter & the means. *Gonello* wrote downe his name in his Tables, making shew, as if he had set downe the receipt. Not two paces further had he gone, but hee found two or three talking together: who demanding of him the same question; each man declared to him a seuerall remedy; he writing downe their names, as he did the first.

As he held on his way along the same street, going a soft and gentle pace, euerie man he met withall, stil gaue him counsel for seuerall receipts, and no one agreeing with another; yet still each friend assured him, that (what he spake off) had bin approued certaine and infallible; and still he wrote downe euery mans name. Being come to the low Bulwarke of the Pallace; hee was round engirt with many people there attending; because he was most familiarly knowne to them all; and euerie man pitying to see him thus distressed, (vnderstanding the reason of his pain) aduised him to many receiptes, which each man aouched to be the verie best in the World: he writing downe their Names, gaue them infinite thanks at his departing.

Being entred into the Dukes chamber, his Excellencie no sooner sawe him, but running to him, saide: How now *Gonello*, what aylest thou? In pittifull manner hee replied (euen as if he had bene scarce able to speake): Ah my Lord, I haue the tooth-ake, in the most cruell manner that euer man had. Whereupon, his Excellencie

saide vnto him; Alas poore *Gonello*, I know a thing that will helpe thy paine presently, yea, if thy teeth were spoiled and rottens. Heefer *Anonio Musca Brassano*, my Physition, neuer found a better in all his practise; take it, and it will immediately helpe thee. Sodaynly, *Gonello* threw off all his sickly outside, laying out slowde: How now my Lord, what are you become a Physition too? See heere my roll of Physitions, how many I haue met withall, betwene mine owne Lodging, and your Court: they are in number almost two hundred, and yet I haue past through but one streete only. I will page as much more to my wager, to finde about ten thousand in this Cittie, if I should but go thorow it, as I haue done this one streete: finde you out as many more my Lord, of some other profession.

A history well met withall to our purpose, and verie true; for, euery man will be a Physition for one thing or other, and there are very few people, but they pretend to knowe enough, nay more then some Physitions do. I set asid some Chirurgions, Barbers, Apothecaries, Nurses, or attendants vpon sicke persons, wife women, Mountebanks, and other Empericks, euen to very Merchants, who, to make some profession of a part of Physick become meere Polypragmons; pretending to vnderstand more then Maister *Mouche*, making great outward shewes, and medling with many diseases, accompanied with shamelesse assurances, and no meane promises. I would leaue them, but that they are such a goodly number, and daily they increase by multitudes, out of the basest mechanical trades; as it is most lamentable to behold, and many liues perishe by their meanes.

There are diuers of them, that will controule the directions of a Physition, presuming to handle the patients pulse, and obserue his Vrine. Deliuering their own aduices, quite contrary to that which the Physition appointed. If there be any, who are better aduised heerein; I thinke the number of them to be so small, as a man had much rather be of those presumptuous companions, making vp a role of so manie vnderakers, as (indeede) they would appeare to be infinite. Some of the are so bold and impudent, as before the learned Physition (yea, euen in his presence)

Euery man perfwadeth himselfe, to haue much more knowledge, then diuers Physitions haue.

The name of a cunning Iugler, a Mountebank in France.

Among verie base mechanical Traders, there are plenty of these Physicke profiteers, leauing their owne, because they cannot liue by them.

Nature will haue her free passage in the body of man, beside all application of physicke.

sence) they will deliver opinion, whether the patient should be let blood, or no; and when he bleedeth, that so much may be taken, and no more: That it is not good to purge, the season is not proper, but fitter for nourishing; when to minister restoratives, diets, coullises, prestis, *Orges mondes*, &c. which must be given by their order, or else the patients friends will never be quiet.

The verie
chiefest contr-
oller of all Arte
and knowledge.

In briefe, the great controller, even the prime and chiefest Iudge of all, is, the ignorant vulgar, most vnusitt and vnindifferent, who (as Terence saide) *Think nothing to be well done, but what they do themselves.* And if their aduice be not followed, it is attributed to the Patients death, or to the prolonging of his sicknesse, if that some other course is not taken. Let the but imagine, and the Patient bee perswaded (by them) that it must be so; all other proceeding is absolutely erroneous, and things else is blamed, be they applied to the true purpose indeede. Is not this a miserable case? In other Arts, which are lesse obscure and difficult, and all things (well-neere) apparant to every eye; the Artizan is permitted to follow his owne mind. In Physicke, the most secret and hidden of all, and wherein the people cannot discern a lot; every man will dominere, like Rats in straw. Nor shall we euer see better successe by the order of Nature, for the most part of diseases, in persons of degree, that haue great visitation of followers: but alwayes they haue health foonest of whom the least account is made.

CHAP. XIII.

That it is not for the sicke Patients profite, to haue many Physicians, as in ordinarie: but one Physician sufficeth, being assiduous and skilfull.

The Author
writeth here
so such as are
Physicians in
decide.



His proposition may be vnderstood, by what we haue lately saide, touching vulgar estimation of Physicians: but I would not be mistaken, because my meaning here properly is, of such as are truly Physicians, in

skill, knowledge, and profession. It is very reasonable and necessary, that the aduice of many should bee had, in difficulties, and matters doubtfull concerning a sicknesse. For (as the common saying is) *Pour ce que l'on voit plus d'yeux, on voit plus clair.* I suppose them all to see clearly; for, one may aduise one thing, and a contrary party another; whereby, their meeting and agreement, is to the profit of the patient. But to haue many Physicians, in ordinary (as it were) and all to haue equall care of the sicke person; can no way bee for his good and profit. For, in euery purpose, they may contradiet one another in some thing, or else about a matter indifferent, one in enuy of another, and more for ostentation then necessity.

Aduice of one
Physician to
another, can
not be hurt-
full to the pa-
tient.

Pliny did very well obserue and note this writing thus. *It needs not to be doubted, that Physicians (coueting reputation by some novelty) make a (sadaine Traffick of four souls. Hence ensueth those miserable contentions, about sicke bodies; none of them being of one and the same opinion, because no reputation must be made. Thence came that supercription on the unhappy Tombe: I was spoile, by hauing too many Physicians. Meaning thereby the Emperor Adrian, who (in dying) cryed out: That the multitude of Physicians had killd him.*

Plinij sagax.

The words of
the Emperor
Adrian on his
death bed.

The reason of this mischeefe is diuers waies vnderstood. As first, the enuy or ielousie, which (commonly) one man beareth to another; especially such, as are the worst created, ambitious, and couetous, beyond the ordinary course of other Artificers. For, it is usually seene: *That one Potter is enuious at another, according to the ancient Adage. But much more (without comparison) the Physician, because he desireth, that the whole honour should be referred to him, of well predicting, well ordering, and well finishing the disease.* Wherefore, hee cannot willingly endure, that any other should share a part with them. I speak of the couetous, ambitious man: who is likewise (commonly) quarrellous, a detractor, and insupportable.

One Begger
is so, another
by the doore
doth go.

Of couetous,
ambitious, &
quarrellous
Physicians.

You haue some men very modest, but yet ielous of the honor, which they conceiue is due to them; chiefly, in such occasions, which they thinke may bee done by themselves, as being cases light, common, and ordinarie. They can bee well con-

con-

contented, not to be contradicted; & yet notwithstanding, they will giue consent, and yeelde to the desire or pleasure of the Patient, or those friends that are about him. But this is not for the sicke parties profit, as I haue vnderaken to proue. For, although there be three or foure Physicians; one assisting to another for cure of the man, being all modest, peacefull, and skilfull: yet notwithstanding, wee knowe not how to preuent and auoide, the most part of such inconueniences as I will sette downe, and are (oftentimes) ordinary. For I leaue to them, who haue obserued it by others, to iudge, how much this manner of proceeding is incommodious, and hurtfull to poore patients.

Of the first in-
conuenience
by multiplicitie
of Physicians.

First, if there be but one or two Physicians ordinarily employed: they will (no doubt) be most careful, most diligent, most affectionate, to come off with theyr credit and honour. And yet one man alone, who shall haue the charge layde on his (shoulders, may be there much more attentue, because the trust is wholly reposed in him, and all the worth must redound to him: If that man haue a good heart, he will studie and labor, to do much better, then if he were comforted with another; considering euermore (as he ought to do) that in all difficulties he may quickly haue counsell.

Of the second
inconuenience.

Another discommodity is, that manie Physicians can hardly meete together, to visit the sicke patient, and all at one hour. For each of them haue other cures of visitation, beside some hapning in the meane while, and other affaires of importance: whereby, men are oftentimes compelled, to faile of the appointed time; that all cannot be present with the sicke person. In this case, the Physician most vsed, or such as meete there, are greatly hindered in giuing their aduice, or for ordering against some occasion which may happen; fearing least the absent parties or parties, shall nor allow their iudgement; whereupon, it may breede an error in the patient, or his assisting friends, who will after knowe his opinion, and demand it alone by himselfe. Sometime, this may chance but about a Cherry, or a difference of as small moment, deferring of it selfe not to bee spoken of; but yet all must agree together, and giue consent in the case. This keeps the attending Physicians in no meane af-

fection, and many times the patient in much more.

In like manner (comming now vnto a third point) they may endure many small things, which the ordinary and present Physician would order otherwise, following such occasions as present themselves at euery moment. I do call them small of themselves, yet often might bee brought to the patients great benefit; but hee dare not apply them, dreading discontentment in them which are absent. Hereby the patient may passe thorow diuers afflictions (from which hee might haue bene freed) as, during too much drought, or being kept ouer-hot, or too much pressed with fooode and Medicines, or prohibited of some pleasure and recreation, no way preiudicial to his healing, and such like. I hold my selfe satisfied, in setting downe these three inconueniences, which are ordinary in the plurality of Physicians; to shew and approue, that it is much better (without comparison) to haue but one Physician; provided, that he be assiduous and careful.

The 3. incon-
uenience.

It is the greatest happinesse for the sick man (that can be) to haue but one Physician, that goeth not away from him: For, by visiting him once or twice in a day, the patient cannot bee well cured: this may be called healing in grosse, and not exactly. For the present Physician, obserueth many particularities, which causeth him to change opinion euery houre; as well of his nourishment, as in other Remedies. Wherefore Celius saide very well, where he sheweth, what diligencie a Physician ought to vse, in well directing the patients fooode, for due houres, and measure of them, because it is one of the chiefest points in the whole cure. For (as hee writeth) *Food fit to purpose, is a most singular Medicine and remedy. It ought alwayes to be obserued, and generally, that the attending Physician do continually respect the Patients strength: When it shall be good & able, to vse abstinence; and when hee beginneth to doubt his weaknesse, then to make supply of food. For it is his duty, that he surcharge not the sicke body with superfluous matter; higher to betray it to feeblenesse, by fasting, or starving, &c. Hereby may easily bee vnderstood, that many (together) cannot bee cured by one Physician: & that he (if he vnderstand truly his Art) is most proper, that neuer par-*

Many small
afflictions hapning
to a sick mans
sicknesse, yet
easily holpen.

Great happi-
nesse to a sick
patient, in ha-
uing but one
Physician, that
shall attend
him diligently.

The words of
Celius, a most
learned Phy-
sician.

acth

teeth from the sicke person. But such as are addicted to gaine, because much is to be had by a multitude of people: they willingly embrace those Rules, which require no such great curiosty, as in this case. For it is verie easie, to account daies, and houres, and other times of access; especially in such, as use not often to see their patients. But it behooueth him to be attendant, that must haue a care of all needfull things, and when the patient shall bee once feeble, to see that hee haue good nourishment.

The great importance of the sick mans seruice.

Hereby you may perceiue, how important the sicke mans seruice is, that he must alwayes be assisted by a good Physicion, both for his gouernement, and also for the vse of remedies. For, by being present, hee may aduance or tardie, encrease or diminish, and doe many things in other manner, then when the sick-man is seene but by starts and leysures, as is too much practised vpon the people. Wherefore, it is best to haue but one Physicion, though he be of the lesse sufficiency or reputation (and consequently of lesse presure; so that he be honest, most frequent, and diligent. For diligence, vigilancy, & careful obseruation in the ordinary Physicion: may counterpoize one of greater knowledge, that is not halfe so much imployed.

CHAP. XV.

Against such as complaine on the over-shore visitation of some Physitions.

Hip. in Epist. ad Demag.

In life is full of contrarieties, according as Democritus declared to Hippocrates, in the conference which they had together: as Hippocrates writeth to Damagetes in his Epistles. For, that which pleased vs now, will discontent vs within an houre. The labourer would bee a souldier, and (in short time) fall to his former condition againe. The Merchant would be made a Gentleman, and (soone after) returne to his Merchandize againe. But contradiction is yet more palpably discovered, when wee see contradictorie quality in one and the same thing. As, to

All conditions are full of contrarieties.

be a souldier, and yet not engaged to follow war, to be a great landed man, and yet not subiect to suites in law; to haue Vellies and Drabs in the house, and yet to be free from robbing; to liue dissolutely, and neuer to be sicke. So is it in many, who would haue Physitions of greatest following, and most reported of for practice, (of whom the vulgar giue great iudgement, that they are men of singular knowledge, as oftentimes it so falls out, though not alwayes.) And sodainely they make complaint, of their too short or seldome visitation, and that they come not (so often as they ought) to see them.

This is a complaint commonly made of our Parisian Physitions, being the most famous, who in so great a Citie, haue ordinarily such plentie of patients, as it is vterly impossible, that they should stay long with any one of them. For, if a Physicion haue twentie patients to visite in a day, is it not much, if hee abide with each one a quarter of an houre at a time? For, in the longest day, which may consist of xvi. houres, I would haue him begin to visite at five of the clock in the morning, and to continue vntill ten: then begin againe at noon, and hold on till five in the euening, heere are ten houres imployed in visitation. It is verie necessary, that hee should haue some time of rest, as from tenne to twelue for his dinner, & refreshing from five to seauen in the same euening, and then to sleepe in quiet: for if he cease not day nor night, it is not possible for him to haue long continuance.

I will yet allow six houres for the morning, and six more after dinner. For, to go from one house to another, to mount and descend againe all the staires; importeth wel the space of two houres, in visiting of twentie feuerall persons. For no man whatsoever, can ride in poste quite thorough a Citie; and then in the Sommer, when the dayes bee long, the swiftnesse of motion is very dangerous, by over-heating, sweating, alteration of body, and other such like accidents. There remaineth then ten houres wholly cleere, that the Physicion may bee by each sicke mans bedde, and that is the most for such imployment: And howe much time is heere allowed then to each of the twenty? If I could account well, there were (for euerie one) a quarter of an houre in the mor-

Contradiction contrarie to themselves

Complaint made of Physitions visitings.

The Physicion of Paris in France.

Allowance of times for visitation.

Six houres for mornings, and six more in afternoon for visitation.

A very short time for visiting twentie patients.

morning, and as much againe after dinner.

But very certaine it is, that the most famous Physitions, haue to visite (som such dayes) about thirty patients; and besides that, to vie consultations, where a man is constrained to stay longer then a simple visiting. Whence ensueth necessaries, yea, and inevitably, that each of the other visitations, cannot bee halfe a quarter of an houre. For, hee must content euerie man, and he that imparts himselfe among so many, must needs allow euery one a little. Thus the Physicion doth but enter and depart, and (cursorily) informeth himselfe of the patients estate; feels his pulse, obserues his vrine, speaketh a word of that which is to be done, and then away to another.

He is not iustly to be blamed, for his celerity and summarie visitation, seeing it is not possible for him to doe otherwise; and they that call such men to their cure, are not well informed. Nay more, if the Physicion answer sometime, that hee can haue no leysure, considering the great number of patients he is to attend: some one or other will reply, *O good Sir, if you do but looke in a doore, and then depart; the sicke man will thinke, that he shall bee healed by your verie sight only: if you would but once in a day see him, as you passe along, hee were well satisfied.* As much saith another, yea, three or foure: What shall we say to such a man?

But some one will answer mee: He ought to haue regard of the persons quality, and make longer stay with a great Lord, Byshoppe, Abbot, Earle, Baron, President, Councillor, Treasurer, Generall of the Finances; and other men of Honour, who haue where withall to acknowledge and recompence him better, then ordinarily other men doe or can. I heare one make reply, that he ought to do his duty towards all men, and to acquire himselfe faithfully of his Charge. Beside, that (by some) he is to be much more commanded; as his parents, neere Kindred, Friends, Familiars, and some to whom he standeth in high degree obliged. Such persons indeed (according vnto humane sense and iudgement) ought to be preferred before the other, what ranke or degree fouer they hold. And such, of whom no money is to be taken, in regarde of the

fore-named obligation; do iustly require of the Physicion, much more care and diligence, then they from whom hee may expect recompence. And therefore, it is no small matter, to haue a learned & wise Physicion obliged and affected vnto anie one, who will alwayes make more regard of friendship, then of greauesse.

And although the most part of our greatest personages, haue no other knowledge of the Physicion, but by his Fame onely, and are much lesse knowne to the Physicion; yet such knowledge being not reciprocal, and having no familiaritie, friendship, nor mutuall Obligation; the Physicion is no more proper to them, then any other beside of the same profession; who haue fewer crowds following them, may (happily) as soone minister succour, and giue more respite. But passion is so prevalent in these our dayes, as none must bee had, but hee that is in most request; and euery man would verily willingly haue him, which properly is no way possible, and yet they complaine of his slack attendance too.

If a man say, I am none of the meanest persons, and I haue where withall to pay him, as well as another: you shall haue an hundred to speake the same wordes. What shall the Physicion then doe? But diuide his visitations into so many pieces, as euery one may haue a little. But euermore let him reuerse the longest, for such to whom hee is most obliged, and standeth engaged; as reason and humanitie commandeth him.

Wherefore, it were much better (in my minde) that men heerein would take more aduisement, and to desire y which they may haue: that is, a Physicion easier to bee had, among them that are accounted learned and expert, and yet haue not such busie employment; because their season is not as yet come, being post-pozed to others, that haue more name, and longer time. And if there bee any difficultie in the disease, it may as iudiciously bee consulted on, as they that bragge most, and performe least. Beleuee it vndoubtedly, that if the Physicion be an able ma, he can soone vnderstand, and hath fewest wordes, which he had rather should appeare by prooffe, then waste the time in vaine lip-labour.

This is the best aduice that a sicke patient

Great men are guided by the name of Physitions.

When all will haue one man onely, what else is like to be made of the rest?

Men of lesse note may haue as good experience as greater boasters, & what they prolong, performe in lesser time.

Physitions haue many cures to attend on.

Large persons shall bee more respected, when men are in want of help.

Great persons shall bee more respected, when men are in want of help.

tient can take, of what quality soeuer hee be, for his soonest helpe and succor. And if this meanes be such, as to haue the Physition still with him, or that hee goe but little from him: it will be much the better for him, imitating what hath bin discoursed in the precedent Chapter.

CHAP. XVI.

How much it importeth, that the sicke patient should repose confidence in his Physition.

The Authors clearing himselfe concerning the former chapter.

SOME may mis-vnderstand, that which I haue set down in the neighboring Chapter; as if I reprehended the affection which many haue to be visited by the most famous Physitions, and who (for their great reputation) haue most access in the best Cities. God forbid, I should therein do wrong to very venerable and rare persons, who (by their merit) haue acquired such renowne: And I should also offer iniurie to the sick if I perswaded them from affection, and recourse to the healers of their harmes. For, on the contrary, if men may ioy plainely, and so much as neede requireth; none in the Worlde may better doe it then they.

He taxeth nothing but vulgar complaints onely.

I taxe onely vulgar complaint, and in such as (to their owne shame) are discontented, because they cannot enioy what they would haue. I alwaies maintain, that they are onely the meekest men, in regard of themselves, and for their respect. Onely this is my desyre, that men of such fame and reputation, remaining alwaies in so great request: should also be most skillfull and expert, happy in their practises, and conformable to their patients. For otherwise, their high fales will strike, and their reputation (badly grounded) will sic vp in smoke.

In commendation of the renowned generally by the world.

But for the choise men themselves, they are verie meeke, apt, and correspondent, to cure the greatest diseases, and in the worthiest personages: in which respect, they holde reputation, and the cheefest ranke among Physitions, onely for happinesse in their cures. Because opinion conceiued of them, giues certaine confi-

dence to the sicke man, to bee recouered better, and more securely by their means, then any other whatsoeuer. Whereupon, we commonly say in our schooles, *Hee healeth most diseases, in whom most confidence is reposed.* And this proceedeth from strong imagination, which hath mightie power, to make impression in vs; as I sufficiently haue shewne, in the Preface to my a booke of Laughter.

It is a power of the soule, which strongly moueth the blood and spirits, in such a strange manner; that if she walke along (hand in hand) with firme opinion and confidence, the very powers of Nature assemble, to fight against the sickness. And thereupon, great changes are noted in the Patient, onely at the very presence of a Physition deuoutly attending. For, desire and hope being satisfied, the soule releueth it selfe, and re-enforceth against the sickness. So that (verie often) Nature maketh some braue fallie and effort; chasing the matter of offence impetuoussly, by a Crisis as we vse to call it, which is the conflict of Nature and Sicknesse. Contrariwise, if the Physition be not verie answerable in liking to the patient, perceiving him not so succourable, as hee desireth or would haue: such a Physition shal neuer proceed successfully, and the sicke man (contrifing and discouraging) will become much more feeble then euer hee was. For his spirities being danted, they haue no vigour at all; onely by the feare and distrust which hath before seized vpon his heart.

There is another benefite, which returneth to the patient, by hauing a Physition at his owne deuotion, and according to his wish and liking; because from him hee hopeth to haue great comfort. For, hee willingly apeth and accommodateth him selfe, to whatsoeuer he ordaineth for him: with a chearefull confidence, that all this will surely helpe and heale him. As on the contrary, what hee receiueth (from another Physition) all is in mislike & disdain, whereby, nothing can be profitable vnto him. For, although it were the best, and most delicate thing in the world, if hee haue not a good opinion of it; the stomach falls to a loathing, and neuer can it come so glad some to his heart, as when he takes it with a chearefull disposition. Wine, the brothe of a Capon, and the Brawne of a

Confidence in the patient is halfe a hope in the Physition.

The power of Desire and hope on the Patient.

An vnpleasing Physition can do no good to his patient.

Many afflictions happens to the patient the hee not confide in his Physition.

Misage vsed as comparison with the present argument.

Nothing can be welcome to the patient, if he be out of loue with his Physition.

CHAP. XVII.

Of such as will haue Physitions, and yet deny to do as they appoint and direct them.

NOT long since, I met at Narbona with a Gentleman of Venice, who was Ambassador to the Seigneury, and he talking purposely concerning

Physitions, pleasantly said: That hee would beleue them well in their Negatiues, but not in their affirmatiues. This was a good old man, gallant and pleasantly disposed, who came from Spaine, hauing accomplished the terme of his legation with King Phillip. Hee thus interpreted Negatiues prohibited by Physitions: As not to drink Wine, nor cate fruite, nor to feede on windie meates, and such like. And their affirmatiues were, to take medicines, glisters, Inleppes, and other things by them appointed. Was not this a googly proposition, which many put in practise, to their extreame harme. For, they are willing to haue Physitions: but go looke for such as shal do as they direct them. Hardly will they keepe within the boundes of this Venetian, who (at least) would abstaine from what he was forbidden: but the most part of patients now a dayes, do quite contrary. What auaieth it to haue a Physition, if a man bee resolu'd, not to execute and accomplish his counsell, for the defence of his owne life?

Some will answer, that the presence of the Physition comforteth, delighteth, and encreaseth courage; whereby they feeble the infirmity to diminish, & their strength to augment. Another saith, I will doe something that the Physition doth aduise mee, at least of foode and gouernement; but of his Drugges I will not heare him speake.

Well may wee compare this case, vnto people besiedged in a Towne or Citie; calling some good and expert Capitaine for Commander, for their succour and defence. Hee being come to them, they will not obey him, nor accomplish any of his

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The Negatiues of Physitions better credited then their affirmatiues.

The Physition may be kindly welcome, but his counsell nothing respected.

Frisolous answers in denying the Physitions counsell

Partridge, are most excellent nourishments, delicate, and dainty: but if a man take them frowningly, with an ill opinion of the Butlers bringing them, or that the Cookes dressing them is not agreeable; all will doe no good, the stomach being directly opposit vnto them. What will hee thinke then of things, which (are of themselves) very vnpleasing, and sickness abhorreth naturally, as medicines & other druggeries?

It followeth moreouer, that the patient will endure many annoyances, wherein hee shal be greatly impatient to his owne prejudice: if he haue not a good opinion of his Physition, and be confident in him. For, hee may approue him to bee such a man, as the credite of any other could neuer perswade him. Therefore, it is not in vaine, that poore sicke men should desire such as holde great reputation, and of whom (commonly) passeth good opinion; for such haue the best efficacy in their proceedings and directions. But yet they are not so much to bee affected, as no respect at all should be vsed of other: whereof choise also may be made at a second or third time of occasion, and they then must needs bee vsed, for want of the former. When any such man happens to be called: the patient must likewise repose his trust, confidence, and affection in him, without desiring any other; relying onely vpon God, who giueth vertue to remedies, at his owne good will and pleasure.

For, in marriage, Maids couet to match in great houses; but if it will not come so to passe, they must content themselves with meaner place, giuing all their loue and affection, to the husbands chosen by themselves. And God may giue them as much (or more) happinesse and contentment with their meane match, then if they had the richest husbands in the Worlde. This may redound to an honest household life, whereas the other might haue procured iust nothing like the Physition, standing out of his patients affection, being daily desirous of another.

ordinances, but say: That they are well pleased with his presence, and they are sufficiently fortified; it is enough for them, if he but take order for victuals, & be provident in policie. As for fight, mounting the Artillery, and other needfull preparations, they will not heare a word of that. Is this any thing else, but meerly to mock a brave soldier for his paines, & send him away with losse of credit?

Ecclef. 38, 4.

By tasting sickness, we know the better how precious a thing health is.

Small errors may grow or uer great to be easily appeased.

Contemners of Physicke seek for helpe thereby, when it is too late.

I durst not terme this folly, if *Ecclesiasticus* had not taught me, saying, *Hec that is wise, will not abhorre the Physitian.* Oh, but Physicke (say some) is very irksome to take. It is true, and God hath so ordained it, that it may the better fight against the euill. For, as health is pleasing and acceptable, so is it entertained with as acceptable things: and as sickness is vnpleasing, so must distastfull things helpe to conquer it. It is not wisdom, if we apply not our willes, to whatsoever the Physitian appointeth, without condemning any thing. For oftentimes, thorough defect of one obseruation, which may seeme but small: the disease impaireth, euen to death. Like as a Towne may (sometime) bee lost, by lacke of a Sentinell; or by the meanes of a little hole or passage, which appeared to be of no importance. Sometime, a sparke of fire enflames a whole heape of Straw, and thereby a house, and of one house, a whole Burrough or Towne. If a small fault grow into excess, or faileth of help in due time, no meane disorder ensueth thereon.

What then (shall become of such as despise the Physitian, when he (many times) hath worke enough to doe, to saue them, that are willing to doe whatsoever hee would haue them? Commonly, it falleth out with them who are so difficult, that (in the end) they would yeeld to all, & more, euen then when there is neither meane, nor time, and can no way bee preferred from death, as they might haue bene before, by Gods gracious assistance. Euen like to besieged people, that began but coldly in their owne defence, not employing all their means; but sparing their bedtickes, balles of Wooll, Chelits, Cuppeboards, and other moueables, for re-impairing their vittualles and money, that their Soldiers, Armes, and persons might be the better secured, and to fight valiantly. But at length, beholding themselves

constrained; then they can offer bags of Gold, Plate, Jewels, yea, all to their verie bowels, onely for safety; when there is no remedy at all to sted them, but become wise too late, with the *Phrygians*, according to the Prouerbe. Wherefore, let euery man determine with himselfe (euen in the very beginning) to doe willingly what the Physitian shall counsell and ordaine for him, without restriction, or distinguishing Negatiues and affirmatiues, that God may the better giue him blessing, to concurre with the Physitions true endeavour.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of such as in their sickness, will admitt no medicine or remedy, but only for the present paine and anguish.



Obserued / this opinion, in a Gentleman of *Viueres*, affected greatly to his pleasures. He made no particulare account of infirmities, which were without greauance, thinking remedies to serue little or nothing at all for them; euen as if it were necessary, that the disease should haue his course. And whatsoever was done, the infirmity would passe his foure times, if it were recouerable: but if it were deadly, then there was no remedy that could bee proper for it, which were eronious speeches, grounded on those folies heretofore refused. In breefe, he would not allow of any Physitian, nor any medicine; but to take away instant anguishes. But, if he were false into a palsey, which is a disease without paine, I beleue he could gladly haue desired, that it might be cured by medicin, or any other helpe else whatsoever.

Now, concerning dolorous and painefull diseases, it is to bee vnderstood, that greefe there is not the principal (although of very great importance) and that the euill must and ought to be taken away, from which the anguish proceedeth, if men do deale iustly in their cures. For, if one stand trifling simply vpon the paine, & the cause is mistaken (which is the foule, root, and mother of euill:) there are then but two

Delay in such cases is euer more dangerous, & hardly recovered.

The ground cause of euill are to bee taken away, or else all our labour is to no purpose.

No application of remedie, but to the place of present paine.

Concerning dolorous and painefull diseases, wherein anguish is not chief.

Men being so healthful, condemn such as are weak, and sick.

Math. 9, 12.

meanes, the one is by *Anodyne* medicines, which diminish the pain in some measure, and causeth the party to endure the rest more patiently.

The other is by *Arcotick* medicins, that is to say stupifying, making the member sleepe, in attonning the Naturall heate. Which is not to be vsed, but in extreme necessitie, and very wisely: but, as wel the one, as the other, do not let passe or lessen the greefe, but onely for a time.

Euenmore, wee should come to Cure the principall, otherwise it is still to begin againe. And if our remedies serue not to take away the euill, which is without paine, or which causeth paine: that were the greatest falsehood in the worlde, as I haue apparently proued before, where I quethrew the idle imagination, that Physitions serued to no purpose, but abused the world. If any yet shall reply vnto me, that many are well re-cured, both without Physitions and Medicines: I answer also in the same manner, that as many lose their greeuances, without Physicke, or any other applied remedies, whereby that proposition is meerly confounded of it selfe.

CHAP. XIX.

That such as are subiect to diseases, are in like manner subiect to Physicke: and others not.



A. N. Y. throw aspersions of blame and reproofe, on such as obserue some orderly rule and government, subiecting themselves to certaine remedies, to maintain their healthfull condition, and prevent some knowne euilles, whereto they are subiect. They that condemne those meanes, are (doubtles) verie healthfull, and of good Complexion: in which respect, the position is verie true, according to that which is saide in Sacred Scripture, *The law was not giuen to the iust.* But more exprefly, where it is saide, *The whole need not the Physitian, but they that are sicke.* These words likewise do confirm the contrary, to wit; That such as are sick, haue need of the Physitian; & such as are

subiect to any sickness, are also subiect to some rule. Euen according as we are subiect to sin, so are we subiect to the Law.

I shall alwaies giue content with most eloquent *Celsus*: *That the healthfull Man, while he carrieth himselfe well, and is truly himselfe: needeth not to be tyed to any Law or Government, nor to imploy the Physitian. It is very expedient, that he should haue diuers manners of life; one while in the field, then againe in the City, but more often in the field: To Navigate, hunt, to be at rest and ease sometimes, but yet to exercise himselfe more oft. For, sloath and idleness, maketh the body drowsie and dull; but trauell confirmeth it: The one is the hastner of Age, the other is the continuer of iolly youth.*

It is good also sometimes to bath, and sometimes to vs cold waters; one while to anoint, then againe to forbear. Feare no kind of meats; that are vsed among ciuill people; to be sometimes present at Feasts, another while to reframe them. One while feede some what immeasurably, and afterward sobriety. Make two meales a day more often then one, and alwayes eat well, so long as it may haue digestion, &c. As concerning carnall Copulation, it may not bee desired too much, nor too much feared neither: That which is rare and seldome, excitieth the body; but more frequent dissolueth it, &c.

These rules are to be obserued by such, that haue their health firme, and can keep themselves; that remedies ordainned for euill carriage be not employed & consumed in vaine. In this manner are men of sound health indifferent to all, and subiect to nothing, while they beare themselves well, and are so firmly in health, as *Celsus* hath limited. It were very great shame for a man, to make himselfe delicate, soft, and tender, souping and encreasing his good and strong Complexion; which would extend it selfe a great deale more, by bolde, valiant, and manly exercises. But for valedudinarie personnes, vnhealthfull, subiect vnto manie Diseases, as Epilepsies (commonly called, *Mal de St. Jean*) Megrimmes, Rheumes, Catarhs, shortnesse of breath, Ache in the bones, Oppilations in the Liuer or Spleene, the Winde Collicke, or Stone, Gows, and the like infirmities (whereof the most part are Hereditarie, yea, and the Leaprofite too); who makes any doubt or question, but that such men ought to liue

Celsus lib. 1, c. 11.

Excellent advice giuen by Celsus, to a healthfull man.

He that is well & cannot keep himselfe so, the blame is his owne.

Many diseases and infirmities, that are said to be hereditarie to some men.

Concerning
Students and
men in pub-
lic offices.

within rule, if their owne ease they be not enuious of, and desire to see manie dayes?

Such also as additt themselves to studie, or vnto publike charges in the Common-wealth, because they are subiect to many necessities, ought to be gouerned; otherwise, they often fall into diuers infirmities. For they tie & constraîne themselves to store of things, which are verie hurtful for them. And *Celsus* in the words before alledged, presupposeth, that the healthfull man, must also be wholly himselfe in all respects.

How we are
to understand
our being sub-
iect to sickness

Now, in the position formerly alledged, saying, *Subiect to diseases*; we vnderstand a particular subiection & aptitude. For all men in the world are subiect to all kinds of sicknesses, euen as we are all subiect to death. But we say, some are subiect thereto particularly, that haue an inclination and disposition to some euil, the rudiment wherof is in them: not that they are already sicke, but because a small matter will throw them into sickness; and therefore, they ought the more respectfully, to carry themselves. By example of him formerly spoken of, who being the only sick man in his time: made shift yet to liue an hundred yeares, by great cunning, and exquisite manner of life.

CHAP. XX.

That such as know some little matter in Physicke, are more dangerous to be neere sicke persons, then they that know nothing at all.



Must confesse, that this error ought to haue followed a former Chapter, where we declared, that there were more Physicians, then of anie other profession. But fearing to offend any suecorable people, I had a long conflict with mine owne cogitations, whether I should taxe and reprocue them in such publike manner. At length, I concluded to holde on my courtesy, knowing, that there is more danger (then we wold easily think) in such

as know something, and imagine to know all things. For out of this ouer-weening, either they presume, and vndertake the very greatest cures; or withstand and hinder Physicians, from beeing employed in principall remedies, necessarily requiring quick and sure healing. But these insolent controllers, keep them so engaged to fear; that they neither dare, nor vwill adventure.

There are some persons, who know not any thing in Physick, in regard of discourse and reason; as ignorant women, who can neither write nor reade; but onelic haue certaine obseruations and rules, knowing how to make a good Broth, a Cullisse, a Restorative, to make a bed well, and knit a kerchiefe about the sick mans head. Beside, they know some infant remedies, against itch, scabs, burnings, falling of the *Paula*, wormes, the Mother, &c. Hereupon, they imagine themselves compleat in knowledge, and make many things out of their owne braine and fantasies; and if their experiment succcede ill, they spare not to yaunt, that the Physicians great Gowne shall couer all this.

It were very good and expedient, that assistants about sicke patients, did know nothing else, but to obey the Physicians directions. It were a knowledge very beneficiall to the patient; for, such as do not presume of themselves, will neuer attempt to execute any thing, but what is prescribed, ordained, and commanded. Others, that dreame they haue knowledge; they will adde, diminish, alter, or else do iust nothing at all. Like to lewd Apothecaries, who execute the Physicians directions at their owne pleasure, as presuming to know the curing of the disease, and the nature better in course, then he doth; being drunke with some opinion concerning the like; as hauing obserued diuers the like sicknesses, attended many Physicians, and seene the successe of the like receipts.

O dangerous ouer-weening! see here the verie ruine of most sicke persones. It were much better (before God I speak it) not to know any thing, then to know thus in this Empericke manner. What more vnhappy is for the patients life, and honour to the Physician, then to haue an Apothecarie so ouerweeing, temerarious, and presumptuous? In *Italy*, and in *Spain*, the

The left still
or knowledge
in some find
master, pre-
felying in
to presumption.

Of ignorant
women Physi-
tions, that can
neither reade
nor write, yet
haue know-
ledge in some
petty oute.

There should
be no pre-
sumptions
about sicke
persons,
when they
vpon that
sicke beleeue

Better to haue
nothing at all,
then to haue
knowledge in
dangerous
manner.

the sicke are in much better manner serued. For, the Apothecary goeth not to see the sicke man, except it be in courtesie and friendship; and yet not as an Apothecary neither: nor do the Physicians vnder write their bills of receipts, by or for who the remedies were compounded. Whereby, the Apothecarie knows as little of the Physicians intent, euen as if hee were acquainted with nothing. By this meanes, hee cannot abuse the Physicians directions; or, much lesse then our Apothecaries, to whom all is imparted ouer familiarly.

Next to Apothecaries, I speake of those vile and bad (not good, proud, modest, and honest people, that meddle not, but what they haue to doe withall) yea, most dangerous keepers or seruants, attending about poore weak patients, who thinke they haue more knowledge then the Physician (especially, if they be anciently traded in the businesse) touching nourishing principally; because it ought to be of inestimable importance, quality, fit hours, and measure. True it is, of the quality they credite enough by the Physicians order; but for the houre and measure, they do all at their owne liking. I spare the drugeries they covertly vie, and the omissions of Ordinances appointed to them, when they meete with patients fitte for their purpose. Such people are most dangerous, and much better to haue them that know no such cunning, neither haue learned any other lesson; but to doe what they are appointed, which is the main article of their duty.

CHAP. XXI.

The manner of knowing Opportunity truly, for vnderstanding or performing such actions, as we would haue to be well done: And how our graue Elders vsed to depict or figure Occasion.



Opportunity
is the greatest
matter, belong-
ing to the
life of man.

Here consisteth no meane wit and iudgement, in knowing how to make vse of Opportunity; & to perform our actions in due time: be-

cause great care is to be had, either for doing, or not doing a thing at a time; in regard there is no alteration or returning backe, when defect falleth vpon the adventure. Heereupon, the Grecian Philosophers leste vs many notable sentences in writing, making to that purpose: in regard that they truly vnderstoode, what wisdom depended vpon knowledge, for doing a businesse in apt opportunitie, and taking occasion when it is fairly offered.

Salomon faith in his Ecclesiastes: *To all things there is an appointed time. There is a time to be borne, and a time to dye: A time to plant, and a time to plucke up that which is planted: A time to kill, and a time to heale: A time to build, and a time to ruinate: A time for warre, and a time for peace.* In breefe, many examples might bee alledged, whereby to demonstrate, what losse relyeth on dooing any thing out of due time; and what benefite redoundeth vnto men, when things are accomplished aptly to time and place.

Menander, a Greeke Poet said; *That all things done to purpose, & in time haue great grace, for Opportunity hath more power then Law.* So that a little attendance giuen on time, is esteemed highly worth. *Hesiodus*, a Greeke Authour also, appointed vs to keepe meanes and obseruation of times: *For, the importance of all affaires (saith he) consisteth in attending on time and opportunity.* *Pindarus* said; *Time hath great power in all things.* Also (according to *Horace*.) *A man should alwaies set forward his affairs, when he seeth due time.* *Socrates*, writing to *Democritus*, said; *All things are naught, being done out of due season.* In breefe, there is no man of iudgement or experience, but will pursue his busines in fittest times.

All which notwithstanding, it is to be noted, that as it is good to waite on Opportunity, and aptest times to performe any thing: so likewise, the point or instant is not to bee slip, for exact executing any matter when it cometh. This is that which hath commonly bene sayde, Occasion is neuer to be misprized. For, all things y^e are done out of their constellation, & content of the stars (although occasion cometh otherwise) can neuer grow to good perfection.

And to speake seriously, occasion and opportunity for our actions, was in such

Ecc. 3. 1, 2, 3, 4
A discourse
made by Salo-
mon concern-
ing times.

The wife say-
ing of Menan-
der.

Hesiodus.

Pindarus.

Horace.

Socrates.

Democritus.

Opportunity
must by no
means be let
slip, but taken
while it may
be.

Occasion or Opportunity, moralized in Figure.

Occasion familiarly described by Syr Thiom. More, Englishman.

Repentance figured sitting on the shoulders of Occasion.

A worthy picture of two sorts of people.

high esteeme with our Ancients, as well Greeks as Latines; that they had alwaies her portraiture, like as a Mirrour before their eyes. The Latines figured Occasion in the form of a woman; but the Grecians figured her in the shape of an infant, holding one foot vpon a turning wheele, and all before the face couered with Hayre, & dangling downe in long tresses; but at the head behind was bald and shauen. This shape was giuen to occasion or Opportunity, by *Pofidius*, or *Pofidippus* as some called him, a Greek Poet, translated into Latine by the learned *Erasmus*, and *Anthonius* the Lombards Poet. Whom Sir Tho. More of England, a man much renowned for wisdom and learning, translated into the *Castilian* tongue, in forme of a dialogue. For More said, that Occasion, standing fo vpon a wheele, declared thereby her instabilitie, and hauing wings both at her handes and feet, shewed, how lightly shee past away, without tarrying. Moreouer, said he, her forehead and face being couered with hairy long locks, expressed, that she might easily be held, by such to whom she presented her selfe; but being vnwilling to be known to others, shee kept her face fo couered, because she would escape away vnknewen: being also bald and shauen behinde, for feare she should be stayed, after shee was once past. Whereby may be comprehended, that Opportunity once lost, is not to bee recovered, by all our paines applied afterward.

Anthonius making a further addition to this picture, placed the figure of Repentance, sitting vpon the shoulders of Occasion: declaring thereby, that whatsoever happeneth by the losse of Occasion, may well be repented. And truly there are two kinds of people, who might make good vse of this example. For, some are so foudaine in their affaires, that they can neuer bring them about, by not tarrying for opportune time. And others (on the contrary) are so long and tedious in concluding their businesse, being troubled with so many inconueniences, which may happen; that in the time of this lingering negotiating, Occasion hath past by the. Both which extremities are to bee auoyded by men of good iudgement, who, in waiting the time for best performing their businesse suffer no occasions (in the meane while) offaire offer, to ouer-slip them. For other

wife, they may fall into a tardy repentance, which will be little to their credite and benefite.

CHAP. XXII.

Of Favour, Grace, or Good opinion: How it hath bene described by picture, and also concerning the Morall signification.



The precedent discourse, concerning the portraiture of Opportunity, or Occasion, hath brought that to my remembrance, which the ancient *Romans* gaue and granted to Favour, Grace, or good Opinion: as well for the great conueniency which these two things hold together, as also because the true time and very occasion of well-doing any thing is, when Favour standeth fairest for him; as much to say, as when the Prince lendeth an attentive eare, and vouchsafeth (withall) a gracious countenance: For, a man that is in credite with a Prince, is very much made of by all men, euery one thinks well of what he doth, or saith; because all things succede to his good and honor: for all are full of fauour towards him, either with an honest heart, or else in outward ceremony.

Little need is there to produce Histories or examples to this effect, considering that (at all times) it hath bin in practise, & euery yeare is a breuiate thereof; wherefore it shall suffice me only to represent the true figure of Favour, according to the draught of our graue Elders, which may som way conforme it selfe with that of Occasion. For, in their truest picturing Favour, they figured a yong infant blind, being alone, & without any company. *Bartholomew Dardanus*, moralizing vpon this picture (introducing himselfe) speaking to the Painter *Apelles*, by way of dialogue, in this manner.

O Apelles! Perceyuing the great paines that thou hast taken, to portraiture truly the Image of Favour: I pray thee tell me, of what race shee is descended? Whereunto Apelles (sodainly replying, sayde; *Her Race is knowne, but to vertie few people. And indeede, the Originall of Favour is hardly*

The excellent correspondence betwene Opportunity and Favour.

The fauour of Princes is most meruitully signifying itselfe as haue thee

The true picture of Favour according to what was said by Apelles.

The impatience betwene Dardanus & Apelles.

to be found. For some say, that fauour cometh by corporall beauty: Others hold, that she cometh by adventure, or good hap. Yet some will haue her to be the daughter of Fortune, or of accident. And yet neuertheless, many are of the minde; that shee issueth from true Noblesse of the minde. As is easily discerned, by this short Dialogue following, where a Poet, speaking to *Apelles*, beginneth thus.

A discorsiuue Dialogue (according to Morall sense) betwene a Poet and Apelles, concerning the true Image of Favour.

Poet. What is that Woman, standing on yonder side, who is neuer forsaken, but still hath store of company?

Apelles. Her name is Flattery.

Poet. And what is shee that attendeth, or followeth after her?

Apelles. Her Name is commonly called Enuie.

Poet. What people are they that so round engirt her?

Apelles. They are such as continually keep company with Favour, and are especially obedient to her: As namely, Riches and Pleasures, the source and originall of all vices.

Poet. Why hast thou (in figure) giuen wings to Favour?

Apelles. Because she cannot step a foote abroad, but she mounts aloft, when the wind of good Fortune raiseth her.

Poet. And wherefore hast thou painted her blinde?

Apelles. Because such as are in credite, will no more take knowledge of their ancient Friends.

Poet. And why hast thou placed hir feet vpon a wheele?

Apelles. Because she followeth the steps of Fortune, being euermore as inconstant as shee.

Poet. But why dost thou make her puffed and swell so proudly?

Apelles. Because prosperity blindeth the understanding of all men.

This Dialogue, reported in the Language belonging to it, would haue much more grace, then any tongue else can be-

flow vpon it. Neuertheless, the most gracious Favourites may hereby take aduice, to know, what companions attend vpon Favour, and the instabilitie both of them and her. To the end, they may the better gouerne themselves with modestie in their credit, without puffing or swelling vp into pride. For, ouer and beside, that God is greatly there-with offended, there are many other dangers else, by the obseruation of passed times: as true testimonie hath bene made, by the vniuersity and lamentable end of many Princes Favourites, that knew not howe to vse their credit so wisely, as they should haue done.

The greatest Favourites of Princes, haue bene subiect to many misfortunes.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of those fauourable men of Greece commonly called the seven Sages: With many notable Sentences which they left behinde them in writing.

Among the ancient *Grecians*, such were called Sages, or Wise men, as now we vse to terme Philosophers. But *Socrates*, accounting the title of Sage or wife to be ouer-arrogant (because it was onely proper and peculiar to God, to bee absolutely called Sage or Wife) invented the name of Philosopher, as much to say, as a louer of wisdom; and being somewhat better qualified, and more moderate then the name of Sage or Wife; so that all wise men, which were since the time of *Socrates*, were well contented with the Title of Philosophers. Notwithstanding, there were seuen seuerall men, vnto whom the name of Sages or Wise-men, were attributed, by common consent of all Greece, in regard of their Knowledge and Vertue.

And indeede, many Authors (as well Ancient as Moderne) do make mention of them, and of notable Sentences left by them for memory: whereof (I purpose) to set downe heere a breefe summarie, that vnderstanding Readers (yet ignorant in the originall Language) may the better be acquainted with their wittie sayings.

The Authors intention, concerning this Chapter.

Authors of
great & good
sufficiency.
The names of
the seauen Sa-
ges of Greece

At what time
the seauen Sa-
ges lived.

Enchiridion
Eccl. 1. 1. 7

Anthonius the
Lombard
Poet.

Bias one of
the Sages, and
where he was
borne.

Cicero in Orat.
pro Cluent.

Orontas mea
mecum porto.

Setting aside then that vaine and foolish Booke of the Seauen Sages, which hath runne thorow too many Countreys, with many opinions divulged, concerning their liues (which yet were discredited, and rent in peeces by *Diogenes Laertius*) I will shap my courte, according vnto that which hath bene auouched by *Saint Augustine*, *Erasmus*, *Phillip Melancthon*, *Beroaldus*, *Raphael Volateranus*, and many other Authors of great fame. The names of those seauen men, were *Solon*, *Chilo*, *Cleobulus*, *Thales*, *Bias*, *Pittacus*, and *Periander*, and they are all liuing together at one time: although some of them were more aged then the other, and (happily) liued longer then the rest did. For, all of them were in perfect beeing, during the reigne of *Cyrus King of Persia*, at such time as the Iewes remayned captiues in *Babylon*: which was about the space of fife hundred and fiftie yeares, before the coming of our Lord and Sauour Iesus Christ, as *Ensebius* saith.

We purpose to speake of them particularly, and likewise of some of their principall Sentences, which they left respectiuelly for vs: albeit memory hath embred infinite common sayings of theirs, as ordinarily all Authors haue concluded in their writings. *Aufonius*, a famous Poet of *Lombardie*, verie elegantly reduced into verse, many notable Sentences of those Sages, whereof he maketh very ample relation, in three seuerall Bookes published by him.

If it then, we will begin with wise *Bias*, who was borne in *Priene*, a Sea-coast towne of *Ionia*, a Region in *Greece*, hauing a very poore man to his father, named *Tolamius*. This *Bias* was a great Oratour, a good Aduocate, and well seene in all the Sciences; beeing otherwise endued with many vertues. Among which, he held in highest estimation, to contemn the riches and honors of the world. *Cicero*, speaking of him, saith, that when the enimy destroyed the towne where he dwelt, and euery man labored to faine and carry away the best of his goods: *Bias* would not take any thing belonging to him. And being demanded, why he was so respectlesse of his goods: he answered, *All my goods I carry with mee*: meaning his wisdom, which (indeed) is the greatest wealth of all.

About all things, this man fought still to maintaine loue and amity, & therefore he was held the chiefeft in the Common-wealth: he would say, he had much rather be a iudge between two of his friends, then between two of his enemies: for in condemning a friend, he should loose his friendship; but in iudging betwixt two enemies, hee for whome the sentence was giuen, would become a friend.

A lewd man once demanded of him, what was to be pittied in religion? wherto *Bias* answered, not a word: the man growing angry, moued the same question againe; and *Bias* replied, *Why dost thou aske such a case of me, as concerns not thee at all?*

He veld oft-times to say, that the greater part of men, were the worst men; and *Aufonius* took great paines in confirming this saying. But it is so manifest and true, that it needs no other confirmation, then what is auouched in the Gospell, where it is said: *Many are called, but few are chosen*. *Cicero* also maintaines it to be true, affirming the race of the wicked to be great. *Plato* also saide to the same purpose, That good men were gone, and growne to nothing: but contrariwise, the vices of the wicked encreased daily, euen as if they were watered hearbs.

There are some Authors, who alledge many other sentences of *Bias*, very singular, and necessary; as, *Attribute to God all the good thou doest*: *Neuer be enuious at the rich*. *Hee may well be called a good man, that hath no remorse of conscience*. *The greatest danger that happens to a man, cometh from man*: *The very richest gift in a woman, is to be vertuous and honest*.

Aristotle attributeth this to *Bias*. Degrees of honor and offices, do most manifest what a man is for; many appeare to be honest men (as indeede their actions shew no lesse) beeing priuate persons: but hauing power to command, doe manifestly declare the malignitie of their hearts: He addeth also. That a man should fo carry himselfe to his friend, as if (another day) he should become his enemy: and fo to deale with an enemy, as hoping (one day) he may be his friend. Yet *Aristotle* himselfe reproued this saying, in his *Rhetorike*. Notwithstanding, in due consideration of managing friendship in these dayes, wee shall finde this Sentence to be most true.

There

Of Friends
and Enemies.

Irreligious
fooles shoul
d alwayes be so
answered.

Aufonius in
lib. 1. cap. 5.

Cicero in *Tuf.*
lib. 2. cap. 3.

Plato in *Timæ.*

Many worthy
sayings attri-
buted to *Bias*.

Arist in *1. 1. 4.*

Arist in *Rhet.*
lib. 3. cap. 4. 1.

Was buried at
the Common
places charge

Solon, the se-
cond Sage or
wise Man of
Greece.

Solon being
discontented
at the A-
thenians.

Plutarch in *Sol.*

Draco lawes
righted in
blood.

Pisistratus, an
opposite a-
gainst *Solon*.

Solon refusall
of governing
Athens, & his
wise reason.

There are many other sayings, well deservin memorie, which are attributed to this Philosopher, & would aske too much time heere to insert: and therefore I will leaue them, hauing first informed the Reader, that after the death of *Bias*, his funeral was solemnely performed, at the cost and charge of the Common-wealth, in signe of his perpetuall honour.

The second Sage or wiseman of Greece was *Solon*, although some ranke him in the prime place. *Plutarch*, and many other haue written at large of his life, saying: That hee was borne in *Salamina*, an Island in subiection to the *Athenians*, issued of an auncient and most Noble house; his fathers name being called *Acroetides*. The *Athenians* made such pretious esteem of *Solon*, atwell in regarde of his wisdom, and the victories which he had obtayned against them of *Mytilene*, with sundry other enterprises, which hee had finished very dexteriously; that they limited themselves to his ordinances, which were great (as *Plutarch* affirmeth) recording many of them by particular mention.

Especially he moderated the Lawes of *Draco*, which were very rigorous, so that for the very least fault committed in *Athens*, life depended thereupon. For, *Demetrius* the Oratour sayd, That the Lawes appointed by *Draco*, were written downe with the blood of men. *Solon* therefore corrected them, and confirmed in *Athens*, the Councell of the *Areopagites*, according as *Aristotle* and *Plutarch* do plainly maintayne.

Hee had a concurrent or corruial in *Athens*, a kinsman of his owne, named *Pisistratus*; so that, the more *Solon* labored the libertie of his Countrey, so much the more did hee slyde and endeavour to oppresse it. Neuerthelesse, in conclusion, the cloquence of *Pisistratus* had more power, then all the approued goodnesse in *Solon*, whereby hee possessed himselfe of the Seignoury and Rule of *Athens*; which *Solon* might haue done (much more easily then hee) if he would haue vied burth his owne meanes. For, when the men of *Athens* offered him the soueraigntie of their City, hee made them answer thus: *The house of tyrantie is very pleasing, but it must haue a winding steyres to mount it: And therefore, I will neither be a tyrant, nor*

subject to a tyrant.

Heereupon, after that *Pisistratus* had gotten full possession of *Athens*, *Solon* departed thence, and trauelled Countreys for the space of tenne yeares, as well in *Egypt* as in other places. Till at the length, he came to the Court of *Croesus*, the rich and powerfull King of *Lydia*, who hauing shewed him his abundant treasures, demanded of him, if euer hee had seene more Royall possessions? Whereto *Solon* (like a Philosopher and Free-man) replied: That he had seene the possessions of diuers Fowles, Cockes, Capons, and such like, which seemed goodlier to him, because they were naturall to them. Againe hee demanded of him, If euer hee had seene any man more rich, or so happy as hee was? *Solon* answered him (without flattery) that hee had seene a man in his owne Countrey, named *Tellus*, who (in his opinion) was more happie then *Croesus*; for hee was an honest and vertuous man, and had seene his children, and the children of his children fo well aduanced, that hee receyued seruice from them in his age. Nay more, being growne into the extremitie of yeares; he dyed in the defence of his Countrey, and repelling the enemy.

The King being much displeased at the answer of *Solon*, layd vnto him: Why dost not thou attribute to me some degree of happinesse? Wherunto *Solon* replying, shewed him the great traueses and mutations; which may ensue vnto such as are constituted in great Estates: and they being subiect to such alterations, he could not rearme them truly happie, alledging a common Proverbe, vied among the *Athenians*: *That the end of life must first be seene, before any iudgements of happinesse passe thereon*.

O most notable saying, though to *Aristotle*, it seemed not receivable: for, while a man continueth in life, hee is alwayes vncertaine of his estate and condition, as also of his fame and reputation: as it was well approued by the Wife man, who said, *Command no man before his death*, And our blessed Lord also, would haue his Apostles and Disciples to make stay in no place, or to salute any bodie by the way: which some expounded according to the saying of *Solon*, who affirmed, that man (in his life time) could not assure him selfe

Solon let *Athens*, & tra-
uelled Coun-
tries.

His coming to
rich *Croesus*,
King of
Lydia, and his
conference
with him, a-
bout his hap-
pinesse.

Croesus would
haue some de-
gree of hap-
pinesse granted
to him.

A witty Athe-
nian proverbe.

No man can
be happy be-
fore his death

Eccl. 12. 1. 4
Matth. 5. 19.

The sayings of Solon approved by many good authors. *Plin* in lib. 14. cap. 10. *Ouid* in *Metamorph.* lib. 3.

Solon departed from King *Cresus*, as a man vndergrated.

Cresus found Solon's words true, so the no mean hazard of his life.

Cyrus giueth life to *Cresus*, and made him Competitor in his Kingdom.

Aristotle polit. lib. 3. cap. 13. The death of Solon in the life of *Rhodes*.

selfe from falling into many inevitable inconueniences. *Pliny* also conforming him selfe to *Solon*, sayd; *One day indgeth another, and the last day indgeth all. Ouid* maketh the like affirmation, saying; *Whosoeuer considereth the last day of man, which is uncertaine; it is not possible for him to say, that he can be any way truly happy.*

But returne we againe to King *Cresus*, who, notwithstanding the wife answer *Solon* had made him, he regarded him not, neither what great benefit might after befall him, by enioying the companie of a man so worthy, as neuer respecting future occasions to follow. Whereupon *Solon* departed from his Court, with very vniuerse entertainment: but afterward, such an adventure hapned, as made him dearely acknowledge his error, and well to remember the words of *Solon*. For, Great King *Cyrus* waging new warre against him; and hauing vanquished and taken him prisoner, gaue Sentence, that hee should be burned aliue. Hee being vpon the pile of wood, and fire making readie to consume him: cryed soudainely out aloud, *O Solon, Solon, Solon*, remembering now in this extremitie, that his saying was true, and that no man could be happy while he liued! *Cresus* commanding the Officers to stay, and to keepe the fire from the pile: would needes vnderstand of him, wherefore he vied that inuocation vpon *Solon*, or expected thereby for deliuerance from death? *Cresus* reported the whole History to him, what *Solon* had sayd, concerning his imaginarie happiness; the truth whereof he had now too apparently proued. *Cyrus* being much amazed thereat, and entering into mature consideration, of the strange and vniuersall mutabilities of Fortune; deliuered King *Cresus* from death & captiuitie, doing him so great honor, that he made him his associate in his kingdoms. Wherby we may perceiue, that this wise and worthy saying of *Solon*, was the meanes of freeing one mighty King from death, and made an other also much wiser then hee was before.

Solon, hauing attained vnto the age of foure score years, dyed at *Rhodes*, ordaining by his testament (as *Aristotle* sayth) that his body should be burned, and his ashes scattered in the Ile of *Salamina*: because they should not be caried to *Athens*,

for constraing them (by that meanes) to keepe his ordinances. Because, before he departed from *Athens*, he made the *Athenians* to take an oathe, that they should keepe his Lawes inuolubly, vntill he was returned from his voyage. And indeede, according vnto *Aristotle*, the Commonwealth of the *Athenians* maintained them selues very prosperously, so long as they kept the Lawes of *Solon*.

Now, as concerning the sentences and sayings of *Solon*, for the most part, they were conformable to Christian Religion, and all Ciuillitie. As, *Honour God: Be helpful to thy neighbour: Maintain the vertue of thy friend: Obey the Lawes: Bridle thine anger: Honor thy father and mother: Swear not: Keepe thy selfe from Enuy: Be not too light in confirming a friend, but learne to keep him when thou hast him. Marrye with thine equall: Reproue thy friend in secret, but publicly thou mayest commend him: Shunne the company of wicked people: Praise and follow vertue. Hee sayd moreover, That Lawes were like to Spiders webs, wherein poore little Flies were soone entangled, but such as were great and strong, could easily breake thorow. Such, and the like notable Sentences, are found among his Lawes and Ordinances: And so much for *Solon*.*

Chilo, son of *Amaratus*, was also numbered amongst the seauen Sages of Greece. He was of *Lacedemon*, a city highly renowned in Greece, where he was elected in the Councell of the *Ephori*, in regard of his great wisdom & knowledge: this was an Estate among the *Lacedemonians*, as the *Conservatours* and *Tribunes* were among the *Romains*. *Chilo* was very summary and succinct in his Discourse, as (ordinarily) all the *Lacedemonians* were: and hee was likewise called *Aristagoras*, in regard of that qualitie. When any one compiled an Oration, in few and witty words, they vied to say; That he had written a *Chilonical* Oration. He liued so long (as *Pliny* and some others say) euentill nature sayled in him. Neurtherlesse, he dyed with a conceit of glory, seeing one of his sonnes, to winne the prizes of Honour in the Olympian games, and after his death; the *Lacedemonians* performed his funeral with great solemnitie.

The singular wisdom of this man, appeared sufficiently, by the notable sentences

Solon's sayings conformable to Christian Religion and Ciuillity.

Chilo the third Sage was a man of Greece.

Chilo called *Aristagoras* for his succinct discourse.

Plin in lib. 14.

Chilo entrusted all men to know the secret.

Plin in lib. 14.

immod.

Things fit and necessary for all men to know and vnderstand.

Witty and graue sentences written & vied by *Chilo*.

Questions asked to *Chilo*, and his diuerse answers.

tences which he had written; but especially in this, that he exhorted euery man to know himselfe. Which being heedfully obserued, men would not bee so vaine, nor so proude and inordinate, as usually they are: because all vices and disorders do proceed from selfe-conceite, and no man truly knowing himselfe. Hereupon the Christian Church tooke an order, that euery yeare (in the beginning of Lent) all men should bee admonished to remember, that from dust they came, and to dust they should returne againe.

Plato recordeth, that his saying of *Chilo*, *Know thy selfe*, was written in letters of golde, vpon the portall of *Apollos* Temple. *Iuuenall* faith, *That this saying came frō Heauen. Macrobius*, in his Tract of *Scipios Dreame*, faith; That the Oracle of *Coultis* being demanded the meanes, what course should be taken, for attaining to felicity, answered: *Only teach a man to know himselfe. Demonicus*, being asked, at what time he began to be a Philosopher, answered; *When I began to know my selfe.* O most necessary rule; for if a man would consider himselfe well, and study but to vnderstand his condition, estate and vacations, and frame his life accordingly thereto: hee could neuer bee so changed, to attempt such things, as he neyther shold or ought to do, neyther would there bee so much disorder in the world, as now there is.

Chilo also had an accustomed kinde of Prouerbiall speeches, to wit: *Remember thou must dye, and therefore prouide for thine owne saluation. Honour olde men. Be no murmurer. Speake no euill of an offendor. Chuse rather losse, then dishonest gain. In violence and constraint bee milde and humble. Labour rather to be loued, then feared. Try Gold by the touch; for a golden-songed man, who speaketh all that comes into his mouth, men may often heare from him, such things as they would not.*

Chilo being asked by one, named *Æsop*, what God had done, answered; *Hee exalted humble men, and suppressed proud ignorant Fooles.* Being demanded also, what was the hardest thing in the world to bee done, replied: *To use and employ a mans time well, and to pardon iniuries and outrages received.* In briefe, he would vially say, that he would so dispose the course of his life: *That the greatest persons should not despise, nor the meanest feare him.* Finally,

Chilo both wrote and spake many notable things in his time, which would require ouermuch leysure to report: And therefore, we will take our leaue of him, making way to entertaine our 4. man of Greece.

Cleobulus, who was also one of the seauen Sages, was borne in *Lindus*, a City in the Ile of *Rhodes*; or as some others say, in *Caria*, a Towne of *Anconia*, a Region in Greece; and his Fathers name was *Eunagoras*. This *Cleobulus*, beside his being a very singular wife man, was also of very goodly bodily feature, and wonderfully aduise of his person: so that eyther, or both these happy blessings together, made him admired, and esteemed generally. The loue of learning preuailed in such sort with him, that he forsooke his Country, Parents and Friends; trauiailing into *Egipt*, where (in those times) were many goodly and famous Vniuersities.

He had a Daughter named *Cleobolina*, that could inuent and write in profe, beyond ordinary compasse of men or women, and very skilfull there was beside, in propounding questions of difficult resolution; as this one for an example: *A Father had twelue children, and each childe had thirty sonnes, all white by nature, and thirty daughters, all of them naturally blacke: all which were immortal, and yet (notwithstanding) were discerned to dye daily.* By which Enigma, hee vnderstood the yeare, that hath twelue Moneths, and euery Moneth thirty dayes and thirty nights.

But come we againe to *Cleobulus*, who after his returne out of *Egipt*, deferred so highly by his learning and iudgement, as to be ranked among the seauen Sages of Greece: And many of his learned sayings and sentences, were held as rules and directions for mens liues. Among other, he vied most of all to say; *That Mediocrity was without compare.* And assuredly, these words greatly confirmed the saying of *Chilo*, who would haue euery man to know himselfe: For if we knew our selues well, and as we ought to do, a meane then in all things would easily gouerne vs. By this sentence then of *Cleobulus*, making such precious account of Mediocrity, we may well conclude, that all extremities are vicious. As much to say, when there is too much, or too little: whereupon our ancient Philosophers vied to say; *Beware of*

Cleobulus, the fourth wife man of Greece, a man of learning and excellent composition of body.

Cleobolina, daughter to *Cleobulus*, a woman of rare ingenuity.

Her witty Enigma.

Cleobulus his commendation of Mediocrity.

Omne quod est nimis vertitur in vitium.

Aristle Polit.
lib. 3. cap. 7.

Horace in lib.
1. cap. 6.

Approbation
by the four
Cardinal Ver-
tues, & their
contraries or
opposites.

Hesiodus.
Erasmus.
Terentius.
Plautus.

Comparison
of the five
Zones.

The Sunne,
Prince of the
planets.

The onely
theefe meane
howe all o-
ther.

too much, declaring thereby, that all ex-
cess is vile.

Aristle attributeth this sentence to
wife *Bias*, and some other to *Solon*, but be
it howeouer: Vertue alwayes consisteth
in mediocrity: According to the saying
of *Aristotle* *Verumtamen est in se* by too
much or too little: For vertue is nothing
else but a mean or mediocrity, consisting
between two extremities. *Horace* ap-
pointed in his Discourses, that a meane
should be obserued in all things. For (saith
he) *all that goeth before it, or contendeth*
to come after it, keeping neither meane nor mea-
sure, can neuer be said to be well accomplished.

An infinite number of examples may
be alleaged to this purpose, especially
concerning the four principall vertues,
which are commonly called Cardinall.
For, Fortitude is lodged betwixt Feare &
Boldnes, & Liberality keeps the mid-way
betwixt Couetousnes and Prodigality; as
the like may be sayd of other vertues, and
humane operations, which ought to go-
uerne themselves by time and necessity:
yet with this charge neuertheless, to be-
ware of over-much in any. This is a do-
ctrine conformable to the saying of *Hesi-*
odus, oftentimes alleged by reuerend *Era-*
asmus, commanding all men to obserue
a measure in their actions. As much main-
taineth *Plato*, *Terence*, *Plautus*, and many o-
ther Authors both ancient and moderne,
euery one of them auouching common-
ly, *That happy men alwayes follow a meane*
in their trauels.

And (in this case) the reason is peremp-
tory, for all things are euen as nothing,
they haue their beginning and their end,
and so they passe away: Reason then fits
them with an apte conclusion, that their
perfection consists in the midst of the five
Zones or Plages, which girdle round the
whole wide Vniuers: the two extremest
are held to be inhabitable: and yet con-
trarywise, those in the middelt are allowed
to be most perfect. The Sunne which is
held to be Prince of the Planets, is in the
midst of the errant or wandering Stars. A-
mong men, the place of honour is in the
midst, & (indeed) it is hard to make any a-
greement, except there be a third, to serue
as the means. To conclude, the meane is
much commended to vs in all things, con-
cernes chiefly Christ, that hee would be
called the Mediator betwixt God & man.

He vied diuers other notable sentences
beside, as, *Beware of giving thy friend occa-*
sion to reprove thee: Shunne the ambushes of
thy enemy: Before thou goest out of thy house,
remember what thou hast to do: and upon re-
turning home, consider what thou hast done:
match not in marriage, but with thine equall,
for if thou takest a wife of a better house than
thine owne, thou makest thy selfe a slave to her
and her kindred: Pardon the errors of other
men, and neuer be sparing of thine owne: The
more liberty thou hast, so much the lesse use
make of it: Be not prouide in prosperity, nor
faint-hearted in aduersity. Inure thy selfe to
bear the trauerses of fortune patiently. Many
other singular Sentences are attributed
to Cleobulus, which Ausonius and Diogenes
Laertius haue recorded in their works, af-
firming withall, that he dyed at the age of
seventy yeares.

NOW it remaineth to speake of *Pittacus*,
of *Mitylene*, the capitall City in the
Isle of *Lesbos*, and at this day called *Mity-*
lene, his fathers name being called *Hyra-*
dene. He was of such learning, wisdom
and ingenuitie of spirit, that the Græcians
placed him in ranke among the seven Sa-
ges. The loue hee bare to his Countrey,
moued him to make warre against the tyr-
rant *Melæger* (who vsurped thereon) so
that he enforced him to flight. In the war
betwixt the Athenians and them of *Mity-*
lene, about a field then in controuersie, hee
was Generall for the *Mitylenians*, and be-
came Conquerour, and slew *Erinnes* Ge-
nerall for the Athenians in the open field.
Whereupon, the Athenians quitted vnto
Pittacus, the contentious field which they
quarrelled for, in regarde of the victorie
which hee obtained against them: and
gaue him the government of their Com-
mon-wealth, which he ruled worthily the
space of ten yeares, ordaining many good
Lawes and Constitutions for the benefit
thereof. Which hauing done, he willingly
gaue ouer his gouernement, as it was
freely put vpon him: and liued vntill hee
was seventy yeares olde, beloued and ho-
noured generally.

His sayings and Sentences are no lesse
considerable, then those of the other Sa-
ges, neyther the manner of his life. For, first
of all, he made fo small account of the dig-
nity, gold and riches of *Cresus*, King of
Lydia, that hee would not receive any of
him:

Other sen-
tences vied
by Cleobulus.

Ausonius in
Diog. Laert.
vit. Cleb.

Pittacus, ju-
s. of the Gra-
cian Sages.

He made wa-
on the tyrant
Melæger: &
was Generall
against the
Athenians.

Pittacus made
Governor of
the Athenians.

The slender
esteeme
made of King
Cresus, and
all his posses-

The earth re-
puted to be
certaine, but
de fea most
uncertaine.

Worthy say-
ings vied by
Pittacus.

Thales, the
first of the
seven Sages.

Thales the
first discou-
erer of Astro-
logy.

A Table of
gold drawne
vp out of the
seine a *Pis-*
trians net.

him but sent him word, that he had no
need of his gold or silver, because he had
already a great deale more, then wiling-
ly he would haue. Giving thereby to var-
dand, that hee was sorry for his Bro-
thers succell, which happened to him,
because he affected his Brothers better
then his owne welfare. His often saide,
things things to come, were very difficult to
vnderstand: and that there was nothing
in the world more certain then the earth,
and contrariwise, that there was no certain
certainity in the sea. (as is to be seen in the
life of a man, (quoth he) ought to forese
aduersities before they happen, the better to
shun and keepe himselfe from them. Recouer
that with patience, which force cannot com-
mand. He that knowes not how to hold his
peace knowes no better when he should speake.
In time of prosperity get thee friends, & make
proofe of them in aduersity. A man knoweth
what thou wilt doe, least thou be scorned if
thou canst not do so. Take heed how thou art
towards thy Father, (quoth he) for his children bee
in thee. So much for *Pittacus*.

Thales, the first of the Sages of Greece,
was a Native of *Miletum*, a City
much renowned in Greece, and for the ma-
ny vertues abiding in him, deferred well,
that the cheefe place among the Sages,
should be assigned to him. For, in the first
place, he was Soueraigne in Geometry,
and the first man that discovered the prin-
cipall secrets of Astrology: as the course
of the Sun, the reason of his Eclipses, and
likewise of the Moone, and the Equinoct-
tials. In briebe, he brought to light the
course of the Planets, and many other se-
crets of naturall Philosophy. Moreover,
he was the cause, that the proud Title of
Sages, remained to the seven learned men
of Greece, by this accident.

Vpon a day, sundry young men, and
friendly companions of *Miletum*, had
bought a draught of certaine Fishermen,
hauing cast forth their Net into the sea,
and these young men were to haue the be-
nefit, of al to be drawne vp at that time. A
most admirable case suddenly happened;
for when the Net was drawne vp, they
found therein a Table of Golde, beauti-
full and enriched in most costly and sump-
tuous manner. They which bought the
draught, pretended, that the table of gold
belonged to them, by their bargain. The
Fishermen (on the contrary) auouched it

to be no fish, & that they bought nothing
of them, but onely all the fish which should
be taken, and therefore (in that respect)
they had no right at all to the Table. A
long and great contention grew between
them, which should be the fower ended by
full consent on cyther sides, they sent to
the Oracle of *Apollon*, for a small resolu-
tion: where he, on the dullest speaking by
him, made this answer, *That the Table*
must be given to the only wife of Greece.
Which hearing thus understood, the Sol-
dian Table was sent to *Thales*, as being the
only marrie Græcians. Thus he was so mo-
dest that he sent it to another of the Sa-
ges before named, for they were all living
at that time, and he sent it to another, so
that the Table of gold passed from hand
to hand, vntill at last it came to *Solon*, who
likewise would not enioy it, but sent it to
the Temple of *Apollon* at *Delphos*.
As *Ausonius*, *Callimachus*, and many other
writers, that shew the courtesie vied in
the Sages one towards another, the Table
returned againe to the hand of *Thales*, to
whom at first it was presented, and that
he sent it to the *Delphian* Oracle. But how-
soever those Authors write diuersly, con-
cerning this History, yet all doe agree to-
gether in this, that *Thales* was the first man,
to whom the golden Table was sent.
And *Aristotle* making mention of *Thales*,
testifieth many conceited sayings proce-
ding from him, especially in his Bookes of
Pollicies, and namely one, which he vied
ordinarily, *That when he pleased, he could be*
rich. Whereof he made good and suffici-
ent proofe; for foreseeing by Astrology,
that there would be a good season for Oli-
ues, and Oyle of Oliues, (soone after)
was likely to be deare; he laid out his mo-
ney to buy Oliue Oyle, while the season
serued, which afterwards hee sold at what
rate he pleased. Not because thereby he
would enrich himselfe; but to make a ma-
nifestation, that when hee listed he could
be rich, considering what knowledge he
had, both for times of abundance, & like-
wise of dearth, when they would happen.
On a time it came to passe, that as he was
gazing vpon the stars, he fell into a ditch;
which an old woman seeing, & comming
(vpon his outcry) to help him, in mocking
manner said to him, *Tell me Thales, how darest*
thou presume to foretell of things to come,
consideration of the Stars, and yet couldst not

The Oracle
of *Apollon*
must end the
controuersie.

The Table of
gold sent to
Thales, as the
only wife
man of Greece.

Variation a-
mong Au-
thors, concern-
ing this Hi-
story.

Aristotle in
Polit. cap. 9.

Thales would
be rich when
hee listed.

Thales being
fallen into a
ditch, was re-
proued by an
olde woman.

Diuers wife
sayings often
used by Tha-
les.

See what was under thine owne feet upon the ground. And yet notwithstanding, he was knowne to be an admirable wife man. He was wont to say; That over-great assurance and confidence, is as evermore accompanied with repentance. For many times, such as trust too much to others faithfull promises, are faine to pay the debts, from which no other caution could prevaile with them. He sayd moreover; That the true meanes of living overbusily, is, by not doing such things, as we condemne in other men.

Being demanded, what was the easiest thing in the world to doe; he answered, *To know other mens faults, and none of our owne.* He sayd also; *That few Tyrants liued to be old.* Diogenes following the opinion of *Hermippus*, sayd; that *Thales* vied to thanke God for three things (though this Sentence is fathered on *Socrates*): *First, that he had made him a man, and not a beast. Secondly, that hee had made him a man, and not a woman. Thirdly, that hee was borne in Greeke, and not a Barbarian.*

Periander the
last of the se-
uen Sages of
Greece.

Now we come to speake of *Periander*, the last of the *Græcian Sages*, of whom I have no great matters to relate; because (according to diuers authors) he was not in the rancke of the *seauen Sages*; and yet a man of singular wit and vnderstanding. *Periander* was King of *Corinth*, and the son of King *Cypselus*; the manner of his life being rather tyrannicall, as liuing like a Sol-dior or Capitaine; rather then a Philosopher. And hence it ensued, that *Heraclides*, and many more beside, esteemed this *Periander* to be none of the *seauen Sages of Greece*; but another *Periander*, who was (indeed) a great Philosopher; and a man highly renowned for vertue. Neuerthelesse, the most voices gaue the title of *Sage* to *Periander*; for although hee reigned by power at *Corinth*; yet notwithstanding, he was so discrete, valiant and of so absolute vnderstanding, that thereby he won the name of *Sage* among the *Greeks*.

It was demanded of him, why he did not depart from his tyranny & kingdom; because (quoth he) I may fall into as great danger, by willingly leaving my kingdome, which none other can dispossesse me of by force. He vied continually many notable Sentences, and had the word *Consideration* very frequent in his talke, as declaring thereby, that the principall thing

wee should haue care of, is, to consider well what affaires we vndertake. The *Poet Aristonius*, expounding the word *Consideration*, faith; *A man should thinke vpon times on any thing, before hee presume to attempt it.* For men (often-times) fall into great daungers, through much inconsideration; especially, when they will not be gouerned by wisdom or counsell, but rashly follow the persuasions of Fortune.

Vertue (sayd *Periander*) is immortal, but the pleasures of this world are of small continuance. In times of prosperity, be wise and modest, as in aduersity patients and constant. Live in such sort, that thou mayest haue honour by thy life, and that after thy death, men may account thee happy. Let ancient Lawes and Ordinances be rules for thy gouernement; inducing no nouelties into the Common-wealth. Profuse should alwayes be accompanied with good grace and homelie. Performe that chearefully, which thou canst not prevent but cowardly.

Complete he was in these, and infinite other of the same nature, which brevity maketh me spare to speake of.

CHAP. XXIIII.

¶ *That sight is the chiefeft and principall sense of all the rest. And of many being blind, who neuerthelesse were men of great honour and renowne.*



Aristotle had great reason to say; *Sight is the very principall of all the other corporeall senses.* For, it is seated as in the maine Cittadell, in the high & most eminent part of the body, whereby we may vnderstand, that it paraketh greatly with fire: by vertue and power whereof, it is placed aboue all the other senses. Touching hath a terrestrial participation, for the earth is most touchable and tractable; and of all the Elements, Tasting holdeth with Aquositie and humidity: for, without humidity, a man cannot taste any thing. As for Smelling, *Aristotle* attributeth it to fire, saying; *Heat is the foundation of odour, and her end consisteth in vapour, joined to an Ayre grosse, and full of exhalation.* Concerning

Hearing,

Aristonius, ex-
pounding the
word Consi-
deration.

Write & lea-
ned Senten-
ces of Peri-
ander, left to
eternall me-
mory.

The singular
benefit recei-
ued by sight.

Aristotle lik-
eth Animal opti-
city
The emine-
nt seat of sight

The Element-
ary quality of the body
senses.

The swiftness
and celerity
of the Eye in
her operations
regards of
distances on all
the other sen-
ses.

Periander re-
puted not to
be a philoso-
pher, but King
of Corinth.

His answer
when he wold
not leaue his
Kingdome.

Hearing, euerie one well knoweth, that it paraketh with ayre, which entering into the eares, by sound, causeth hearing; but sight participateth with fire.

And although that the Eye were composed of a moyst and waterish bodie, yet notwithstanding, without Fire, it were not possible to haue sight: whereby wee may perceiue, that Sight or Seeing should be more of fire, then all the other senses doe beside. And because the eye (as *Aristotle* faith) doth more present the figures of things to a man, then all the other senses: to it is granted, the beginning of contemplation, and knowledge of all things. For from sight proceedeth admiration, and the consideration which a man hath by seeing, occasioneth a desire in him, of coming to vertue: So that (by good right) we may call the Eye, the Author and Inuentor of all Arts and Disciplines.

In the prime place, by the Eye, a man considereth the admirable Architecture of the heauens, & of all the other bodies: by the Eye we discern their colours and greatnesse, their formes, number, proportion, and measure; their sense, motion, & their resting. And although Hearing had some concurrence in this case with Seeing, so that it might be rearme a sense of doctrine and of discipline, because men learne vertue by hearing and vnderstanding: yet (for all this) that title appertaineth principally to the sight, as vnto her, that giueth the meanes to the vnderstanding, to enquire by the plenitude of things which the heareth, to come to the true knowledge of them; to the end, that this knowledge may afterward be communicated to other. Hereby then we may obserue, that the first source or spring of instruction, cometh from the Sight, who afterward maketh Hearing mistress of the worke, by comprehending those admirable things presented first to the eyes censure. Wherein also may be noted, that Hearing can comprehend nothing of it selfe, without vying the means of another, but the Sight comprehendeth all things (as it were) euen of it selfe.

Moreover, Seeing surpasseth all other senses, in swiftnesse and promptitude of her operations: for in an instant, and with no more then a cast of the eye, the perceieth her desseignes: whereas the other senses are long, & laborious in their wor-

king. For, Touching must haue one thing or another, to execute her power and office vpon, before thee can expresse her prerogative. Talking also must needs tarry, for some things answerable to his palate. And Smelling requirith such a ley-sure, in receiuing an ayre qualified, as may penetrate into her nostrilles: As the like doth Hearing, to comprehend a voice entering into the eares. But Sight only worketh instantly, and presently comprehendeth the images of things presented to hir in an vnspokeable and gracious manner. For, blowes may bee scene giuen a great way off, and although the sound or noyse of them bee not heard so soone; yet notwithstanding, there is nothing that can conceale sight of the strokes, for they are sodaine and apprehensie vnto the Eye. And therefore, Seeing surmounteth the other senses, because it extendeth it selfe so farre.

In this respect, by many Histories and examples reported by *Pliny*, wee may easily gather, that Sight hath a farre larger extent, then all the other senses, without any comparison, or wearying her selfe tediously, as all the other do. For the Taste tirieth it selfe by too much feeling. The Eare is easily offended, by talkative babbling. The Smell is trauailed extremely, by continuation of sweete Odors. But Sight solie, hath no sense of paine in her operations. Nor doth she at any time so wearie her selfe, as to close her lids retiredly; but rather, she is neuer satisfied with Seeing. In briefe, the excellency of Seeing is so great, that the name of Seeing is attributed to all the other senses, in their feuerall operations. For, men ordinarily say, Beholde the excellency of this sweete Odour a little while; or the Delicacie of this Musike; or the rare taste of this Fruite.

The name of Seeing, extendeth it selfe to the operations of the vnderstanding; for it is an vsuall saying; Marke how my intencion will come to passe. It is likewise sayde in the Gospell, that our Lord and Sauour saw (that is to say, knew) the thoughts of the Scribes and Pharisees. And verily, among the miracles & workes which our blessed Sauour did in those vnworthy Countreys; it is helde for the most especiall and singular, that he gaue sight to the blind. And therefore there is no

Yyya labor

The Eye discerneth along way off from where the person is, so can none of the other senses.

The name of Seeing attributed to the other senses in their kinds

Seeing extendeth to vnderstanding.

March 22, 20.

Christ his giuing sight to the blind much commended.

labor, wherein our Physicians more gladly study and take paines, then to preferue and maintaine the sight of men.

Read of a holy man named *Azarias*, who being present in a consultation, that diuers Physicians made before *Fredericke King of Naples*, concerning the maintaining of mens sight. When it came to his turne to speake, he said; *There is nothing better to comfort the sight, then enuy, because it will alwayes make the goodes of an other man seeme greater then they are*. This agreeeth with *Ovids* saying; *Enuy euer thinks his neighbours come, more goodly then his owne*. Notwithstanding, according to the opinion (almost) of all men, Spectacles do greatly serue to defend the sight: and surely, they were a very good inuention, though the first deuiler neuer knew it.

I haue heard of a great Lord in *Spaine*, that would alwaies eat Cherries with his Spectacles on his nose; onely to make them seeme the bigger and more nourishing: but yet this gourmandise was exorbitant. An other Gentleman, being quoyt by *K. Phillip*, because he fed ordinarily with Spectacles on his nose; answered the king, Sir you count it not strange, that I vsemy Spectacles in reading a Letter, in which can be no danger at all: why then do you blame me, because I eat fish with Spectacles on my nose, wherein are such an infinite number of bones, as the very least is able to strangle me, & which I canot see without my Spectacles? Spectacles then serue to very good purpose many times. But to our former purpose againe concerning Sight.

Although Sight is the chiefe guide of man; yet notwithstanding, I haue read of diuers blind men, who were of no meane fame and reputation: Nature supplying their vnderstanding, for whatsoeuer wanted in their sight. *Appianus Claudius* the great Orator, highly honored and esteemed of *Cicero* and *Titus Linus*, although hee was blind was elected Censor at *Rome*, which office hee mannaged with so singular authority, as he only hindered the peace the whole Senate had concluded with King *Pyrrius*. *Cicero* discoursed amply in the fifth Booke of his *Tusculan Questions*, concerning the blindness of *Appianus Claudius*, and of remedies against diseases in the eyes.

Caius Drusus, the most famous Lawyer and Advocate, was blinde; and yet neuertheless, his house was continually full of clients and futers, who rather affected to be guided by his darke wisdom, then by their owne eye-sight. *Caius Aufidius*, a great companion with *Cicero* in his youth, was *Pictor of Rome*; and yet he not to opine in the Senate, and all his friends receiued counsell from him, in their very greatest and weightiest affairs. And notwithstanding this blindness, yet he digested a very notable Chronicle, of his own writing, whereof was made most high estimation. *Diodorus* a Stoical philosopher, was greatly renowned in his darkenes, and for all that imperfection, he could study in the night time, & play on his viole in the day; nay more, he taught Geometry publicly, a matter almost incredible, considering that it can not be practised but by the eye.

Antipater of Cyrenica, and *Aclepiades* the Critike Poet, were both of the blind; and yet bearing their disaster with patient foules, they neuer gaue ouer studying Philosophy, but therein spent their time to the benefit of many. And when certain Ladies (grieving at his hard fortune) late weeping by *Aclepiades*, hee said to them: *Forbear (noble Ladies) because you know not what a pleasure it is, to dwell in darkness: they then demanding of him, what profit he receiued by his blindness, he replied; I haue a boy more now to keep me company then I had before*. *Homer*, the Prince of Poets, was blind also, as his name imported; according to the saying of *Cicero*: neuertheless, tis vnkowne when he lost his sight; but true it is (as *Ouid* saith) that this disaster hapned to him in his old age.

Didimus Alexandrinus, may likewise be ranked with them that haue gone before, who being blinde euen from his youth, became (neuertheless) a most perfect Logitian; studying besides, in all other humane disciplines; and hee made a very notable Commentary vpon the *Psalms of David*. Such then, as wee haue before spoken of, perceiving themselves to be deprived of their sight, did yet strue and labour to performe things memorable, as Necessity is alwayes sayd to bee industrious.

But that which *Democritus* did to himselfe, made the world both astonished & smile

Caius Drusus, a famous lawyer, wrote a worthy Chronicle.

Diodorus a Philosopher who taught Geometry in his blindness.

Antipater Cyreniac, and *Aclepiades* Critick.

Homer being blinde, was called the Prince of Poets.

Didimus Alexandrinus, the famous Logitian.

CHAP. XXV.

¶ That Auarice or Couetousnesse, is a most enormous vice, and subject to great dangers: With sundry examples of diuerse persons, who were extremely couetous.

THe Auarice of our instant dayes, induced mee to discourse on this sin, as a case of most perillous and extreme danger: and to intermeddle among my relations, certaine histories of many couetous men, which may serue as exampls to other yet liuing. Desiring all Readers (in the meane while) to consider the estate of a couetous man, with the like eie, as common people doe diligently looke vpon a monster, which some Juggler or Mountebanke bringeth into a city, for singularity & obferuation.

As entrance then into our discourse, it is to be noted, that *Aristotle*, *Cicero*, *Thomas Aquinas*, and many other Authours beside, haue diuersly defined what Auarice is; neuertheless, we may deliue this resolution from their definitions. That Auarice is an inordinate desire of a mans enriching himselfe, without sparing part of his goods to any other, so that we may well say, this vice is excoffice in desiring and griping; but very cold and slow in giuing or parting with any thing. Vnder the cloake of this sinne, march a thousand disorders, infinite iniustices and abominations, sheltering themselves there so safely, as they cannot doe the like in anie of the other vices. For as *Virgil* saith; *Excrable famine of gold, is there any vice, which thou inducest not into the heart of man?* *S. Paul* also saith: *Couetousnesse or Auarice is the foule, or roote of all euilles, hauing made many to wander from Faith, which otherwise would haue kept and followed it.*

That Auarice is a sinne most abhominable, appeareth sufficiently in this, because it makes a man hated both of God and men, being (of it selfe) quite contrary to Charitie: which is such a vertue, as conioyneth God and men together, euen as the opposite sinne maketh a man hateful vnto himselfe. For, the loue of our selues is so rooted in our hearts, that wee respect not any thing, in regarde of our selues

Y y 3

The reason of interling this Chapter by the Author.

Aristotle, *Cicero*, *Thomas Aquinas*. The definition of Auarice.

Virgil, his exclamation on Auarice.

Rom. 9. 14.

Auarice causeth contempt both of God and Men.

A History of *Fredericke King of Naples*.

Of the enuious man.

Spectacles helpe to pre-ferue the sight.

A gluttonous Feeder.

A Gentleman of *Spaine* alwayes vied his Spectacles at his meales.

Diuers blinde men of great honour and excellency.

Blinde *Appianus Claudius*, Censor of *Rome*.

Cicero in *Tusculan lib. 5.*

Democritus the Philosopher pluckt out his owne eyes.

Zyfe, chiefe Captain and Commander of the Bohemians.

Belus the second King of *Hungaria*, had his eyes plucked out by the means of *King Colomanus*, his owne vnckle. Being blinded thus, hee withdrew into *Greece*, where he made such plaine apparance of his manly spirit and wisdom: that king *Stephen*, sonne to king *Colomanus*, repealed him, and gaue him in marriage the daughter to the count of *Serua*. In which dignity he carried himselfe with such rare integritie, as (after the death of King *Stephen*) hee was chosen King of *Hungaria*.

And being blinde, reigned nine yeates, during which time he had diuers warres, and especially against *Broccus*, the bastard sonne to King *Colomanus*; whom yet he vanquished, so that he left the kingdom of *Hungaria* peaceably to his sonnes.

The last blinde man, whereof wee will speake at this time, was *Iohn*, King of *Bohemia*, who reigned in the yeare of our Lord 1350. or thereabout. And surely, it is almost myraculous of this Prince, that blinde *Zyfe* should maintaine his Commanders place so worthily, being General of the Bohemian army, against *Belus* then reigning in *Hungaria*; yet I hold all nothing to blinde *Iohn* of *Bohemia*, who had so much valour (after his owne victories) to succour (in person) *Philip* king of *Fraunce*, his kinsman, in his warre against King *Edward* of *England*. For this blind King, euer affected to make onain the field; assisting also the Earle of *Flanders*, and many French Princes.

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Iohn, the blinde King of *Bohemia*, who assisted *Philip* of *Fraunce*, against King *Edward* of *England*.

Auarice maketh me carelesse of getting money, yea and to endanger their bodies and soules.

Men care not for Parents, Wife, Children, Friends, nor themselves, for they may get riches.

Luke 16.19.

The niggard oftentimes gets goods together, for the prodigal to spend himself.

Eccles. 10.7.

felues, louing alwayes our owne profit, more then any others. And yet notwithstanding, Auarice hath gotten such preeminence ouer man, as he cares for nothing but getting money, beeing so full of himselfe, that hee will neyther eate, drinke, nor clothe himselfe decently; but rather is content to fast, and almost starue himselfe, because he will not allow the least leasure from the scraping goods together. Nay, he feareth not to hazard both his soule & body, so he may be sure to get money; which is a thing repugnant to the Lawe of Nature, who ordained and instructed vs, to affect and maintaine our felues, and contemne all things, before our owne liues. And yet the couetous man cares not to loose and condemne his owne soule; yea, and a bridge his life, which he will endanger in a moment, for the getting of a Crowne.

Vndoubtedly, it is much to be lamented, that a man should not respect himselfe; nor his parents, wife, children nor friends; provided that he may wallow in wealth and mucke of the world: such an one was the Rich man, spoken of in the Gospell. What a miserable and wretched follie is it, to endure hunger, thirst, colde, ill cloathing, and neyther sleep by day or night, but every houre to endanger life, and yet make no vse of golde when it is gotten? It ought, and should serue for the sustentation of life; and to that end riches were ordain'd: Obserue the words of our blessed Saviour; *What mayleth it a man to winne the whole world, and loose his life; that is, his soule?* Surely, fane of opinion; that this happeneth by the Diuine permission, calling such couetous men into a reprobate sence, to the end they may die in that avaritious will and desire.

And yet notwithstanding, God often permitteeth, that wealth scraped together, by such toyle and trauaile: shall fall into the hands of others, to scatter as prodigally, as it was gotten wickedly, and wonderfully spauing. This is that whereof *Salomon* speaketh in his Ecclesiasticus: *Such as haue gotten riches, gotten by labour, leave them for other hands.* For can that thing be good for a man, which is eall in him who hath it? *Thou shalt also* upon this very same word speaketh thus: *Some doe gaine and make profit, and yet maintaineth their*

lives; and there are others, who live not but to gaine. In briefe, this wicked vice doth so captivate a man, that it robbes him of all love and respect to himselfe: so that there is not any wickednesse in this world, but it may well be expected in a couetous man.

"Dian the Philosopher saith, Auarice is the head of all wickednesse. Euripides saith, An ambitious & couetous Iudge, can neither thinke or desire any iust thing. Saint Augustine saith; whoeuer suffereth himselfe to be gouerned by Auarice, becometh subiect to all vices; and wickednesse." And this is conformable to good reason. For, the couetous man (by Auarice) becometh a tempter, periured, an euill payer, a v-furer, a deceiver, a traytor, a turne-taile, a thiefe, a tyrant, and an idolater: so that it is not possible, that a couetous man should haue any good being; neyther as Lord nor vassall, gouernour nor subiect, father nor sonne, nor friend or coufine, and in the end, neuer doth good, except when he dyeth.

"Lucilius sayd, An avaritious man is good to no bodie, because he is wicked to himselfe. Democritus maintained; That extreme Auarice, is worse then extreme Poverty. Aristotile in the first Booke of his Politicks saith; Desire to become rich, neuer hath ending; and therefore riches serue as powertie to a couetous man: because hee dare not vse them, for feare of empyring his estate. The Stoicks had a saying, That wishes and necessitie came not of powertie, but of abundance: for, the more that a man hath, so much the more needy is he. Concluding, It is good to haue a little, because as no time to be needie. Plato gaue this counsell to a couetous man, to become rich indeed, hee should not encrease his wealth, but rather decrease his auarice or couetousnesse."

All these notable Sentences before remembered, are intirely conformable to the sacred Scriptures, who declare; *That the eyes of a couetous man are insatiable. Salomon also saith in Ecclesiasticus, A couetous man is neuer satisfied with money: And that whoeuer adultereth his mind with riches, shall neuer enjoy them. Saint Augustine compareth the couetous man to hell, which can neuer be glatted enough; and neuer faith it hath sufficient, although it hath bene so long time in filling. Euen so, the greedy*

* A Philosopher of Berythens.

Aug. in lib. 18. lib. 18. cap. 19.

The true picture of a couetous man.

* A famous Latin Poet, living in the 17.

Aristotile in lib. 1. cap. 4.

The opinion of the Stoicks concerning wealth and necessitie.

Sentences of Scripture, as touching couetousnesse.

Aug. in Cath. doctr. lib. 1. cap. 19.

Strenuous comparison of a couetous man.

Augustine concerning avarice in men, and other creatures but (as hee saith) in the avaricious and couetous man.

Aug. in Psal. lib. 1. cap. 10.

Examples of miserable wretched couetous men, which heartily hate Christ and his politics.

greedy couetous man is neuer satisfied, but the more he gaineth, the more he gapeth still after gayne; thinking himselfe poorer and poorer. Saint Ierome saith: *The couetous man is so needie of that which hee hath, as if hee had it not at all. And alwayes his avarice encreaseth, as fire doth being continually fed with dry wood. As much or rather more, haue many other holie men sayd; all in utter detestation of this damnable sinne.*

Neuertheless, because I will no longer weary the Reader, I shall conclude this poynt with the saying of Saint Augustine: *How strangely insatiable is this desire in men? Other creatures haue their appetites limited for they bunt when they are hungry, and being satisfied, they leave their prey. But hee that conceiveth the riches of this world, is insatiable: for hee seeketh and boordeth up daily, taking wealth from all hands, without fearing, either God or men; Hee knoweth neither father nor mother, he maketh no account of his brethren, or any friends of his; hee neuer careth for keeping his word: Hee oppresseth Widowes, robbeth Orphanes, and and serues his turne with free-men, euen as if they were slaves: He is commonly a false witness, and cares not how hee engrosseth up dead mens goods: Are not these commendable qualities in a couetous man? Let vs siet then from this accursed vice, which (ouer & beside the former notes of wickednes) is incurable (according vnto the saying of Aristotile) for it encreaseth with age: so that Auarice is in his full reign, when bodily strength faileth in man.*

To shunne one falling into this slavish sin, I will alledge some examples of wicked couetous men, among whom, *Iudas Iscariot* marcheth in the first rancke; he being an Apostle and Disciple of Christ Iesus, was so subiect to Auarice: that he would robbe the money from the rest of his fellowes and companions, by bearing the bagges, and hauing the money in his owne possession. This wicked passion had so farre blinded him, that he accounted the precious Oynement to be lost, wherewith *Mary Magdalen* anointed the feet of our blessed Saviour. For, if the Oynement had bene sold, hee would haue holde part of the price. In the end, he was so strangely led by this sinne, that (for money) he sold his Lord and Master. This onely example were sufficient

to approue whatfoeuer hath bene said concerning couetousnesse: neuertheless, I am content to report some other, among which, *Tiberius Caesar* Emperour of Rome is the formost man; and questionlesse, there is no other vice in the world, better to be exempld in the Romain Emperors, then this of Auarice.

This Prince, among other his notorious vices, (whereto hee was very easily moued) was so subiect to penurious gripping, and pinching, that although he was Lord of the whole world; yet notwithstanding, he put to death *Cnaeus Lentulus* (whom he had instituted to be his heire) onely to enjoy his wealth. As much did he to the King of the *Parthians*, who did come to liue with him vnder his safe-conduct; onely to possesse himselfe of the riches and treasure, belonging to the simply abused Prince. He so heauily charged the poore with taxes and toules, that they were enforced to forsake their countries, in such sort; that the Cities and Townes remayned desert and vninhabitable. In the end, pursuing on fill his vnvaritable inclination: *Caligula* smothered him betwene two pillows, and so hee dyed.

Domitian the Emperour was more couetous then he: And the Emperour *Commodus* (thereln) exceeded them both; for he (ordinarily) vsed to make port-fale of iustice: and therefore heauen iustly permitted them to be stabd to death by *Pocnyards*. *Achelous* King of *Lydia*, was so overcome with couetousnesse, that hee could not be contented with his *Crownie* lands, and very large ordinary reuenues; but layd (beside) such taxes and impositions vpon his subiects, that they arose in Armes against him, and hauing taken him, murdered him most miserably, and (afterwards) hang him vp by the heels. *Pontanus* maketh mention of a Cardinal who was so extraordinarily avaritious; as he would often disguise himselfe like vnto a poore groome or slaue, and steal away the prouender from before his owne horses: *Horace* saith, that there was a man in Rome, named *Onid*, who was so abominably rich in money, that he could measure his gold and Silver by many bushels; and yet notwithstanding, hee would goe stark naked; and neuer did eate halfe so much as would suffice him; as feareing

Example of couetousnesse in diuers of the Romain Emperors.

Tiberius Caesar, who cutt off his own heire to death, to enjoy his reuenues.

He was found smothered by Caligula.

Domitian and Commodus, two extreme couetous Emperors.

Achelous, King of Lydia.

A most extreme couetous Cardinal.

A wretched and miserable couetous man in Rome.

* Or Pigmali-
on, as some
writers call
him.

Polixus, King
of Troy.

still least he should fall into povertry, lived
most wretchedly all his life time.

Many other might be spoken off, too
much addicted to this detestable sinne, as
* *Primalcor*, the brother to *Dido*, who slew
his cousine, onely to enjoy his riches. *Pol-
ixus* also, King of *Troy*, who put to death
one of King *Priams* sonnes, being sent to
honour him in his Court : but such pro-
lixity of examples may provee offensive.
We will content our selves then, to know
how we ought to shunne this sin, which is
the occasion of infinite evils: and so much
the rather; because men are continually
more enclined to Avarice, then to Libe-
rality.

CHAP. XXVI.

A verie singular reason, deliuered by *Phau-
rinus* the Philosopher, concerning Astro-
logers; that it is not good to demand any
Question of them, having relation vnto
future matters.

Iudicial Astro-
logy con-
tinually mis-
doubted.

OVr Ancient, yea, and more
moderne writers, were euer
more doubtfull in the act of
Iudicial Astrologie, which
discouerseth of things to
come, and accidents happening to men,
as well in particular, as generally through-
out the world; some condemning it, and
yettery reiecting it; others approving it
in part; some beside maintaining it by
strong reasons, and by experience. More-
ouer, there are store of bookes, which I
could produce here, as warrantable pre-
sidents: but I mean not way that to trouble
myselfe, although I haue studied suffici-
ently in that part of Astrology, which dis-
couerseth on the course and motion of the
Starrs.

Being willing then, not to touch the
honour and reputation of any person, I
will onely alledge, what the Philosopher
Phaurinus saide, according as *Aulus Gel-
lius* relateth. He being desirous to retreat
and turne mens mindes, from reposing a-
ny trust in Astrologers, Caldeans, or Ma-
thematiicians, concerning the knowledge
of things to come: vied a reason very in-

genious and acute, speaking in his man-
ner, and as himselfe hath sette downe the
words.

*Be well aduised, that thou giue no credite
to Astrologers, in any manner whatsoever:
For, although they tell thee true, that which
they say, will be either good or ill for thee, and
being good, it must be truth, or a lye. If it be
truth, thou must receive double damage by
knowing it: for first of all, thy desire runs in-
to further paine and trouble, what good there-
by shall happen to thee, and how soon. Second-
ly, a good or benefite to come (whereof thou
hast thus received intelligence) is alwayes re-
ckoned the lesse, because it cannot bee so com-
plete, as if thou wert possessed thereof in-
stantly. If it be a lye, thou expectest in vain,
the benefite which the Astrologer promised
thee, in regard it shall neuer come vnto thee.
What if thou which the Astrologer foretolde
thee, is ill and hurtfull for thee? Being euil &
certaine; what more great disgrace can hap-
pen to thee, then to be possesd of an euill turne,
which thou must embrace, and is out of thy
power to shunne or auoid? If it be a lye, why
should a man be afflicted, or driven into sad-
nesse, by feare of a mischeefe that shall neuer
come neere him? Be it therefore in what sorte
soeuer, it is not good to enquire after future
accidents.*

For mine owne part, I finde the coun-
sel of this Philosopher to be so good, that
I hold it agreeable vnto the holy Gospell,
which sayeth: *It is not for vs. to know times,
seasons, nor moments.*

CHAP. XXVII.

*Diuers examples of sundry accidents; where-
by great plots and disfigurements of great
Politicks, haue bene discovered and ouer-
throwne. Also, concerning Policies, that
(for a time) haue bene profitable, and yet
in the end haue proued pernicious.*



EE read in *Plutarch*, that
the people of *Sicily* (being
oppressed with diuers Ty-
rants) craved assistance of
the *Corinthians*, who sent
them (for their succour) a Capitaine of
theirs, called *Timoleon*, a man famous, not
onely

The admoni-
tion given by
Phaurinus
against confi-
dence in the
laying of As-
trologers.

An attempt
against Timo-
leon, over-
throwne by a
strange acci-
dent.

These are the
pieces of his
life, to pre-
sente the laces
of victorious
men.

Whether is
this heinous
crime that
often it is
renewed by
strange
means.

The Authour
judgement of
the Philoso-
phers could

The Authour
himselfe a stu-
dent in Astro-
logie.

And yet, in Af-
ric North, 1. 1. 1.

Chap. 27. Of great Policies preuented.

onely for Militarie discipline; but also for
moral vertue and piety. This *Timoleon*
had (within a while) such good successe,
that the Tyrants despairing of ability ey-
ther to ouercome him, or to defend them
selves by force against him: One of them
(being named *Ietes*) suborned a couple
of desperate companions to kill him. And
they perswading themselves, that it might
best be done, as he should bee sacrificing
to his Goddes; watched on opportunitee
for that purpose, and finding him one day
in the Temple, ready to sacrifice; they
drew neere him, to execute their intent.
But as they were ready to strike him, one
of the standers by (who suspected nothing
of their intention) vpon a sodaine, gaue
one of the Conspiratours such a mortall
wound, that he fell downe dead in the
place. The other (seeing his fellow slain,
and thinking that the conspiracy was dis-
couered) fled into the Altare, and taking
hold thereof, craved pardon of the Gods
and *Timoleon*, promising, that (if he wold
saue his life) hee wold discouer all the
practise.

In the meane time, hee that had killed
the other Conspiratour, being fled; was
taken and brought back, calling God and
Man to witness, that he had done nothing
but a most iust and lawfull acte, in killing
him that had slaine his Father. Which
being knowne to some that were present,
and testified by them to be true: filled all
the assistants with admiration of Gods
prouidence; who by such a sodaine and
vnexpected accident, had not onely ouer-
throwne the pernicious plot; and disfigu-
ment of the wicked Tyrant, and preferred
Timoleon, but also had executed his iustice
on a murderher.

Hereupon, *Plutarch* maketh a nota-
ble discourse of Fortune, following the
opinion of the *Platonists*, concerning the
same (which they define to bee *Demonia-
cum potestatem*, &c. An Angelicall power,
connetting diuers and different causes,
to produce some effect.) And therefore, he
noteth in this History, how the good Angel
of *Timoleon*, did (for his preferuation) af-
femble, and (as it were) chaine things to-
gether, that had no coherence of them-
selves, making one of them to be the be-
ginning of another. For, although the
murder of his Father that slew the Con-
spiratour, had no connexion with this con-

spiracie against *Timoleon*; yet, neither that
murder had bene reuenged, if this Con-
spiracy had not followed; nor this Con-
spiracy had bene discovered and ouer-
throwne, but by occasion of that murder
committed long before. Thus discour-
seth *Plutarch* vpon this accident; which
although he referred to Fortune (speaking
thereof, according to the opinion of the
Platonists) yet he ascribed it principally to
the prouidence of God, who by the mini-
stery of his good Angel, protected and
preferred his seruant *Timoleon*, in respect
of his great piety and deuotion: and this
being well vnderstande, is no way re-
pugnant vnto *Christians* Catholike Do-
ctrine.

But to come to examples neerer our
time, *Charles Duke of Burgundie*, being
at Warre with *Lewes* the eleuenth, King
of France, had (for his Confederates) the
Dukes of *Guienne* and *Britany*, whereof
the first was the Kinges owne Brother.
And hauing bene (in former time) twice
deceiued by the said King, with false trea-
ties, and now desirous to quite him with
the like; offered him to abandon his two
Confederates, vpon condition; That he
would restore vnto him certaine Townes,
which he had of his vpon the Frontiers.
Aduertising his Confederates (in the mean
time) that his meaning was not to forsake
them, or to keep any Couenant with the
King; but onely to recouer his owne, and
then to delude him, as he had bene before
deluded by him.

The King (suspecting no deceit) accord-
ed to the conditions; and sent his Amba-
sadors to Duke *Charles*, to take his oath for
performance of the Couenantes on this
part. The Duke sware, or rather forswore
himselfe (promising vpon his Oath that
which he meant not to performe) & then
sent his Ambassadors in like manner vnto
the King, to take his oath. In the meane
time, before the Ambassadors arrived
where the King was, it pleased God so to
dispose, that the Duke of *Guienne* the Kings
Brother, and Confederate to *Charles*, dyed.
Which the King vnderstanding, and
seeing himselfe already deliuered (by his
Brothers death) of the danger of Ciuill
Warre, which he most feared: refused to
swear, and stand to his couenants. And
so, all the crafty device and subtle plot of
Charles was ouerthrowne, by the sodaine

Plutarch ascri-
beth the pre-
feruation of
Timoleon, to
the prouidence
of God; y the
means of his
good Angel.

Phil. Com. c. 58.

Another ex-
ample of great
disfigurement
of *Charles D.*
of Burgundy,
ouerthrowne
by a chance.

A false Oath
taken, iustly
required by a
Confederates
death.

acci-

accident of his confederates death, which he neuer dreamed of; and he himselfe forsworne for nothing.

Heere to I will adde *Caspar Borgia*, Duke of *Valentia*; whome *Machiavel* so highly admireth, that he propoeth him for a patterne or example to his Prince. This *Caspar*, being become exceeding rich and potent, by the helpe and Authority of *Alexander* the sixt, his Father; and fearing nothing so much as his Fathers death, whereby it might chance, that some enemy of his might be chosen to succede him; studied and laboured by all meanes possible to prevent that inconuenience, & to procure, that the election of his Fathers successor, might fall into the power of himselfe and his friends. Which when hee had provided sufficiently, as he thought; it chanced by such meanes as I will declare.

After a while, not onely his Father died; but he fell likewise so extremely sicke at that time, that hee could execute nothing of that which hee had before resolved. Wherby it came to passe (God so disposing in his iust iudgement) that an enemy of his fathers and his (being chosen to succede) he was within a while vterly overthrowne. In which respect, he himselfe was wont afterward to confesse, and lament the imbecility of mans wite, because when hee thought, that he had foreseene all inconueniences, which might happen to him by his Fathers death, and provided to prevent them: hee neuer so much as imagined, that he should bee so sicke at the same time, that he should not be able to put any of his designements in execution.

And herein is also to be noted, for further prooffe of the matter in hand, that he himselfe was the cause, aswell of his owne sicknesse, as of his fathers death, and (consequently) of his owne overthrowe, by a wonderfull chance, which hapned contrary to his expectation. For, hauing inuited his Father, and Cardinall *Cornetti* to a Vineyard, with intent to poyson the Cardinall, to the end to inherit his goods; hee re-commended a certaine Bottle of im poisoned wine, to a trusty seruant of his, with speciall charge to keepe it safe, and giue it to none without his expresse order. But it so fell out, by his seruants negligence (or rather by Gods iustice)

that as the Psalmist saith; *Incident in foueam quam fecit: Et fell into the pit himselfe, that he had made for other.* For his Father, coming into supper very hot and thirstie, by reason of the great heates, and calling for wine; the seruant that had charge of the Bottle (not knowing it was poysoned; but imagining onely, that it was some especiall wine, more precious then the residue) & not hauing any other ready (because the poyson was not brought from the Pallace) gaue him of that wine, whereof not onely he, but his son *Borgia* dranke. And being both poysoned therewith, the Father (who was old and weak) died presently; but the Sonne being young, and more able to resist the force of the poyson; had time to take great and potent remedies, whereby (after a long and dangerous sicknesse) he hardly escaped. Thus was his bloodye plot and pernicious purpose prevented, by an accident which he neuer minded.

But let vs come now to an example in our Countrey of *England*, which manie yet may well remember. The Lord *Iohn Dudley*, Earle of *Warwick*, and after Duke of *Northumberland*, in the time of *K. Edward* the sixte, meaning to aduance himselfe and his Family; married the Lorde *Gulford Dudley* (his fourth sonne) to the Lady *Jane*, daughter to the Duke of *Suffolke*, pretending to make her Queene after King *Edward*, in preiudice of the Lady *Mary*, daughter to King *Henry* the 8. and eldest sister to the sayd King *Edward*. For, by reason of the Kings lingering sicknesse, he had time to vie all the meanes, which he thought conuenient for the accomplishing of his desire. And therefore partly for friendship, and partly for feare, hee had heerein so farre prevailed, that there seemed to want nothing for assurance of his intention: but only to haue the Lady *Mary* in his hands; whome therefore hee procured the Councell to send for in the Kings name; vpon pretence, that she should come to comfort the king, where-to he obeyed, not suspecting any sinister meaning in the Duke.

But as the was vpon the way, and somewhat neere to *London*; before she fell into the snare prepared for her, it pleased God, that shee received aduice of the Dukes designement, from one of his own counsell: wherupon she returned sodainly,

Psalm 7. 18.

Guiciz. Lib. 6.

The plotte of the Duke of Northumberland against the Lady Mary, eldest daughter to K. Henry the eight.

Iohn Stowes Hist. Edw. 6.

Lady Marie advertised of the treason intended: was shee, by one of his owne counsell

The overthrow of Caspar Borgia (Machiavels marrow for a Prince) by a sodain chance

Guiciz. Lib. 6.

Borgia the great politici an prevented.

Guiciz. Lib. 6.

Caspar Borgia thinking to poyson another, poysoned his owne Father & himselfe

ly; and within a while after, that she arrived at her owne house; she had newes of the King her Brothers death. And although she was destitute of men, money, counsell, and all other meanes to enable her, whereby to resist so great an adversary as the Duke (who was not meanly provided) yet such was her trust in God, as also the iustice and right of her cause; that she provided her household seruants to proclaim her Queene presently in the countrey Townes thereabout. Wherupon, first the common people of the countrey adioynings; and (afterward) diuers Gentlemen of account repaired vnto her in so great a number; that the Duke of *Northumberland* and the Councell (who had already proclaimed the Lady *Jane* in *London*, and in diuers parts) thought it conuenient to leuy forces, and to make a royal Army, whereof the Duke himselfe (for the authority of his person) was General.

The Duke then presently put himselfe into the fildes, leaving the charge of the City & Tower of *London*, to the Lords of the Councell: who, vpon his absence, and vnderstanding the great concourse of people, to the assistance of the Lady *Mary*, and the equity of her cause iustified considered: they agreed amongst themselves, to proclaim her in *London*, as presently they did, and committed to prison the Lady *Jane*. Then sent they order to apprehend the Duke, who was so dismayed therewith when he vnderstood it; that he vterly lost his high and hopefull courage; and being taken prisoner at or nere *Cambridge*, was brought to *London*, and there afterward executed.

By these examples, and infinite others which might bee alledged, it is verie euident, that there is no surety in the plottes and contriuings of men, be they neuer so wise, except they be guided by the Spirit of God particularly. For, when they haue built (as a man may say) Towers of policy, as high as the Tower of *Babel*: a sodaine blast of an accident vnexpected, shall cast them downe to the very ground, to the confusion (many times) and ruine of the builders and contriuers.

But what shall we say of counsellors and policies, that seeme not only to be grounded vpon great reason, and continued also with as great prudence; but also suc-

ceede (for some time) notably well; & yet in the end prooue to be pernicious? VVherof we haue seene sufficient experience, in the *Roman* Empire, which was overthrowne in course of time, by that (which for many yeares) seemed to bee the strength and security thereof. For, whereas the first *Roman* Emperors, hauing oppressed the Common-wealth by Armes, perswaded themselves, that their seene was to bee established and conserued, by the selfsame meanes as it was gotten, and therefore resolved, that the safety thereof, & of many persons, consisted in siting Guards, garrisons, Legions, and Armies of soldiers, to be distributed throughout all the parts of their Dominions: it is euident, that the same was (in the end) one of the principall and chiefest causes, of the Emperors vicer overthrow, though (at the first) it seemed greatly to establish and assure the same.

For, after the death of *Nero* (when the Family of the *Caesars* was ended) not onely the Guards departed for the custody & safeguard of the Emperors persons, called *Pretorians militia*; but also the Legions & Armies, disposed and placed in diuers quarters of the Empire (seeing as well the poysonnes of the Emperors, as also the strength of the Empire in their own hands) did arrogate vnto themselves, such authority and liberty to chuse new Emperors: that they set them vpp, and pulled them downe at their pleasure. Wherby in lesse then one year after *Neros* death, foure Emperors, *Galba*, *Otho*, *Vitellius*, and *Flauius*, were chosen by the Guards, who forced the Senate to admit and confirme them. And their insolency grew to such extremity in time, that after the death of the Emperor *Pertinax* (whom they killed) they made offer of the empire (by publike proclamation) to whosoever would giue most for it.

And whereas there was but onely two that offered money for it, *Sulpicianus*, and *Didius Iulianus*; they gaue it to the latter, partly because he gaue them ready money, and partly because *Sulpicianus* was Father in Law to *Pertinax*, whom they had slain. And, whilst not onely the Emperors guards, but also the soldours of euery army tooke vpon them to make Emperors: it fell out sometimes, that there were as many Emperors chosen at once, as there were

The *Roman* Empire overthrowne by the same meanes that preferred it for a time.

The foolish election of Emperors, by guards and armies of soldiers.

Suetonius, Plutarch.

Elins Sparten.

The Empire sold to such as would giue most money for it.

Trebel, Pallis in
triginta tyranni

were diuers Armies in the Empire. Inform-
march, that in the time of *Onley* and *Vale-*
rian, there were no lesse then thirtie Em-
perours declared in sundry places within
the space of fifteene yeeres: Whereupon
it followed, that the Empire (being
pitifully rent and torne with ciuill warre)
was so weakened, that it became a prey to
the *Goths*, *Vandals*, *Alans*, *Emmors*, *Lomb-*
bards, and such other barbarous Na-
tions.

The ruine of
many Empe-
rours by their
owne Guards

This was the Romane Empire over-
throwne, by the same meanes, that were
not otly ordained to conserue and main-
taine it; but also indede (for a time)
preserue it from many dangers; both do-
mesticall and forraigne, to wit, as well from
invasion of forraigne enemies, as from re-
bellions of Subiects: which by the Empe-
rours Guards, and the ordinary Legions,
dispersed through all parts of the Empire,
were either easily prevented, or speedily
reprefsed. For which cause, the Empe-
rours themselves were content, to stand (as
it were) at their mercy, to the end that
they might (by them) rule and command
others; which although to some it was a
safeguard and security, yet to manie more
it brought ruine and perdition; as to *Calig-*
ula, *Pertinax*, *Caracalla*, *Heliogabalus*, *Pu-*
perius, *Balbinus*, *Galen*, *Seuerus*, *Macrinus*,
Aurelianus, *Iulius Maximinus*, *Probus*, with
diuers other; some of them being slaine
by their owne Guards, and some by their
Soldiers.

The Turkes
great Guardes
of Janizaries,
dangerous to
his State.

This inconuenience, the Emperours of
Turkes doe seeke to remedy, in their Ty-
rannicall Dominion (which they also vp-
hold by force, as the Romans did, though
with lesse danger.) For, although they
have about three hundred thousand horse,
and foote euer in readinesse, vnder their
Colonels and Captaines, in *Europe*, *Asia*,
and *Africa*: yet they keepe them alwayes
fundered, and farre dispersed, that they
 neuer come together in any number, vn-
lesse they are to be employed in some for-
raigne Warre. Neuerthelesse, they
 Guardes of Janizaries, which they haue
 alwayes neere about them, for the securi-
 ty of their persons, to the number of thir-
 teene or foureteene thousand, haue pro-
 ued (many times) no lesse dammageable,
 then dangerous to their States. For they
 haue not onely sometime set the younger
 Brother against the eldes, and holpe the

Legio Sar-
a in his Ous
maket.

foone to depose the father: but also (euen
in our Age) haue taken the most confi-
dent Officers and greatest authorities of the
Turke from him by force; and smote off
their heades; and compelled him to par-
don them, yea, and to giue them whatso-
euer they would demaund; to appease
them.

Whereupon, two considerations
may be gathered; the one, the infelicities
of Tyrants, who while they seek rather to
be feared, then lovingly affected: are for-
ced to make themselves subiects & slaves
to those, by whom they keepe other in
subiection and slavery. Whereby wee see,
how true it is which *Seneca* saith; *Quod a-*
lium domini magnum est, duo non vacat. That
which is great by others feare, is not void of
feare in himselfe. The other consideration,
is, how tickle the state of Princes is, how
weake their policies, how vncertaine the
successes of their plots; and consequently
how needfull it is for them, to craue, and
haue the especiall protection of Almight-
ty God, in all their designements and a-
ctions; seeing the meanes whereby they
labour to preserue themselves from dan-
gers, proue many times more dangerous
in the end, then the dangers themselves,
which they seeke to auoid.

This may further appeare, by the po-
licie which *Rodericke* King of *Spain* vsed,
to assure his state against the children and
friends of King *Princa*, whom hee had de-
posed. For, fearing lest his subiects might
rebell in their fauour, hee dismantled all the
strong holds and places in *Spain*, and dis-
armed the people. Whereby, though hee
strengthened his state, in regard of dome-
sticall dangers; yet hee weakened it, in respect
of forraigne attempts. In somuch, that the
Moors invading him shortly after, and
ouertthrowing him in battell, found so flen-
der resistance afterward, that in seauen or
eight moneths, they conquered almost all
Spain.

The like also may be saide of the *Brit-*
taines, to whom their owne policie pro-
oued most pernicious; for, being molested
by the *Picts* and *Scottes*, they called in the
Saxons for their defence, who (for some
time) serued them to good purpose; but
in the end, they conquered them & their
Country.

In like manner, the Queene of *Hunga-*
rie thought it good policie, to procure the

Palladium
Common, rre
Ture, in E
qta.

Tyrants to
be feared, then
lovingly affect-
ed: are forced
to make them-
selves subiects
to those, by
whom they
keepe others
in slavery.

The dan-
gers of this
state of Prin-
ces, without
Gods speciall
protection.

Roderick
of Spain
versus his
children and
friends
through his
owne policie
(see the
story).

Legio Sar-
a in his Ous
maket.

the ayde and assistance of *Solyman* the
Great Turke, against *Ferdinando* King
of the Romanes, brother vnto the Em-
perour *Charles*, the fifth of that name; and
(for a certayne time) thece was releued
and supported thereby: but in the end,
Solyman comming into *Hungarie*, in his
owne person, with a pretence to succour
her: hee depriued both her and her sonne
of their Kingdome: Also *Amurath*, one
of *Solymans* Ancestours, conquered and
subdewed the greatest part of all *Greece*,
euen by the very like kinde of meanes and
occasion.

But peradventure you will say, that
this was so grosse a follie in Christian
Princes (to put confidence and trust in
the helpe of such potent and perfidious
Infidells) that it is not to bee alleadged
for an example of pollicie. I graunt that
it was follie; but such kindes of follie
may bee committed and doone, euen by
the wisest Princes and their counsellors,
when Almighty GOD will punish and
afflict them. For, hee eyther taketh from
them their politticke wittes, to the end
they may erre and precipitate themselves:
or, hee ouerthroweth their wisest designe-
ments, by such kinde of meanes as they
cannot imagine: or else, hee doth bring
them to such exigents, that they are for-
ced (sometimes) wittingly, to take in
hand some dangerous and desperate re-
solution, whereby they are disgraced and
ruined.

CHAP. XXVIII.

A briefe Discourse concerning the first
foundation of *Ierusalem*; What for-
tunes (from time to time) befall there-
to: And of the Kings that there did
reigne.



Neuer was there any Towne
or Cittie (of what estate or
condition soeuer) that had
(so many especiall graces and
priuiledges from Almighty
God, nor euer had such store of sacred
mysteries therein performed, as in the

Cittie of *Ierusalem*: although it had not
had that (onely chiefe) note, that our
blessed Lord and Saviour was there cru-
cified, dead and buried; and that the mys-
teries and secrets of our redemption, had
not bene there accomplished. Contra-
riwise, there is not any Cittie in the world,
that euer endured so many miseries and
mischiefes, or fell into such slauiish serui-
tude, as thece, and as is to be discerned at
this day.

As concerning her riches, and sumptu-
ous buildings, no Cittie vpon the earth
could euer equal them; as *Pliny* extol-
leth it about all the Citties in the East; and
Cornelius Tacitus amply describeth the si-
tuation thereof: whereby wee may easily
collect, that it was one of the most po-
tent Citties in the world. As much affir-
meth *Iosephus*, who describeth the three
walles wherewith it was ingirt: which ne-
uerthelesse were adorned with goodly
Towers, Bulwarks, and buildings most
rare; besides the excellencie of the Tem-
ple, a thing beyond all compasse of com-
parison. All which considered, I thought
it not vn-necessary, to make some brie-
fe report, concerning the first foundation of
this Cittie, with what fortunes happened
thereto (as well good as euill) by a sum-
marie Collection, of such things as I find
recorded in her owne Chronicles.

Ierusalem was scituated and founded, in
the very middest of *Iudea* or *Iewrie*, at the
toppe or knap of Mount *Sion*; which is
helde or reputed (commonly) to be the
middle or centre of the earths superficies.
Ezechiel also saith, *That it was seated in the*
middest of Nations. *Dauid* likewise sayth,
That the saluation of men was perfected in
the middest of the earth. Which *Saint Hier-*
ome declareth, writing on that passage
of *Ezechiel* before specified. Moreover, it
is written in *Genesis*, That *Melchisedech*
(which, according to the interpretation
of *Saint Paul*) is as much to say, as a Iust
King, or a King of Iustice. *Abraham* ha-
uing conquered foure Kings, that kept
Lot prisoner) mett him and made a sacri-
fice to God; and that this Prince bap-
tized this Cittie of *Salem*, or (as some say)
Ierusalem, which is as much to say, as *Peace*
in regard wherof, hee was called King of *Peace*.

Salem then was the first name imposed
vpon this Cittie: although *Saint Hier-*
ome is of the opinion, that it had the

The wealth
and sumptu-
ous buildings
in Ierusalem.
Plin. lib. 5. c. 9.
Cor. lib. 2. c. 11.
Ioseph. de Bell.
Iudic. lib. 6.

Concerning
the seating or
plantation of
Ierusalem.

Genesis. 14. 18.
Hebr. 7. 1. 2. 3

Salem the
first name gi-
uen to Ieru-
salem.

name of *Iebus* at the beginning. *Strabo*, *Cornelius Tacitus*, and many other Authors beside, called it *Solima*, speaking otherwise of the foundation, then formerly hath beene sayd.

This Citty likewise was called *Iebus* and *Ierusalem*, as wee may reade in the sacred Scriptures. Saint *Hierome* writing to *Dardanus*, doeth giue it three names: Notwithstanding, it was (in the end) called *Aelia*, in regarde of the Emperours name *Aelius Adrianus*, who caused it to bee re-built and fortified. Saint *Hierome* sayth, that it had the name of *Iebus*, in regard of the *Iebusites*, who had founded it, vntill the time of the holy Prophet *Dauid*.

Iosephus and *Agepsippus* say, that *Melchisedech* gaue it the name of *Ierusalem*, as much to say, as *Vision of peace*: making one word of *Iebus* and *Salem*, so that *Ierusalem* found it selfe to be composed of these two wordes, onely by chaunging B. into R. Others say, that it had the name of *Here*, that is to say, *Vision*: by reason of the Angell which appeared to *Abraham*, when hee would haue sacrificed his sonne *Isaac*.

Some others say, that it was called *Ierusalem*, as much to say, as the house of *Salomon*: in regarde of the admirable buildings which King *Salomon* erected there: many other opinions are there vpon this poynt, which I passe ouer lightly, because I am of the minde, that as the *Iewes* called it in their tongue *Ierusalem*, so did the *Greekes* and the *Latines* name it *Ierosolima*, as wee may reade in *Iosephus* and *Agepsippus*, *Greek* Authors. Yet, *Nicholas de Lyra* will not haue it to bee so receyued, because hee sayth, that *Ierusalem* was first called *Luca* and *Bethell*: which I can giue but little credite vnto; for (according as Saint *Hierome* sayth) *Bethell* is twelue miles off from *Ierusalem*, as wee may see it also auouched by *Iosephus*. Notwithstanding all these opinions, it is to be noted, that *Ierusalem* (in former times) had many particular names; which were thereto attributed, in regard of the manifolde high mysteries therein accomplished. As, *The Holy City*; *The Sacred Citty*; *The Citty of Dauid*, and many other such like Titles, besides her owne proper and peculiar name, *Ierusalem*.

But come wee now vnto the Historie. The *Iebusites* and the *Canaanites*, who were one and the same Nation (for *Iebus* or *Iebus*, was the sonne of *Canaan*, the sonne of *Can*, Nephew to *Noah*, of whom these Nations tooke their name) were Lordes of *Ierusalem*, at such time as the Children of *Israel* (deliuered from the Captiuitie of *Egypt*) possessed themselves of *Palestine* and *Iudea*. And it came to passe, that in the diuision for portage, which the twelue Tribes of *Israel* made of the Land promised vnto them: *Ierusalem* fell into the portion of the Tribe of *Beniamin*. Neuerthelesse, because this Tribe of *Beniamin* (notwithstanding all their aduentures in Armes) could not wholly cleare the Country of the *Iebusites*: they were constrained to let them liue there among them, for more then three hundred and seauenty yeares after, euen to the time of *Dauid*. Hee being both a Prophet and King, and descended of the Tribe of *Iuda*; expelling the *Iebusites*, wonne their Fortresses from them, building them new againe; and erected there a goodly Pallace, as wee may reade in the Booke of *Kings*, and also in *Iosephus*. *Dauid* hauing thus expelled the *Iebusites*, called *Ierusalem*, *The Citty of God*, creating it to be the chiefe and Capitall Citty in all *Iudea*.

During the Reigne of King *Dauid*, *Ierusalem* was in her triumphing iollity, and highly renowned among all the Nations, in regarde of the great victories which *Dauid* obtayned: after whose death, wife *Salomon* succeeded him. And although this King laboured to liue in peace, yet *Ierusalem* still increased in fame, riches and sumptuous buildings: for *Salomon* enlarged the walles thereof, and erected there goodly fortifications. Hee builded many other costly Castles beside: but especially the Temple, so greatly renowned, in regard of the treasure and artificial cunning bestowed thereon, as neuer could any other building be compared therewith. For, as we may reade in holy Scripture, and also in *Iosephus*, the Furniture thereto belonging, was infinite and incomprehensible. So that the very fame thereof, incited the Queene of *Saba* to visite King *Salomon*.

Concerning the *Iebusites* and *Canaanites* the lords and possesors of *Ierusalem*.

Ierusalem fell to the Tribe of *Beniamin* the diuision.

King *Dauid* expelled the *Iebusites* out of the land. *Ioseph*, in the *Iud. lib. 18. c. 9*

Salomon succeeded his father *Dauid*.

Ioseph, in *Ant. Iudaic. lib. 8.*

The Queene of *Saba* visited King *Salomon*.

Many

Many Kings likewise sent him choyses Presents to the same effect, Gold, Silver, and Treasure, which they brought to him by sea, and in such abundance, as no more account was made thereof, then as stones in the streete.

This King neuerthelesse, forgetting the great blessings which God had bestowed vpon him; became an Idolater, so that God suffered his kingdom to be diuided after his death.

Hauing reigned forty yeares, *Rehoboam* his sonne succeeded him, against whom the Tribes reuolted, who elected *Ieroboam* to be their King. *Rehoboam* had but two of the Tribes onely, to wit, *Iuda* and *Beniamin*, whereupon he fortified his Cities: and afterward, this Kingdom remaining to his successours, began to take and continue the name of *Iewes*, because of the Tribe of *Iuda*. *Ieroboam* and his successours, called themselves Kings of *Israel*, and chose *Samaria* to be the chiefe Citty of that Kingdom: and by this diuision, those Kings were alwayes at continual warre, each against other. Notwithstanding, although *Rehoboam* had but two of the Tribes subiect to him, yet his reputation was so great (because hee was defended of *Dauid*) that euermore hee preuailed in fight, and was much more feared and obeyed, then the King of *Israel*, so that *Ierusalem* became not a iote diminished, eyther in strength or riches. But when the Kings of *Iuda* and their people, grew offensive to God by Idolatry: then this goodly Citty suffered many miseries and calamities.

Rehoboam hauing strongly defended his Townes and Cities, and they flourishing in all pompe and prosperity; he notwithstanding, fell to Idolatry, as we may reade in the holy Chronicles, and likewise in *Iosephus*. In regard whereof, God raised vp against him, *Susac* or *Shishack*, King of *Egypt*, who came and couered his Country with twelue hundred Chariots, threecore thousand horse, and a countless number of Infantry, belonging to the *Egyptians*, *Ethiopiens*, *Troglodites*, with many *Lybians*, which came from *Guynea*, to his seruice. Boldly they entered into *Ierusalem*, sacked the Citty and the Temple, from whence they carried infinite Treasures, as is to be obserued in his chronicle. After which chastisements, the

anger of God being appeased; *Rehoboam* remained peaceably in his Kingdom, all the remainder of his life: and being dead, *Abias* succeeded him, who ouer-came *Ieroboam* King of *Israel*; in which conquest were slaine fifty thousand men belonging to *Ieroboam*.

After the death of *Abias*, who liued but a while (being also an Idolator; and yet God permitted him to haue this victory, in consideration of *Dauid* his grandfather) *Asa* succeeded him. This Prince was good, iust, and feared God, and therefore he gaue him many great and signall victories, against *Zarab*, King of *Ethiopia*: who had entred so farre vpon his Country, that he kept *Ierusalem* besieged. In his time, the Kingdom of *Iuda* was so flourishing, that (vpon an account made) there were found five hundred and fourescore thousand men, able to beare Arms. I finde also in the sacred Scripture, that this King builded and fortified many Cities.

Hee being deceased, *Iehoshaphat* his sonne came to the Crowne, during whose Reigne, *Ierusalem* was in great reputation: chiefly in respect of Prophets, as *Abias*, *Michas*, *Ofias*, *Elias* and *Elisue*, who were all then at that time. This King found such fauour in the sight of God (according as wee reade in the holy Chronicles of the Kings) that the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, and the Mountaineers of *Seir* (being gathered together, with an infinite number of people, to runne vpon this Prince) God sent a dissention among them, that they conuerted thence, and employed their powers to spoyle themselves, so that without striking a stroke, King *Iehoshaphat* returned with great triumph to *Ierusalem*. Where hauing reigned peaceably, and in no meane power, he dyed, leaving the Kingdom vnto *Joram* his sonne, giuing also to his other Children, diuers Cities, with great summes of gold and silver.

Joram being come vnto the Crowne, he followed not the steppes of his Father, nor of his Grand-father; but gaue himselfe to impiety and cruelty, putting to death his owne Brethren. He laboured also to haue alliance with *Zeheb*, King of *Israel*, whose counsell he mainly followed in his affaires, and likewise tooke his Daughter in marriage. Whereat

After *Abias*, succeeded *Asa*, a iust and virtuous Prince.

A goodly number of men made in *Iuda*.

Ierusalem blessed with many famous Prophets.

A mighty army preuented by Gods providence.

The impious and wicked rule of *Joram*.

It was also called *Iebus* and *Ierusalem*.

Ioseph, *Ant. Iudic. 19. lib. 1.*

Melchisedech called it *Ierusalem*, *Vision of peace*.

The house or palace of king *Salomon*.

The opinion of *Nicholas de Lyra* concerning *Ierusalem*.

Many particular names giuen to *Ierusalem*.

The country
of Iudea spo-
iled & ruined.

God being displeased, suffered the men of *Edom* to reuolt from him. The *Arabs* also made warre vpon him; which proeued in such cruell manner, that the whole Countrey of *Iudea*, was thereby vtterly wasted.

Wicked liues
haue common-
ly as wicked
death.

After his death, *Ahasia*, or *Ochozias* his Sonne, succeeded in the Kingdome, with his Mother *Athalia*: and, as they were both of most Wicked life, euen so, hadde they as vnhappy an ending.

Next him succeeded *Ochozias*, who gaue good apparance in the beginning of his Reigne, to doe all things for the best, as well in regard of Religion, as for actions of policie. For, hee reduced the Temple into the first condition, and re-established all the damages and injuries which the *Kinges of Egypt* (and especially his Father *Ahasia*) had done. But soone after, hee fell vnto Idolatrie, so that (by common voyce of the people) hee caused the Prophet *Zacharie* to be put to death.

The Prophet
Zacharie put
to death by
Ochozias.

So highly was the goodnesse of Almighty God distasteth heere with, that he sent a terrible chastisement vpon *Ierusalem*, and that in the time of King *Amasias*, Sonne vnto this *Ochozias*. Who hauing Warre against *Iezabab*, King of *Israel*, and neuer remembering the great Victories, which God had giuen him against the *Idumians*, and manie other Nations: both hee and his people were ouercome, and being ledde Prisoner vnto *Ierusalem* his owne City, was compelled to yeelde it to the mercy of *Iezabab*, who caused it to be dismantled, and foure hundred fadomes of the Walles to bee beaten downe. Hee spoyleth the Temple also, and possessed himselfe of all the wealth and riches belonging vnto King *Amasias*: returning home afterwards (in Triumph) to his Citie of *Samarina*.

Another great
military hap-
ping to Ieru-
salem.

Furthermore, King *Amasias* being slaine by Treason, *Azarias*, or *Ozias* his Sonne next succeeded, who was a verie valiant and potent Prince. First of all, he strengthened *Ierusalem*, and all the other dismantled Cities, enriching his Countrey, by diuers great victories which hee obtained against the *Philistines*, *Arabs*, and *Ammonites*, making them all Tributarie vnto his Crowne; so

Amasias mur-
dered by
treason, his
son Azarias
succeeded him

that the renoune of *Ierusalem*, increased day by day, while hee reigned; and hee founded and builded many Townes and Cities beside.

Neuertheless, pride made him to forget his dutie; for, perceiuing that he had three hundred thousand men subiect vnto him, and all in abilitie to carry Armes: hee grew so exceeding arrogant, that hee would needes vsurpe the High-Priest Office. But as hee was performing his Sacrifice in the Temple; God smote him with a fowle Leapfroge, the which continued with him to the time of his death.

Pride and
arrogancy fully
punished by
the hande of
heauen.

After his decease, *Iotham* his Sonne next succeeded him, being a Prince very wise, iust, and valiant; hee also enlarged *Ierusalem* verie spaciouly, by manie reparations and new foundations; besides, the building of some other Cities. Hee likewise ouercame and vanquished the *Ammonites*, from whom hee brought backe great summes of Golde and Siluer. But after his death, Triumphant things beganne to wear away, and all vn-happinesse fell vpon the people of *Iuda*: For, his Sonne *Achaz*, sur-named *Elezazar*, being come to the Crowne; gaue himselfe to Idolatry, introducing the ceremonies and superstitions of the Pagans. In regard whereof, God chastised them by the hand of *Rafis*, King of *Suria*; and *Phazias* king of *Israel*, who slaughtered (in one day) fixe score thousand men. After which pittifull overthrow, they ranne thorow the Countrey of *Iudea*, robbing and spoyleing it in lamentable manner; and because *Ierusalem* was strong, it outstoode the sharpe besiedging of these kings so long, til they despayring of their insufficiency, were forced (with great summes of Golde) to buy their succor of *Salmanazar* king of the *Assyrians*. And for the better satisfaction of him, they tooke the Vesselles of Gold and Siluer, which onely were for the Temples seruice, to helpe them withall in this great distresse.

Iotham suc-
ceeded Aza-
rias his father

Pagan Cer-
emonies and
superstitions
brought into
Iudea.

Ierusalem re-
duced againe
to distresse in
woofull manner.

Salmanazar being come to assist the king of *Iuda*, vanquished and overthrowed the king of *Israel*: and yet notwithstanding, ledde away with him a great number of the Iewes prisoners, to whom he gaue the Region of *Ibena* to dwell in. And this was the first dispercion and captiuitie of

The first di-
percion and
captiuitie of
the Iewes.

of the Iewes, since their miraculous deliuerance out of Egypt: and in short time after, the *Assyrian* king, compelled the King of *Israel*, every yeare to pay them Tribute. At this very time, the Prophets *Osea*, *Esay*, *Amos*, *Micheas* and *Ionas* were in great reputation.

After the death of this vnfortunate *Achaz*, next came to the Crowne his son *Ezechias*, a man, farre beyond the Nature of his Father; for, hee was wise, iust, religious, and one that feared God. *Ierusalem* also (in his reigne) recovered once more her former credite; policy becoming better reformed, and the seruice of God reduced to such perfection: that (as the Scripture it selfe amply declareth) the Realme of *Iudab* neuer had a better king, liuing in great prosperity, and honouring his Countrey, with many famous Victories.

Ezechias the
son to reforme
King
Achaz, succe-
ded in the
kingdome after
his Father.

Hee could not content himselfe, with renting vp the rootes of Idolatry, where- to the people were ouer-much enclined; and bringing them entirely vnto the true seruice of God: but hee also gaue summons to the ten Tribes of *Israel*, to liue according to that Lawe, which God had deliuered by the hand of *Moyfes*. Whereunto many condiscending, they came to Sacrifice in *Ierusalem*, and to celebrate Easter, according vnto the ordinance of *Moyfes*.

His rooting
vp of idolatry
and warning
giuen to the
ten Tribes.

Notwithstanding, as the sacred Scriptures doe testifie, the rest persevered still in their Idolatrie, and made a mockerie of those gentle inuitations, as also the aduertisements which the Prophets had giuen them. For which contempt, GOD layde his correcting rodde vpon them, aswell by *Salmanazar*, as *Senacherib*, kings of the *Assyrians*, who oppressed them greatly, in the first yeare of King *Ezechias* his reigne.

Salmanazar
and Senache-
rib, Gods
 scourges vnto
the Iewes.

Also in the fourth yeare of the reign of *Ozias*, King of *Israel*, the *Assyrian* brought fo heauy a warre against seuen Tribes of *Israel*, for the space of three whole yeares: as he enforced them to forsake their countries, and to go dwell as slaues among the *Medes*.

The dispercion
of the Iewes
into strange
Countreies.

Thus you see how the Iewes were dispersed heere and there, among forrayne and strange Nations, without euer returning againe home to their owne houses, so that none knew what afterward should

become of them. For heere was the end and ruine of the kingdom of *Israel*, which had continued three hundred and seuentie yeares.

On the contrarie, *Salmanazar* sent his *Assyrians* into *Samarina*, to inhabite there; who (vsurpingly) got possession of all the Countreies (wherein the *Israelites* had formerly dwelt) and tooke the name of *Samaritanes* vpon them. Yet *Eusebius* taketh that name but as a Garrison, wherein his opinion (me thinks) is not warrantable: for they were called *Samaritanes*, after the name of *Samarina*, the chiefe and principall City of that Countrey. The *Assyrians* made a mixture of the Iewes Lawes with their Idolatries; yet held them in abomination, as excommunicated people. As concerning their actions, I shall be silent therein, because it no way concerneth my discouise: and if heerein I haue committed any error, I submit my selfe to the Churches correction.

How the Sa-
maritanes first
received that
name.

After the overthrow and ruine of the *Israelites*, the Kingdome of *Iuda* onely remained on foot: For the good King *Ezechias*, to saue his people from the fierce rage and furie of King *Salmanazar*, and to preferre his owne dominions in peace; gaue him great summes of gold, buying (by that means) peace for long time. Neuertheless, this Infidell King falsified his Fayth vnto him, and came with a mighty powerfull Armie, intending to ruinate the Kingdome of *Iuda*, as formerly hee had done the Kingdome of *Israel*. But GOD being pleased to defend his people, sent the Prophet *Esay* vnto King *Ezechias* to comfort him, (because this Prophet liued then) and in one night, the Angell of the Lorde, slew one hundred and foure score thousand fighting men in the *Assyrians* camp: by means of which great slaughter, the rest retyred thence. And *Ezechias*, hauing escaped this dangerous perill to himselfe, and his people, lyued the remainder of his dayes peaceably in his Kingdome. And God hauing euidently declared great Myracles, on the behalfe of this King, he dyed peaceably, leaving his Sonne *Manasses* succedour in his kingdome.

The kingdom
of Iuda remain-
ing after the
ruine of the
Israelites.

This Prince wandered from the good wayes of his Father, and addicted himselfe altogether to Idolatry, committing

One hundred
and foure score
thousand As-
syrians slaine
in one night.

Manasse re-
volved from
the wayes of
good king E-
zechias his fa-
ther, and was
led captiue
into Babylon.

111.

The deeds of
the holy king
Iosias, repay-
ring the Tem-
ple, and expel-
ling idolatry
out of this king
dome.

King Iosias di-
ed of a wound
needlesly re-
ceived in fight.

The lamenta-
tions of the
prophet Iere-
mie.

many most abominable finnes, directly contrary to the Law of God, and thereto likewise induced the people. Whereat God growing offended, raised vp the *Affyrrians* against him, who so well chastised him; that, ouer and beside the ouerthrow of his people, himselfe was taken prisoner, and ledde away captiue into *Babylon*. Notwithstanding, he repented him of his finnes, which caused God to deliuer him out of the *Affyrrians* hands; so that hee returned home to his owne estates, and dyed there in peace. After him, succeeded his wicked son *Amon*, who was slain most miserably by the Prophets *Ioh. Nahum*, and *Habakkuk* succeeded in his time. Next him, came to the crowne his sonne *Iosias*, who was a Prince that feared God, & very vigilant for the reformation of his people; performing many other actions, rightly becoming to good and iust a King. For, he expulled all idolatry quite out of his kingdom, which had taken deepe roote in the hearts of men, and he repaired the Temple also. Neuertheless, the anger of God against the Iewes was not appeased, in regard of the abominable idolatries committed, in the reigns of the Kings *Manasses* & *Amon*. Notwithstanding, in respect of King *Iosias*, who (thorough his owne folly) dyed poorly; God deferred to chastise the Iewish people, in such manner as he did afterward.

This king dyed of a wound, which hee receiued on the day that hee had agaynst *Necar*, King of *Egypt*, when hee might haue bin better employed. For *Necar* had no matter of quarrell against him, but rather sought his friendship so much as hee could; and hauing no other intention, but to imploy his forces against the King of *Affyria*. Neuertheless, in a brauery of spirit, *Iosias* would needs meddle with him, which cost the deere price of his life. His death was very much bemoaned, especially by the Prophet *Jeremy*, who wrote his Lamentations on his behalfe.

Ioachaz his son succeeded him, who was giuen to all iniquity and wickednes: wherefore God suffered him to reigne no more then three moneths: for *Necar*, who had before foyled his father, deprived him of his kingdom, making the countrey of *Iudea* tributary, paying an hundred Talents of Gold, and one of Siluer, euery yeare.

Ioachaz being thus defeated of his king-

dome, and led prisoner into *Egypt*, where he dyed; *Ioachim* his Brother, was enstalled in his place, behauing himselfe verie wickedly; for hee was wholly affected to Idolatry, and prouoked his people to doe the like. In which respect, God stirred vp king *Nabuchodonosor* to be his enemy, who had already reigned forty foure years in *Babylon*.

This Prince hauing won the victorie against the Iewish people, ledde away the most part of the greatest personnes in all the Countrey, as captiue slaues and Vassals, and tooke away also the Vesselles of the Temple. The occasion of this warre grew, because *Ioachim* gaue ayde vnto the King of *Egypt*, against *Nabuchodonosor*, contrary to the counsell of Iere-*my*. *Ioachim* hauing reigned eleuen yeeres, and liued prisoner three yeeres, dyed in great poverty.

After whom succeeded *Iechonias*, following the steppes of his Father, because hee was as wicked as hee. In his time, God began to display his rigorous rods of vengeance, prepared long time before against *Ierusalem*, but deferred in the regard of *Iosias*, according as the Prophets had foretold. For King *Nabuchodonosor* came in his owne person, with an exceeding great and powerfull Armie, to besiege the Citie of *Ierusalem*: but, *Iechonias* being not able to make resistance, submitted vnto his will, himselfe, his Mother, his Wife, and the principall personnes that were of his House. Moreover, hee made him a present, of the Vesselles and Treasures which remained (as yet) in the Temple. By which means, King *Iechonias*, and the chiefeest men of his Court, were ledde away captiues into *Babylon*: But *Nabuchodonosor*, tooke all the assurances and fidelitie of *Matthias*, vnto King *Iechonias*, and made him king of *Iudea*, calling him by the name of *Sedechias*.

In speaking of this King, I must needs say, hee was one of the most Wicked and vnhappy Princes that euer reigned: For, not onely was hee ingratefull vnto Almighty GOD, for the great Graces which hee had bestowed vpon him (turning still his backe, and not willing to heare any thing which the Prophet *Jeremy* tolde him) but also did falsifie his word vnto King *Nabuchodonosor*; who

Ioachaz dyed
a prisoner in
Egypt: after
ther in cap-
tivity.

King *Nabu-
chodonosor*
ouerthrowed
the Iewish
people.

The long de-
ferred rage
of god against
Ierusalem,
now cometh
to appeare
in the war of
*Nabuchodo-
nosor*.

The warning
giuen to this
regracious
King, by Iere-
my, Ezechiel,
and other
Prophets.

The wrath of
God executed
vpon King
Sedechias &
his Children.

The utter ru-
ine of the Te-
mple of Ierusa-
lem.

The captiui-
ty of the Iewes
in *Babylon*, &
how long it
continued, as
also the woful
depopulation
of the City.

Sedechias one
of the worst
Kings that e-
uer reigned
in *Iudea*.

who had enstalled him in the Kingdome, denying him his friendship. And if this Prince was no more worthy: much lesse then were the sacrificing Priests, and least of all the common people: so that all abominations and idolatries reigned in *Iudea*, euen to the prophanation of the Temple, which had bene held in such sacred esteeme. And notwithstanding all the aduertisements giuen to this King, by *Ieremie*, *Ezechiel*, and other Prophets: yet his obstinacy encreased daily more and more. Whereupon, God raised *Nabuchodonosor*, who, to reuenge the wrongs done him by *Sedechias*, In the ninth yeare of his Reigne, he came and couered the Countrey of *Iudea* with a mighty Army, and held *Ierusalem* besieged, the space of two yeeres, where King *Sedechias* had betaken himselfe for his more security.

The poore people languishing with famine & pestilence, were no longer able to endure the siege; but being thus by extremity compelled, yielded to the enemies mercy: when hee entering into the City, put all to fire and sword. *Sedechias* was taken in his flight, and being brought before *Nabuchodonosor*; saw his own children slaine before his face; and as for himselfe, he had his eyes plucked out, and sent (in that miserable manner) captiue to *Babylon*. After the Conqueror was returned home, he sent to *Ierusalem* *Nabuzaradan*, who was one of his principall Captaines, with especial charge, vterly to ruinate the Temple. This was foure hundred yeeres after the building thereof by King *Salomon*: as he performed the like, to all the Fortresses and sumptuous buildings of *Ierusalem*, beating downe the walles of the City, and defacing the Pallace belonging to the Kings of *Iuda*.

Hee carried away also all the mettall that was in the Temple, and ledde thence the Sacrificers, and all the chiefe men, as well of *Ierusalem*, as throughout the countrey beside, with their Wiues and Children; who continued Captiues in *Babylon*, for the space of about threescore and ten yeeres. This was the Captiui-ty of *Babylon*, which hath so much bene spoken of, and which happened about fixe hundred yeeres before the comming of our Lord and Saviour Iesus Christ. Thus you see, how the poore City of *Ierusalem* remained desert and desolate, except some

few of the meaner people, left behinde to till and husband the grounds: vnder the charge (newthelesse) of *Godolias*, Deputy Gouernor in *Iudea*. But the people falling into mutiny, slew *Godolias*, and then fearing the fury of *Nabuchodonosor*; such as remained of the *Iewes*, went and dwelt in *Egypt*, leauing *Ierusalem* waste and vnpeopled.

S. Hierome saith, that after the surprisal and sacking of *Ierusalem*, there passed well neere fifty yeeres, when neyther Man, Beast nor Bird entred into it: whereby may sufficiently be knowne, what great punishments this people had deserved, that were so highly beloued and priuiledged by God. Seauenty yeeres being passed ouer, it pleased God with the eye of pity, to looke vpon the Captiui-ty of his people: being then, when the Empire fell into the dominion of the *Persians*, who thereof diseized the *Affyrrians*, and in the time of the puissant King *Cyrus*. He, being moued by the Spirit of God, suffered fifty thousand *Iewes* to returne home into their Countrey, vnder the conduct of *Zerababell* their Captaine, and *Iosuah* or *Iesus*, the soueraigne Sacrificer or High Priest: who being returned into *Iudea*, began to repaire the ruines of their Cities, and especially *Ierusalem*, which they re-built with great ioy, offering sacrifices to God, according to the Ordinances appointed in his Law.

CHAP. XXIX.

What difference there is betwene Leasing and Lying; And how a man may tell a leasing, and yet not to be false, that it is a lye.



Lying, is one of the greatest vices that any man can haue; for it is not any way possible to negotiate, or to conclude any matter, with him that is a liar, because lying maketh euery thing to be suspected. Moreover, the horreur of lying sheweth it selfe sufficiently, in that it is directly opposite to truth, which is God: as likewise the diuell is called the Father of lyes. *Salomon* (in his

*Hier. in Lib.
Regis-Babyl.*

At what time
God began
to commise-
rate the dis-
tresse of his
people.

Fifty thou-
sand Iewes
released by
King *Cyrus*,
and sent into
their Countrey

How detest-
able a thing is
lying, making
men not to be
credited when
they speake
truth.

The harred to
lying, both by
Infidels and
Christians.

his Prouerbs) placeth lying in the second ranke, of the leauen vices greatly displeasing to God. In briefe, this vice hath (at all times) bene so abhorred both by Infidels and Christians; that a man knowne to be a lyar, was reputed as a plague to the Common-wealth, as we may perceiue in *Euripides*, according as is auouched by *Stobaeus*.

But not to make any longer stay, in shewing how pernicious and detestable a thing lying is, in regard that it is so common and vulgar: I take it as a matter conuenient, to declare what difference there is betwene leasing and lying, according to the saying of *Anlus Gellius*, and of many other Authors more; for oftentimes, there is a great difference in these two bad qualities. Obserue we then to this effect, that to tell a lye, is to affirme the contrary, of that which a man knoweth to be true. But telling a fallacie or leasing, is to affirme lying, with an intention to speake truth: wherein a man cannot be faide to haue lyed, when he speaketh not against that which he holdeth for truth, & knoweth it so to be.

Contrariwise, a man may lye, and yet (notwithstanding) tell truth, when he speaketh against that which hee thinketh, although that which he hath said, be true. But when a man vttereth a leasing, knowing the thing it selfe to be otherwise then as he hath said; hee lyeth, and then it is a direct lye. From hence it ensueth, that it is impossible to tell a lye without vice or sinne: but he that speaketh a leasing, thinking to say the truth, lyeth not at all. This is that which *Nigidius* saith, according to the expresseion of *Gellius*: *That an honest man will neuer lye, and a wise man hates to tell a leasing*. For mine owne opinion herein, I would aduise all men to auoyde both the one and other vice, although they may imagine to speake truly.

Heere it is to be noted, that although the tongue keepe silence, yet deeds sometimes may betray the person. For as *Saint Ambrose* saith: *He which makes profession of being a Christian, without conforming himselfe to the works of Christ, lieth, or is a lyar*. As also that man doth, which makes a solemn promise to obserue Religion, and yet notwithstanding, obserueth none at all. As much may we say of some very women, as black as faire diuels, who paint

& paint to get them better faces, and look thereby worse the euer they did: And foolish olde men, that would be yong againe by fantastick means.

I remember an old man, of whom *Theophrastus* speaketh, who being of great authority and credite, and hauing some important business before the *Lacedemon* Senate; was very much greeued, to appeare there in such antiquity of yeares as he was stept into; which made him to cut and shauie his head and beard, hoping by this meares to seeme much younger. As the cause was in debating, *Archidamus* (speaking for his Clyent, against him) declared to the Senate, that no credit ought to be giuen to the words of him, that apparently carried lying in his head & face. So that, according to *Archidamus*, such aged fooles can lye, without speaking any words.

CHAP. XXX.

Of the twelue Moneths in the yeare; how both Ancients and Moderne men used to figure them: And of some mysteries represented by them.



NO great mystery consisteth in knowing the signification of the twelue Moneths by their figures. Neuertheless, considering that few or none haue written of them, in our vulgar tongue: I am the more willing to take a little paines, in acquainting some particular friends, that by looking vpon their portraictures, they may the better reach to their interpretation.

First of all then, beginning with *January*, it was presented by a man seated at a Table, holding a Glasse of Wine in his hand, as being ready to drinke. Whereby was intended, that in this Moneth, all creatures haue better appetite and desire to eate and drinke, then at any other time: because heat is retired inward, & strength in the stomacke in such sort, that it is capable of the easier digestion.

February, was a man heating his hands about his own body: for in this month, fire

Of such lying
there are no
meanes here
in the world.

A pleasant
history of an
olde-headed
olde man, be-
fore the Se-
nate of Lacede-
mon.

An argument
discouraging
few or none.

February.

is very requisite, in regard of the great coldes in Winter, caused by the absence of the Sunne.

March, was figured in form of a Gardiner: because (in this Moneth) the pores and spiracles of the earth, do open themselves, inso much, that the moisture of the earth commeth (of it owne accord) to all the Trees, Hearbs and Plants. In which respect, all superfluities are to bee cut away, that the nutritiue humour may extend it selfe to the liuing Branches, for bearing the fairer fruite.

April, was made in the shape of a young man, holding a Nosegay of flowers in his hand: for in this Moneth, the earth hauing communicated his verue to Trees and Hearbs, maketh euery thing to flourish, and bring forth Flowers.

For *May*, a yong gallant Gentleman was portraited, being mounted on horsebacke, and brauely apparelled, bearing a Hawke vpon his list. Considering, that in this Moneth, the Trees commonly begin to beare fruite. Birds flye abroad merrily, and all creatures strue to haue their best pleasures, and make loue to one another.

June, was painted, carrying a Scythe on his backe; because in this Moneth, the Medowes must be mowed downe.

July, carried a Sickle in his hand, wherewith to reape downe the ripened Come.

And because these Fruites are commonly to bee gathered in *August*, and then they are to be laide and lockt vp in Barres and Garners: *August* was figured like to a Country Carter, standing by his laden Cart, with a whip in his hand, as hastening homeward with his sheaues of Come.

September, was in the habite of a Vintager, as thereby signifying, that the beginning of Vintage is to bee in this Moneth.

October, was figured like a husband-man, carrying a Sack vpon his shoulders, and sowing Come as hee passeth along. Meaning thereby, that as this Moneth is colde and dry, so is it very apt and conuenient, for the sowing of Seede.

November, stood in the shape of a Thrasher, labouring his Flayle vpon the Come in the sheaues. He had another companion standing by him, who with a pole did beate downe the Acones from

the Trees, because in this Month, Acones serue best to fatten Swine, and then also they ordinarily kill Swine, for making Bacon.

December stood in the likenesse of a Butcher, with a knife in his hand, and killing a Hog. Thus were the twelue Moneths vually figured.

As for the yeare it selfe, they made the modell thereof, in the resemblance of a Serpent, writhed into a roundle, & holding the tayle in the mouth: because the end of the yeare euermore is ioyned with the beginning.

CHAP. XXXI.

Of a strange Coniuration or Conspiracy, which happened in the goodly City of Florence, and of the slaughter which ensued thereon.



AL the World is naturally desirous to heare and vnderstand the greatest enterprizes, and such strange accidents as happen to them: to the end, that they may the better defend themselves, from falling into such inconueniences, as waite vpon inconstant and mutable Fortune. And therefore I conclud with my selfe, to relate a very rare and admirable chance, which happened in the wealthy City of *Florence*, and which (in mine opinion) is one that deserueth as much memorale, as any other that euer I heard of.

In the yeare, 1478. the City of *Florence* was in great peace, abounding (day by day) in sumptuousnesse and riches, and the affayres of the Common-wealth holding on such a prosperous course, that no imagination was so idle, as to thinke, that any misfortune had the power to alter this happinesse. In those Sun-shine dayes, the illustrious house of *Medici* (of whom the Duke was *Cosimo*, and all the Dukes of *Florence* to this day are descended) gouerned the said State and Common-wealth: so that all affaires passed through the hands and intelligence of the two Lords, *Juliano* and *Laurentio* de *Medici*.

December.

The Yeare.

It is the common
use of all men to
listen after
nouelities.

The sumptuous
and flourishing
estate
of Florence
in those dayes.

Juliano and
Laurentio de
Medices, both
Brethren.

The difference
betwene lying
& telling
a leasing.

How a man
may lye in
speaking
truth.

Anlus Gellius in
lib. 1. cap. 9.

Ambrose in Serm.
de Cena Dom.

cus, Brethren; who were highly esteemed among the people, in regard of their Ancestours, and especially for *Cosimo de Medici* their Grand-father, who had bene the onely and richest Merchant of *Italy*; although that in *Florence* were very wealthy Merchants beside.

Now there were (at this time) in the faide City, many other Gentlemen and rich Merchants, who thought themselves euery way as sufficient, to manage and order the Common-wealths affaires; as those that were of the house of *Medici*. Neuertheless, the *Medici* still had the great opinion, being euery day respected, hayled and louingly entertained of the people. In the ende, the house of the *Pazzi*, *Saluati*, and many other, issued of Noble and ancient Families in *Florence* (being moued by passion and particular affection (coupled with innatend enuy, which they bare to them of the *Medici*) continued a secret complot, whereby to take the Common-wealths government from the *Medici*. And this their intent could not be accomplished, without the death of *Iuliano* and *Laurentio de Medici*, because they were rich and potent Lords.

Francesco and *Giovanni de Pazzi*, Cousins-germaine to *Pazzi*, and chiefe men of that house, vnderooke to kill the said Brethren of the *Medici*, and ioyned with them the Family of the *Saluati*, especially Signior *Francesco Saluati*, Archbishop of *Pisa*, and they vnderooke to kill Pope *Sixtus* the fourth, Vncle to them of the *Medici*, & likewise *Ferdinando*, King of *Naples*, whom they had constrained into their league: all verily perswaded, that being rid of them, they should not meete with any resistance in the execution of their purpose.

This complot fully agreed vpon, and all things provided to fit their enterprize accordingly; the Archbishop of *Pisa* came to *Florence*, where (vnder another colour) they entred into roule a number of Soldiours, all well knowne; yet without discouering to any one, what was to be done. The Archbishop of *Pisa*, of whom neuer any doubt was conceived, practised such means, that a young Cardinall, Nephew to Pope *Sixtus* (who then studied at *Bologna*) should come to passe the same a while at *Florence*, to fittre their turne (in the action) with him and his peo-

ple, yet neuer acquainting him with a thought of the intention.

Order being taken for all occasions, and euery thing kept close in the bosomes of the principall conspirators, the conclusion was thus; that the two Brethren of *Medici* should be slaine together, eyther in the great Church, or else where the Cardinall should heare Masse. *Francesco de Pazzi*, and *Bernardo Bandino*, tooke charge of killing the Lord *Iuliano de Medici*: but the death of the Lord *Laurentio*, was committed to *Antonio de Volterra*, and to another, called *Stephano*, being a Priest. The houre or moment, assigned by *Giacomo de Pazzi*, for the execution of these two murders, was at such time, as the Priests shold be at the elevation in Masse, holding the Host or Sacrifice aloft aboue his head, although the two brethren then were in diuers places.

Vpon the Sunday following, which was the third of May, 1478, this conclusion tooke effect thus. The Cardinall came to heare Masse, and with him the Lord *Laurentio de Medici*, without his brother. For they vsed to walke (as men suspecting ambushes) sildome or neuer together in the City, for feare of falling into any disaster together: knowing right well, that no man durst make an attempt offensively vpon them, if one of the two were left aliue. The conspirators perceiving that Lord *Iuliano* came not at all, *Francesco de Pazzi*, and *Bernardo Bandino* (who had sworne his death) vnder the shadow of Courtly attendance, went to come along with him from his house, and bestowed so many embrassadoes vpon him, that they brought him vnto the Church where his Brother was, and yet hee then fare farre enough off from his Brother. Conspiring eyes were still fixed on them both, enuying that they should sitte so farre asunder: but yet the time and place gaue the courage, that they might easily accomplish the acte; and yet not be persecuted by any, for few or none tooke notice of them.

The point for performance being come, *Francesco de Pazzi* gaue a stabbe with his poniard to the Lord *Iuliano*, which thwarte the stomacke, and issued forth at his shoulder, so that immediately he fel down dead: and *Bernardo Bandino*, by making halfe (least Lord *Iuliano* shold not be too slowly sped) wounded himselfe with his owne

The spoone, men show the massacre should be performed, & by what persons.

The signal for the deed to be done.

A care in the two brethren, to prevent mischief.

Ceremonious Courtship, many times make way to diuillish practices.

Lord Iuliano slaine by Francesco de Pazzi.

owne Dagger in the stomacke, albeit hee saw the Lord *Iuliano* lyde dead before him. There dyed also *Francesco Nori*, slaine by *Bernardo Bandino*, because he laid hand on his weapon, in the defence of Lord *Iuliano*. *Antonio Volterra*, and *Stephano* the Priest, sharply assayed the Lord *Laurentio de Medici*, but yet with such slender dexterity; that vnto his owne courageous defence, hee was wounded a little in the mouth, and (in despite of all they could do) by means of certaine friends, he got into the Sacristia or Vestrie, and there saued himselfe from their fury.

This assault was so sudden, that it had speedier execution, then any knowledge could be had of them that acted it: for such was the cry of the people, as if the Church had fallen to the earth. The Cardinall had worke enough to doe, to get himselfe free, and in safety to the high Altar. All the City was vp in a furious vprour; for some cryed out, that the two Brethren of *Medici* were slaine, & others saide no, putting themselves presently in Armes. They of the houses of *Pazzi* and *Saluati*, began aloud to cry Liberty, Liberty, so that the Seigneury resorted to the great Pallace with all diligence, where the *Gonfaloniero* loyning with them, they fortified themselves with armed men in the house. The Coincellors of the Citie, and such as tooke part with the *Medici*, went to seeke for the Lord *Laurentio*; conducting him home to his own house, where stood readily prepared, aboue eight thousand armed men.

As for the Archbishop of *Pisa*, hee pursuing on (ill the point with the *Saluati*, being accompanied with many of their league, and such as were the Cardinals followers; rode directly vnto the Pallace, with intent to make their meaning well liking to the Seigneury. The Lords of the Seigneury, although they tooke part with the house of *Medici*; yet notwithstanding they were so pressed, as they had not any leysure, for making any Armed prouision, nor to appoint a Garrison for the Pallace. Yet they knew well enough, that Lord *Laurentio* was not much hurt, and that he had men about him valiant & hardy.

The Archbishop perceiving, that the Seigneury had no leysure to take a resolution, in some matters that he would haue

propounded to them: diuided the traine of his followers into two Companies, appointing one part of them to keep possession of the Pallace Gates. Hee, with the other company, ascended vp into the Pallace, and made it knowne to the Seigneury, that he had some what to acquaint them withall, for general benefit of the Common-wealth. Whereupon, he being admitted in, with some few of his people, that knew no part of his vile purpose: the Gates of the Pallace were made so strongly fast; that the Archbishop could haue no succor of his followers, nor the Lords of the Seigneury themselves haue any assistance. So loudly did the Archbishop deliuer his minde, speaking of matters in such vnorderly manner; that the Seigneury (well vnderstanding his bad intention) commanded the *Gonfaloniero* to take hold of him, as also of *Giacomo Saluati*, and *Giacomo*, the sonn of *Messier Poggio de Pazzi*. And so vnuly grew the tumult, that all their attendants were instantly slaine in the fury, and thirty dead bodies throwne out of the Pallace windowes, vpon the heads of them that were beneath in the Court.

Within a while after, the common people, who greatly fauoured them of the *Medici*, ranne in huge heapes and crowds to the Pallace: where all the other part of the Archbishops men (that had the trust of keeping the Pallace Gates) were taken and slaine presently, without any respect vsed towards them. As for the Archbishop, and his two friends with him; they were hanged in the Market-place, to cause more terrour in the rest. *Giacomo de Pazzi*, and diuers other of the Conspirators, rode vp and downe through the City, crying Liberty, Liberty: but perceiving none to make them answer, as leaning rather to the part of Lord *Laurentio*; they thought to saue themselves by flight. Onely *Bernardo Bandino* excepted, who lay in his bed very sicke, by paine of the wound which he had giuen himselfe; so that hee was not able to sit on horsebacke, or come come abroad out of his Chamber.

By this time the whole City was vp in Armes, to defend the cause of the Lord *Laurentio*, who extremely grieved, for the death of Lord *Iuliano* his Brother: causing seuerer pursuit after the Conspirators, so that many, who were but meerey suspected

The Archbishop admitted to speake with the Seigneury.

The Archbishop seized on, and his followers most of them slaine.

The other part of the Archbishops attendants slaine, & himselfe hanged.

The whole City maintained the cause of Lord Laurentio de Medici.

Emulation & hart-burning in some against the Medici, in regard of their authority.

The death & cruelties of Iuliano & Laurentio de Medici.

The combination for a most horrible murder.

A list of Soldiours prepared for the purpose.

suspected in the case, could not escape, although no matter was proved against them; but no known offender could any way be spared. The young Cardinal, Nephew to the Pope, was kept prisoner in the Palace, with very great peril of his life: but at length, his innocence being truly known, he was acquitted; continuing (nevertheless) long time prisoner. *Bernardo Bandino*, was ledde stark naked to the Pallace, and so hanged up, next to the Archbishop. As for *Antonio de Volserra*, and *Stephano* the Priest, who should have slain the Lord *Laurentio*; they were trodden to death among the rude multitude, that ranne every where in the City, crying *Medici*, *Medici*, burning and pulling downe all their houses, whom they knew to be of the contrary Faction. In briefe, the disorder was such, and so confused, as it exceeded the capacity of writing; especially the furies and cruelties, committed in this horrid tempest.

Giacomo de Pazzi, was taken in his flight, & brought back to *Florence*: where he was hanged or strangled, and his body being cut in peeces, was after buried in prophane ground; all his lands & goods (which being of great value) were confiscated, and adjudged to the Seigneuries possession. And after condigne punishment inflicted vpon the malefactors, the body of Lord *Juliano* was most honourably buried, and with very solemn Funerall pompe.

Such issue had the Coniuration of the *Pazzi*, which was a matter very strange. For, in lesse then three houres, the Lord *Juliano de Medici* (an extraordinary rich man) was slain; the Archbishop of *Pisa* hanged, with some other of his confederates, and the houses of the aduersers partly destroyed. Pope *Sixtus*, and *Ferdinando*, King of *Naples*, conceived such a spleene against this action at *Florence*: that they (together) leuyed a powerfull Army against the *Florentines*, who (with the aid of their friends) defended themselves so well; that no other advantage was due to the disturbers, but that the war was long, and very cruell, great effusion of blood happening on eyther side. Behold the poore and unfortunate issue of these conspirators, who thinking to winne honour, and high degrees by indiscreete meanes: lost their liues, disloynted the peace and

unity of their Country, and made their enemy much mightier then before, for Lord *Laurentio de Medici* gouerned *Florence* so long as he liued.

CHAP. XXXII.

A very remarkable and worthy History, deliuering in true and briefe discourse, the life and memorable actions of that famous Captaine, commonly called, *Castruccio Castracagnio*.



Affruccio Castracagnio, a Captaine of much fame and merit, in my poore opinion, may be ranked among the greatest and most renowned Captaines of the world: considering the poverty of his original, and the slender meanes he had, without the fauours of any, compared also with those strange traueses, which Fortune put vpon him. Wherein I may well say, that very few Captaines or Generals are to be found, who with so poore & imperfect furnishment; did euer reach to those honours and estates, as this our *Castruccio Castracagnio* attained. Wherefore, I thought it no disparagement vnto our precedent best subiects, that his History should make one among them: not purposing to vse any larger dilation therein, then already I haue obserued in the rest, because it shall suffice me, summarily to report the courage of this Captaine.

Beginning then with his original, which was very strange, you are to understand, that in *Luca*, a City of no meane fame in *Italy*, there was a Chanon belonging to the Church of *S. Michael*, named *Messire Antonio Castracagnio*, who had a sister (of his owne) living with him, being a very honest and vertuous woman. Close ioyning to this Chanons house, was a little Close or Field of *Antimes*, which was plentifully furnished with variety of fruitfull Trees, as is the manner vsed in *Italy*. The sister to this Chanon (by fortune) going one morning into this Close, to gather some Herbs for her vse, without dreeming on any such matter as after happened: as she was gathering Herbs heere

and

and there, heard a small voyce, as if it were of some new borne babe. And walking that way where he heard the cry; among the leanes and young bourgeoons of the Vines, was an infant laide, appearing to bee very lately before borne, tenderly crying, as desiring aide in that wofull distresse.

The good widow, somewhat sadly moued at the beginning of this aduenture, yet prouoked by a womans louing compassion: carried in the tender childe, & shewed it to the Chanon her brother, who being amazed at so strange an accident, and yet overcome with Christianlike pity, determined to prouide nursing for the Babe. And in regard that it was a manchild, hee gaue it the name of his owne Father, calling him *Castruccio*. When the Nurse was come, he caused it to be nourished as if it had bene his owne: & after growing to a great boy, sent him to schoole, with full intention of surrendering his Chanons place to him. But when the Lad grew to 14. yeares of age, Learning and Bookes was the least part of his care, for he was no way addicted to letters, but rather delighted in handling of a sword, and in regard that he was very aduise of body, he gaue himselfe greatly to leaping, dancing, & wrastling with other strong Lads like himself. Speaking al in a word, he was so dexterious in whatsoever he did; as none of his companions could equall him, but *Castruccio* became respected in euery eye.

It so fortune, that Captaine *Francesco Guinigo*, a man much renowned, for worthy actions of Armes performed by him in *Lombardy*, was then at *Luca*. He hearing such report of young *Castruccio*, & seeing him bold & brauely spirited, found meanes to haue him in his seruice. And *Castruccio* being now where he best desired, became (in lesse then five yeares) so expert a Souldior, as his like was not to be found, as well on horse as foot: for he could so cunningly manage any horse, that *Cavalcadore of Italie* hardly came neere him.

Being come to the age of 18. yeares, Captaine *Guinigo*, his Master, departed thence for *Milaine*, in aide of the *Viscontines*, who were in Armes against the *Tourians*, and many other *Milaine* Gentlemen. He tooke *Castruccio* along with him, who carried him selfe so valiant and wisely in this war; that hee bare away the fame from all the Souldiors in the Campe. This war lasted five or sixe yeares, which being ended by peace

or truce; Captaine *Guinigo* returned to *Luca*, with his *Castruccio*, wher he was most kindly embraced by euery one, as well in general as particular, in regard of the good report noised euery where of him. So that more account was made of him, then of *Guinigo* his Master; for hee was so humane and courteous to euery man, that affection increased towards him daily more & more.

Within a short while after, Captaine *Guinigo* feeling himselfe sicke, & in some danger of death; gaue the tutelage & gouernement of *Luca* his sonne, to his man *Castruccio*. In which charge, *Castruccio* carried himselfe so faithfully, that so long as he liued, he had at his command the affairs of *Luca*, euen as if hee had bene his owne sonne. After the decease of Captaine *Guinigo*, the credite and reputation of *Castruccio* wonderfully augmented. Nevertheless, because he was very fiery, impatient and vindicative, when any wrong had bene done vnto him: the men of *Luca* began to grow suspicious, that he purposed to make himselfe Lord of *Luca*, and not without some pregnant occasion; in which respect, the Seignury commanded him to auoide the City. Which disgrace *Castruccio* so much distasted, that he resolved to be reuenged, euen with the ruine and confusion of his headstrong enemies. At this very time, the Factions of the *Guelphes* and *Gibelines* reigned powerfully in *Italy*; and euen the alio, the lord *Hugo Fagiuola* was in some command, who being possessed of the Seignury of *Pisa*; *Castruccio* practised (by intimation) to compass grace & fauour with this Lord *Fagiuola*, & therefore comploted with the *Gibelines*, to make *Figiuola* Lord of *Luca*. Working this traine on secretly, he preuailed so well with some of his friends in the City: that (at an appointed instant) he won a Port of *Luca*. By means whereof, the *Gibelines* entred, with such succor as the Lord *Fagiuola* had giuen them, expelling thence the *Guelphes*, after they had done their very utmost they could.

Castruccio was now in greater esteeme the cuer, & in such fort, as he was held to be the Lord of *Luca*, although he was inferior to the lord *Fagiuola*, to who he made recourse in times of necessity. The *Florentines*, who deadly despised *Castruccio*, vnderstanding the successe of his affairs; leuyed a great Army, by helpe of such as were in league with the, purposing to ouer-run *Castruccio*.

A a a

But

Bernardo Bandino hanged up stark naked by the Archbishop.

Severity of law inflicted on the bloody offenders.

A briefe survey of the conspiracy, & the maine actors therein, with some other accidents that followed thereon.

The widow brought the babe to her Brother the Chanon.

He called the childe after the name of his owne Father.

It is not poverty of letters that hindered the mention of any well deserving man.

Young Castruccio not addicted to learning, but mainly exercises only.

The first encouragement of young Castruccio in armes.

Here the lord briefly discouers the original of Castruccio Castracagnio, & in what manner hee was found.

Castruccio was first going within his Masters house to warre at Milaine.

* They are Vines intended to Tett according to the manner in Italy.

Castruccio credited with the guardianship of his Masters sonne

He is commanded by the Seignury to auoide Luca.

Castruccio comploteth against the City of Luca, by means of the difference betweene the Guelphes and Gibelines.

Castruccio requested the Lord of Luca.

The Florentines sought the death of Castruccio.

But Lord *Fagiola* and *Castruccio*, disposed so well for the meeting with them, that the warre grew to be very cruell & bloody. Concerning men of name in the *Florentines* Campe, there was among them *Don Pedro*, Brother to *Robert*, King of *Naples*, accompanied with *Don Carolo* his Nephew, sonne to *Phillip*. But the vertue of *Lord Fagiola* and *Castruccio*, served wel to counterpoise the greatnes of the other. After that this war had continued for some space of time, the Lord *Fagiola* received intelligence, that there had happened a great commotion at *Pisa*, in redresse whereof, Lord *Fagiola* was faine to leave the Armies conduct wholly to *Castruccio*, who behaved himselfe so wisely and valiantly in this great trust, that after many sallies and light skirmishes, hee came to battaile with the *Florentines*. *Castruccio* maintained the fight with such good order and iudgement, that (although he was the most oblitinate mā that euer was born in *Italy*) yet notwithstanding, the victory remained to him, and the slaughter was so great, that there were slaine above tenne thousand *Florentines*, among whom, *Don Pedro* and *Don Carolo* his Nephew, were found in number with the dead. Which victory, assured to the Lord *Fagiola*, all those estates (held by him) in farre better security, and enlarged the credite and reputation of *Castruccio*, beyond all common expectation.

The Army left wholly to Castruccio's government

Castruccio winneth the victory gainst the Florentines, Don Pedro & Don Carolo slaine

Castruccio winneth the victory gainst the Florentines, Don Pedro & Don Carolo slaine

Winter being come, *Castruccio* returned to *Luca*, by the command of Lord *Fagiola*, towards whom he showed himselfe very obedient. But, as it is a custome, that wealth and great honors doe cause feare and enuy: so the Lord *Fagiola*, perceiving the credite of *Castruccio* to encrease daily more and more: determined his death, in recompence of all the worthy seruices he had done him. To effect this dishonourable businesse; he sent one of his sonnes to *Luca*, who caused *Castruccio* to be committed prisoner, vnder pretence, of some secret blame imposed vpon him. But the imprisonment of *Castruccio* was so offensive to the *Lucanes*; that the people began to mutiny against their Lord *Fagiola*: who having advertised thereof, left *Pisa*, and marched thither with a potent Army.

The Lucanes revolt from Lord Fagiola.

But there hapned to him a very strange accident, and yet no more then hee iustly

deserued for his vnmanly dealing. When the *Pisanes* were advertised, that *Castruccio* was deteined as a prisoner, they began so to stomacke the matter, that they flew the Gouernor, whom Lord *Fagiola* had left as his Deputy, and all such as were to do him any seruice; so that they enfranchized themselves from the tyranny of *Fagiola*. He receiving intelligence of this mishap, and that (by this meanes) his returne to *Pisa* was bard vp against him: pursued on his purpose, to make all sure and safe at *Luca*. But therein he proued likewise as vnfortunate as at *Pisa*, for the *Pisanes* had informed the *Lucanes* of their affaires, and with such speedy diligence; that the Poste fro the *Pisanes* arrived at *Luca*, much sooner then the Lord *Fagiola* could do.

The Gouernor of Pisa slaine by the people, and intelligence sent by them to the Lucanes

Heereupon, the *Lucanes* put them in Armes, so that they expulled the sonne of *Fagiola* out of *Luca*, with absolute purpose, of allowing no entrance to the Father; but gaue freedom to *Castruccio*, in meere delight of him. Yet some say, that *Fagiola* entred *Luca*, & very quickly was expelled thence; when losing all hope of recovering his estates, he was glad to saue himselfe by flight into *Lombardy*. But be it howe euer, thus I am sure of, that hee lost his dominion ouer both the Cities in one day: which he might safely haue enioyed stil, if he had but kept faire friendship with *Castruccio*: who being thus set at liberty, was elected Capitaine and General of the *Lucanes*, by free consent of the whol Seignury. In which authority he being loath to lye idle, leuyed a grear Army, where-with hee recovered many strong Holds from the *Florentines*, which they had long vsurped from the *Lucanes*: taking diuers other of their owne beside, in despite of their best Forces, albeit they were strong indeed. *Castruccio* returning then to *Luca*, was there most honourably welcomed in regard of his worthy victories obtained, and created absolute Lord of *Luca*. From which time forward, hee became much feared of the neighbours round about, especially the *Florentines*, who were the most powerfull in all *Tuscany*. For, he had many wars against them, and tooke many Ports and Castles from them, yea, and ouerthrew them in a plaine field of Battaille, equally appointed on either side.

The Lucanes rise in Armes against Fagiola, and exclude him from Luca

Castruccio made General of Luca by common consent.

He was created sole Lord of Luca, and became much dreaded.

As thus the fortunes of *Castruccio* grew daily better and better, the Emperor *Fredericke*

The Emperor Frederick desired to haue the seruice of Castruccio.

Castruccio doctore Prince of Pisa, and reuined by the King of Naples.

The King of Naples & the Florentines toyked by Castruccio.

A City in the mouth of Tiflis.

An Army of Army thousand men leuied by the Florentines against Castruccio.

ricke came into *Italy*, to be crown'd Emperor there: wher being entrusted of the many good parts remaining in *Castruccio*, hee laboured greatly to win him to his seruice. *Castruccio* then leauing *Pagola Guimigo* (of whom hee had thus long bene Tutor) as his Lieutenant to gouern *Luca*; went to see the Emperor *Frederick*, whom hee followed so far as *Rome*. Some hold, that hee came thither before the Coronation; but, after the Emperors return into *Germany*, *Castruccio* preuailed so well by good means, that they of *Pisa* chose him to be their Prince. Which newes being brought to *Rene*, King of *Naples* (his old heauy enemy) he bega to grow doubtfull of *Castruccio*, and perceiving his power to encrease so greatly: hee made a league with the *Florentines* against *Castruccio*, intending now to see the viter ruine of him, and recovery of all the honors appertaining to him.

Heereupon, the King of *Naples* & the *Florentines* prepared a strong army, which was so manfully encountered by *Castruccio*; that euermore hee had the better of the, although with great expence of blood, and recovery of many places from them: so that the *Florentines* were meerey enforced, to craue a truce for certaine time; during which respite, *Castruccio* largely increased his power. For, as they of *Pistorium* were in diffirence one with another within the Towne: *Castruccio* shouldred in (during their ciuill diffention) and possessed himselfe of *Pistorium*, and all other places subiect to that City.

The *Florentines* seeing themselves more and more in daily dangers, endeuoured by all the best meanes they could deuise, to gather people from all parts, onely to breake the Forces of *Castruccio*, or else to driue him out of *Pistorium*. In which respect, the supplies which came to them, as well from the Kingdome of *Naples*, as other places more remote, were so great, that vpon the mufters account, they were numbered to be 40000. men. Seeing then, that they had so goodly an Army, they began their march directly towards *Pistorium*, where *Castruccio* had his Campe, consisting of far fewer people then the *Florentines*. Neuertheless, hee guided his war so wisely, vsing so many surprisals, skirmishes and encounters, that successe attended vpon him continually.

In the end, conning to the day of battaile, he proceeded therein with such good order, that hee vanquished the *Florentines*: in which ouerthrow was great slaughter

made, and store of rich booty taken, for all the chieftest of the *Florentines* were eyther slaine, or taken prisoners. *Castruccio* himselfe being wounded, and a great number of his men slaine; yet all this could not a iote daunt his courage, but still hee pursued vpon his victory, marching in all haste with his Army against *Parma*, which hee tooke very speedily, as also all the Castles and Townes thereabout. So that (without any resistance) hee went and placed his Campe within two miles of *Florence*, whereat the *Florentines* were not a little amazed.

As hee was essaying all meanes for his entrance into *Florence*, hee received advertisement, that the *Pisanes* were praefising some matter to his disadvantage: so that, leaving his intent for *Florence*, he returned to *Pisa* a triumphant Conqueror. After hee had inflicted punishment vpon the mutiners, he went to visite all the neighbouring parts, taking order for all needfull occasions becomming warre: because hee was well assured, neuer to continue long in peace, without some employment for warre.

The *Florentines*, mightily confounded by their peoples ouerthrow, and losse beside of so many Towns: freely gaue themselves to the King of *Naples*, promising him a yearly tribute of two hundred thousand Crownes. The King of *Naples* accepted the *Florentines* offer, and sent *Don Carolo* his sonne to their assistance, with the most part of the Caualery and Infantery that hee could command; and the like did some other Cities of *Italy*, who stood all in feare of *Castruccio*'s Forces: so that now the Army of the *Florentines* consisted of tenne thousand horse, and thirty thousand foot. With this powerfull preparation (perswading themselves, that *Castruccio* durst not come into the field) they intended to besiege *Pisa*; but *Castruccio*, who was one of the most valiant & politique Generals, that the whole world then afforded, went forth to meete them, attended only with 4000. horse, and 20000. foote, but all in excellent Military order. As these two Camps began to draw neere each other, there passed diuers skirmishes in the plaine field, wherein continually *Castruccio* had the best. Finally, *Castruccio* seeking opportunity, to deliuer battaile to the *Florentines*: passed ouer the Foord at the Riuer of *Arno*, and found the *Florentines* in such disorder, as he compelled the to accept the battell, wherein was a great

The Florentines ouerthrowne in a day of let battaile by Castruccio.

A faire town in Tuscany.

Hee encamped within two miles of Florence, and was called thence by a mutiny at Pisa.

The Florentines gaue themselves in subiection to the King of Naples.

Another great Army raised by the Florentines, against Castruccio.

A goodly Riuer in Italy

CHAP. XXXIII.

A Discourse concerning the Windes: And of their severall names, as well Ancient, as Moderne.



HE Windes, according as *Seneca* saith, are very meete and necessary for the spacious Vniuersē; to conferre the temperature of Heauen

and Earth; to disperse and scatter raines and myls; and to helpe the Trees in producing their Fruits. Nature also gaue them creation, to be the meanes of mens Nauigation, whereby they might communicate together the goods of the earth: so that Regions which are fertile in some particular things, may impart them to other that are not so well provided. In briefe, the Windes do cause an infinity of commerces among men, which my intended breuity will not spare me to speake of.

Onely I haue propounded to my selfe, to shew how many Windes there are, what they are, whence they come, and how they are: wherein I am perswaded, that some benefit will redownd to diuers persons, especially to such as professe sayling on the Seas. To vnderstand then, what the Winde is, I will not relye on diuersity of opinions; in such as haue written thereon: but following *Aristotle*, and the most common iudgment of the wise, I say, that the Winde is a vapour and exhalation hot and dry, drawne vp into the Ayre by vertue of the Sunne. And being driuen aloft by his heate and lightnesse, proceeding on into the middle Region of the Ayre, which is alwayes coldest, cometh to be repulged by that contrary quality. So that being vnable to mount any higher, it breaketh forth into blasts whether it can go, & being hindered of descending downe, in regard of lightnesse is constrained to tosse and tumble here & there in the Ayre, eyther more or lesse, according to the strength of the matter wherof it is caused. So that the definition of *Seneca* is not warrantable, who saith, *That the Winde is nothing else, but the Ayre mooued, without any other matter*: because these are the exhalations and vapors, which stir and moue the Ayre; for, after they are consumed, the winde ceaseth.

The opinion of Seneca, concerning the Windes, and of what necessary vs they are.

Concerning the ancient names of the windes. T. East winde.

The Argumētū made dectō in the court in this Chap.

The windes vapour or exhalation hot and dry.

The reason of the Windes blustering in the Ayre.

Exhalation and vapours mouing the Ayre to stirr themselves.

As

Castruccio his victory ouer the Florentines, and the means to haue made a further conquest.

Castruccio, the fickle of a Quotidian Feauer, and dyed within seuen dayes following.

The Authors farewell to the endless memory of Castruccio Carcagno.

slaughter on both sides, but yet the victory fell to *Castruccio*; twenty thousand *Florentines* being slain in the field, beside two thousand prisoners taken: among whom was *Don Carolo*, sonne to the King of Naples, and many other Commanders of name. And assuredly (without all question to the contrary) considering this last great victory, which *Castruccio* had against the *Florentines*: he might not onely haue conquered *Florence* it selfe, but likewise no meane part of *Italy* beside.

But here may bee apparantly obserued, how weake and feeble the strength of man is; for a Glasse is no sooner crackt & shiuerd, then a mans best might, when Gods assistance giueth him ouer. *Castruccio*, following his fortune vpon the spur, and hauing made the surprisall before remembred; rode coasting along the Riuer of *Arno* like a worthy General, to rallire all his people together. And being fore wearied and ouer-sweated, (for he had fought all the day) the fresh coole-nesse, or dampe of the Riuer smote him inwardly, that the night following, he fell into a Quotidian Feauer, whereof (no doubt as God had appointed) he dyed on the seuen day after, being then in the very flower of his time.

Surely, had this *Castruccio* bene a Native of *Rome*, or *Athens*, as he was of *Lucca*, where he was borne, without knowledge of Father or Mother; Or had he bene brought vp in the Kings Court of *Macedon*: he had greatly blemished the renown of *Scipio*, *Philip*, yea, and *Alexander* the Great. Notwithstanding (a *Lucane* borne as he was) had hee liued a longer date of yeares, which his youth and ableness made faire promise of: hee had equalled any of them in richnesse of fame. But returning to our History, *Castruccio* made *Pagola Guiniguo* his heire; albeit some say, that he had Children of his owne, whom he instructed to bee his heyres. But be it howsoeuer, as he got his estate & wealth by manhood and valour: his successfull loss all by lewdesse and negligence, if we may credite *Aretine*, *Blondus*, *Tominus* & *Macchiavell*.

As concerning their names, our reuerend Ancients imposed such vpon them, as corresponded with the parts and Regions of the world, from whence they came. Neuerthelesse, Antiquity neuer acknowledged so many windes, as haue bene since those times. For, according as *Plinie*, *Anlus Gellius*, *Vegetius*, *Homer* and other auncient Poets say, no other mention was made, but of foure windes onely, which came from the foure parts or quarters of the world, viz. East, West, North and South; those are the parts or quarters most remarkable that can be obserued throughout the world. For, as *David* and *Lucan* say; *Hence cometh day, and thence cometh night*.

According then vnto this proportion, our auncient Latines termed *Subolanus*, the winde that came from the East Equinoctiall: The Greekes called it *Apeliotes*, or *Eurus*: In *Italy* and *Spain*, they call it *Leuante*; and French Marriners terme it *Eiff*. Now, for the right winde belonging to Sunne-setting, which is opposite and contrary to the precedent: the Greekes called it *Zephyrus*, that is, *Blowing*: for it makes all plants to flourish: The Latines named it *Fauonius*: And the Italians and Spaniards call it *Ponente*: But our French Marriners call it *Ouest*. And yet some others say, that the word *Zephyrus* significeth couching or setting. The third winde was called by the Latines *Septentrio*, in regard of seauen Starres, which turne or wheele about the North-Starre. By the same reason the Greekes called it *Apparetias*, or *Boreas*; the Italians terme it *Tramontana*; the Spaniards *Norte brisa*; and the French do giue it the title of *Nort*. The fourth winde, which is opposite to the North, the Latines termed *Auster*, euen as if they would haue called it a Water-driuer, for that this winde is often rainy; which made the Greekes to call it *Notus*, that is, warriish, or moist. The Italians name it *Mezzodis*; the Spaniards *Abrego far*, and *Pendenzal*; and the French, *Sud*.

Thus you see as concerning the foure windes, whereof only speake *Homer*, and *Ouid* in his Metamorphosis: But (with much more respect and reuerence) let vs yet say, that our blessed Lord and Saviour makes mention of the foure windes, speaking of the last day of Iudgement, both in *Saint Mathew* and *Saint Marke*, where he

sayth: *That hee will send his Angels with troupes, to assemble his Elect from the foure windes*.

Now, as touching the qualitie of the foure windes, we will make some relation thereof, in discoursing on other subternate windes. Since the time of *Homer*, we find an addition of foure other windes to the former, as assigning (between the Leuant or East, and the *Mezzodi*, or South) a winde which the Latines call *Vulturnus*, because this winde whisteth like the wing of a Vulture, when he dislodgeth. The Greekes do terme it *Eurus*; and some call it vulgarly in Italian *Leuante*, or *Siroc*, or *Sueff*.

The other winde which rayseth it selfe from the place, where the Sunne mounteth at mid lunc, hath no name amongst the Latines. Notwithstanding, some call it *Arctus*, or *Hellefonticus*, because it cometh from the coast of the *Hellefonticke* Sea. Our Marriners call it *Grec*, or *Nordest*. *Gellius* and *Vegetius*, attribute thereto the name of *Aquilo*, which neuerthelesse is the name of another winde.

The other winde is iustly betweene the North and the West, and cometh from that Region, where the Sunne setteth in winter, and is called by the Latines *Africus*, because (in regard of *Rome*) this winde cometh directly from *Africa*. The Greekes called it *Lybe*, because they entitle *Gyneya* to be *Lybia*: Our Italians terme it *Lybechio*, the French and Spaniards *Souest*, or *Garbin*.

The other winde is iustly betweene the North and the West, and cometh from the place where the Sunne coucheth him selfe in broad day. Some call it *Aus*, or *Cancro*. The Greekes called it *Argestes*, as much to say, as full of rayes. His impetuouesnesse is called *Apix*, because it cometh from a quarter of *Italy*, so called: Others giue it the name of *Olympick*. Our Italians title it *Mesfrail*, the French & Spaniards doe rearme it *Nort-ouest*. These are the eight severall windes, whereof *Anlus Gellius* and *Pitruinius*, maketh mention of.

Moreouer, *Andronicus the Athenian* Philosopher, builded a Tower at *Athens*, with eight angles or corners of Marble, & at every angle was figured the Image of a Winde, which blew against the faide angle. On the top of the same Tower, was

Of the qualitie of the windes.

The North-East winde.

The North-West winde.

The South-East winde.

The South-West winde.

Andronicus the Philosopher, and his erected Tower at Athens

fixed a Triton of gold (reputed to be the God of the Sea) holding a Rodde in his hand. And this Triton was compoſed in ſuch artificiall fort, that he turned ſtill with euery winde; like as the Vaynes or weather-flags vpon Caſtles or ſtately houſes now adays do ſhewing, or pointing ſtill with his Rod, from whence the winde came, and where it reigned or domineered.

Four more added to the former eight, and in what ſeueral places they are deſcribed to be.

Ouer and beſide the forenamed eight windes, there were yet added foure more, to make vp iuſt the number of twelue: placing two windes on this ſide, and beyond the North, which is the high North, and two other on both ſides of the South, which is the right winde for the South. That on the right ſide of the *Tramontana* or North, betweene that and the winde *Cafius*, they called *Aquilo*; in regard of his impetuous bluſtering, which is more ſudden, then the wing of the ſweeteſt Faulcon that is or can bee. The *Greekes* alſo called it *Boreas*, in reſpect of the great noiſe it maketh when it bloweth: ſome other tearme it *Mefes*. The other winde, which is on the ſide of the couchant or Sun-ſetting, betweene the *Tramontana* & the winde *Cancro*, was cald by the *Greekes* *Thraſſias*; *Seneca* giueth it no name at all in *Latine*; neuertheleſſe, there are ſome who name it *Circius*, or *Cirrus*; the *Chattiſians* call it *Galego*.

Two other windes oppoſite to the former. A South and by Eaſt winde

The other two windes are alſo oppoſite to theſe beere related, whereof the one commeth from the entrance to the right winde of the South, and the Region where the Sunne hideth himſelfe in Winter, which alſo is called *Euro auſter*, or *Euronorus*. *Ariſtotele* reporteth, that (in his time) in *Affrica* they vſed to call it *Phe-nicias*. The other winde plainly is betweene the direct winde of the South and the *Garbin* or *Su-weſt*: in which reſpect they call it *Lybonorus*, or *Lybonuſter*. And theſe are the twelue Windes, according to the foure Regions of the World.

A South and by Weſt winde

Ariſtotele, in his Booke of Heauen & the World, and in his *Meteors*, maketh mention of the Windes; but he neither assigneth to them any names, or number. *Pliny* notwithstanding, *Seneca* and *Pegetius* doe make mention of twelue; as the like alſo is done by our moderne *Aſtroggers* and *Cosmographers*, as namely *Orontius*, *Apianus*, *Gemma-Friſius*, *Hen-*

cus Glareanus, *Stoſſerinus*, *Ioannes Beremus*, *Ioannes Fernellus*, *Robertus Valturinus*, and many more beſide. *Vitruuius* neuertheleſſe, after he hath assigned the eight principal Windes to their Regions: doth yet giue two ſubakernate Windes to each of the other Windes; ſo that (by his account) there ſhould be foure and twenty Windes.

Four more windes granted by Vitruuius.

Notwithſtanding, to enſtruct our better apprehenſion of the Windes, he preſuppoſeth three Circles, whereof one ſerueth for the opinion of foure Windes, the other is for that of eight, and the laſt for that of twelue. Hee ſetteth downe (beſide) the names of the Windes, according as *Marriners* (and eſpecially the *Spaniards*) haue ſiled them. Yet (in the mean while) it is to be obſerued, that the windes are alwayes conformed, to the qualities of the Regions from whence they come.

Three Circles allotted to the windes.

For the three Orientall or Eaſt-windes, that is to ſay, *Subſolanus*, *Caciat*, and *Vulturinus*, are hot and dry: whereas contrariwiſe, *Zephyrus* and his neighbors, which come from the Weſt or Sun-ſet, are colde and moiſt: becauſe the abſence of the Sunne, maketh the Regions colde where thoſe windes blow. As is eaſily diſcerned by the night time, which is euermore colde, as alſo by places ſubiection to ſhades, that are (ordinarily) coole and freſh. From the ſame cauſe proceedeth humidity; for, as heate in the day time dryeth the Eaſterne windes: ſo on the contrary, moiſture increaſeth in the nights cooleneſſe.

The conformity of the windes to their Regions

The difference betweene day and night times.

As for the three *Septentrionall* or Northern Windes, they are colde and dry: becauſe they come from colde Regions, & they haue their rayes writhed and wrinkled. Their coldnes alſo cauſeth drineſſe, which they borrow of the eaſtern windes, that are their neighbours: and yet they can take no moiſture from the Occidentall or Weſterne windes, becauſe their drought and humidity are directly contrary.

Of the Northernly windes

Come we now to the Meridionall or Southerly Windes, they are hot & moiſt: becauſe they deriue their warmth from hot Regions, comming from where the Sunne heateth downe right: with this addition moreover, that they are neighbors to the Eaſt windes, which are hot. Concerning their humidity, they draw it from the

Modernes Aſtroggers & Cosmographers.

the Weſterne windes, and vapours both of the Sea and Land. In Mountayn Regions, charged with Snowes, the Southerly winde may there get his moiſture, as the like hee doth in fenny and muddy places: euen as drineſſe may be cauſed by Plaines and champaigne grounds, ſo that they may be charged in the occurrences, according to the qualities of the windes. Here we are to obſerue, that in every Region, the three windes comming thence, are all of one quality, & produce the ſame effects, which cauſe other effects (great or ſmall) according to ſuch as they happen to meete withall.

Occurrences in charge, commonly the qualities of the windes

The Eaſt winde the moſt healthfull of all; it rell.

It is in Cuius blood.

It reſteth now to ſpeake of the particular qualitie belonging to each winde. Beginne wee then with the right Eaſt winde, which is the moſt healthfull of all. For it is ſubtile and pure, and partaketh more with choller, then his companions. His neighbour, blowing againſt the South, is more moiſt; and farre more furious then the former, and chargeth the ayre with cloudes. *Ariſtotele* ſayeth, that when this winde bloweth, all things do ſeeme more great and groſſe, then they are indeede. The right winde of the South, cauſeth raines and tempeſts, it troubleth the ayre with cloudes, procuring peſtilence and corruption. The winde *Garbin*, which is neighbor to the right Weſt, is very tempeſtue, according vnto *Virgill*. But the *Oueſt* or Weſt winde, increaſeth ſleugme, and procureth thunders: it beginneth to blow, at the firſt appearing of the Spring. The direct *Tramontana*, which we call the right North winde, cauſeth colde and froſt, it burneth floures and fruites, and purifieth a corrupted ayre. Now, in regard it ſhuteth and locketh vp the pores in mens bodies; this winde is helde very apt for health. As much may be ſayde of

the other Septentrionall windes, which are his conſorts or companions.

It is to be held then for a concluſion, that theſe windes proceede from vapours and hote exhalations, and that (in al) there are twelue: without depending vpon other allegories, assigned to ſome infant windes. The *Spaniards* hold for principal windes, thoſe foure which come from the foure parts of the world, to wit, Eaſt, Weſt, North and South. As for the other foure, they tooke their names from them precedent: for the North-eaſt is betweene the North and Eaſt winde: that which is betweene the Sunne-ſet and the South, is alſo called South-weſt, and the other betweene the Eaſt and South, is alſo termed South-eaſt; theſe are their ſeueral nominations.

The full concluſion for the number of the windes, & them that are allowed to be betweene each of them.

Afterward, eight other were talked of, which are equally bi-parted betweene the former eight, being termed Collateral, ſide or middle windes. As that which is betweene the North and the North-eaſt, was called North-North-eaſt: The other which is betwixt the Eaſt and the North, is called by the *Spaniards* *Zefir-deſt*, and by French *Martiners*, North-eaſt; that which is betweene the South and South-eaſt, is called South-South-eaſt; and the other betweene Eaſt and South eaſt, is named Eaſt-South-eaſt. The other betweene South-weſt and Eaſt, is termed Weſt-South-Weſt; and ſo of the other in the ſame diſtinguiſhing: ſo that fixteene Windes are equally diſtributed ouer the Earth. Some adde other fixteene Windes beſide, which they tearme Quarter windes, by which allowance, wee ſhould then haue two and thirty windes: but theſe latter borrowe all their names of their neighbours. Thus much therefore may ſerue for all the Windes.

The windes of interpoſition, & their appellations.

Sixteene windes called Quarter Windes.

The end of the eight Booke.

Of the Meridionall or Southerly windes.



The Ninth Booke.

Of the Great Province of Moscouia: As also the Manners, Religion, and Power, of the Prince there Ruling. Divided into five severall Tractes.

CHAP. I.

In this first Tract, is contained a Cosmographical description of the whole Countrey, the Climate and Soyle. Also what Shires or Regions are therein contained. What Commodities the severall parts of the land yeeldeth: And then a breefe Collection, of the principall Cities and Townes in Moscouia or Russia.



The city Moscou, or Moscouia.

Moscouia from time called Sarmatia.

Princes brethren divided the North parts between them.

Moscouia or Russia, is a great northerly Region, containing more then six hundred leagues in length. The principall Citie thereof, being called Mosca, or Moscouia, greater then the City Paris in France, and seated on the River Mosqua. I read also, that this Countrey was (sometimes) called Sarmatia, and came to vary or change from the name, by calling it selfe Russia, as beeing parted or divided into sundry small, yet absolute Regiments, or shires, according, or being in subjection one to another.

Some of their Writers doe affirme, that the North partes of the Countrey, chanced to bee divided betweene foure Brethren, whose names were Trubor, Kurico, Sinees, and Parinus, and in that coun-

trei Language, when they speak the word Russia, it implyeth as much, as to part or diuide. They auouch likewise, that foure other persons made the like partition of the South parts, as Kio, Scieko, Choranus, and a Sister of theirs, named Libeda; and euery one termed his Province or Territory, according vnto his owne particular name: and so from this their diuision, the Countrey came to be called Russia, about the yeare of our Lord eight hundred and sixty.

At such time as it was called Sarmatia, it consisted of two peculiar Diuisions: Namely, the Blacke and White. White Sarmatia contained all that portion that lyeth towards the North, and on the side of Liffeland, which Provinces are now termed Wyyna, Pagh, Volagda, Cargapolia, Nowogradia, &c. Nowogradia being the chief and Metropolitane City of them all. The Blacke Sarmatia contained all the country Southward, towards the black or Euxine Sea, with the Dukedome of Volodomer of Mosco, Resan, &c. It is bounded Northward by the Lappes and the north Ocean: On the Southside by the Tartars, called Chrymes: Eastward they haue the Nagaias Tartar, who possesseth all the country of the East side of the Volga, toward the Caspian Sea: On the west and South-west border, lye Lituania, Litonia, and Polonia.

All the Countrey being brought to the obedience of one Governour, do comprehend these cheefe Shires or Pro-

Division of the South parts.

Of the White and Black Sarmatians in their distinct diuisions.

The boundry and bordering of Moscouia.

ces.

The three Provinces contained in Moscouia, are greater then the three of England.

Provinces won by force or Conquest, and brought in subjection, one on another, and the same countrey laves.

The Kingdomes of Casan and Astracan.

Indiuidions or countreies.

The length, bredth, and latitude of the whole countrey.

The Kingdomes of Sweden and Denmark have diuers Townes amongst the Russes.

ces. Volodomer (which beareth the first place in the Emperors stile, because their house came first of the Dukes of that Countrey) Mosko, Nisnouograd, Plaska, Smolensko, Nowograd Velica (or Nowograd of the Low countries) Rostone, Tarnuslane, Belosera, Resan, Wyyna, Cargapolia, Meschora, Pagh, Pjuga, Ghaletsa. These are the shires naturally belonging to Moscouia or Russia, but farre greater and larger then the Shires of England; albeit I cannot say that they are so well peopled. The other Countreies or Provinces, which the Emperors haue wonne by power, and more lately annexed to their former Dominion, follow by these names. Twerra, Tonghorla, Permia, Padsha, Boulghoria, Chernigo, Oudoria, Oldoria, Condora, beside a great part of Siberia, where the people, (though they are not naturall Russians) obey the Emperor of Russia or Moscouia, being gouerned by his Countrey Lawes, paying Taxes and Customes, euen as his owne people doe.ouer and beside all which, the Kingdomes of Casan and Astracan (not long since obtained by conquest) are vnder his command.

Concerning all his possessions in Lituania (to the number of thirtie great Townes, and more) with Narne & Dorp in Liuania: they are quite gone from him, beeing (of late yeares) surprized by the Kings of Poland and Sweden. The fore-named Provinces or Shires, are all reduced into foure Iurisdiccions, tearmed by them Chetfyrds, as much to say, as Tetrarchies or fourth-parts, whereof wee shall haue more occasion to speake hereafter.

The whole countrey is of great length and bredth: for, from the North vnto the South (measuring from Cola to Astracan, leaning somewhat Eastward) containeth in length about foure thousand two hundred sixty miles, which they terme versh. And yet the Emperor hath more extensure Northward, farre beyond Cola, euen to the River of Tromschina, which runneth a thousand versh or miles beyond Pechinga, neere to Wardbouffe, yet not intire nor clearly limited, because the kings of Sweden and Denmarke, hauing diuers Townes there, as well as the Russes, are plotted together, the one with the other, all of them laying claime to those whole North-parts as their owne peculiar right. As for the Countreies bredth, from that part of the

Territory lying farthest Westward on the Narne side, to the Eastward parts of Siberia, where the Emperors Garrisones are kept, is counted forty four thousand versh or miles, or thereabout. They holde a Versh to be a thousand paces, yettlesse (by a quarter) then an English Mile. If the whole Dominion of the Russian Emperour were all habitable, and peopled in all places; he would either hardly hold it all within one Gouernment, or bee too potent for all his neighboring Princes.

To speake somewhat of the Soile and Climate, for the most part it consisteth of a slight sandy mould, yett differing farre in one place from another; for yeelding such things as the earth affordeth: Concerning the Countrey Northward, vnto the parts of Saint Nicholas and Cola, and North-East towards Siberia; it is all verie barren, and full of desert woodes, by reason of the Clymate, and extremitie of the cold in winter.

In like manner, along the riuer Volga, betweene the Countreies of Casan and Astracan, where, though the soyle is fruitful, yett it is vn-inhabited: except on the west side of the riuer Volga, where the Emperour hath some few Castells, and garrisones in them. But this is occasioned by the Chrim Tartar, who will neyther himselfe plant Townes to dwell there (as delighting in an extrauagant and wilde kinde of life) nor yett suffer the Russes (who is farre off with the strength of his Countrey) to people those parts.

From Volagda, which lieth well-neare seauen thousand versh from the Port of Saint Nicholas, downe toward Mosko, and so towards the South Port, bordering vpon the Chrim, containing the like space of 1700. versh: it is a very pleasant and fruitfull Countrey, yeelding pasture and corne, with woodes and waters in great plentie. The like is betweene Resan (lying South-east from Mosko) to Nowograd and Volsko, the which reacheth furthest towards the mountains: So betweene Mosko and Smolensko (lying South-west towards Lituania, is a very pleasant and fruitfull soyle.

To obserue the whole Countrey, maketh a great difference from it selfe, in regard of the yeares course, vrging a strange alteration, betweene Winter and Summer in Russia. All the Countrey lyeth in Winter,

The Emperors dominion not all habitable.

Of the Soyle and Climate in Moscouia.

Barren soyle and desert woods.

The Savage & extrauagant kinde of life of the Chrim Tartar.

A very fruitful and pleasant countrey.

A strange inequality of the country in winter and Summer.

Mighty deepe snowes and iccs in Moscouia.

The extreame freezing cold of the country

Divers frozen to death with cold in Markets and frequented streets and traueellers on their Sleds

An admirable summer time in Moscouia.

Winter vnder snow, which falleth there continually, containing (sometime) two yardes in thickenesse, and yet farre greater towards the North: the Riuer and Waters being all frozen ouer a yard and more in depth of crust, how broad or swift in current fouer they bee, continuing so commonly for the space of sixe months; as from the beginning of November, vntill it draw towards the end of March, and then the Snowes begin to melt.

Well may we iudge of the ayres sharpnesse there; because Water dropping downe, or throwne vp into the Aire, freezeth to Ice before it can fall to the ground. And let a man hold a dish or pot of pewter in his hand, during the extremitie of Winter (except in some chamber where the warme Stouaes are) and his fingers will freeze fast vnto it, euen to tearing the skin off at the parting with it. And let a man go out of a warme room into a cold, he shall sensibly feeble his breath to grow sticke, euen as stifling with the cold, drawing it in, and vrging it forth.

Many haue bene noted, not onely such as trauaile abroad, but others in the frequented Markets, and common streetes of Townes, to bee mortally pinched, and meerey killed with colde. So that diuers haue bene scene to droppe downe dead in the streetes, and many traueylers are brought into the Townes, sitting stiffe and dead in their Sleds: yea, some haue lost their noses, the tips of their eares, the balles of their cheekes, their verie Toes, fectes, &c. Many times, when Winter is very hard and violent, Beares & Volues haue come (by huge troopes) out of the woods, as enforced thereto by meer hunger, and entering into Townes and Villages, haue rent and torne what fouer they could finde or meete withall, whereby the inhabitants were enforced to flight, onely for safety of their liues.

But when the Sommer is come, neuer was scene a more fresh and delicate countrey, the woods (consisting most of Firre and Birch) being so sweet and lusty; the Pastures and Meddowes so greene and well growne, yea and vpon a fodaine, such variety of flowers, such harmonie of Birdes (chiefely of Nightingales, whose notes seeme more loud and variable, then in other countries) that no man can light-

ly trauaile in a more delightfull countrey. From the fresh and speedy growth of the Spring there, the snow gueth no meane reason of opinion, because all winter time it seemeth as mantled in a white Luerie, which keepeth it warme clothed all winter while, till Spring time, and then the Suns heat dissolueth it to water. All which, do so sweetly sympathize with the ground, bestowing on it such sufficient drenching and foaking (being of a slight and sandie mould, chearing it againe with the sunnes reuerberating brightnesse) that it produceth quickly all hearbes and plants in extraordinary abundance. So that, as winter there superaboundeth in colde, Sommer answeres it with so much the more heate: chiefly in Iune, Iuly, and August, it equalling then the best ayres in any other Countrey.

Commig nowe to speake of the Riuer, the first is the famous *Volga*, whose head or Spring ariseth at an Alder-trees roote, some two hundred Verst beyonde *Tarufane*. It entrench into such gignes by the entercourse of other riuers byring into it; that in some places it extendeth in bredth a mile and more, till at length it falleth into the *Caspian* sea, by estimation neere 2800. Verst or miles in length. *Boristhenes* is the second, called now *Nepes*: diuiding the country from *Lithuania*, and thence hauing his course into the *Buxine* Sea. *Tanaus*, otherwise termed *Don* (bounding anciently betwene *Asia* and *Europ*) seemeth to haue his rising out of the *Rezan* Ozers, passing thorough the *Chrim Tartares* Countrey, till hee makes his fall into the Sea-lake, or great Meare, neere to the Cittie of *Azon*, called *Mastis*. Report runneth among the *Russes*, that from their cheefe City of *Moscou*, euen to *Constantinople*, and so into all those parts of the world; men may easily make passage by this Riuer. But then the convey Boate must bee drawne ouer a little *Himmi*, some fewe Verstes thwartwise, as prooue was not long since made of.

Dnyma, being many hundred Miles in length, must bee remembered amongst the rest, falling North into the Bay of Saint *Nicholas*, and on the Sea-side it hath great Rockes of Alabaster vpon each banke. *Dnna* emptieth it selfe into the *Balticke* Sea, neere to the town of *Riga*. And then

The reason of the fodaine & fresh spring in the Country

The Winter nee to colde, but summer is as violently hot.

Wh fruites as Moscouia affordeth

Of the principall pastures in Moscouia, Volga the dicke.

Boristhenes.

Tanaus.

Rezan Ozer

Magouia.

An excellent passage afforded by the Riuer.

Dnyma.

Dnna.

is

The reason of the fodaine & fresh spring in the Country

The Winter nee to colde, but summer is as violently hot.

Wh fruites as Moscouia affordeth

Of the principall pastures in Moscouia, Volga the dicke.

Boristhenes.

Tanaus.

Rezan Ozer

Magouia.

An excellent passage afforded by the Riuer.

Dnyma.

Dnna.

is

is *Omaga*, which some ninetie Verst from the port of Saint *Nicholas*, hath his downfall into the Bay at *Solouesko*. Not far beneath *Cargopolia*, this riuer meeteth with another, called *Polocke*, which by *Tama* (a small Towne, droppeth into the *Finland* Sea. Into which Sea, from Saint *Nicholas* Port, and so into the Sound, the *Russes* easily passe by water.

Suchana is another, which flowing into *Dnyma*, runneth on into the North sea. As for *Ocka*, his head commeth from the *Chrim* borders, streaming on into *Volga*. And *Mosena* glideth thorough the Cittie *Mosco*, borrowing his name thereof. *Wichida* likewise is a very long and spacious riuer, rising out of *Perma*, and falling into the *Volga*. So much for these memorable riuers in this country.

We come now to speak of those fruits as *Moscouia* yeeldeth, which are in diuers kinds; as Apples, Peares, Plums, Cherries red and blacke, but the black ones are wilde. Then haue they a Deene, which is like to a Musk Mellon, but much more sweeter and delicious. Also Cucumbers, Gourdes (which they tearme *Arbous*), Raspes, Straw-berries, and Hurtleberries; beside many other in great plenty; for euerie Woodde and hedge is well stored with them.

But if you demand of their Corne and Graine, they haue *Wheate*, *Rye*, *Barley*, *Oates*, *Pease*, *Buckway*, *Pinnyth*, which resemble Rice in taste. The Countrey is fountaining in these Graines, that it can allow a large ouer-plus quantity: for *Wheate* is sometime there solde for two *Altens* the *Chetfird*, valewing ten pence sterling, and the measure amounteth well neere to three Bushels.

Concerning seasons of Husbandrie, *Rye* is there sowne before Winter, and all other graine in the Spring time. Such as dwell farre off in the North, and deserte places, as the *Permians*, the partes more Southward do furnish them: being constrained yet (sometimes) to make Bread of a Rotte called *Pughnoy*, and of the middle rind of the Firre tree, when any dearth hapneth.

Natiue commodities yeelded by the Countrey are many, and of good worth, for seruice of the peoples best expectation, and benefitting the Emperor, by venting them abroad in the World: for the

colde of the Climate (being a naturall inconvenience) by Gods great goodnesse, is therein much remedied. Their cheefe Fures are *Blacke Fox*, *Sables*, *Lufenes*, *Dun-fox*, *Martrones*, *Gumtalles* or *Armines*, *Lasets* or *Minceur*, *Beuer*, *Wulnerins*, being the skinne of a great water-Rat, that smelleth naturally like Muske; *Calaber* or greene Squirrel, red Squirrel, red and white Fox, what plentie of these are spent in the Countrey (because the people weare Fures all the winter time) is almost incredible. And yet the Merchants some yeares, transport thence, to the valew of foure or fise hundred thousand Rubbles, to *Turkie*, *Persia*, *Bonigharia*, *Georgia*, *Armenia*, with some other of Christendome.

In the Countreys of *Pechora*, *Mongoforsia*, *Obdarsky*, and other places, do the best *Sable* fures growe; and the worser in *Siberia*, *Perm*, and such like places. The *blacke Foxe* and red come from *Siberia*; as from *Pechora* the white and *Dun*; the *Volues* and *Beares* skins (both being white) come also thence. *Perm* yeildeth the choyest *Wuluerin*, and the best *Martrones* come from *Syberia*, *Cadam*, *Morum*, *Perm* and *Cazan*. *Gallets* & *Onigles* send out the best *Lufenes*, *Minuier*, and *Eruines*: yet some come from *Nogrod* and *Perm*; and *Murmonky* by *Cola* hath the best breed of *Beauers*. Common Fures (with some of these fore-named) are in euerie part of the Countrey.

A second commodity is waxe, which hath bene shipt thence into far remote Countreys yearely, the valew of 50000. Poode. Honey also is there in great quantity, spent dayly in their ordinarie drinckes, which is Mead of all sorts: and yet carried out of the Countrey in great abundance. *Mordua* and *Cadam* nere vnto *Cheremissen* *Tartar*, yeeldeth the greatest increase of Honey: but good store also commeth out of *Senersky*, *Rezan*, *Morum*, *Casnia*, *Drogobof*, and *Kasnia*.

Tallow is yeelded in great weight for transportation, by reason of much good ground for feeding Cattle; as also manie Lents obserued among them. Partly beside, because the greatest perfonnes vse waxe Lights: as the poorer and meaner sort do Byrch, dried in their stoues, being cut into long Dices, called there *Luchine*.

The principall fures vemed thence in merchandize

The places that afford the very best furs in all their feutall kinds.

Wax, whereof euerie Poode containeth fortie pounce weight.

Hony.

Tallow. Many Lents vied in Moscouia.

os. Some yeares haue sent away by Shipping, above an hundred thousand Poode yearly, which hath come out of the parts and Territories of *Smolensko, Tursulaine, Ouglitz, Nouogrod, Yologda, Osker and Goroedstsky.*

Another principal commodity is Losh and Cow-hides: their Losh and Buffe beeing very faire. Their Bull and Cow-hide is but small of size, for Oxen they make none, nor of weather. Strange Marchants haue transported thence some yeares above an hundred thousand hides, beside great store of Goats skinned, shipt also thence in large number. The breede for the fairest Losh or Buffe, is about *Ko-Houe, Wichida, Nouogrod, Morum and Perm*, as the lesser sort are in the kingdom of *Cazan*.

Traine Oyle, beeing made or drawne out of the Scale-fish, is no mean commodity there. And because we are speaking of the Scale-fish, it shall not much dissent from our matter, to report in what manner they hunt the Scale, whereof afterward this Oyle is made. When the end of Summer draweth neere, and the frosts are not (as yet) begun, they descend with their boats into *S. Nicholas Baye*, to the Cape called *Cusconesse* or *Pounesse*, where they leaue their boats till the next spring tide. When the Sunne waxeth warme towards the spring, and yet the ice not melted in the Bay, they returne thither again, and drawing their Boats ouer the ice, vse them as houses to lodge and rest in. Commonly, there are about seauenteene or eighteene Flcete of them, being diuided into diuers companies, five or sixe boates alwayes conorting together.

Such as light first upon the fishes haunt or resort, do fire a Beacon, carryed with them for the same purpose, and certaine are appointed, to obserue when the Beacon shall be fired; whereof report being made to the other Companies, they resort all together, compelling the Scale round in a ring, as they by Summoning together vpon the Ices, being commonly foure or five thousand in a shoale. Thence every man, hauing a Clubbe in his hand, enters stoutly vpon them; and if they his them on the nose, then they are soone killed. But if on the backe or sides, they boord out the blowes stiffly, and many times catch the fish by the side, and holds it

downe with their teeth so strongly, that the party is forced to call for helpe to his fellows.

The manner of the Seales is, when they perceiue themselves beset round about; to gather all close together, as in a throng or heape, to fwy and beare downe the Ice, and to breake it if they can: which bending of the Ice, brings vp such a Sea-water vpon it, that the Hunters are faine to wade a foote or more deepe. When they haue killed what they can, & intend no further slaughter at that time: the hunters fall to sharing, euery boar his part by equal portions. And so they flay them, taking off the skinned from the bodie, and the Lard or fat withall that cleaueth vnto the skinned, which they beare thence with them, going to the shore, leauing the bodies behind. Pits they dig in the ground, of a fathome & a halfe in depth, and hauing taken off the Fat or Lard from the skin, cast it into the pits, and then hurle in hot burning coales to melt it withall. The vppermost and purest is sold, and vfed to oyle wooll for cloth: but the groffer, being red of colour, they sell to make Sape.

Great quantity also of *Ickary* or *Cauer-ry*, is made vpon the river of *Volga*, out of a Fish called *Bellouina*, the *Sturgeon*, the *Seneriga*, and the *Sterledy*: most part whereof is shipt thence by French & Netherland Merchants for *Italy, Spaine, and England*.

Flaxe and Hempe is another commodity, whereof hath bene shipt at the Port of *Narue*, the more part of an hundred Ships small and great yearly. But great abatement is in these and other commodities, by shutting vp the Port of *Narue* towards the *Finnland Sea*, which is now in possession of the *Sweden*. The stop of passage also ouer land, by the way of *Smolensko* and *Plotsko*, in regard of warre with the *Poland*; which caueth the people to be lesse carefull in providing these and other commodities, because they want sale. For growth of Flaxe, the Prouince of *Polska* and country thereabout is chiefly like as *Smolensko, Dorogoboffe, and Vasma* is for Hempe.

Great store of Salt the Country maketh, whereof the best is at *Stararouffe*, in very great quantity, hauing store of Salt-wells, some two hundred fifty nine from

The Seale naturally behauiour, our while they are beleagued in their own defence,

The hunters diuide the spoile among them,

There a great commodity there,

A fish tooth called Ribazuba,

Slade, which is there as their Moscouie glaffe.

Ickary or Cauer-ry made of Sturgeon.

Flaxe & Hempe

Great hinder-ance is vnto their commodities.

Salt-peter & Gunpowder

Iron.

When strange beasts are in Moscouia.

Salt, whereof some is made naturally of the sea water

from the Sea. But at *A. Fracan*, Salt is naturally made by the Sea-water, which catcheth it vp in great hills, from whence it is digged downe, and carryed away by Merchants, or any that will fetch of it. Three pence *Russe* is payed to the Emperour vpon euery hundred weight of Salt, which is likewise made in many other places, as in *Berm, Wichida, Totina, Kenitsma, Sonoletsky, &c.* all out of Salt-pits, except at *Solouetsky*, which lyeth neare vnto the Sea.

Tarre also they make great store of, out of Firre trees in the Country of *Dny-na* and *Smolensko*, sending no meane plenty thereof abroad. To these before remembered, there are many more (naturall to the country) though of meane estimation: As the fish-tooth, which they call *Ribazuba*, vfed both amongst themselves, and the *Persians* and *Bouharians*, who fetch it thence for Beades, Knives and Sword-handles for Noblemen and Gentlemen, and diuerse other vses.

Some doe vse the powder of it against poyson; like to *Vnicornes* horne, and the fish that oweth it, is called a *Morse*, being caught about *Pechora*: Some of these teeth are well-neare two foote in length, and doe weigh cleauen or twelue pounds each tooth.

There is a soft Rocke, which they doe cutte into peeces or into thinne flakes, and are naturally to bee vfed and employed as Glasse, for Lant-hornes and such like: but yet is not so brittle in breaking as Glasse, yet it dooth giue a farre clearer light. They doe tearme it *Slade*, and it groweth in the Prouince of *Corelia*, and about the River *Dny-na*, towards the North Sea.

Besides, they make Salt-peter in many places, as at *Ouglitz, Tursulaine*, and *Vlug*; with some meane store of Beinstone vpon the River *Volga*; but they want skill to refine it.

As for their Iron, it is but brittle; yet much thereof is made in *Corelia, Cargapoleia*, and *Vlug*; these for other mines they haue none growing within the kingdom.

As for Beasts of strange kinds, they haue the Losh, the Olen, the wilde Horse, the Vvultering or Wood dogge, the Lyfenne, the Beauer, the Sable, the Martroun, the blacke and dunne Fox, the

white Beare, towards the Sea-coast of *Pechora*, the Gurnfall, and the Laster or Minuer. Likewise, there is a kinde of Squirrel, hauing growing on the pinion of his shoulder bone, a long tuft of haire, much like vnto feathers, with a farre broader taile then other Squirrels haue, which they doe moue and shake, as they moue from tree to tree, like to a Vwing in resemblance, and seeming as if they flew thereby, whereby they were called, *Zetach Veshbe*, that is to say, flying Squirrels. In the Summer their Hares and Squirrels are of the same colour as other are; but in Winter, the Hare changeth her coate into milke-white, and the Squirrel into grey, and thereof is that the *Calaber* counteth.

Fallow Deere likewise they haue, the Roe Bucke, and great plenty and store of Goates. Their horsses are but small, yet swift and hard, and both in Winter and Summer, they trauell them vnto, vying no respect at all of pace. Small are their sheepe, bearing harsh and course wooll, not so apt and conuenient for the making of Cloath, as is afforded in diuers other Countries, nor of so good a wearing.

Of Fowles they haue of the principall kinds; and great store of Hawkes, as also the Eagle, the Ger-falcon, the Slight-falcon, the Gof hawke, the Tassell, the Spar-hawke. But the principall Hawke breeding in the Country is counted the Ger-falcon. We may not forget other chiefe Fowles, as the Swanne wilde and tame in great plentie; the Storke, the Crane, the Tedder, resembling a Feasant in colour, but much bigger, and liueth in the Firre woods. Of Pheasant and Partridge they haue great plenty, and an Owle, to great and ougly to beholde, as few countries afforde the like, with a huge broad face, and eares much like to a man.

We come now to speake of fresh-water Fish, besides the common sort, as Carpes, Pikes, Pearech, Tench, Roach, &c. they haue diuerse kinds very good and delicate. As the *Bellouga* or *Bellougina*, of foure or fiseelles in length; the *Ojirina* or *Sturgeon*, the *Seneriga* and *Sterledy*, somewhat in fashion and in taste like vnto the Sturgeon, but not so thicke, nor so long.

Bbbb, These

Losh & Cow-hides, & Buffe.

Traine Oyle.

After what manner they hunt the Scale Fish in Moscouia.

Boates made vnto lodg.

A Beacon fired to giue warning.

How they set vpon the Seales with their clubbes.

A strange Squirrel.

Hares milke white.

Fallow deere, Roe Bucks, and Goats.

Fowles of diuers kinds, both wilde and tame.

Varietie of fresh-water Fish and other beside.

These foure kinds of Fish breed in the *Volgha*, and are there catcht in great abundance, seruing generally (as a great food) to the whole kingdom. And of the roes of these foure fishes, are made very great store of *Icary* or *Caucary*.

Besides these breeding in the *Volgha*, they haue a Fish called *Ribabela*, or white Salmon, which they hold to be more delicate then the red Salmon, having also great plenty of them in the Riues northward, as in *Duyna* and *Cola*, &c. In the *Ozera*, or Lake neare to *Perisslaue*, they haue a small Fish, which they call the fresh herring, of the same fashion, and tasting also like a Sea herring. From the trades of fishing the Emperor hath an yearly large custome, which they practise in the Summer: but send it frozen in the Winter into all parts of the Realme.

Now, because wee aymed at a formalitie in the description, wee enter into a relation of the chiefe and principall Cities in *Moscouia* or *Rufsia*, and as our direction guideth vs, these are their names.

- 1 *Mosko*.
- 2 *Novograd*.
- 3 *Rosloue*.
- 4 *Volodomer*.
- 5 *Plesko*.
- 6 *Smolensko*.
- 7 *Iarusslaue*.
- 8 *Perisslaue*.
- 9 *Nisnovograd*.
- 10 *Voloda*.
- 11 *Vitnick*.
- 12 *Galmigræe*.
- 13 *Cazan*.
- 14 *Astracan*.
- 15 *Cargapolia*.
- 16 *Columna*.

The City of *Mosko* very ancient.

Herofus in his *Moscou* plant Colonies in Asia and Europe, and *Moscou* seems to take name of him.

The City of *Mosko* is supposed to bee of great antiquitie, though the first founder thereof be vnknowne to the *Moscouites* or *Ruffe*. It seemeth to deriue the name from the riuer, running on the one side thereof. *Herofus* the *Chaldean* telleth vs, that *Nimrod* (in other profane Storics called *Saturne*) sent *Affryus*, *Medus*, *Mofcus* and *Magos* into *Asia*, to plant Colonies there, and that *Mofcus* planted both in *Asia* and *Europe*. Which may make some probability, that the City, or rather the Riuer whereon it is built, tooke the

denomination from this *Mofcus*. And so much the rather, because of the Climate or situation, which is in the very furthest part and list of *Europe*, bordering vpon *Asia*.

It appeareth, that this Citie was much enlarged by one *Euan* or *Iohn* sonne vnto *Daniell*, the first that changed his Title of Duke into King; though that honor continued not to his posteritie, the rather, because hee was inuelted into it by the Popes Legate, who at that time was *Innocentius* the fourth, about the yere 1246, which was much disliked by the *Ruffe* people, being then a part of the Easterne or Greeke Church. Since that time, the name of that Citie hath growne more famous, and much better knowne to the world. Infomuch, that not only the province, but the whole country of *Moscouia* or *Rufsia*, is termed by some, by the name of *Moscouia* the Metropolit Citie.

The forme of this City is (in a manner) round, with three strong walles, circuling the one within the other, and streetes lying betwene, wherof the in-most wall, and the buildings closed within it, lying so fast (as the heart within the body) fenced and wated with the Riuer *Moskua*, which runneth close by it; is all accounted the Emperours Castell. The number of houles through the whole City (being reckoned a litle before it was fiered by the *Chrim*) were 41500. Since the *Tartar* besieged and fiered it (which was in the yere 1571.) there doth lye waste of it a great breadth of ground, which before was well set and planted with buildings; especially that part on the South side of *Moskua*, built (not long before) by *Basilus* the Emperour for his garrison of Souldiours, to whom he gaue priuilege to drinke Mead and Beere, at the drie or prohibited times. And for that cause called his new Citie *Naloi*, that is to say, *Skinke* or *powre in*, So that now the Citie of *Mosko* is not much bigger then the City of *London* in *England*.

The next in greatnesse, and (in a manner) as large, is the Citie *Novograd*, where happened (as the *Ruffe* sayth) the memorable warre, so much spoken of in Historics, of the *Scythian* seruants, that tooke vppon Armes against their Maisters, which they haue reported to be after this manner.

The

The first changing the side of Duke into King.

Moscouia the Metropolit Citie.

The model or forme of the citie.

The number of houles before the Citie being.

When the *Chrim* Tartar fiered the Citie.

A name giuen to the new Citie.

Novograd the next great city to Mosko.

The *Boiardines* or Gentlemen of *Novograd*, and the adjacent territories (that only are Souldiers after the discipline of those countries) had warre with the *Tartars*. Which being well performed and ended by them, they retired homewards. Where they vnderstoode by the way, that their *Cholopy* or Bondslaves whom they left at home, had (in their absence) possessed their townes, landes, houses, wines and all. At which newes being somewhat amazed, and yet disdayning the villanie of their seruants, they made the more speed home, and so, not farre from *Novograd*, mette them in wartelike maner marching against them.

Whereupon, aduising what was best to be done, they all agreed, to set vpon them with no other shew of weapons, but with their horse whippes (which as their manner is, euery man rideth withall) to put them in remembrance of their seruile condition, thereby to terrifie them and abate their courage. And so marching on, lashing all together with their whips in their hands, they gaue the on-stroke, which seemed so terrible in the eares of the villaines, and strooke such a sence into the of the whips (whereof they had sharply talked before) that they all fled together, euery like sheepe before their driuers. In memorie of which victorie, the *Novogradians* (euer since) haue stamped their Coine, which they call a *Dingoe* *Novogradskoy*, currant through all *Rufsia*: with the figure of a man on horsebacke, shaking a whip aloft in his hand. These two Cities exceede the rest in greatnesse.

For strength, their chiefe Cities are *Volga*, *Smolensko*, *Cazan* and *Astracan*, as all lying vpon the borders; but for situation, *Iarusslaue* farre exceedeth all the rest. Because, beside those commodities yeelded by pasturage and corne, it lieth vpon the famous riuer *Volgha*, and lookees ouer it, from a banke most faire and stately to beholde, wherof the Towne taketh

name. For *Iarusslaue* (in that language) signiflieth a faire and famous banke. In this Citie (as may be well imagined by that name) dwelt the *Moscouian* or *Ruffe* King *Pladenir*, surnamed *Iarusslaue*: that married the daughter to *Harold* King of *England*, by mediation of *Sueno* the Dane, as the Danish historie testifieth, about the yere of our Lord God, one thousand sixty seauen.

Nothing greatly memorable, is to be spoken of the other Cities and Townes, but onely ruines within their walles, which declareth the peoples decrease vnder this gouernement. In stead of paulling, the streetes (in their Townes and Cities) are planked with Firre trees, plained and layd euery close one to another. Their houses are of wood, without any Linc or Stone, built very close and warme, with Firre trees plained, and layd one vpon another, being fastened together with dents or notches at euery corner; and so clapped fast together. Betwixt the trees of timber, they thrust in Moss, wherof they gather plenty in the woods, to keepe out the ayre: And euery house hath a paire of staires, which leade vpp into the chambers out of the yard or streete, after the Scottish maner. This building appeareth farre better for their Country, then that of Stone and Bricke, because they are darker and more cold; then those wooden houses; especially them of Firre, which is a verie drie and warme kinde of wood: wherof God hath prouided them such store, that a faire house may be built for twenty or thirty Rubbels, or litle more where wood is scantell.

Onely the greatest inconuenience of their wooden building, is the aptnesse for fiering, which happeneth there verie often, and in as fearefull sort, by reason of the drie and fatnesse of the Firre, that being once fiered, it burneth like vnto a Torch, and is hardly quenched, till all be quite consumed.

A Moscouian King married the King of England's daughter.

Pausing of the streetes.

The Moscouian manner of building their houses.

Bricke and Stone is no convenient building in Moscouia.

The danger of their wooden houses.

CHAP. II.

Our second Tract, relateth of what Linage or house the great Emperours are descended: And a view of their entailment or Inauguration in that supreme dignitie: with the form of publike Government, & order obserued in holding their Parliaments. Then of the Nobility dignifying the state, with the regiment of their Princes, and Councell attending vpon the Emperour: His Customes, Renownes & Sophismes, and a breefe relation of the Comminaltie, in their obedience and service.

THE surname of the Imperial house of Moscouia or Russia, is called Beala, receiuing Originall (as is supposed) from the kings of Hungaria, which may appeare the more probable; because the Hungarian Kings (many years since) haue borne that name, as is noted by Bonfinius, and other Histories written of that Countrey. For, about the yeare, 1559. mention is made of one Beala, that succeeded his brother Andreas, who reduced the Hungarians to the Christian Faith, from which they were faine by Turkish perswasion before. The second of that name was called Beala the Blinde, after whose successe diuers of the same name.

That their Ancestours came not of the Russe Nation, Iuan Vasiliuich (Father to this Emperour) would many times boast, disdainig (as it should seeme) to haue his progeny deuied from the Russian blood. As namely, to an English-man his Goldsmith, that had receiued Bullion of him to make certaine Plate: whom the Emperour commanded, to looke wel to his weight. For my Russe (said he) are all Theeues. Whereat the workman, looking Reddfully vpon the Emperour, began to smile.

The Emperour being of verie quick conceite, charged him to tell, what hee

smiled at. If your Maiesty will pardon me (quoth the Goldsmith) I will tell you. Your Highnesse sayde, that all the Russe were Theeues; and forgotte (in the meane while) that your selfe was a Russe. I thought so sayde the Emperour, but thou art deceyued, for I am no Russe: my Ancestours were Germanes (for so they account the Hungarians, to bee part of the Germane Nation) although (indeede) they come of the Hunnes, who molsted and invaded that countrey, and rested in those partes of Pannonia, now called Hungary.

How they aspired to the Dukedome of Volodemer (which was their first degree, and ingrafting into Moscouia.) And whether it were by Conquest, or by Marriage, or by what other meanes; no certainty is to be learned among them. But from these beginnings, of a small Dukedom (which bate notwithstanding an absolute government with it, as at that time did all the other Shires or Provinces of Moscouia) this house of Beala spread it selfe forth, and aspired (by degrees) vnto the Monarchie of the whole Countrey, as it is, a thing well knowne, and but of late memory.

The cheefe of that house, that aduanced the Stocke, and enlarged their Dominions: were the three last that reigned before this Emperour, to witte, Iuan Basilienus, and Iuan. Father to the other that reigneth at this time. Whereof the first that tooke vnto him the Name and Title of Emperour, was Basilienus, Father to Iuan, and Grandfather vnto this man. For (before that time) they one-ly were contented, to bee called by the Name of Great Dukes of Mosco or Moscouia.

What hath beene done by eyther of these three, and how much they haue added vnto their first estate, eyther by Conquest, or otherwise; wee shall shew more at large, when wee come to speake of their Colonies, or purchases perforce. For the continuance of the race, this House of Beala at this present, is in like case, as are many of the greatest Houses of Christendome, (Viz:) the whole Stocke and Race, concluded in one, two, or some fewe of the blood. For, besides the Emperour that now is, who hath no childe (neyther is like euer

Originall of the Moscouian Imperiall house from the kings of Hungary.

The House Beala not naturally Moscouian or Russe.

Familiar talk betweene the Emperour, and an English Goldsmith.

How first they came to the Dukedome of Volodemer not knowne.

The aduancement of the house of Beala.

Reference to a place of better constituency.

Chap. 1.

Of Muscouia or Russia.

No hope of life by the Emperour.

A great mischief & much lamented, causing all the Fathers life.

Treachery attempted against the young Princes life.

Qualities of no great commendation.

Another title of inheritance by the Dukedome of Holit.

to haue, for ought that can bee coniectured by the constitution of his bodye, and barrennesse of his wife, after so many yeares marriage) there is but one more, which is a Childe of fixe or seauen yeares olde, in whom resteth all the hope of succession, and posteritie of that house.

As for the other Brother, that was eldest of the three, and of the best towardnesse: hee dyed of a blow giuen him by his Father vpon the head (in furie) with his walking Staffe, or (as some say) of a thrust with the prong of it, driuen deep into his head. That hee meant him no such mortall harme, when hee gaue him the blowe, appeared by his wonderfull great mourning and passion after his Sonnes vntime death; which neuer left him, vntill it brought him to his Graue. Wherein may bee noted the Iustice of God, that punished his delight in shedding of blood, with this murder of his Sonne by his owne hand. And so ended his dayes and tyranny together, with the murdering of himselfe by extreame grief, for this his vnhappy, and most vnnatural facte.

The Emperours younger Brother, of fixe or seauen yeares olde (as was said before) is kept in a remote place from the Mosko, vnder the tuition and government of his Mother, and her Kindred, of the house of the Nagales: yet not safe (as I haue heard) from attempts of making away, by practise of some that would aspire vnto the Crowne, if the Emperour dye without any yssue. For, the Nurse that talked before him of certaine meate, (as I haue heard reported) dyed immediately.

That he is the Naturall Sonne vnto Iuan Vasiliuich, the Russe people warrant it, by the fathers qualities, which appear already in his tender yeeres. He delights to see Sheepe and other Cattle kille, and to looke on their throates, while they are bleeding (which commonly, children are affrayde to beholde) and to beate Geefe and Hennes with a Staffe, till he see them dead.

Besides these of the male kinde, there is a Widdow, that hath right in the succession, Sister to the olde Emperour, and Aunt to him liuing; sometime wife vnto Magnus, Duke of Holit, Brother to the

King of Denmarke, by whom she had one daughter.

This Woman, since the death of her Husband, hath beene allured againe into Russia, by some that loue the succession better then her selfe, which appeareth by the sequelle. For her selfe, with her daughter, so soone as they were returned againe into Russia, were thrust into a Nunnery, where her daughter dyed this last yeare; but of no naturall disease, as was supposed.

The Mother remaineth still in the Nunnery, bewailing her selfe, and cursing the time when shee returned into Russia, enticed with the hope of Marriage, and many other fayre promises in the Emperours name. And thus it standeth with the Imperiall stocke of Russia, of the House of Beala, which is like to determine in those that now are, and to make a conuersion of the Russe Estate. If it bee into a Government of some better temper, and milder constitution; it will bee happie for the people, that are now oppressed with intolerable servitude.

Our next Discourse, must extend it selfe, to report such solemnities, as are commonly vsed at the Russe Emperours Coronation, which followeth in this manner.

Of the manner of Crowning or Inauguration of the Russe Emperours.

THE solemnities vsed at the Russe Emperours Coronation, are on this manner. In the great Church of Prebende (or our Ladie) within the Emperours Cattle, is erected a stage, whereon standeth a Screene, that beareth vpon it the Imperiall Cappe and Robe, of exceeding rich stuffe. When the day of Inauguration is come, there reforme therself, first the Patriarche with the Metropolitans, Arch-bishops, Bishops, Abbots, and Priors, alrichly clad in their Pontificalibus. Then enter the Deacons, with the Quier of singers: who so soone as the Emperour setteth foot into the church

The daughter dying in the Nunnery, the Mother liueth in no meane anguish.

The ecclesiasticall attendants.

begin to sing: *Many yeeres may live noble Theodore Iuanowich, &c.* Whereunto the Patriarch and Metropolit, with the rest of the Cleargy, answer with a certaine Hymne, in forme of a prayer, singing it all together, with a great noise. The Hymne being ended, the Patriarch with the Emperor mount vp the stage, where standeth a seat ready for the Emperour. Whereon the Patriarch willeth him to sit down, and then placing himselfe by him, vpon another seate provided for that purpose, boweth down his head toward the ground, and saith this prayer.

The prayer uttered by the Patriarch, before the Coronation.

Oh Lord God, King of Kinges, Lord of Lords, which by the Prophet Samuell diddest chuse thy seruant David, and anoint him for King ouer thy people Israel, heare nowe our Prayers, and looke from thy Sanctuarie vpon this thy seruant Theodore, whom thou hast chosen, and exalted for King, ouer these thy holy Nations. Anoint him with the Oyle of gladnesse, protect him by thy power put vpon his head a Crowne of Gold & precious stones, giue him length of dayes, place him in the seat of Iustice, strengthen his arme, make him victor vnto him all the barbarous Nations. Let thy feare be in his whole heart; turne him from an euill Faith, and from all error, and shew him the saluation of thy holie and vniuersall Church; that he may iudge thy people with Iustice, and protect the children of the poore, and finally attaine euertlasting life. This prayer he speaketh with a low voyce, and then pronounceth aloud: All praise and power to God the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost.

The Ceremonies to be performed in order.

The prayer being ended, he commandeth certaine Abbots to reach the Imperiall Robe and Cap; which is done verie decently, and with great solemnitie, the Patriarch withall pronouncing alowde; *Peace be vnto all.* And so he beginneth another prayer to this effect: *Bow your selves together with vs, and pray to him that reigneth ouer all. Preserve him (O Lord) vnder thy protection, keepe him that he may do good and holy thing, let iustice shine forth in his dayes, that we may live quietly without strife and malice.*

This is pronounced somewhat softly by the Patriarch, whereto he addeth againe alowde: *Thou art the King of the whole world, and the Saviour of our soules, to thee the Father, Sonne, and Holy Ghost, be all praise for euer and euer, Amen.* Then putting on the

Robe and the Cap, he blesteth the Emperour with the signe of the Crosse: saying withall; *In the name of the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost.* The like is done by the Metropolit, Arch-bishops, and Bishops: who all in their order come to the Chaire, and one after another, doe blesteth the Emperour with their two fore-fingers.

Then is saide by the Patriarch another prayer, that beginneth, *O most holy Virgin, mother of God, &c.* After which, a Deacon pronounceth with an high lowde voyce: *Many yeeres to Noble Theodore, good, honourable, beloued of God, great Duke of Volodemer of Mosko, Emperour, and Monarch of all Russia, &c.* Where the other priests and Deacons, that stand somewhat far off by the Altar or Table, answer singing: *Many yeeres, many yeeres to the noble Theodore.* The same note is taken vpe by the Priests and Deacons, that are placed at the right and left side of the Church, and then all together they chaunt and thunder out, singing; *Many yeeres to the noble Theodore, good, honourable, beloued of God, great Duke of Volodemer, Mosko, Emperour of all Russia, &c.*

These solemnities being ended, first cometh the Patriarch with the Metropolit, Arch-bishops, and Bishops; then the Nobility, and the whole companie in their order, to doe homage vnto the Emperour, bending downe theyr heades, and knocking them at his feet vnto the very ground.

According to their ancient custome

Homage and obedience done to the Emperour.

The Stile wherewith hee is

inuested at his Coronation, runneth after this manner.

Theodore Iuanowich, by the Grace of God, great Lord and Emperour of all Russia, great Duke of Volodemer, Mosko, and Nouograd, King of Cazan, King of Astracan, Lord of Plesko, and great Duke of Smolensko, of Tverria, Iougoria, Permia, Vadska, Bulghoria, and others. Lord and great Duke of Nouograd of the Low Countreies, of Chermigo, Rezan, Polotskoy, Rostoue, Turuslawe, Belozera, Liefland, Oudoria, Obdoria, and Condensa: Commander of all Siberia, and of the North partes, and Lorde of many other Countreies, &c.

This

The Emperour proud of his many Titles.

The State or forme of their government.

The Russe government tyrannical.

Exaction in No leuies on the mercant.

The Nobilitie and Commons, flouers for the Prince.

This stile containeth in it all the Emperours Provinces, and setteth forth his greatnesse. And therefore they haue a very great delight and pride in it, forcing not onely their owne people, but likewise strangers (that haue any matter to deliuer to the Emperour by speech or writing) to repeat the whole forme from the beginning to the end. Which breedeth much cauilt, and sometimes quarrell, betwixt them and the Tartar, and Poland Ambassadors; who refuse to call him *Czar*, that is Emperour, and to repeat the other parts of his long stile.

The manner of their Government, is much after the Turkish fashion: which they doe seeme to imitate as neere as the Countrey, and reach of their capacities (in polittick affayres) will giue them leaue to doe.

The State and forme of their Government is plaine tyrannicall, as applying all to the behoofe of the Prince, and that after a most open and barbarous manner, as may appeare by the *Sophismata*, or secrets of their Government alterward set down, aswell for the keeping of the Nobility and Commons in an vnder proportion, and farre vneuen ballance in their seuerall degrees; as also in their impositions and exactions, wherein they exceed all iust measure, without any regard of Nobilitie or people.

Furthermore, it giueth the Nobilitie a kinde of iniust, and vnmeasured liberty, to command and exact vpon the Commons and baser sort of people, in all parts of the Realme wheresoeuer they come, especially in the place where theyr Lands lye, or where they are appointed by the Emperour to gouerne vnder him. Also to the Commons some small contentment, in that they passe ouer their lands (by diffeult inheritance) to whither son they will: which commonly they do after our *Cauill kinde*, and dispose of their goodes by gift or Testament, without anie controulment. Wherein notwithstanding, both Nobility and Commons are but flouers for the Prince, all running in the end into the Emperours Coffers: as may appear by the practise of enriching his treasure, and the manner of Exactions sette downe in the title of his Customes and Reuennewes.

Concerning the principall points and

matters of State, wherein the Souerainety consisteth (as the making and annulling of publicke Lawes, the making of Magistrats, power to make warre or league with any forraigne State, to execute or to pardon life, with the right of appeale in all matters, both ciuill and criminall) they doe so wholly and absolutely pertaine to the Emperour and his Councell vnder him; as that hee may be saide to be the Soueraigne Commander, and the executioner of all these. For, as touching any Law or publicke order of the Realme, it is euer determined of, before any publicke Assembly or Parliament bee summoned. Where besides his Councell, he hath none other to consult with him of such matters as are concluded before had but onely a few Bishops, Abbots, and Friars: to no other end, then to make advantage of the peoples superstitions, euen against themselves which think to be holy and iust, that passeth with consent of their Bishops and Cleargy men, whatsoeuer it bee.

For which purpose, the Emperours are content to make much of the corrupt state of the Church, as now it is among them, and to nourish the same by extraordinary fauours and immunities to the Bishops Seas, Abbeyes, and Fryaries: as knowing, superstition and false Religion best to agree with a tyrannicall State, and to be a speciall meanes to vphold and maintaine the same.

Secondly, as touching the publicke Offices and Magistracies of the Realme, there is none Hereditarie, neyther any so great nor so little in that Countrey, but the bestowing of it, is done immediately by the Emperour himselfe. In somuch, that the very Diackes or Clarke in euery head Towne, are (for the most part) assigned by himselfe. Notwithstanding, the Emperour that now is (the better to entend his Deuotions) referreth all such matters pertaining to the State, wholly to the ordering of his Wives brother, the Lord *Borris Federowich Godonoe*.

Thirdly, the like is to be saide of the Iurisdiction, concerning matters iudiciall, specially such as concerne life and death. Wherein there is none that hath any authority, or publicke Iurisdiction that goeth by diffeult, or is held by Charter; but all at the appointment and pleasure of the Emperour.

Of Soueraign power.

Benefit made by corruption

Offices giuen by the Emperour himselfe.

Of iudiciall matters concerning life & death.

And

And the same practised by the Judges with such awe and restraint; as that they dare not determine upon any special matter, but must referre the same wholly, vpon the *Mosko* to the Emperours Councell. To shew his Soueraignty ouer the liues of his Subiects, the late Emperour *Iuan Paskowich* (in his walks or progresse) if he had misliked the face or person of any man whom he met by the way, or that looked vpon him; would command his head to be strook off. Which was presently done, and the head cast before him.

Fourthly, for the soueraigne appeale, and giuing of pardons in criminal matters to such as are convicted; it is wholly at the pleasure and grace of the Emperour. Wherein also the Emperesse that now is, being a woman of great clemency, and withall, delighting to deale in publick affaires of the Realme, (the rather to supply the defect of her husband) doth behaue her selfe after an absolute manner, giuing out pardon (specially on her birth day, & other solemne times) in her owne name, by open Proclamation, without any mention at all of the Emperour.

Their highest Court of publick consultation, for matter of State, is called the *Zabore*, that is, the *Publick Assembly*. The states and degrees of persons that are present at their Parliaments, are these in order. First, the Emperour himselfe. Secondly, some of his Nobility, about the number of twenty, being all of his Councell. Thirdly, certaine of the Cleergy-men, &c. about the same number. As for Burghers, or other to represent the Commonalty, they haue no place there: the people being of no better account with them, then as seruants or bondslaves, that are to obey, not to make lawes, nor to know any thing of publick matters, before they are concluded.

The Court of Parliament (called *Zabore*) is held in this manner. The Emperour causeth to be summoned such of his Nobility, as himselfe thinketh meete, being (as was said) all of his Councell: together with the Patriarch, who calleth his Cleergy, to wit, the two Metropolitans, the two Archbishops, with such Bishops, Abbots, and Fryars, as are of best account and reputation among them. When they are all assembled at the Emperours Court, the day is intimated when the Session shall

begin. Which commonly is vpon Friday, for the religion of that day.

When the day is come, the Cleergy-men assemble before, at the time & place appointed, which is called the *Stoly*. And when the Emperour cometh attended by his Nobility, they arise all, and meete him in an out-roome, following their Patriarch, who blesteth the Emperour with his two fore-fingers, laying them on his forehead, and the sides of his face, & then kisseth him on the right side of his breast. So they passe on into their Parliament house, where they sit in this order. The Emperour is enthronized on the one side of the Chamber. In the next place, not farre from him, at a small square Table (that giueth room to twelve persons or thereabouts) sitteth the Patriarch, with the Metropolitans and Bishops, & certaine of the principall Nobility of the Emperours Councell, together with two Diacks or Secretaries (called *Dumoy Dyakey*) that enact that which passeth. The rest place themselves on Benches round about the Roome, euery man in his rank after his degree. Then is there propounded by one of the Secretaries (who representeth the Speaker) the cause of their assembly, and the principall matters that they are to consider of. For, to propound bills, what euery man thinketh good for the publick benefit (as in other Countries is vsed) the *Russe* Parliament alloweth no such custome, nor liberty to subiects.

The points being opened, the Patriarch (with his Cleergy-men) haue the prerogative, to be first asked their vote, or opinion, what they thinke of the pointes propounded by the Secretary. Where to they answer in order, according to their degrees, but all in one forme, without any discourse: as hauing learned their Lesson before, that serueth their turnes at all Parliaments alike, whatsoeuer is propounded. Commonly it is to this effect. *That the Emperour and his Councell are of great wisdom, and experience, touching the policies and publick affaires of the Realme, and farre better able to iudge what is profitable for the Common-wealth, then they are, which attend vpon the service of God onely, and masters of Religion. And therefore it may please them to proceede. That instead of their aduise they will aide them with their prayers, as their duties*

The place of meeting for the assembly.

Their manner of sitting in Parliament.

Their discourse at Parliament.

The effect of the speech propounded.

The Emperour's power or ueritie.

Of appeales and pardon in criminal cases.

The Emperour's free pardon.

The manner of holding their Parliaments.

No common in Parliament.

The order of the summons or assembling.

ties and vocations, do require. *For* To this or like effect, hauing made their answer euery man in his court, vpon sundry some Abbot, or Fryar, more bold then the rest (yet appointed before hand, as a matter of forme) and desirous the Emperour should please his Majesty, to command to be deliuered vnto them, what his Majesties owne iudgements, and determinate pleasure is, as touching those matters propounded by his *Dumoy*. *Where* Vnto them, replied by the said Secretary, in the Emperours name, *That by His Highnesse, with the aid of his Noble Councell (upon good and sound aduise) heere found the matters propounded, to bee very good and necessary for the Common-wealth, of his Realme.* *Notwithstanding* *forasmuch as they are religious men, and know what is right, his Majesty requireth their good opinions, yea and their censures too, for the approving or correcting of the said propositions. And therefore desireth them againe, to speake their mindes freely. And if they shall like to giue their consents, that then the matters may passe to a full conclusion.*

Hereunto, when the Cleergy-men haue giuen their consents (which they vse to do, without any great pausing) they take their leaues, with blessing of the Emperour: who bringeth the Patriarch on his way so farre as the next Roome, and so returneth to his seat, till all be made ready for his returne homeward. The Actes that thus are passed by the *Zabore* or Parliament, the *Diacks* or Secretaries draw into a forme of Proclamation, which they send abroad into euery Province, & headtowne of the Realme, to bee published there, by the Dukes & *Diacks*, or Secretaries of those places. The Session of Parliament being fully ended; the Emperour inviteth the Cleergy-men to a solemne Dinner. And so they depart euery man to his home.

The degrees of persons or estates of *Russe* (besides the Soueraigne State or Emperour himselfe) are these in order. First, the Nobility which is of four sorts. Whereof the chiefe for birth, authority, and reuennue, are called the *Vdelny Knazes*, that is, the exempt or priuiledged Dukes. These hold sometimes a seuerall iurisdiction, and absolute authority within their Precincts, much like vnto the States or Nobles of Germany. But after-

wards (reseruing their rights vpon composition) they yielded themselves to this house of *Russe*, when it began to waxe mighty, and to enlarge itselfe by ouermastering their neighbours. Onely they were bound to serue the Emperour in his warres, with a certaine number of horse. This the late Emperour *Iuan Paskowich*, Father to this Prince, being a man of high spirit, and subtle in his kinde, meaning to reduce his gouernment into a more strict forme; began by degrees, to slip off their greatness, and to bring it downe to a lesser proportion: till in the ende, he made them not onely his vassals, but his *Soldiers*, that is, his very villians or bond-slaves, for so they terme & wise themselves in any publick instrument or appropriate petition which they make to the Emperour. So that now they hold their authorities, lands, liues and all at the Emperours pleasure, as the rest do.

The manner and practice whereby he wrought this to effect, against those, and either of the Nobility (so well as I could note out of the report of his doings) were these, and such like. First, hee cast priuate emulation among them, about prelatiue of their Titles and Dignities. Wherein he vied to see, on the Inferiours, to preferre or equal themselves to those, that were accounted to be of the Nobler house. Where hee made his aduantage of their mallice and contentions, the one against the other, by receiving deuised matter, and accusations of secret practise and conspiracies, to bee intended against his person and state. And so, hauing singled out the greatest of them, and cut them off, with the good liking of the rest; hee fell at last to open practise, by forcing of the other to yeeld their rights vnto him.

2. He diuided his subiects into two parts or Factions by a generall schisme. The one part he called the *Oppressini* or *Seleit men*. These were such of the Nobility and Gentry, as hee tooke to his owne part, to protect, and maintaine them as his faithful subiects. The other hee called *Zemsky*, or the *Commons*. The *Zemsky* contained the base and vulgar sort, with such Noblemen and Gentlemen as he meant to cut off, as suspected to mislike his gouernment, and to haue a meaning to practise against him. Wherein hee provided that the *Oppressini*, for num-

The cunning of the late Emperour.

The Emperours practise and proceeding against both the Factions.

The Faction of Oppressini and Zemsky, deuiled by the Emperour.

Of the Nobility, and by what means it is kept in vnder proportion, as becometh to this State.

ber and quality of valour, money, armor, &c. far exceeded the other of the *Zemsky* side, whom he put (as it were) from vnder his protection: so that if any of the *Oppressins* (which he accounted of his owne part) there was no amends to be sought for, by way of publike iustice, or by compellment to the Emperor.

The distinguishing of the *Oppressins* & *Zemsky* each from other.

The reason of this cruell practise.

The whole number of both parts was orderly registred and kept in a Booke: so that every man knew, who was a *Zemsky* man, and who of the *Oppressins*. And this liberty of the one part, to poyse and kill the other, without any helpe of Magistrate, or law (that continued seuen years) enriched that side and the Emperors treasury, and wrought that withall, which hee intended by this practise, viz. to take out of the way, such of the Nobility, as himselfe misliked: wherof were thaine (within one weeke) to the number of three hundred within the City of *Mosko*. This tyrannicall practise, of making a generall Schisme, and publike diuision among the subjects of his whole Realme, proceeded (as should seeme) from an extreme doubt, and desperate feare, which he had conceived of most of his Nobility, and Gentlemen of his Realme, in his warres with the *Polonian* and *Chrim Tartars*. What time he grew into a vehement suspicion (conceined of the ill successe of his Affaires) that they practised treason with the *Polonian* and *Chrim*. Whereupon he executed some, and deuised this way to be rid of the rest.

And this wicked pollicy and tyrannous practise (though now it be ceased) hath so troubled that Country, and filled it so full of grudge and mortall hatred ever since, that it will not bee quenched (as it seemeth now) till it burne againe into a ciuill flame.

3 Having thus pulled them, and sealed all their inheritance, lands, priuiledges, &c. (as some very small part, which he left to their name; he gaue them other lands of the tenour of *Pomestimo*) (as they call it) that are held at the Emperors pleasure, lying farre off in another Country, and so removed them into another of his Provinces, where they might haue neyther fauour, nor authority, nor being native nor well knowne there. So that now these of the chiefe Nobility (called *Vdel-*

Lands helde at the Emperors pleasure.

Any Knez are equalled with the rest: as far in the opinion and fauor of the people they are of more account, and keepe still the prerogative of their place, in all their publike meetings) do but keepe their practise to keepe downe these houses from rising againe, and recouering their dignities, are these of such like. With many of their heyres are kept vnmarrried, forsooke, that the stock may dye with them. Some are sent into *Mosko*, *Cakara* and *Stratan*, vnder pretence of service, & there either made away, or selfe slayd. Some are put into Abbeyes, and there themselves (Fryars by pretence) are vowed to be made voluntary, and of their owne accord, but indeede forced vnto it by fear, vpon some pretence of being obiects against them. Whereto they are so-garded by some of speciall trust, and the Couent it selfe (vpon whose head it standeth, that they make no escape) as that they haue no other hope, but to end their liues there. Of this kinde, there are many of very great Nobility.

Houses kept downe from rising and recouering their Dignity.

Many of the Nobility secretly & treacherously made away.

Notes of the persons made among them.

These and such like wayes (begun by the Emperor *Iuan Pishlounsky*) are still practised by the *Godmoes*, who being adiuuiced by the mariage of the Emperesse their kinswoman, rule both the Emperor, and his Realme, (specially *Borris Federowich Godmoes*, brother to the Emperesse) & endeavour by all meanes to cut off, or keepe downe all of the best and auncientest Nobility. Whereof diuers already they haue taken away, whom they thought likeliest to make head against them, and to hinder their purpose; as *Knez Andreus Guraken Bulgatkeue*, a man of great birth and authority in the Country. The like they haue done with *Peter Gollamni* (who they put into a dungeon where hee ended his life) with *Knez Vasilie Prishich Gollouhen*, with *Andrieu Iuanowich Suskey*, accounted among them for a man of great wisdom. So this last year was killed in a Monastery, (whether they had thrust him) on *Knez Iuan Petrowich Suskey*, a man of great valour, and seruice in that Country: who about five or sixe yeares since, bare out the fledge of the City *Polsko*, made by *Stepan Batore King of Polonia*, with one hundred thousand men, and repulsed him very valiantly, with great honour to himselfe and his Country, & disgrace to the *Polonian*. Also *Michea Romanowich*,

manowich, Vnckle to the Emperor by the Mothers side, was supposed to haue died of poyson, or some such like practise.

Names of the greatest houses of the *Rusky* Nobility.

The names of these Families of greatest Nobility, are these in their order. The first is of *Knez Volodemir*, which resteth at this time in one daughter a widow, and without childre (mentioned before) sometime Wife to *Hartock Magnus*, brother to the King of *Denmarke*, now closed within a Nunnery. The second *Knez Metheleskey*, thrust into a Friery, and his onely sonne kept from marriage, to decay the house. The third *Glimskoy*: but one left of his house, and he without children, saue one daughter. The fourth *Suskey*, wherof there are foure brethren young men, and vnmarried all. The fifth *Hubetskey*. Of this house are foure liuing. The sixth *Bulgatkey*, now called *Guletskey* house, wherof are five liuing, but youths all. The seauenth *Porallinsky*. Two left of that stock. The eight *Odgoskey*. Two. The ninth *Tellerskey*. One. The tenth *Taytoue*. Three. These are the names of the chiefe Families called *Vdelney Knazay*: that in effect haue lost all now, saue the very name it selfe, and fauour of the people, which is like one day to restore them againe, if any be left.

The second degree of Nobility.

The second degree of Nobility, is of the *Boiars*. These are such, as the Emperor honoureth (beside their Nobility) with the Title of Counsellors. The reuenuue of these two sorts of Nobles, that resteth out of their Lands assigned them by the Emperor, and held at his pleasure (for of their owne Inheritance there is little left them, as was said before) is about a thousand marks a yeare: besides a pension which they receive of the Emperor, for their seruice in his wars, to the summe of seuen hundred Rubbels a yeare, and none about that summe.

The authority of the Emperesse, Brother, and his large Inheritances.

But in this number, the Lord *Borris Federowich Godmoes* is not to be reckoned, that is like a *Transfendent*, and in no such predicament with the rest, being the Emperors brother in law, his Protectour for direction; for command and authority Emperor of *Rusia*. His yearly reuenuue (in land and pension) amounteth to the summe of 93700. Rubbels and more, as appeareth by the particulars. He hath of inheritance (which himselfe hath augmented in *Vasna Dorogobose*, fixe thou-

sand Rubbels a yeare. For his Office of *Connick*, or Master of the Horse, twelue thousand Rubbels, or Marks, raised out of the *Camassue Slobodas*, or the liberties pertaining to that Office, which are certaine Lands and Townes nere about the *Mosko*. Besides, all the Meadow and Pasture ground on both sides the banke of the river *Mosko*, thirty verst vp the streame, and forty verst downwards. For his pension of the Emperour (besides the other for his Office) fifty thousand Rubbels. Out of the Province or Shire of *Vagha*, there is giuen him for a peculiar (exempted out of the *Chetird of Pofolsky*, two & thirty thousand Rubbels, beside a rent of Furs. Out of *Rezan* and *Sener*, (another peculiar) thirty thousand Rubbels. Out of *Oifer* and *Turick*, another exempt place, eight thousand Rubbels. For rent of Bath-houses and Bathing-houses without the walles of *Mosko*, fiftene hundred Rubbels. Besides his pomeit, or lands which he holdeth at the Emperours pleasure, which farre exceedeth the proportion of land allotted to the rest of the Nobility.

Allowance for a simple Brother.

One other there is of the house of *Glimsky*, that dispendeth in land and pension, about forty thousand Rubbels yearly. Which he is suffered to enioy, because he hath married *Borris* his Vniues (sister, being himselfe simple, and almost a Natural). The ordering of him & his Lands are committed to *Borris*.

The third sort of Nobility.

In the third rancke are the *Poyanodey*, or such Nobles as are, or haue bene Generals in the Emperours warres. Which deliuer the honour of their Title to their posterities also: who take their place aboue the other Dukes and Nobles, that are not of the two former sorts, viz. of the *Vdelney Knazay*, nor of the *Boiars*.

These three degrees of their Nobility (to wit) the *Vdelney Knazay*, the *Boiars*, and the *Poyanodey* haue the addition of *Vitch*, put vnto their surname as *Borris Federowich*, &c. which is a note of honor, that the rest may not vsurpe. And in case it be not added in the naming of the; they may sue the *Bestscheff*, or penalty of dishonor vpon them, that otherwise shall terme them.

The fourth and lowest degree of Nobility with them, is of such as beare the name of *Knazay* or Dukes, but come of the younger Brothers of those chiefe houses,

The fourth degree of Nobility.

ses, through many descents, and have no inheritance of their owne, save the bare name or title of Duke only. For their order is, to deliver their names and titles of their dignities over to all their Children alike, whatsoever else they leave the. So that the sonnes of a *Voianodey*, or General in the field, are called *Voianodey*, though they never saw the field, and the sonnes of a *Knez* or Duke, are called *Knazey*, though they have not one groat of inheritance or livelihood, to maintain themselves withall. Of this sort there are so many, that the plenty maketh them cheape: so that you shall see Dukes glad to serve a meane man, for five or six rubbels or marks a year; and yet they will stand highly vpon their *Bestscheft* or reputation of their honours. And these are their severall degrees of Nobility.

The second degree of persons, is of their *Sina Boiarskey*, or the sons of Gentlemen: which all are preferred, & hold that name by their service in the Emperours wars, being Soldiers by their very stocke & birth. To which order are referred their Diacks or Secretaries, that serve the Emperor in every head towne, being ioyned in Commission with the Dukes of that place.

The last are their Commons, whom they call *Mosicks*. In which number they reckon their Merchants, and their common Artificers. The very lowest & basest sort of this kinde (which are helde in no degree) are their Country people, whom they call *Christianeis*. Of the *Sina Boiarskey* (which are all Soldiours) we are to see in the description of their Forces, and Military provisions. Concerning their *Mosicks*, what their condition and behaviour is, expect them among the Common people.

The whole Country of *Rusina* (as was said before) is divided into four parts, which they call *Chetfirds*, or *Tetrarchies*. Every *Chetfird* containeth divers Shires, and is annexed to a severall Office, whereof it takes the name.

The first *Chetfird* or *Tetrarchy* beareth the name of *Foskoskey Chetfird*, or the Jurisdiction of the Office of Ambassadors, and at this time is vnder the chiefe Secretary & Officer of the Ambassadors, called *Andreas Shalalone*. The standing fee or stipend that he receiveth yearly of the Emperor for this service, is one hundred

rubbels or marks.

The second is called the *Rosferadney Chetfird*, because it is proper to the *Rosferade* or high Constable. At this time it pertaineth (by vertue of Office) to *Bassile Shalalone*, brother to the Chancellor; but it is executed by one *Zapon Abramov*. His pension is an hundred rubbels yearly.

The third is the *Chetfird of Pomesiny*, as pertaining to that Office. This keepeth a Register of all Lands given by the Emperor for service, to his Noblemen, Gentlemen, & others, he giueth out & taketh in all assurances for them. The Officer at this time is called *Elezazar wellusgine*. His stipend is 500. rubbels a year.

The fourth is called *Cassanskey Dworetz*, as being appropriate to the Office that hath the jurisdiction of the kingdomes of *Cazan* and *Astracan*, with the other towns lying vpon the *Volga*, now ordered by one *Druzhine Penieleone*, a man of very speciall account among the, for his wisdom, and promptnesse in matters of policy. His pension is 150. rubbels a year.

From these *Chetfirds* or *Tetrarchies*, is exempted the Emperours inheritance or *Vochin* (as they call it) for that it pertaineth (from ancient time) to the house of *Beals*, which is the true name of the Imperiall blood. This standeth of 36. Townes with their bounds or territories. Besides diuers peculiar jurisdictions, which are likewise deducted out of those *Chetfirds*, as the Shire of *Pagha* (belonging to the Lord *Borris Federowich Godonoe*) and such like.

These are the chiefe Governors or Officers of the Prouinces, not resident at their charge abroad, but attending the Emperor wherefoever he goeth, and carrying their Offices about with the, which for the most part they hold at *Mosko*, as the Emperours chiefe Seare.

The parts and practise of these four Offices, is to receive all complaints and actions whatsoever, that are brought out of their severall *Chetfirds* and quarters, & to informe them to the Emperours Counsell. Likewise to send direction againe to those that are vnder them in their saide Prouinces, for all matters given in charge by the Emperor and his Counsell, to be done or put in execution within their Precincts.

For the ordering of every particular Prouince of these four *Chetfirds*, there is appointed

The second.

The third.

The fourth.

Exemption on the Emperours behalf

The matter concerning the four Offices.

The second degree of persons.

The third degree.

Of the government of their Prouinces & Shires.

The four *Chetfirds*, and their Offices.

Dukes there, is but a mean degree in Nobility.

The Commission of the Dukes or Presidents of Shires.

For criminall matters and such occasions

Order for proclamation and other matters.

appointed one of these Dukes; which were reckoned before in the lowest degree of their Nobility, and which are resident in the head townes of the said Prouinces. Whereof every one hath ioyned with him in Commission, a Dyack or Secretary, to assist him, or rather to direct him. For in the executing of their Commission, the Dyack doth all.

The parts of their Commission are these in effect. First, to heare and determine in all ciuill matters within their Precinct. To which purpose, they haue vnder them certaine Officers, as *Gubney Starets*, or Coroners, who, besides the tryall of selfe-murders, are to attach Fellons: and the *Soudia* or vnder-Iustices, who themselves also may heare and determine in all matters of the same nature, among the Country people of their owne Wards or Bayliwicks: but so, that in case either party dissent, they may appeale, and goe farther to the Duke & Dyack, that reside within the head towne. From whom also, they may remove the matter to the higher Court at *Mosko*, of the Emperours Counsell, where lie all appeales. They haue vnder them also *Sotskey Starets*, that is, Aldermen or Bailiffs of the hundredes.

Secondly, in all criminall matters, as theft, murder, treason, &c. they haue authority to apprehend, to examine, and to imprison the malefactor, & so having received perfect evidence and information of the cause, they are to send it (ready drawne and orderly digested) vp to the *Mosko*, to the officer of the *Chetfird* whereunto that Prouince is annexed: by whom it is referred and propounded to the Emperours Counsell. But to determine in any matter criminall, or to do execution vpon the party offending; is more then their Commission will allow them to do.

Thirdly, if there bee any publike service to be done within that Prouince, (as the publishing of any Law, or common order, by way of Proclamation, collecting of taxes, and impositions for the Emperour, mustering of Soldiours, and sending them forth at the day, and to the place assigned by the Emperour or his Counsell) all these and such like, pertaine vnto their charge.

These Dukes and Dyacks are appointed to their place by the Emperour himselfe, and are changed ordinarily at every

years end; except vpon some speciall liking or suit, the time be prolonged for a year or two more. They are men of the felices of no credite, nor fauour with the people, where they gouerne, being neither borne, nor brought vp among them, nor yet hauing inheritance of their owne there, or elsewhere. Onely of the Emperour they haue for that service, an hundred Marks a year he that hath most, some 50. some but 30. Which maketh them more suspected and odious to the people, because being so bare, and comming fresh and hungry vpon them; lightly every year they racke and spoile them, without all regard of iustice, or conscience. Which is easily tolerated by the chiefe Officers of the *Chetfirds*, to the end they may rob them againe, & haue a better booty when they call them to account: which commonly they do at the end of their service, making an advantage of their iniustice, & oppression ouer the poore people. There are few of them, but they come to the *Rudkey* or whippe when their time is ended, which themselves (for the most part) do make account of. And therefore they furnish themselves, with all the spoile they can for the time of their gouernment; that they may haue for both turnes, as well for the Emperor, and Lord of the *Chetfird*, as to reserve some good part for themselves.

They that are appointed to gouerne abroad, are men of this quality: saue that in the four border Townes (that are of greatest importance) are set men of more speciall valor & trust, two in every towne. Whereof one is cuer of the Emperours priuy Counsell. These 4. border Townes, are *Smolensko*, *Polsko*, *Nouograd*, & *Cazan*, whereof three lie towards the *Polonian* & *Sweaden*, one bordereth farre off vpon the *Chrim Tartar*. These haue larger Commission, then the other Dukes of the Prouinces that I spake of before, and may do execution in criminall matters. Which is thought behoouefull for the Commonwealth: for incident occasions that may happen vpon the borders, that are far off, and may not stay for direction, about every occurrent and particular matter from the Emperor and his Counsell. They are changed every year (except as before) and haue for their stipend, 700. rubbels a year he that hath most: some haue but four hundred rubbels. Many of these

places,

Concerning the Dukes & Dyacks, and their credite.

Heere one theefe robbeth another, and careth for no punishment.

Officers for the four bordering townes

The four border townes

The yearly stipend of these Officers

places, that are of greatest importance, and almost the whole Country, is managed (at this time) by the *Godanoes* & their Clients.

The City of *Mosko* (that is the Emperors seat) is governed altogether by the Emperors Council. All matters there (both ciuill and criminal) are heard and determined in the severall Courts, helde by some of the said Council, that reside there all the yeare long.

The government of Mosko.

Onely for their ordinary matters (as buildings, reparations, keeping of their streets decent and cleane, collections, leuying of taxes, impositions & such like) are appointed two Gentlemen, and two Dyacks or Secretaries, who hold a Court together for the ordering of such matters. This is called the *Zemsky* house. If any towns-man suspect his servant of theft or like matter, hither he may bring him, to have him examined upon the *Padkey*, or other torture. Besides these two Gentlemen and Secretaries, that order the whole City, there are *Starists* or Aldermen for every severall Company. The Alderman hath his *Sotskey* or Constable, & the Constable hath certaine *Decetskeis* or Decurions under him, which have the oversight of ten householders a peece, whereby every disorder is sooner spide, and the common service hath the quicker dispatch. The whole number of Citizens (poore and rich) are reduced into Companies. The chiefe Officers (as the Dyacks & Gentlemen) are appointed by the Emperor himselfe, the *Starist* by the Gentlemen & Dyacks, the *Sotskey* by the *Starist* or Alderman, & the *Decetskeis* by the Constables.

This manner of government of their Provinces and Townes, if it were aswell set for the giving of iustice indifferently to all sorts, as it is to prevent innovations, by keeping of the Nobility within order, and the Commons in subjection; it might seeme (in that kinde) to bee no bad, nor vnpolitique way, for the containing of so large a Common-wealth, of that breadth and length as is the Kingdome of *Russia*. But the oppression and slavery is so open, and so great, that a man would marvel, how the Nobility & people should suffer themselves to be brought vnder it; while they had any meanes to auoid and repulse it: or being so strengthened as it is at this present, how the Emperors themselves can

be content to practise the same, with so open iniustice & oppression of their subjects, being themselves of a Christian profession.

By this it appeareth, how hard a matter it were, to alter the state of the *Ruffe* Government, as now it standeth. First, because they haue none of the Nobility able to make head. As for the Lords of the four *Chetfirds* or *Tetrarchies*, they are men of no Nobility, but Dyacks, advanced by the Emperour, depending on his fauour, & attending onely about his owne person. And for the Dukes that are appointed to gouerne vnder them, they are but men of a titular dignity (as was said before) of no power, authority, nor credit, save that which they haue out of the Office, for the time they enjoy it. Which doth purchase them no fauour, but rather hatred of the people, forasmuch as they see that they are set over the, not so much for any care to do them right and iustice, as to keep them vnder in a miserable subjection, and to take the slesce from them, not once in the yeare (as the owner from the sheepe) but to poule and clip them all the yeare long. Besides, the authority and rule which they beare, is rent and diuided into many small pieces, being diuers of them in euery great Shire, limited besides with a very short time: which giueth the no scope to make any strength, nor to contriue such an enterprize, if haply they intended any matter of inuouation.

As for the common people (as may better appeare in the description of their state and quality afterwards set downe) besides their want of armour and practise of war (which they are kept from of purpose) they are robbed continually both of their hearts and money, (besides other meanes) sometimes by pretence of some service to bee done for the common defence, sometimes without any shew at all, of any necessity of Common-wealth or Prince. So that there is no meanes eyther for Nobility or people, to attempt any inuouation, so long as the Military forces of the Emperour (which are the number of 8000. at the least in continuall pay) hold themselves fast and sure vnto him, & to the present fate. Which needs they must do, being of the quality of Soldiours, and enjoying withall that free liberty, of wronging and spoiling the Commons at their pleasure, which is permitted them

An hard matter to alter the State of Russia.

Duke but a titular dignity

The common people kept from arms and weapons

Agreement of the Soldiours and Commons.

Of the Emperors council.

Boiarsens Counsellors to the Emperour, but differing from his priuy Counsell.

The number and names of the Council of State.

of purpose to make them haue a liking of the present state. As for the agreement of the Soldiours and Commons, it is a thing not to be feared, being of so opposite & contrary practise much one to the other. This desperate state of things at home, maketh the people (for the most part) to wish for some forraigne inuasion, which they suppose to be the onely meanes, to rid them of the heauy yoke of this tyrannous gouernment.

The Emperors of *Russia* giue the name of Counsellor, to diuers of their chiefe Nobility, rather for honours sake, the for any vie they make of the about their matters of state. These are called *Boiarsens*, without any addition, and may be called Counsellors at large. For they are sildom or neuer called to any publike consultation. They which are of his special and priuy Counsell indeed (whom he vseth daily and ordinarily for all publike matters pertaining to the State) haue the addition of *Dumny*, and are named *Dumny Boiarsen*, or Lords of the Council, their Office or sitting, *Boarsina Dumna*.

Their names (at this present) are these in their order. First, *Knez Feodor Ioanowich Meshyslosky*. 2. *Knez Iuan Michailowich Glinkoy*. 3. *Knez Vasilie Iuanowich Suskoy Scopin*. These three are accounted to be of greater birth then wisdome, taken in (as may seeme) for that ende, rather to furnish the place with their honours & presence, then with their aduice or Counsel. 4. *Knez Vasilie Iuanowich Suskoy*, thought to bee more wise then the other of his name. 5. *Knez Feodor Michailowich*. 6. *Knez Micheta Romanowich Trowbetsky*. 7. *Knez Timophy Romanowich Trowbetsky*. 8. *Knez Andriew Gregorowich Curakine*. 9. *Knez Demetrie Iuanowich Forefine*. 10. *Knez Feodor Iuanowich Forefine*. 11. *Bodan Iuanowich Sabarone*. 12. *Knez Iuan Vasilowich*. 13. *Knez Feodor Demetirwih Sheftinoue*. 14. *Knez Feodor Michailowich Troycomoue*. 15. *Iuan Buterlyuey*. 16. *Demetrie Iuanowich Godanoe*. 17. *Boris Federowich Godanoe*, brother to the Empresse. 18. *Stephan Vasilowich Godanoe*. 19. *Gregorie Vasilowich Godanoe*. 20. *Iuan Vasilowich Godanoe*. 21. *Feodor Sheremitoue*. 22. *Andriew Petrowich Clefbenina*. 23. *Ignatie Petrowich Tatiloue*. 24. *Romain Michailowich Pena*. 25. *Demetshy Iuanowich Cheremissen*. 26. *Romain Vasilowich Alferioue*. 27. *Andriew Shalcaloue*.

28. *Vasilie Shalcaloue*. 29. *Elexsar Wellisgin*. 30. *Drezheen Pentelone*. 31. *Zapon Abramoue*.

Four Secretaries.

All matters referred to the Empresse Brother, and sue or sue more.

The Offices of Records.

The foure last of these are called *Dumny Deiakys*, or Lord Secretaries. These are all of the Emperours priuy Counsell, though but few of them are called to any consultation, for that all matters are aduised and determined vpon by *Boris Federowich Godanoe*, Brother to the Empresse; with some five or six more, whom it pleaseth him to call. If they come, they are rather to heare, then to giue counsell, and do to demean themselves. The matters occurrent which are of state, done within the Realme, are informed them (at their fittings) by the Lords of the four *Chetfirds*, or *Tetrarchies*. Whereof mention is made in the Chapter concerning the Government of their Provinces. Who bring in all such letters as they receiue from the Dukes, Dyacks, Captaines, and other Officers of the Cities and Castles, pertaining to their severall quarter or *Chetfird*, with other aduertisements, and informe the Council of them.

The like is done by the chiefe Officer of euery severall Office of Record: who may come into the Council Chamber, & informe them, as occasion incident to his Office doth require. Besides matters of State, they consider of many private causes, informed by way of supplication, in very great numbers. Whereof some they entertaine and determine, as the cause or meanes can procure fauour. Some they send to the Offices whereto they pertain, by common course of Law. Their ordinary daies for their sitting, are Mondais, Wensdaies, and Fridaies. Their time of meeting, is commonly euen a clocke in the morning. If there be any extraordinary occasion, that requieth consultation on some other day, they haue warning by the Clarke of the Council, called *Dorofy Bushew*, who receiueh order from the *Rosera* or high Constable of the Realm, to call them together at the time appointed.

For the receiuing of Customes, & other Rents belonging vnto the Crowne, they are appointed diuers vnder-Officers, which deliuer ouer the same into the head Treasury. The first is the office of *Dwoertsona* or Steward of the household. The second is the Office of the *Chetfirds*:

Of the Emperors Customs and other Reuenues.

Cccc2 which

The Steward receiver of the Crowne land rents.	which I comprehend vnder one, though it be diuided into foure feuerall parts, as was faid before. The third is called <i>Bulsha Prechod</i> , or the great Income.	abroad. The second Office of receipt called the <i>Chetfirds</i> (being diuided into four feuerall parts, as before was faid) hath foure head Officers: which, besides the ordering & gouernement of the Shires, contained within their feuerall <i>Chetfirds</i> ; haue this also as a part of their office, to receiue the <i>Tagla</i> and <i>Podat</i> belonging to the Emperour, that riseth out of the foure <i>Chetfirds</i> or Quarters. The <i>Tagla</i> is a yearly rent or imposition, raised vpon euery <i>Wite</i> or Measure of graine that groweth within the Land, gathered by sworn men, and brought into the Office. The <i>Wite</i> containeth 60. <i>Chetfirds</i> . Euery <i>Chetfird</i> is three common bushells, or little less. The <i>Podat</i> is an ordinary rent of money, imposed vpon euery Soake, or Hundred within the whole Realme.
The Tenant of the Crowne and their rent.	As touching the first, which is the Office of the Steward, it receiueh all the Rents of the Emperours Inheritance, or Crowne Land, which they call <i>Pochin</i> . The <i>Pochin</i> or Crowne land, containeth in it 36. Townes, with the Territories or Hundreds belonging vnto them. Whereof the chiefe that yeeld the greatest rents, are these: <i>Alexandrisca, Corelskey, Otser, Slobodey, Danielska, Maifalskoy, Chura, Sametska, Strararoufe, Branfoue, &c.</i> The Inhabitants or Tenants of these and the other Townes, pay some rent-money, some other rent duties (called <i>Obrokey</i>) as certain <i>Chetfirds</i> , or measures of Graine, Wheate, Rye, Barley, Oates, &c. or of other victuall, as Oxen, Sheepe, Swans, Geese, Hares, Hennes, wilde Fowle, Fish, Hay, Wood, Honey, &c. Some are bound to fowe for the Emperours prouision, certain Akers of ground, and to make the Corne ready for his vse: hauing for it an allowance of certain Akers of ground for their owne proper vse.	The Office of Chetfird. Tagla & Podat, and how they are distinguished.
Prouision for the Household.	This prouision for the household, specially of graine serued in by the Tenants, is a great deale more then is spent in his house, for in other allowance serued out in luery, or for the Emperours honour, called <i>Schalananey</i> : for which vse there is bestowed very much, both in graine, and other victuall. This surplus of prouision is sold by the Steward to the best hand, and runneth into the Emperours treasury.	Sums of money raised by Tagla and Podat yearly.
Difference of the Father & Sons times for prouision.	In the time of <i>Iuan Vasiluich</i> , Father to this Emperour (who kept a more Princely and bountifull house then the Emperour now doth) this ouerplus of graine, and other Incomes into the Stewards Office, yeilded to his Treasury, not past 60. thousand rubbels yearly; but riseth now by good husbanding of the Steward <i>Gregory Pafiluich Godelme</i> , to 230. thousand rubbels a year. And this by the meanes of the Emperesse, and her kindred, specially (<i>Boris Federuich Godelme</i>) that account it all their owne, that runneth into the Emperours treasure. Much of this surpluse that riseth out of the rent prouision, is employed to the payment of the wages of his household Officers, which are very many attending at home, and purueying	The Office of Bulsha Prechod, or great Income.

The Emperours customes in their places	rated precisely, what they shall pay for the custome of the year. Which needs must be paid into the said Office, though they receiue not so much. If it fall out to be more, it runneth all into the Emperours aduantage.	The Office of Raisbonia.
The whole receipt of the Bulsha Prechod, or great Income.	The custome at <i>Mosko</i> for euery year, is 12000. rubbels. The custome of <i>Smolensko</i> , 8000. rubbels. <i>Volsko</i> , 12000. rubbels. <i>Novograd velika</i> , 6000. rubbels. <i>Stararoufe</i> , by salt and other commodities, 18000. rubbels. <i>Torbock</i> 800. rubbels. <i>Osfer</i> 700. rubbels. <i>Taruslane</i> 1200. rubbels. <i>Castrume</i> 1800. rubbels. <i>Nesna Novograd</i> , 7000. rubbels. <i>Cazan</i> 11000. rubbels. <i>Vologda</i> 2000. rubbels. The custome of the rest that are Townes of trade, is sometimes more, sometimes lesse, as their trafficke and dealings with commodities too and fro, falleth out for the year.	The Office of Raisbonia.
Rent of the Bath houses	This may be said for certaine, that the three tables of receipts, belonging to this Office of <i>Bulsha Prechod</i> , wher they receiue least, account for thus much, viz. The first table 160000. rubbels. The second table 90000. rubbels. The third 70000. rubbels. So that there cometh into the Office of <i>Bulsha Prechod</i> , at the least reckoning, as appeareth by their Bookes of Customes) out of these and other Townes, & maketh the sum of 340000. rubbels a year. Besides this custome out of the townes of trade, there is receiued by this Office of <i>Bulsha Prechod</i> , the yearly rent of the common Bath-houses, and Cabacks or drinking houses, which pertaine to the Emperour. Which (though it be vncertaine for the iust summe, yet because it is certaine and an ordinary matter, that the <i>Raffe</i> will bathe himselfe aswell within as without) yeeldeth a large Rent to the Emperours Treasury.	The Office of Raisbonia.
Rent out of the Iudiciall Office.	There is besides, a certaine mulct, or penalty, that groweth to the Emperour out of euery iudgement, or sentence that passeth in any of his Courts of Record in all ciuill matters. This penalty, or mulct is twenty <i>Dingues</i> or pence, vpon euery rubble or marke, and so tenne in the hundred. Which is paid by the party that is comitt by law. Hee hath, besides for euery name, contained in the <i>Writ</i> that passeth out of these Courts, two <i>Alceen</i> and <i>Alceen</i> is five pence sterling, or thereabouts. This is made good, out of the Office, whence the <i>Writ</i> is taken forth.	The Office of Raisbonia.

The Emperors treasure-house within his Castle of Mosko.

All these Offices, to wit, the Office of the Steward, the four *Chetfirds*, and the *Bulbas Preboud*, deliver in their receipts to the head treasury, that lyeth within the Emperours house or Castle at the *Mosko*. Where lye all his monies, jewels, crowns, scepters, plate, and such like, the chests, hutches, and bagges being signed by the Emperours themselves with their owne Seale. Though (at this time) the Lord *Borriu Federowich Godanoe*, his Seale and oversight supplieth for the Emperour, as in all other things. The vnder-Officer at this time, is one *Stepan Vasilowich Godanoe*, Cousin-germane to the said *Borriu*, who hath two Clerks allowed to serue vnder him in the Office.

The sum of the Emperors rent-money.

The summe that groweth to the Emperours treasury in money only, for every year.

1. Out of the Stewards Office above the expence of his house 230000. Rubbels.
2. Out of the four *Chetfirds* for sake and head money, 400000. Rubbels.
3. Out of the *Bulbas Preboud Office*, or great Income, for custome, and other rents, 800000. Rubbels.

Summe: 1430000. Rubbels deere, besides all charges for his house, & ordinary salaries of his foldours otherwise discharged.

His yearly benefit by Furs and other duties.

But besides this reuenue, that is paid all in money to the Emperours Treasury, he receiveth yearly in Furs, and other duties to a great value, out of *Siberia*, *Petchora*, *Permia*, and other places, which are solde or batted away for some forraigne commodities, to the *Turks*, *Persians*, *Armenians*, *Georgians* and *Bouharians* Merchants, that trade within his Countreys, besides others of Christendome. What it maketh in the whole (though the value cannot be set downe precisely, as being a thing casual, as the commodity may be got) it may be guessed, by that which was gathered the last yeare out of *Siberia* for the Emperours custome, viz. 466. timber of Sables, fine timber of Matrones, 180. blacke Foxes, besides other commodities.

Of furs, confiscations, & impositions on Monasteries, &c.

To these may be added their seizures, and confiscations vpon such as are in displeasure, which rise to a great summe. Besides other their extraordinary impositions,

and exactions done vpon their Officers, Monasteries, &c. nor for any apparent necessity or vse of the Prince or Common-wealth, but of will and custome: yet with some pretence of a *Scythian*, that is, grosse and barbarous policy (as may appeare) by these few *Sophismata*, or counterfeit policies, put in practise by the emperours of *Russia*, all tending to this end, to rob their people, and to enrich their Treasury. To this purpose this by-word was vsed by the late Emperour *Iuan Vasilowich*: That his people were like to his beard. The officer shauen the thicker it would grow. Or like sheepe, that must needs bee shorne once a yeare at the least: to keepe them from being over-laden with their Wool.

Meanes used to draw the wealth of the Land into the Emperours Treasury.



First.

TO prevent no extortions, exactions, or bribes whatsoeuer, done vpon the Commons by their Dukes, Diacks, or other Officers in their Prouinces; but to suffer them to go on till their time be expired, and to sueke themselves full. Then to call them to the *Praueish* (or whip) for their behavior, and to beate out of them all, or the most part of the booty, (as the Hony from the Bee) which they haue wring from the Commons; and to turne it into the Emperours Treasury, but neuer any thing back againe to the right owners, how great or euident soeuer the injury be. To this end the needy Dukes, and Diacks, that are sent into their Prouinces, serue the turne very well, being changed so often (to wit) once a yeare: where, in respect of their owne, and the quality of the people (as before was said) they might bee continued for little longer time, without all feare of intiguation. For comming still fresh vpon the Commons, they sueke more eagerly: like *Thierius* the Emperours eyes, that came new still vpon all olde fores. To whom he was wont to compare his *Pratirs*; and other prouinciall Officers.

The whip or dayned for all deniers or confellers.

Secondly,

Secondly.

TO make of these Officers (that haue robbed their people) sometimes a publique example, if any be more notorious then the rest; that the Emperour may seeme to dislike the oppressions done to his people, and transerre the fault to his ill Officers.

As among diuers other, was done by the late Emperour *Iuan Vasilowich*, to a Diack in one of his Prouinces; that besides many other extortions and bribes (had taken a Goose ready dressed full of money. The man was brought to the market place in *Mosko*. The Emperour himselfe present, made an Oration: These good people are they, that would eate you vpp like bread, &c. Then asked he his *Polachies* or executioners, who could cut vp a Goose? and commanded one of them first to cut off his legges, about the middlest of the shinne, then his armes about his elbowes (demanding of him still, if Goose flesh were good meate) in the end to choppe off his head: that he might haue the right fashion of a Goose ready dressed. This might seeme to haue bene a tollerable peece of Iustice (as Iustice goeth in *Russia*) except his subtil end, to couer his owne oppressions.

A Goose ready dressed full of money for a bribe.

Cutting vp of a Goose.

An unning coiner for taxations.

Superstitious charitable and bounde given to Monasteries to a polite end.

Thirdly.

TO make an open shew of want, when any great taxe, or imposition is to wardes. As was done by this Emperour *Theodore Iuanowich*, by the aduise of some about him, even at the beginning of his reigne: when being left very rich (as it was thought) by his father, he folde the most of his plate, and stamped some into boynes, that he might seeme to want money. Whereupon presently out came a taxation.

Fourthly.

TO suffer their subiects to giue freely to the Monasteries (which for their superstition very many do especially in their last Wills) and to lay vp their money and substance in them, to keepe it more safe. Which all is permitted them without any restraint or prouiso, as was and is in some Countreys of Christendome. Wherby their Monasteries grow to exceeding great wealth. This they doe, to

haue the money of the Realme better stored together, and more ready for their hand, when they list to take it. Which many times is doone without any noyse: the Fryers being content, rather to part from somewhat (as the encrease groweth) then to loofe all at once. Which they were made to doubt of in the other Emperours dayes.

To this end *Iuan Vasilowich*, late Emperour vsed a very strange practise; that few Princes would haue doone in their greatest extremities. Hee resigned his kingdom to one *Felica Kues Simeon*, the Emperours sonne of *Cazan*: as though he meant to draw himselfe from all publike doings, to a quiet priuate life. Towards the end of the yeare, he caused this new King to call in all Charters granted to Bishopricks and Monasteries, which they had enioyed many hundred yeares before. Which were all cancelled. This done, (as in dislike of the fact, and of the misgouernement of the new King) he resumed his Scepter, and so was content (as in fauour vnto the Church and Religious men) that they should renew their Charters, and take them of himselfe: reseruing and annexing to the Crowne so much of their Lands, as himselfe thought good.

By this practise, he wrang from the Bishopricks, and Monasteries (besides the lands which he annexed to the Crowne) an huge masse of money, from some forty, from some fifty, from some an hundred thousand rubbels. And this, as well for the inteease of his treasure, as to abate the euill opinion of his hard gouernment, by a shew of worse in another man. Wherein his strange spirit is to be noted, that being hated of his Subiects (as himselfe knew well enough) yet would adienture such a practise, to set an other in his saddle, that might haue ridde away with his horse, whilst himselfe walked by on foote.

A strange practise to get money.

Such a practise as hath beene foldome heard of.

Fifthly.

TO send their messengers into the prouinces, or Shires where the speciall commodities of their countrey grow: as furs, wake, hony, &c. There to foretell and ingrosse, sometimes one whole commodity, sometime two, or more, taking them at small prices what themselves list, and selling them againe at an excessive

Foretelling and engrossing commodities in a strange manner.

rate

rate to their owne Marchants, and vnto Marchants strangers. If they shall refuse to buy them, then to enforce them vnto it.

The like is doone when any commodity, eyther natiue, or forreine (as cloth of golde, broad-cloth, &c.) thus engrossed by the Emperour, and receiued into his Treasurie, chaunceth to decay, or marre by long lying, or some other casualty. Which is forced vpon the marchants, to bee bought by them at the Emperours price, whether they will, or no.

Not long since was engrossed all the Waxe of the Countrey; so that no man might deal with that commodity, but the Emperour onely.

Sixthly.

TO take vp and engrosse (in like sort) sometime forreine commodities (as Silkes, Cloth, Lead, Pearle, &c.) brought into his kingdome by Turkish marchants, Armenians, Bougharians, Poles, English, and others. And then to force his Marchants; to buy them of his Officers at his owne price.

Seauenthly.

TO make a Monopolly (for the time) of such commodities as are payed him for Rent, or Custome, and to inhance the price of them, as Furrer, Cotne, Wood, &c. What time, none must sell of the same kinde of commodity, vntill the Emperours be all sold. By this meane hee maketh of his Rent, Corn, and other production of victuall (as before was sayd) about two hundred thousand rubbels or more a year. Of his Rent, Wood, Hay &c. thirtie thousand rubbels, or thereabouts.

Eighthly.

In euery great Towne of his Realme, he hath a Caback, or drinking house, where *Aqua vite* is sold (which they call *Russine, Mead, Beere, &c.*) Out of these he receiueh Rent, that amounteth to a great summe of money. Some yeeld sight hundred, some pine hundred, some a thousand, some two thousand, or three thousand rubbels a year. Wherin, besides the safe and dishonorable meane to encrease his Treasurie, many foule faultes are committed.

The poore labouring man and Attificer, many times spends all from his wife, and children. Some vnto lay in twenty, thirty, forty rubbels, or more into the Caback, and vowe themselves to the pot, till all that be spent. And all this (as hee will say) is for the honour of *Hopodare*, or the Emperour. You shall haue many there, that haue drunke all away euen to the very skinn, or to walke naked (whome they call *Naga*.) While they are in the Caback, none may call them forth, whatsoeuer cause there be; because he hindereth the Emperours reuenue.

Ninthly.

TO cause some of his *Boiars*, or Nobles of his Court, (whom he vseth vpon trust) that haue houses in the *Mosca*, to faile themselves robbed. Then to send for the *Zemsky* men, or Aldermen of the City, and to command them to finde out the robbery. In default of not finding it, to prauce or fesse the Citie for their misgouernement in eight thousand, nine thousand, or tenne thousand rubbels at a time. This many times is and hath bene practiced.

Tenthly.

IN these exactions, to shew their foueraignie, sometime they vse very plaine, and yet strange cauillations. As was that of *Iuan Vasilowich*, father to this Emperour, after this sort. He sent into *Permia* for certaine loads of Cedar wood, whereof he knew right well, that none grew in that Countrey. The Inhabitants returned answer; they could find none there. Whereupon he ceased their Countrey in a whole thousand rubbels; as if they concealed the commodity of purpose. Againe, he sent to the Citie of *Mosca* to provide for him a *Colpacke*, or measure full of lue Fleas, for a medicine. They returned answer, that the thing was impossible. And if they could get them, yet they could not measure them, for leaping out. Whereupon, hee praued or beat out of their thinnes, seuen thousand rubbels for a mule.

By like cauillation, hee extorted from his Nobilitie thirtie thousand rubbels, because he missed of his game; when hee went a hunting for the Hare: as if they hunting and murdering of Hares had bin the

Drinking for the Emperours honour.

Presence of robbery to another end.

Exactions countenanced by power and authority.

A bushell of lue Fleas.

Of the state of the Countrey, or vulgar sort of people, in the Countrey of Russia.

The feruile & miserable condition of the Russie people.

Kolobey are villaines or bondslaves, and so the Common people terme themselves in witing.

the cause of it. Which the Nobilitie (as the manner is) praued presently againe vpon the *Moskies*, or common people of the Countrey. This may seem a strange kinde of extortion, by such pleasant cauils, to fleece his poore subiects in good sadnesse: but that it agreeth with the qualitie of those Emperours, and the miserable subiection of that poore Countrey.

These, and such like meanes are practiced by the Emperours of *Russia*, to encrease their Treasurie.

The condition of the Commons and vulgar sort of people, may partly be vnderstood by that which hath already bin sayd, concerning the manner of their gouernement, and the state of the Nobilitie in their owne degrees and places with the ordering of their Prouinces, and chiefe townes of the land. And first touching their libertie, how it standeth with them, it may appeare by this: that they are reckoned in no degree at all, nor haue anie suffrage nor place in their *Zabore*, or high Court of Parliament, where theyr lawes and publique orders are concluded vpon. Which commonly tend to the oppression of the commons. For the other two degrees, that is to say, of the Nobilitie, and Cleargie, which haue a vote in the Parliaments (though farre from that libertie, that ought to be in common consultations for the publike benefite, according vnto the measure and proportion of their degrees) are well contented, that the whole burthen shall light vpon the commons, so that they may ease theyr owne shoulders by laying all vpon them.

Againe, into what feruile condition their libertie is brought, not onely to the Prince but to the Nobles and Gentlemen of the Countrey (who themselves also are but feruile, specially of late yeares) it may farther appeare by their owne acknowledgements in their supplications, and other writings to any of the Nobles or chiefe officers of the Emperours. Wherein they name and subscribe themselves *Kolobey*, that is to say, their villaines or bondslaves; as they of the Nobilitie doe vnto the Emperour. This may truly be sayd of them, that there is no seruant or bondslave more awed by his Maister, nor kept downe in a more feruile subiection, then the poore people are, and that vniuersally, not onely by the Emperour, but

by his Nobility, chiefe Officers, and Soldiours. So that when a poore *Moskic* meeteth with any of them vpon the high way; hee must turne himselfe about, as not daring to looke him on the face, and fall downe, with knocking of his head to the very ground, as hee doth vnto his Idoll.

Secondly, as concerning the lands, goods, and other possessions of the commons, they answer the name, and lie common indeede, without any fence against the rapine, and spoyle, not onely of the highest, but of his Nobilitie, Officers and Soldiours. Besides, the taxes, customes, seizures, and other publike exactions, doone vpon them by the Emperour: they are so racked and polled by the Nobles, Officers and Messengers sent abroad by the Emperour in his publike affaires, especially in the *Tammes* (as they do stearme them) and thorough-fare townes, that you shall haue many villages and townes of halfe a mile, and a mile long, stand all vn-inhabited: the people being fled all into other places, by reason of the extreme vfrage, and exactions on them done. So that in the way towards *Mosca*, betwixt *Pologda* and *Tarnuslaney*, (which is two nineties, after theyr reckoning, little more then an hundred miles) there are in sight fiftie *Duuiennes* or Villages at the least, some halfe a mile, some a mile long (that stand vacant) and desolate without any Inhabitant. The like is in all other places of the Realme, as they that haue travelled the Countrey, well can report.

The great oppression ouer the poore Commons, maketh them to haue no courage in following their trades: for that the more they haue, the more danger they are in, not onely of their goods, but of their liues also. And if they haue anie thing, they conceal it all they can, sometimes conuey it into Monasteries, sometimes hiding it vnder the ground, and in woods, as men are wont to doe, where they are in feare of forreine inuasion. In somuch, that (many times) you shall see them afraid to be knowne to any *Boiaren* or Gentleman, of such commodities as they haue to sell. They haue bene scene sometimes, when they haue layed open their commodities for a liking (as theyr principall Furrer and such like) to looke

Goods, lands, and possessions of the Commons.

Yammes are thorough-fare Townes.

Townes empty of Inhabitants through oppression.

A miserable condition of poore men.

An engrossing of Waxe.

Engrossing forreine commodities.

Monopolising of Rents and Customes.

His Cabacks or drinking houses in euery town.

still behinde them, and towards euery doore: as men in some feare, that looked to be set vpon, and surprized by some enemy. Whereof being asked the cause, it was found to be this, that they haue doubted, least some Nobleman or *Sinabouarfky* of the Emperour, had bene in company, and so laide a traine for them, to pray vpon their commodities perforce.

This maketh the people (thogh otherwise hardned to beare any toyle) to giue themselves much to idlenesse and drinking: as caring for no more, then from hand to mouth. And hercof it cometh that the commodities of *Russia* (as was sayde before) as Waxe, Tallow, Hydes, Flax, Henpe, &c.) grow and goe abroad in farre lesse plenty then they were wont to doe: because the people being oppressed and spoyled of theyr gettings, are discouraged from their Labours. Yet this one thing is much to be noted, that in all this oppression, there were three Brethren Marchants of late, that traded together with one stocke in common, that were found to be worth 300000. rubbels in money, beside lands, cattels, and other commodities. Which may partly be imputed to their dwellings far off from the eie of the Court, viz. in *Wichida*, a thousand miles from *Mosko*, and more. The same men were said (by those that knewe them) to haue set on worke all the yeare long, ten thousand men in making of salt, carriages by Cart and Boate, hewing of Wood, and such like; besides fife thousand bondslaves at the least, to inhabit & Till their land.

The people made yde against theyr wills.

Of three brethren Marchants.

Not many other such men in the whole Country

They had also their Physicians, Chirurgions, Apothecaries, and all manner of Artificers of *Deutches* and others, belonging vnto them. They were said to haue payed to the Emperour (for Custome) to the summe of three and twenty thousand Rubbels a yeare (for which cause they were suffered to enioy their trade) besides the maintaining of certaine Garrisons on the borders of *Siberia*, which were neere vnto them. Wherein the Emperour was content to vfe their purse, till such time as they had gotten ground in *Siberia*, and made it habitable, by burning & cutting downe woodes from *Wichida* to *Perm*, about a thousand Verst, and then tooke it all away from them perforce.

But this in the end being enuied, and

disdained, as a matter not standing with their policie, to haue any so great, specially a *Moussick*: the Emperour beganne first to pull from them by peeces, sometimes twenty thousand rubbels at a time; till in the end, their sonnes that followed were well eased of their stocke, & had but small part of their Fathers substance: the rest being drawne all into the Emperours Treasury. Their names were *Iacoue*, *Gregory*, and *Simon*, the sonnes of *Omyka*.

Fleeing the three brethren

For the quality of their people otherwise, though there seemeth to be in them some aptnesse to receiue an Art (as appeareth by the naturall wits in the men, and very children) yet they excell in no kinde of common Art, much lesse in any Learning, or litterall kinde of knowledge; which they are kept from of purpose, as they are also from all Military practise: that they may be fitter for the seruile condition wherein still they are, & haue neither reason, nor valor to attempt innouation.

The tiranicke oppression of their very minds and wits

For this purpose also, they are kepte from trauielling, that they may learne nothing, nor see the fashions of other countreys abroad. You shall seldom see a *Russe* a Traveller, except he be with some Ambassador, or that he make a scape out of his Countrey. Which hardly hee can do, by reason of the borders that are watched so narrowly, and the punishment for any such attempt, which is death if he be taken, and all his goods confiscate. Onely they learne to write, and to reade, and that verie few of them. Neyther doe they suffer any stranger willingly to come into their Realme out of any ciuill Countrey, for the same cause; farther then necessity of vntering their commodities, and taking in of forraigne, doeth enforce them to doe.

The tiranous use of the Emperour concerning his State

And therefore not long since, they consulted, about the removing of all Marchants strangers to the border townes, to abide and haue their residency there, and to be more wary, in admitting other strangers (hereafter) into the In-land parts of the Realme; for feare of infection with better manneis and qualities, then they haue of their owne.

For the same purpose also, they are kept within the bounds of theyr degree, by the Law of their Country: so that the sonne of a *Moussick*, Artificer, or Husbandman,

man, is euer a *Moussick*, Artificer, &c. and hath no meanes to aspire any higher: except (haueing learned to write and reade) bigattaine to the preferment of a Priest or Dyacke.

O' their Language taught as it were to the Slaunonian.

Their Language is all one with the *Slaunonian*, which is thought to haue bene deuised from the *Russe* tongue, rather then the *Russe* from the *Slaunonian*. For the people called *Sclani*, are knowne to haue had their beginning out of *Sarmatia*, and to haue rearm'd themselves of their conquest *Sclauus* (that is) famous or Glorious, of the word *Sclana*, which in the *Russe* and *Sclauonian* tongue, signifieth as much as Glory, or Fame. Though afterwards, being subdued and trod vpon by diuers Nations, the *Italians* (their Neighbours) haue turned the word to a contrary signification, and teame euery seruant or pezzant, by the name of *Sclau*; as did the *Romanes* by the *Getes* and *Syrians*, for the same reason. The *Russe* Character or Letter, is no other then the Greeke, somewhat distorted.

Gr. l. in. 26. Ioseph in An. ap. l. in. lib. 1. cap. 14.

And because we were speaking of *Sarmatia*, whence this people seeme to deriue themselves: Some haue thought, that the name of *Sarmatia*, was first taken from one *Sarmates*, whom *Moses* and *Iosephus* call *Afarmathes*, sonne to *Iocktan*, and Nephew to *Heber*, of the posterity of *Sem*. But this seemeth to be nothing, but a coniecture, taken from the likenesse of the name *Afarmathes*. For, the dwelling of all *Iocktans* posterity is described by *Moses*, to haue been betwixt *Mescha* or *Mafius* (an hill of the *Ammonites*) & *Sephace*, neere to the Riuer *Euphrates*. Which maketh it very vnlkely, that *Afarmathes* should plant any Colonies so farre off, in the North, and North-West Countreies.

Subiection kept in seruile subjection.

Concerning their Trades, Diet, Apparel, and such like, it is to be noted where we speake of their priuate behaviour. This order, that bindeth euery man to keepe his ranke and feudal degree wherein his forefathers liued before him, is more meete to keepe the subiects in a seruile subiection, and so, apt for this and like Common-wealths, then to aduance any vertue, or to breed any rare or excellent quality in Nobility or Commons. As hauiug no farther reward nor preferment, whereunto they may bend their endea-

uours, and employ themselves to aduance their estate: but rather procuring more danger to themselves, the more they excell in any noble or principall quality.

CHAP. III.

Thirdly, we discourse on their Politicke and Iudiciall proceeding. Also the Emperours powers for war, and their salaries: with their Mustering, Munition; and Military provision. Their Colonies, bordering Friends or Enemies, either in Peace or warre.



Their Courts of Ciuill Iustice, for matters of Contract, and other of like sort, are of three kinds, the one being subiect vnto the other by way of Appeal. The lowest court (that seemeth to be appointed for some ease to the subiects) is the Office of the *Gubnoy Starost*, that signifieth an Alderman, and of the *Sotsky Starost*, or Bayliffe of the Soake or hundred, wherof I spake before in the ordering of the Provinces. These may end matters among their Neighbours, within their Soake, or feuerall Hundred, where they are appointed vnder the Dukes and Dyackes of the Provinces, to whome the parties may remouue their matter, if they cannot be agreed by the said *Gubnoy*, or *Sotsky Starost*.

The Aldermans Court.

The second is kept in the head townes of euery Province or Shire, by the said Dukes and Dyackes, that are deputies to the four Lords of the *Cheftirds*, as before was sayde. From these four Courtes, they may appeale, and remouue theyr suites to the cheefe Court, that is kept at *Mosko*, where are resident the officers of the four *Cheftirds*. These are the cheefe Iustices or Iudges, euery of them in all ciuill matters that growe within their feuerall *Cheftird* or quarter, and may bee either commenced originally before them, or prosecuted out of the inferior Courts of the Shires, by way of appeale.

The Dukes & Dyacks Court

Their commencing and proceeding in ciuill actions, is on this manner. First, the

The high Court of Mosko.

the plaintiffe putteth vp his supplication, wherein hee declareth the effecte of his cause, or wrong done vnto him. Whereupon is granted vnto him a *Præsumptio* or warrant, which he deliuereth to the *Præsumptio* or Sergeant, to doe the arrest vpon the party whom hee meaneth to impleade. Who vpon the Arrest, is to put in sureties to answer at the day appointed, or els standeth at the Sergeants deuotion, to be kept safe by such means as he thinketh good.

The Sergeants are many, & excell for their hard and cruell dealing toward their prisoners; commonly they clappe Irons vpon them, as many as they can beare, to wring out from them some larger Fees. Though it be but for sixe pence, you shal see them go with chaines on their legges, armes, and necke. When they come before the Iudge, the Plaintiffe beginneth to declare his matter, after the content of his supplication. As for Attorneys, Counselors, Procurators and aduocates to plead their cause for them, they haue no such order; but euery man is to tell his owne Tale, and pleade for himselfe so well as he can.

If they haue any witness or other euidence, they produce it before the Iudge. If they haue none, or if the truth of the cause cannot so well be discerned by the plea, or euidence on both parts; then the Iudge asketh either party (which he thinketh good, Plaintiffe or Defendant) whether he will kisse the Crosse, vpon that which he anoucheth, or denieth. He that taketh the Crosse (being so offered by the Iudge) is accounted cleare, and carryeth away the matter. This Ceremonie is not done within the Court or Office, but the party is carried to the Church by an Officer, and there the Ceremonie is done: the money in the meane while hanging vpon a mayle, or else lying at the Idoles feete, ready to be deliuered to the party so soon as he hath kissed the Crosse, before the saide Idoll.

This kissing of the Crosse (called *Cren-Hina Chelouania*) is as their corporal oath; and accounted (with them) a verie holie thing, which no man will dare to violate, or prophane with a false Allegation. If both parties offer to kisse the Crosse in a contradictory matter, then they draw lottes.

The better Lotte is supposed to haue the right, and beareth away the matter. So the party conuicted is adiudged to pay the debt or penalty whatsoever, and withall, to pay the Emperours fees, which is twenty pence vpon euery Maik, as before hath bene noted.

When the matter is thus ended, the party conuicted, is deliuered to the Sergeant, who hath a Writ for his warrant, out of the office, to carry him to the *Præsumptio* or Righter of Iustice, if presently he pay not the money, nor content nor the party.

This *Præsumptio* or Righter, is a place neere vnto the Office where such as haue sentence passed against them, and refuse to pay that which is adiudged, are beate[n] with great Cudgels on the shins, and calves of the legges. Euery fornoone from eight to eleauen, they are let on the *Præsumptio*, and beate in this sort till the monie be payed. The afternoone & night time, they are kept in Chains by the Sergeant: except they put in sufficient sureties, for their appearance at the *Præsumptio* at the houre appointed. You shal see fortie or fifty stand together on the *Præsumptio* all on a rowe, and their shins thus beudgelled and beasted euery morning, with a pittous cry.

If after a years standing on the *Præsumptio* the party will not, or lacke wherewithall to pay his Creditor, it is lawfull for him to sell his Wife and Children, either outright, or for a certaine rearme of yeares. And if the price of them doe not amount to the full payment, the Creditor may take them to be his bondslaves for years, or for euer, according as the valew of the debt requireth.

Such kinde of suites as lack direct euidence, or stand vpon coniectures and circumstances, to bee weighed by the Iudge, draw of great length, and yeelde great aduantage vnto the Iudge and Officers. If the suite be vpon a bonde or bill, they haue for the most part good & speedy iustice. Their Bondes or Billes, are drawne in a very plaine sort, after this tenour.

I Iuan Vasileo, haue borrowed of Alphonsse Dementio, the summe of one hundred Rubbles of going money of Nisko, from the Kresbenea (or hallowing of the Water) vntill the Saburney Vojkresbenea (or counsell

The order of the *Præsumptio* or Righter.

Selling wife and children to pay debts.

The forme of Rubble bills or bonds, as they posside, between man and man.

sell Sunday) without interest. And if this money rest vnpayed after that day, then hee shall giue interest vpon the saide money, after the common rate, as it goeth among the people, viz: for euery fine the first rubbell vpon this there are witnesses, Micheta Sydanokoy, &c. Subscribed. This bill haue I written Gabriel Iaconclesni, in the yeare 7096. The witnesses and debter (if he can write) endorse their names on the back side of the Bill. Other signing or sealing haue they none.

When any is taken for a matter of crime (as treason, murder, theft, and the like) he is first brought to the Duke and Diacke, that are for the Prouince where the party is attached, by whom he is examined. The manner of examination in such cases, is all by torture, as scourging with whips made of sinewes or whiteleather (called the *Pudkey*) as big as a mans finger, which giueth a fore lash, and entereth into the flesh; Or by tying vnto a spitte, and roasting at the Fire. Sometimes, by breaking and wresting one of their ribs with a payre of hot Tonges, or cutting their flesh vnder the nayles, and such like.

The examination thus taken, withall the proofes and euidences that can be alledged against the party, it is sent vppo to the *Mosko*, to the Lord of the Chetfird or Fourth-part, vnder whome the Prouince is, and by him is presented vnto the Council Table, to be reade and sentenced there, where onely iudgement is giuen in matter of life and death, and that by euidence vpon information, though they neuer saw nor heard the party, who is kept still in prison where the Facte was committed, & neuer sent vp to the place where he is tryed. If they find the partie guilty, they giue sentence of death according to the quality of the facte, which is sent downe by the Lord of the Chetfird, to the Duke and Diacke to be put in execution. The prisoner is carried vnto the place of execution, with his hands bound and a wax candle burning held betwene his fingers.

Their capitall punishments, are hanging, heading, knocking on the head, drawing, putting vnder the life, setting on a stake, and such like. But (for the most part) the prisoners that are condemned in summer, are kept for the winter, to be knockt

on the head, and put vnder the Ice. This is to be vnderstood of common persons. For theft and murder, if they be committed vpon a poore *Moskiet* by one of Nobilitie, it is not lightly punished, nor yet is he called to any account for it. Their reason is, because they are accounted their *Kolophy* or bond-slaves.

If by some *Sinabarskey*, or Gentleman Souldiour, a murder or theft be committed, peraduenture he shall be imprisoned at the Emperours pleasure. If the manner of the fact be very notorious, hee is whipped per chance, and this is commonly all the punishment that is inflicted vpon them.

If a man kill his owne seruant, litle or nothing is saide vnto him, for the aforesaid reason: because he is accounted to be his *Kolophy* or bondslave, & so to haue right ouer his very head. The vrmost is some small mulct to the Emperour, if the party be rich: and so the quarrell is made rather against the purse, then against the iniustice. They haue no Written Lawe, saue onely a small booke, that containeth the time and manner of their fitting, order in proceeding, and such other iudicial formes and circumstances, but nothing to direct them, to giue sentence on right or wrong. Their onely Law is their Speaking Law, and that is the pleasure of the Prince, and of his Magistrates & officers. Which sheweth the miserable condition of this poore people, that are forced to haue them for their Law and direction of Iustice; against whose iniustice & extreme oppression, they had neede to be armed with many good and strong lawes.

The Soldiers of *Rufsia* are called *Sinabarskey*, or the sonnes of Gentlemen, because they are all of that degree, by vertue of their Military profession. For euery soldier is a Gentleman, and none are gentlemen, but onely the soldiers, that take it by descent from their Ancestors; so that the son of a Gentleman (which is borne a soldier) is euer a Gentleman, and a Soldier withall, and professeth nothing else but Military matters. When they are of yeares able to bear Armes, they come to the office of *Rosgrade*, or great Constable, and there present themselves, who entereth their names; and alloteth them certayne lands to maintaine their charges, for the most part, the same that their fathers enjoyed.

D d d d For

On gentlem and souldiers.

No written Law among hem.

Speaking law

Their forces for the wars, with the chief officers, and their salaries.

Souldiers by birth and inheritance.

The dealing of Sergeants in their office.

No Counselors or Attorneys to plead causes.

Ending of controversies by kissing the Crosse.

Iudgment by lot, where both parties kisse the Crosse.

Proceeding in criminal matters.

Order after examination.

Men are sentenced without personal appearance.

The order of their cheefest punishments on common persons.

For the Lands assigned to maintaine the Army, are euer certaine, annexed to this office without improouing, or detracting one foot. But that if the Emperour haue sufficient in wages, the rooms being full so farre as the land doth extend already; they are many times deferred, and haue nothing allowed them, except some one portion of the land be diuided into two. Which is a cause of great disorder within that country: when a souldier that hath many children, shall haue sometimes but one entertained in the Emperours pay. So that the rest hauing nothing, are forced to liue by vniust and wicked shuffles, that tend vnto the hurt and oppression of the *Moskiew* or common sort of people. This inconuenience groweth, by maintaining his forces in a continuall succcession. The whole number of his souldiers in continuall pay, is this. First, he hath of his *Dwornany*, that is, Pensioners, or garde of his person, to the number of 15000. horsemen, with their Captaines and other officers, that are always in a readinesse.

Degrees of Horsemen.

a. *Pratoriani*, or such as attend the Emperors person

Of these 15000. horsemen, there are three sorts or degrees, which differ aswel in estimation, as in wages, one degree from another. The first sort of them, is called *Dwornany Bullbey*, or the company of head Pensioners, that haue some an hundred, some fourscore Rubbels a yeare, & none vnder seventy. The second sort are called *Seredney Dwornany*, or the middle ranke of Pensioners. These haue sixty, or fifty rubbels by the yeare, none vnder forty. The third and lowest sort are the *Dyta Boianskey*, that is, the lowest Pensioners. Their salary is thirty rubbels a yeare for him that hath most, some haue but five and twenty, some twenty, none vnder twelve. Whereof the halfe part is paid them at the *Mosko*, the other halfe in the fildes by the Generall, when they haue any warres, and are employed in seruice. When they receiue their whole pay, it amounteth to 55000. rubbels yearly.

And to this their wages, besides Lands allotted to euery one of them, both to the greater and the lesse, according vnto their degrees. Whereof he that hath least, hath to yeeld him twenty Rubbels or Markes by the yeare. Besides these 15000. horsemen that are of better choise (as beeing the Emperours owne gard, when himselfe goeth to the wars, not vnlike the Roman

souldiers called *Pratoriani*) are an hundred & ten men of speciall account for their Nobility and trust, which are chosen by the Emperour, and haue their names registered, that find among them for the Emperours warres, to the number of 65000. horsemen, with all necessaries meete for the wars, after the Russe manner.

To this end they haue yearly allowance made by the Emperour for themselves, & their companies, to the summe of 40000 rubbels. And these 65000. are to repaire to the field euery year on the borders towards the *Chrim Tartar* (except they be appointed for some other seruice) whether there be warres with the Tartars, or not.

This might seeme (peraduenture) somewhat dangerous for some state, to haue so great forces vnder the commaund of Noblemen, to assemble euery yeare vnto one certaine place. But the matter is so vided, as that no danger can growe to the Emperour, or his state by this means. First, because these Noblemen are many, wit, an hundred and in all, & change by the Emperour, so that he thinks good. Secondly, because they haue their liuings of the Emperour, being otherwise but of very small renewen, and receiue this yearly pay of 40000. rubbels, when it is presently to be paid forth againe vnto the souldiers that are vnder them. Thirdly, because (for the most part) they are about the Emperours person, being of his counsell either speciall, or at large. Fourthly, they are rather as paymasters then Captaines to their companies, themselves not going forth ordinarily to the warres, save when some of them are appointed, by speciall order from the Emperour himselfe: for the whole number of horsemen that are euer in a readines, and in continuall pay, are 80000. a few more or lesse.

If he haue neede of a greater number, (which sildom falleth out) then he entertaineth of those *Sinaboiarskey*, that are out of pay, so many as he needeth: and if yet he want of his number, bee giue charge to his Noblemen (that hold lands of him) to bring into the fildes (euery man) a proportionable number of his Seruants, (called *Kolaphy*) such as Till his Landes, with their Furniture, according vnto the full and iust number, that hee intendeth to make vpp. The which seruice beeing done,

Two other troops, to the number of 65000.

Horsemen in continuall pay 80000.

done, presently lay in their Weapons, and returne to their seruile occupations againe.

Of Footmen that are in continuall pay, he hath to the number of 120000. all Gunners, called *Srefley*. Whereof 5000 are to attend about the City of *Mosko*, or any other place where the Emperour shall abide, and 2000. (which are called *Sremaney*, *Srefley*, or Gunners at the stirrop) about his owne person, at the very Court or house where himselfe lodgeth. The rest are placed in his garrison towns, till there be occasion to haue them in the field, and receiue for their gallery or stipend euery man seven rubbels a yeare, besides twelue measures, a piece of Rye, and Oates. Of mercenary Soldiours, that are strangers (whom they call *Nimfchoy*) they haue at this time, 43000. of *Polonians*: of *Chirchasses* (that are vnder the *Polonians*) about foure thousand, whereof 3500. are abroad in his garrisons: of *Doutches* *Scots* about 150. of *Greekes*, *Turkes*, *Danes* and *Swedes*, all in one band, an 100. or thereabouts. But these they vse onely vpon the *Tartar* side, and against the *Siberians*: as they doe the *Tartar* Soldiours (whom they hire sometimes but onely for the present) on the other side against the *Polonian* and *Swedes*: thinking it best policie, so to vse their seruice vpon the contrary border.

The chiefe Captaines or Leaders of these Forces, being of their names and degrees, are these which follow. First, the *Poyanodoy Bullbaia*, that is, the Great Captaine, or Lieutenant Generall vnder the Emperour. This commonly is one of the foure houses of the chiefe Nobility of the Land: but so chosen otherwise, as that he is of small valour, or practise in Martiall matters, being thought to serue that turne so much the better, if he bring no other parts with him, save the countenance of his Nobility, to be liked of by the Soldiours for that, and nothing else. For in this point they are very wary, that these two (to wit) Nobility, and power meete not both in one, specially if they see wisdom with all, or aptnesse for policie.

Their great *Poyanod* or Generall at this present in their warres, is commonly one of these foure: *Knez Feodor Iuanovich Methisloskey*, *Knez Iuan Michailo-*

wich Glinkoy, *Cherechaskey*, and *Trowbetskey*, all of great Nobility, but of very simple quality otherwise: though in *Glinkoy* (as they say) there is some what more then in the rest. To make vp this defect in the *Poyanod* or Generall, there is some other ioyned with him as Lieutenant Generall, of farre lesse Nobility, but of more valour and experience in the warres then he, who ordereth all things that the other countenanceth. At this time their principall man, and most vsed in their warres, is one *Knez Demetrie Iuanomich Forestine*, an ancient and expert Captaine, and one that hath done great seruice (as they say) against the *Tartar* and *Polonian*. Next, vnder the *Poyanod* and his Lieutenant Generall, are foure other, that haue the Marshalling of the whole Army diuided among them, and may bee called the Marshalles of the field.

Euery man hath his quarter or fourth part vnder him. Whereof the first is called the *Prana Polsky*, or right wing. The second is the *Leuoy Polsky*, or left wing. The third is *Rufnoy Polsky*, or the broken band, because out of this there are chosen to send abroad vpon any suddaine exploit, or to make a rescue or supply, as occasion doth require. The fourth is *Storebanoy Polsky*, or the warding band. Euery one of these foure Marshalls haue two other vnder them (eight in all) that twice euery weeke at the least, must muster and traine their severall wings or bands, and hold and giue iustice for all faults, and disorders committed in the Campe.

And these eight are commonly chosen out of the 110. (which I spake of before) that receiue and deliuer the pay to the Soldiours. Vnder these eight are diuers other Captaines, as the *Gulany* Captaines of thousands, fye hundreds, and one hundred. The *Petyde Setskoy*, or Captaines of fifties, and the *Decetskies*, or Captaines of tens.

Besides the *Poyanod* or Generall of the Army (spoken of before) they haue two other that beare the name of *Poyanoda*: whereof one is the Master of the great Ordinance (called *Naradna Poyanoda*) who hath diuers vnder Officers, necessary for that seruice. The other is called the *Poyanada Gulany*, or the walking

D d d d 2

Cap-

Footmen in continuall pay 120000.

Strangers mercenaries in pay 43000.

The chiefe Captaines or Leaders of these Forces, being of their names and degrees, are these which follow. First, the *Poyanodoy Bullbaia*, that is, the Great Captaine, or Lieutenant Generall vnder the Emperour.

a. Lieutenant Generall.

3 Marshalls of the field four.

The ordering of each quarter.

4 Marshalls Deputies 8.

Five Coronets vnder Captaines.

Six Masters of the Artillery.

The walking
Captaine.

Captaine, that hath allowed him a thousand good horsemen of principall choise, to range and spie abroad, and hadde the charge of the running Castle, which wee are to speake of hereafter. All these Captaines and men of charge, must (once euery day) resort to the *Bulsha Voianoda*, or Generall of the Armie, to know his pleasure, and to informe him, if there be any requisite matter pertaining to their Office.

Of their murthering and leuying of forces, manner of Armour, & prouision of victuall for their warre.

Their order for mustering

When warres are towards (which they saile not of lightly euery yeare with the Tartar, and many times with the Polonian and Sweden) the foure Lordes of the *Chetfirs* send forth their summons in the Emperors name, to all the Dukes and Dyackes of the Prouinces, to bee proclaimed in the head Townes of euery Shire: that all the *Sinaboiarsky*, or sonnes of Gentlemen, make their repaire to such a border where the seruice is to be done, at such a place, and by such a day, & there present themselves vnto such and such Captaines.

When they come to the place assigned them in the Summons or Proclamation, their names are taken by certain Officers, that haue Commission for that purpose, from the *Rograde* or High Constable, as Clarke of the Bands.

Default of appearance.

If any make default and faile at the day, he is mulcted, and punished very severely. As for the Generall and other cheefe Captaines, they are sent thither from the Emperours owne hand, with such Commission and charge, as hee thinketh behoouefull for the present seruice. When the Soldiours are assembled, they are reduced into their Bands and Companies, vnder their severall Captaines of tentes, fifties, hundreds, thousands, &c. and these Bands into foure *Polskes* or Legions (but of farre greater numbers then the Romaine Legions were) vnder their foure great Leaders; which also haue the Authority of Marshalls of the field, as was saide before.

The horse-mans furniture.

Concerning their Armour, they are but slightly appointed. The common Horseman hath nothing else but his Bow in his case, vnder his right Arme, and his Quiuer and Sword hanging on the lefte side: except some few that beare a Case of Dags, or a Laurel, or short staffe along their Horse side. The vnder Captaines will

haue commonly some piece of Armour besides, as a Shirt of Male, or such like. The Generall, with the other chief Captaines and men of Nobilitie, will haue their horse very richly furnished, they Saddles of Cloth of Golde, their Bridles faire bossed and tasselled with Golde and Silke Fringing, bestudded with Pearle & precious Stones: themselves in very faire Armour, which they call *Bullatnoy*, made of faire shining Steele yet covered commonly with cloth of Golde, and edged round with Ermin Furre, his Steele Helmet on his head, of a very great price, his Sword, Bow and Arrowes at his side, his Speare in his hand, with another sayre Helmet, and his *Shestapera* or Horsemans Scepter caried before him. Their Swords, Bowes, and Arrowes, are of the Turkish fashion. They practise like the Tartar, to shoote forwards and backwards, as they flye and retyre.

The Generall and cheefe Captaines.

The *Strelsey* or Foote-man, hath nothing but his peece in his hand, his striking Hatchet at his backe, and his Sword by his side. The stocke of his peece, is not made Calieuer-wise, but with a plaine & straight stocke (somewhat like a Foulting peece) the barrel is rudely and vnartificially made, very heavy, yet shooteth but a very small Bullet.

The footmans furniture.

As for their prouision of victuall, the Emperour alloweth none, eyther for Captaine or Soldiour, neither prouideth any for them, except peraduenture some corn for their mony. Euery man is to bring sufficient for himselfe, to serue his turne for foure moneths, and (if neede require) to giue order for more to bee brought vnto him to the Campe, from his Tenant that tilleth his land, or some other place.

Prouision of victuall.

One great helpe they haue, that for Lodging and Dyet, euery *Russe* is prepared to be a souldiour before-hand. Although the cheefe Captaines, and other of account, do carrie Tents along with them, after the form and fashion of ours, with some better prouision of Victuall then the rest, they bring with them commonly into the Campe for Victuall, a kinde of dried Bread (which they call *Sacharie*) with some store of Meale, the which they temper with water, & so make it into a Ball, or small lump of Dough, called *Tollockno*. And this they eat raw in stead of Bread. Their meat is Bacon, or some

Their felts lodging and diet.

some other flesh or fish dried, after the Dutch manner.

If the *Russe* Souldier were as hardie to execute an enterprize, as hee is hardie to beare out toyle and trauaile, or were otherwise as apt and well trayned for the warres, as he is indifferent for his lodging and dyet, he would farre exceed the Soldiours of other parts. Whereas now, hee is farre meane of courage, and execution in any warlike seruice. Which cometh partly of his seruile condition, that will not suffer any great courage or valour to grow in him. Partly for lacke of due honour and reward, which he hath no great hope of, whatsoever seruice or execution hee doe.

Of their marching, charging and other martiall discipline.

The *Russe* trusteth rather to his number, then to the valor of his Soldiours, or good ordering of his forces. Their marching or leading is without all order, saue that the foure *Polskey* or Legions (whereinto their army is diuided) keepe themselves vnder their Ensignes, and so thrust all on together in a hurrey, as they are directed by their Generall. Their Ensigne is the image of Saint George. The *Bulsha Dworany* or cheefe Horsemen, haue euery man a small Drumme of Brasse at his Saddle-bow, which he striketh when hee giueth the charge, or onfet.

Horsemens drummes.

The Horse-mans manner of charging.

They haue Drummes besides of a huge biggenesse, which they carrie vwith them vpon a boord layde on foure horses, that are spard together with Iron Chaines, euery Drumme hauing eyght Beaters or Drummers, besides Trumpets, and Shawmes, which they sound after a wilde manner, much different from ours.

When they giue any Charge, or make any inuasion, they make a great hallowe or shoute altogether, as lowde as they can, which with the sound of their Trumpets, Shawmes, and Drummes, maketh a confused and horrible noyse. So they set on first discharging their Arrows, then dealing with their Swordes, which they vse in a brauery to shake, and brandish ouer their Heades, before they come to strokes.

The foot-mans charge.

Their Footmen (because otherwise they want order in leading) are commonly placed in some ambush, or place of advantage, where they may most annoy the enemy, with least hurt to themselves.

If it bee a set battaile, or if any great inuasion bee made vpon the *Russe* borders, by the Tartar; they are sette within the running or moouing Castle (called *Beza*, or *Gulygora*) which is carried about with them by the *Voianoda gulanoy* (or the *Walking Generall*) whome I spake of before. This Walking or moouing Castle is so framed, that it may be set vp in length (as occasion doth require) the space of one, two, three, foure, five, six, or seuen miles: for so long will it reach. It is nothing else but a double wall of Woodes, to defend them on both sides, behinde and before; with a space of three yards or thereabout, betwixt the two sides: so that they may stand within it, and haue roome enough to charge and discharge their peeeces, and to vse their other weapons.

The walking Castle.

What the walking Castle is.

It is closed at both ends, & made with loope holes on either side, to lay out the hole of their peece, or to push forth any other weapon. It is caried along with the army whateuier it goeth, being taken in to peeeces, and so layde on Cartes spard together, and drawn by horse that are not feene, by reason that they are covered with their carriage, as with a shelle or pent-house.

When it is brought vnto the place where it is to be vsed (which is deuised & chosen out before by the *Walking Voianoda*) it is planted, so much as the present vse requireth, sometime a mile long, sometimes two, sometimes three, or more: Which is soone done without the helpe of any Carpenter, or instrument: because the Timber is so framed to clasp together one peece within another: as is easily vnderstood, by those that know the manner of the *Russe* building.

The planting of the walking Castle.

In this Castle standeth their Shot well fenced for advantage, especially agaynst the Tartar, that bringeth no Ordinance, nor other Weapon into the Fielde with him, saue his Sword, and Bowe and Arrowes. They haue also within it diuerse field peeeces, which they vse as occasion doth require. Of peeeces for the field, they carry no great store, when they war against the *Tartar*: but when they deale with the *Polonian* (of whose forces they make more account) they go better furnished with all kind of munition, and other necessarie prouisions. It is thought, that no Prince of Christendome, hath better

The shotte against the Tartar.

D d d 3 store

store of munition, then the Russe Emperour. And it may partly appear by the Artillerie house at Mosko, where are of all fortes of great Ordinance, all Brasse peeces, very faire, to an exceeding great number.

The Russe Soldiour is thought to be better at his defence within some Caste, or Towne, then hee is abroad at a set pitched field. Which is euer noted in the practise of his warres, and namely, at the siege of *Polsko*, some few yeares since: where he repulsed the Polonian king, *Stephan Bator*, with his whole Army of an hundred thousand men, and forced him (in the end) to giue ouer his siege, with the losse of many of his best Capitaines and Soldiers. But in a set field, the Russe is noted to haue the worke of the Polonian and *Sweden*.

If any behaue himselfe more valiantly then the rest, or doe any speciall peece of seruice, the Emperour sendeth him a peece of Gold, stamped with the image of Saint George on horse backe. Which peece they hang on their sleeves, and set in their Caps. And this is accounted the greatest honor they can receiue for any seruice they do.

The Russe Emperours (of late yeares) haue very much enlarged their Dominions & Territories. Their first Conquest after the Dukedome of *Mosko* (for before that time they were but Dukes of *Volodemer*, as before was sayde) was the Cittie, and Dukedome of *Novograd* on the West and North-West side: which was no final enlargement of their Dominion, & strengthening vnto them for the winning of the rest. This was done by *Iuan*, great Grand father to *Theodore* now Emperour, about the yeare 1480.

The same began likewise to encroach vpon the Countreys of *Lituania* and *Lithuania*, but the Conquest onely intended, and attempted by him vpon some part of those Countreys, was pursued and performed by his sonne *Basileus*, who first of all wan the Cittie and Dukedom of *Plesko*, afterwards the City and Dukedom of *Smolensko*, and many other faire Townes, with a large Territory belonging vnto them, about the yeare 1514.

These victories against the *Lettoes* or *Lituanians*, in the time of *Alexander* their Duke, hee achieved rather by aduantage

of ciuill diffentions and treasons among themselves, then by any great pollicie or force of his owne. But all this was lost againe by his sonne *Iuan Vasilowich*, about eight or nine yeares past, vpon composition with the Polonian King *Stephen Bator*; whereunto he was forced by the aduantages which the *Pole* had then of him, by reason of the foyle hee had giuen him before, and the disquietnesse of his owne state at home. Onely the Russe Emperour, at this time, hath left him on that side his Countrey, the Cities of *Smolensko*, *Vitobsko*, *Cheringe*, and *Reala Gorod* in *Lituania*. In *Lituania*, not a Towne, nor one foote of ground.

When *Basileus* first Conquered those Countreys, hee suffered the Natives to keepe their possessions, and to inhabit all their Townes, onely paying him a Tribute, vnder the gouernment of his Russe Capitaines. But by their Conspiracies & attempts not long after, he was taught to deale more surely with them. And so coming vpon them the second time, hee killed and caried away with him, three parts of foure, which he gaue or fold vnto the Tartars that serued him in those wars, & (insted of them) placed there his Russes, so many as might ouer-match the rest, with certaine Garrisons of strength besides. Wherein, notwithstanding this ouersight was committed, for that (taking away with him the Vpland or Countrey people (that should haue tild the ground and might easily haue bene kept in order without any daunger, by other good policies) hee was driuen afterwarde manie yeares together, to Visually the Countrey (especially the great Townes) out of his owne Countrey of *Russia*, the foyle lying there in the meane while waste and vntilled.

The like fell out at the port of *Narue*, in *Liefland*, where his sonne *Iuan Vasilowich* desired, to build a Towne and a Caste on the other side the Riuer, (called *Naugorod*) to keepe the Town and countrey in subiection. The Caste he caused to bee so built and fortified, that it was thought to bee inuincible. And when it was finished, for reward to the Archibishop (that was a Polonian) hee put out both his eyes, to make him vnable to build the like againe. But hauing left the Natives all within their owne Countrey, without a

All wonne by the father, lost by the sonne.

Lituania, and the Emperour remitteth in his Conquest thereof.

Narue cast in the same manner.

A most vnkind reward.

bating their number or strength; the Towne and Caste (not long after) was betrayed, and surrendered againe to the King of *Sweden*.

On the Southeast side, they haue got the Kingdomes of *Cazan*, and *Astracan*. These were wonne from the Tartar, by the late Emperour *Iuan Vasilowich*, Father to the Emperour that now is: the one about 35. the other about 33. yeares agoe. Northward out of the Countrey of *Siberia*, he hath laide vnto his Realme, a great breadth and length of ground, from *Wichida* to the Riuer of *Obba*, about a thousand miles space: so that hee is bold to write himselfe now, *The Great Commander of Siberia*.

The Countries likewise of *Permia* & *Pechora*, are a diuerse people & language from the Russe, overcome not long since, and that rather by threatening, & shaking of the Sword, then by any actual force: as being a weak and naked people, without meanes to resist.

That which the Russe hath in his present possession, he keepeth on this sort. In his foure cheefe border townes of *Polsko*, *Smolensko*, *Astracan*, and *Cazan*, he hath certaine of his Counsel, not of greatest Nobility, but of greatest trust, which haue more authority within their Precincts (for the countenancing & strengthening of their gouernment there) then the other Dukes that are set to gouerne in other places, as was noted before, in the manner of ordering their Prouinces. These he chengerth sometime euery yeare, sometime euery second or third yeare, but exceedeth not that time; except vpon very speciall trust, and good liking of the party, and his seruice: least by enlarging of their time, they might grow into some familiarity with the enemy (as some haue done) being so far out of sight.

The Townes besides are very strongly fenced with Trenches, Castles, & store of munition, and haue garrisons within the, to the number of two or three thousand a peece. They are stored with victuall (if any siege should come vpon them) for the space of two or three yeares before hand. The foure Castles of *Smolensko*, *Polsko*, *Cazan* and *Astracan*, hee hath made very strong to beare out any siege: so that it is thought that those Townes are impregnable.

As for the Countreys of *Pechora* and *Permia*, and that part of *Siberia*, which hee hath now vnder him, they are kept by as easie meanes, as they were first got, viz. rather by shewing, then by using of Armes. First, he hath stored the Countrey with as many Russes as there are Natives, & hath there some few Soldiours in garrison, enough to keepe them vnder. Secondly, his Officers and Magistrates there, are of his owne Russe people, and he chengerth them very often, viz. euery yeare twice or thrice; notwithstanding there be no great feare of any inuasion. Thirdly, he diuideth them into many small gouernements, like a staffe broke in many small peeces: so that they haue no strength being seuered, which was but little neither, when they were all in one. Fourthly, he prouideth that the people of the countrey haue neyther Armour, nor money, being taxed and pilld so often as he thinketh good: without any meanes to shake off that yoke, or to releue themselves.

In *Siberia* (where he goeth on in pursuing his Conquest) hee hath diuers Castles and Garrisons, to the number of sixe thousand Soldiours of Russes and *Polonians*, and sendeth many new supplies thither, to plant and inhabite, as he winneth ground. At this time besides, he hath gotten the Kings Brother of *Siberia*, allured by certaine of his Captains, to leaue his owne Countrey, by offers of great entertainment, and pleasanter life with the Russe Emperour, then he had in *Siberia*. He was brought in this last yeare, and is now with the Emperour at *Mosko* well entertained.

This may be said of the Russe practise, wherefoeuer he ruleth, either by right of Inheritance, or by Conquest.

First, hee bereaueh the Countrey of Armour, and other meanes of defence, which hee permiteth to none, but to his *Boiarskes* onely.

Secondly, he robbeth them continually of their money and commodities, and leaueh them bare, with nothing but their bodies and liues, within certaine yeares compass.

Thirdly, hee renteth and diuideth his Territories into many small peeces, by seuerall gouernments: so that none hath much vnder him to make any strength, though he had other opportunities.

Fourthly,

Meanes of holding the Countreys of *Pechora*, *Permia*, and *Siberia*.

The Kings Brother of *Siberia* allured from his Countrey.

The pollicie of their Conquest or other preuailing, wherefoeuer they come.

The quality of the Russe Soldier.

Reward for valor.

Of their Colonies and maintaining of their Conquests or purchases by force.

The victories & conquests of *Theodore*.

Kingdomes won from the Tartar.

Permia and *Pechora*, their conquering.

Meanes of holding his cheefe townes.

The strength of Townes & Castles.

Fourthly, he governeth his Countries by men of small reputation, and no power of themselves, and strangers (in those places) where their gouvernement lyeth.

Fifthly, he changeth his Gouvernors once a yeare ordinarily, that there grow no great liking, nor intimesse betwixt the people and them, nor acquaintance with the enemy, if they lie towards the Borders.

Sixtly, hee appointeth in one and the same place aduersary Gouvernors, the one to be as Controller of the other, as the Dukes and Diacks: where (by means of their enuies and emulations) there is lesse hurt to be feared by their agreement, and himselfe is better informed what is done amiffe.

Seuenthly, he sendeth many times into euery Prouince secret Messengers (of speciall trust about him) as intelligencers, to pry and hearken out what is doing, and what is amisse there. And this is ordinary, though it be sudden, and vnknowne what time they will come.

Their neighbours with whom they haue greatest dealings and intercourse, both in peace and warre, are first the *Tartars*: Secondly the *Polonians*, whom the *Russes* calthe *Laches*, noting the first Author or Founder of the Nation, who was called *Laches* or *Leches*, whereunto is added *Pol*, which signifieth *People*, and so is made *Polaches*, that is, the *People* or *Politerie* of *Laches*: which the *Latines* (after their manner of writing) call *Polonians*. The third are the *Suedens*. The *Polonians* and *Suedens* are better knowne to these parts of *Europe*, then are the *Tartars*, that are farther off from vs (as beeing of *Asia*) and diuided into many Tribes, different both in name and government one from another.

The greatest and mightiest of them is the *Chrim Tartar*, (whom some call the *Great Cham*) that lyeth South, & South-eastward from *Russia*, and doth most annoy the Country by often inuasions, commonly once euery yeare, sometime entering very farre within the inland parts. In the yeare 1571. he came as far as the Citie of *Mosko*, with an Army of two hundred thousand men, without any battaile, or resistance at all, for that the *Russe* Emperor (then *Iuan Vasilowich*) leading forth his Army to encounter with him, march-

ed a wrong way: but (as it was thought) of very purpose, as not daring to aduventure the Field, by reason that he doubted his Nobility and cheefe Capitaines, of a meaning to betray him to the *Tartar*.

The Cittie hee tooke not, but fired the Subburbs, which by reason of the buildings (which are al of Wood, without any Stone, Brick or Lime, saue certaine out-rooms) kindled so quickly, and went on with such rage; as that it consumed the greatest part of the City, almost within the space of foure houres, being of thirty miles or more of compasse. Then might you haue seene a lamentable spectacle: besides the huge and mighty flame of the City all on light fire, the people burning in their houses and streetes, but most of all, of such as laboured to passe out of the gates, farthest from the enemy; where meeting together in a mightie throng, & so pressing euery man to prevent another: wedged themselves so fast within the gate and streetes neere vnto it, as that three ranks walked one vpon the others head, the vppermost treading down those that were lower: so that there perished at that time (as was saide) by the fire & the preece, the number of eight hundred thousand people, or more.

The *Chrim* thus hauing fired the City, and fed his eyes with the sight of it all on a light flame, returned with his Army, and sent to the *Russe* Emperor a Knife (as was saide) to stick himselfe withall. vbraiding this losse, and his desperate case, as not daring eyther to meete his enemy in the field, nor to trust his friends nor subiects at home. The principall cause of this continuall quarrell betwixt the *Russe* and the *Chrim*, is for the right of certaine border parts, claimed by the *Tartar*, but possessed by the *Russe*. The *Tartar* alledge, that besides *Altacran*, & *Cazan* (that are the ancient possession of the East *Tartar*) the whole Country, from his bounds North and Westward, so farre as the City of *Mosko*, and *Mosko* it selfe, pertaineth to his right. Which seemeth to haue bin true, by the report of the *Russes* themselves, that tell of a certaine homage, that was done by the *Russe* Emperor (euery yeare) to the Great *Chrim* or *Cham*, the *Russe* Emperor standing on foote, and feeding the *Chrims* Horse (himselfe sitting

The firing of Mosko by the Chrim Tartar, in the yeare 1571.

A strange accident as yet was heard of.

The Chrim salutation to the Emperor.

The quarrell betwixt the Russe and Tartar.

Homage done by the Russe to the Chrim Tartar, and in what manner.

Seeing diuels together by the eares.

Of the Tartars, and other borderers to the Country of Russia, with whom they haue most to do in warre & peace. The Polonians called Laches by the Russe, and the reason why.

The Chrim Tartar, or the Great Cham.

The homage refused by the Chrims Emperall.

The Chrims coming against the Russe.

The manner of the Tartars fight & armour.

The common Soldiours Armour of the Tartars, differing from the Noblemans.

Their passage of Rivers.

sitting on his back) with Oates out of his owne Cap, instead of a Boule or Maunger, and that within the Castle of *Mosko*. And this homage (they say) was done till the time of *Basilens*, grandfather to this man. Who surprizing the *Chrim* Emperour by a stratagem, done by one of his Nobility (called *Iuan Demetrowich Belfchey*) was content with this ranlome, viz. with the changing of this homage into a tribute of Furses: which afterwards also was denied to be paid by this Emperors Father.

Hereupon they continue the quarrell, the *Russe* defending his Country, & that which he hath won, the *Chrim Tartar* invading him once or twice euery yeare, sometime about *Whitfontide*, but often in *Haruest*. What time, if the great *Cham* or *Chrim* come in his owne person, hee bringeth with him a great Army of an hundred thousand, or two hundred thousand men. Otherwise, they make short and sudden roads into the Country with lesser numbers, running about the life of the border, as wilde Geese flie, invading and retiring where they see aduantage.

Their common practise (beeing very populous) is to make diuers Armies, and so drawing the *Russe* to one, or two places of the Frontiers, to invade at some other place, that is left without defence. Their manner of fight, or ordering of their Forces, is much after the *Russe* manner (spoken of before) saue that they are all horsemen, and carry nothing else but a Bowe, a sheafe of Arrowes, & a faulchon sword after the Turkish fashion. They are very expert horsemen, and vse to shoote as readily backward, as forward. Some will haue a horsemans staffe like vnto a boare speare, besides their other weapons. The common Soldiour hath no other armour then his ordinary apparell, viz. a blacke sheeps skinn, with the wooll side outward in the day time, and inward in the night time, with a cap of the same. But their *Mayses* or Noblemen imitate the Turke both in apparell and armor. When they are to passe ouer a Riuer with their Army, they tye three or foure horses together, and taking long Poles or pieces of wood, binde them fast to the tayles of their horses: so sitting on the Poles they drive their horse ouer. At handy-strokes

(when they come to ioyne battaile) they are accounted farre better men then the *Russe* people, fiercer by nature, but more hardy and bloody by continuall practise of warre: as men knowing no parts of peace, nor any ciuill practise.

Yet their subtilty is more then may seeme to agree with their barbarous condition. By reason they are practised to invade continually, and to robbe their neighbours that border about them; they are very pregnant, and ready witted to deuise stratagems (vpon the sudden) for their better aduantage. As in their war against *Beala* the fourth King of *Hungary*, whom they invaded with five hundred thousand men, and obtained against him a great victory. Where (among other) hauing slaine his Chancellor, called *Nicholas Schinick*; they found about him the Kings priuy Seale. Whereupon, they deuised presently to counterfeit Letters in the Kings Name, to the Citties and Townes next about the place, where the field was fought; with charge, that in no case they should conuey themselves and their goods out of their dwellings, where they might abide safely without all feare of danger, and not leaue the Country desolate, to the possession of so vile and barbarous an enemy, as was the *Tartar* Nation, teaming themselves in all reprochfull manner.

For, notwithstanding he had lost his carriages, with some few straglers that had marched disorderly; yet hee doubted not but to recouer that losse, with the assistance of a notable victory, if the sauage *Tartar* durst abide him in the field. To this purpose, hauing written their letters in the *Polish* Characters, by certaine yong men whom they tooke in the field, and signed them with the Kings Seale; they dispatched them forth to all the quarters of *Hungary*, that lay neare about the place. Whereupon the *Hungarians*, that were now flying away with their goods, wines, and children, vpon the rumour of the kings ouerthrow, taking comfort by these counterfeit Letters, staid at home. And so were made a prey, being surprized on the sudden by the huge number of these *Tartars*, that had compassed them about before they were aware.

When they besiege a Towne or Fort, they offer much Parley, and send many flattering

The subtilty of the Tartar.

The Tartars war against Beala King of Hungary, and their cunning policy.

All policies in warre are by them accounted lawfull.

Besiedging of Townes or Forts.

flattering messages to persuade a surrender, promising all things that the Inhabitants will require: but being once possessed of the place, they use all manner of hostility, and cruelty. This they do upon a rule they have, viz. *That Justice is to be practised but towards their owne*. They encounter not lightly, but they have some ambush, whereunto (having once shewed themselves, and made some short conflict) they retire, as repulsed for feare, and so draw the enemy into it if they can. But the *Russe* being well acquainted with their practise, is more wary of them. When they come a routing with some small number, they set on horsebacke counterfeit shapen of men, that their number may seeme greater.

When they make any onset, their manner is to make a great shout, crying all out together, *Olla Billa, Olla Billa, God help us, God helpe us*. They contemne death so much, as that they chuse rather to die, then to yeeld to their enemy, & are seene (when they are slaine) to bite the very weapon when they are past striking, or helping of themselves. Wherein appeareth, how different the *Tartar* is in his desperate courage, from the *Russe* and *Turke*. For the *Russe* Souldier, if hee begin once to retire, putteth all his safety in his speedy flight. And if once he be taken by his enemy, he neither defendeth himselfe, nor intreateth for his life, as reckning straight to die. The *Turke* commonly, when hee is past hope of escaping, falleth to entreitic, and casteth away his weapon, offereth both his hands, and holdeth them vp, as it were to be tied: hoping to save his life, by offering himselfe bondslave.

The cheefe booty the *Tartars* seeke for in all their wars, is to get store of captiues, specially yong boies and girles, who they sell vnto the *Turkes*, or other their neighbours. To this purpose they take with them great Baskets, made like Bakers Panniers, to carry them tenderly, and if any of them happen to tier, or to be sick on the way, they dash him against the ground, or some tree, and so leane him dead. The Souldiours are not troubled with keeping the Captiues, and the other booties, for hindering the execution of their wars; but they have certaine bands that intend nothing else, appointed of purpose to receive and keepe the Cap-

tives and the other prey.

The *Russe* borders (being vsed to their inuasions lightly every yeare in the Summer) keepe few other Cattell on the border parts, save Swine only, which the *Tartar* will not touch, nor drive away with him: for that he is of the Turkish religion, and will eate no Swines flesh. Of Christ our Saviour, they confesse as much as doth the *Turk* in his Alkaron, viz. That he came of the Angell *Gabriel*, & the Virgin *Mary*, that he was a great Prophet, & shall be the Iudge of the world at the last day. In other matters likewise, they are much ordered after the manner and direction of the *Turke*: having felt the Turkish Forces, when hee wonne from them *Asou*, and *Cassa*, with some other townes about the *Euxine*, or *Blacke Sea*, that were before tributaries to the *Chrim Tartar*. So that now the Emperor of the *Chrimis* (for the most part) is chosen some one of the Nobility, whom the *Turke* doth commend: whereby it is brought now to that passe, that the *Chrim Tartar* giueth to the *Turke* the tenth part of the spoile, which he getteth in his wars against the Christians.

Heerein they differ from the Turkish Religion, for that they have certaine idoll puppets, made of filke, or like stuffe, of the fashion of a man, which they fasten to the doore of their walking houses, to be as *Ianusses* or keepers of their house. And these Idols are made not by all, but by certaine religious women, which they have among them, for that and like vses. They haue besides, the image of their King or Great *Cham*, of an huge bignesse, which they erect at every stage, when the Army marcheth: and this euery one must bend and bow vnto as he passeth by it, be hee *Tartar*, or stranger. They are much giuen to witchcraft, and ominous coniectures, vpon euery accident which they heare or see.

In making of marriages, they haue no regard of alliance or consanguinity. One ly with his Mother, Sister, and Daughter, a man may not marry, and though hee take the woman into his house, and accompany with her; yet hee accounteth her not for his Wife, till he haue a childe by her. Then he beginneth to take a dowry of her friends, of Horse, Sheep, Kine, &c. If she bee barren, after a certaine

The Tartar Religion like to the Turke.

Choice of the Tartars Emperor.

Difference to the Turkish Religion.

Addition to witchcraft.

Making of marriages among the Tartars.

time, he turneth her home againe.

Vnder the Emperour they haue certayne Dukes, whom they call *Morfeis*, or *Diuyrnfeis*: that rule ouer a certayne number of tenne thousand, twenty thousand, or forty thousand a peece, which they call *Horsis*. When the Emperour hath any vse of them to serue in his wars, they are bound to come; and to bring with them their Souldiers to a certayne number, euery man with his two horses at the least, the one to ride on, the other to kill, when it cometh to his turne to haue his horse eaten. For their chiefe vitaille is horse flesh, which they eate without bread, or any other thing with it. So that if a *Tartar* be taken by a *Russe*, he shall be sure lightly to finde a horse legge, or some other part of him hanging at his saddle bowe.

This last yeare, when I was at the *Moscow*, came in one *Kiriach Morfeis*, Nephew to the Emperour of the *Chrimis* that now is (whose father was Emperour before) accompanied with 3, hundred *Tartars*, and his two wiues, whereof one was his brothers widow. Where being entertained in very good fort (after the *Russe* manner) he had sent vnto his lodging for his welcome, to be made ready for his supper and his companies, two very large and fatte horses, ready slayed on a sledde. They preferre it before other flesh, because the meate is stronger (as they say) then beefe, mutton, and such like. And yet (which is maruell) though they serue all as horsemen in the warres, and eate all of horse flesh, there are brought yearly to the *Moscow*, to be exchanged for other commodities, thirty or fortie thousand *Tartar* horses, which they commonly call *Cones*.

They keepe also great herds of kine, and flocks of blacke sheepe, rather for the skinnen and milke (which they carrie with them in great bottles) then for the vse of the flesh, though sometimes they eate of it. Some vse they haue of Rice, Figges, and other Fruites. They drinke milke or warme blood, and for the most part, carde them both together. They vse sometimes (as they doe trauell by the way) to let their horses blood in a veine, and to drink it warme, as it cometh from his body.

Townes they do plant none, nor other

standing buildings, but haue walking houses, which the Latines call *Vici*, built vpon wheeles, like vnto a Shepherds cottage. These they draw with them whither they goe, driving their cattails with them. And whē they come to their stage, or standing place, they plant their Cart-houses very orderly in a ranke: and so do make the forme of the stretes, and of a large towne. And this is the manner of the Emperour himselfe, who hath no other feare of his Empire, but an *Agora*, or towne of wood, that mooneth with him whither he goeth. As for the fixed and standing buildings vsed in other Countries, they say they are vnwholesome and vnpleasant.

They beginne to moue their houses and cattails in the Spring time, from the South part of their Countrey towards the North parts. And so driving on till they haue grafed all vp vnto the farthest part Northward, they retorne backe againe towards their South Countrey (where they continue all the winter) by ten or twelve miles a stage: in the meane while, the grasse being sprung vp againe, to serue for their cattails as they retorne. From the border of the *Shalcan* towards the *Caspian* Sea, vnto the *Russe* frontiers, they haue a goodly Countrey, specially on the South and South-east parts, but lost for lacke of tillage.

Of money they haue no vse at all, and therefore prefer Brasse and Steele before other mettals, especially bullate, which they vse for Swords, Knives, and other necessities. As for Golde and Siluer, they neglect it of very purpose, (as they do all tillage of their ground) to be more free for their wandering kinde of life, and to keepe their Countrey lesse subiect to inuasions. Which giueth them great advantage against all their neighbours, such inuading, and neuer being inuaded. Such as haue taken vpon them to inuade their Countrey (as of old time *Cyrus* and *Darius Hystaspis*, on the East and Southeast side) haue done it with very ill successe, as we finde in the Stories written of those times. For their manner is, when any will inuade them, to allure and draw them on, by flying and reculing (as if they were afraid) vntill they haue drawne them some good way within their Countrey. Then, when they beginne to want vitaille and

The Tartars dwelling, walking, or removing houses.

Agora, or Towne of wood mooning with the Emperour.

The times of removing their houses.

They haue no vse of money among them.

Pollicie in their poverty.

Their pollicy for inuaders of their countrey.

A subtle rule among the Tartars.

The Tartars contempt of death.

Of the Russe Souldiour.

Of the Turkish Souldiour.

The booty of the Tartars.

The Tartar Nobility, and their authority.

The Tartars diet, is horse flesh.

A present at a Tartars entertainment.

Their vse of blacke sheepe milke.

other necessaries (as needes they must where nothing is to bee had) to stop vp the passages, and enclose them with multitudes. By which stratagem (as wee read in *Laonicus Chalcondylas* in his Turkish story) they had well nigh surprized the great and huge Army of *Tamberlaine*; but that he retired with al speed he could, towards the River *Tanaïs*, or *Don*, not without great losse of his men, and carriages.

Laonicus Chalcondylas.

Pachymerius.

A story of a Tartarian Captaine.

In the story of *Pachymerius the Greeke* (which hee wrote of the Emperours of *Constantinople* from the beginning of the Reigne of *Michael Palaeologus*, to the time of *Ananious the elder*) I remember hee telleth (to the same purpose) of one *Nogais*, a *Tartarian* Captaine vnder *Cazan*, the Emperour of the East *Tartars* (of who the City and Kingdome of *Cazan* may seeme to haue taken the denomination) who refused a Present of Pearle & other Jewels, sent vnto him from *Michael Palaeologus*: Asking (withall) for what vse they serued, and whither they were good to keepe away sicknesse, death, or other misfortunes of this life, or no? So that it seemeth they haue euer (or long time) bene of that minde, to value things no further, then by the vse, and necessity for which they serue.

Person and complexion of the Tartars and their natural inclination.

For person and complexion, they haue broad and flat visages, of a tanned colour into yellow and blacke, fierce and cruell lookes, thin haired vpon the vpper lip, and pit of the chin, light and nimble bodied, with short legges, as if they were made naturally for Horsemen: whereto they pradiſe themselves from their childhood, sildome going afoote about any businesse. Their speech is very sudden and loud, speaking as it were out of a deep hollow throte. When they sing, you would thinke a Cow lowed, or some great bandog howled. Their greatest exercise is shooting, wherein they traine vp their children from their very infancy, not suffering them to eate, till they haue shot neere the marke within a certaine scantling. They are the very same, that (sometimes) were called * *Scythia Nomades*, or the *Scythian Shepheards*, both by the Greekes and Latines.

* A people in Scythia about Meotis.

Some thinke, that the *Turkes* took their beginning from the Nation of the *Chrim Tartars*. Of which opinion is *Laonicus Chalcondylas* the Greeke Historiographer, in his first Booke of his Turkish story. Wherein he followeth diuers very probable coniectures.

The first, taken from the very name it selfe, for that the word *Turke*, signifieth a Shepheard, or one that followeth a vagrant and wilde kinde of life. By which name these *Scythian Tartars* haue euer bin noted, being called by the Greekes, *Skithai Nomades*, or the *Scythian Shepheards*.

His second reason, because the *Turkes* (in his time) that dwelt in *Asia the lesse*, to wit, in *Lydia*, *Coria*, *Phrygia*, and *Cappadocia*, spake the very same Language that these *Tartars* did, that dwelt betwixt the River *Tanaïs* or *Don*, and the Country of *Sarmatia*, which (as is well knowne) are these *Tartars* called *Chrimis*. At this time also, the whole Nation of the *Turks* differ not much in their common speech from the *Tartar* Language.

Thirdly, because the *Turke* and the *Chrim Tartar* agree so well together, as well in Religion, as matter of Trafficke, neuer invading, or inuoying one another: saue that the *Turke* (since *Laonicus* his time) hath encroached vpon some Towns vpon the * *Euxine* Sea, that before pertained to the *Chrim Tartar*.

Fourthly, because *Orogales* sonne to *Oguzalpes*, and (Father to *Ottoman*, the first of name of the Turkish Nation) made his first rodes out of those partes of *Asia*, vpon the next borderers, till he came towards the Countreyes about the Hill *Taurus*, where he ouercame the Greekes that inhabited there: and so enlarged the name and territory of the Turkish Nation, till he came to *Eubæa* and *Attica*, and other partes of Greece. This is the opinion of *Laonicus*, who liued amongst the *Turkes*, in the time of *Amurath*, the sixte Turkish Emperour, about the year 1400. when the memory of their originall was more fresh: and therefore the likelier hee was to hit the truth.

There are diuers other *Tartars* that border vpon *Russia*, as the *Nagais*, the *Cheremisens*, the *Morduites*, the *Chircaſſes*, & the *Shalcans*, which all differ (in name, more then in Regiment, or other condition) from the *Chrim Tartar*, except the *Chircaſſes*, that border South-West, towards *Lithuania*, and are farre more ciuill then the rest of the *Tartars*; of a comely person,

The reason of the Greek Author, for his opinion of the Tartars.

* A part of the Sea, diuiding Europe from Asia.

The Nagay Tartars, the Cheremisens, the Chircaſſes, and the Shalcans.

person, and of a stately behaiour, as applying themselves to the fashion of the *Poloman*. Some of them haue subiected themselves vnto the Kings of *Poland*, and professe Christianity. The *Nagay* lyeth Eastward, and is reckoned for the best man of warre among all the *Tartars*, but very sauage and cruell about all the rest.

The Cheremisens Tartars, very troublesome and dangerous.

The *Cheremisens Tartars*, that lye betwixt the *Russe* and the *Nagay*, are of two sorts, the *Luganoy* (that is of the Valley) and the *Nagorway*, or of the hilly Country. These haue much troubled the Emperours of *Russia*. And therefore they are content now to buy peace of them, vnder pretence of giuing a yearly pension of *Russe* commodities, to their *Morſeis*, or *Dinoymorſeis*, that are cheefe of their Tribes. For which also they are bound to serue them in their wars, vnder certaine conditions. They are saide to be iust and true in their dealings: and for that cause they hate the *Russe* people, whom they account to bee double, and false in all their dealings. And therefore the common fort are very unwilling to keepe agreement with them, but that they are kept in by their *Morſeis*, or Dukes for their pensions sake.

The Morduites Tartars, the most barbarous of the rest.

The most rude and barbarous is counted the *Morduite Tartar*, that hath many selfe-fashions, and strange kindes of behaiour, differing from the rest. For his Religion, though hee acknowledge one God, yet his manner is to worshipspe for God, that liuing thing, that hee first meeteth in the morning, and to sweare by it all that whole day, whether it be Horſe, Dogge, Catte, or whatsoeuer else it bee. When his friend dieth, he killeth his best Horſe, and hauing flayed off the skinn, he carrieth it on high vpon a long Pole, before the corpes to the place of buriall. This hee doth (as the *Russe* saith) that his friend may haue a good Horſe to carry him to Heauen: but it is likelier to declare his loue towards his dead friend, in that he will haue to die with him the best thing that he hath.

The Shalcans and Country of Media.

Next to the Kingdome of *Astracan*, that is the farthest part Southeastward of the *Russe* Dominion, lyeth the *Shalcans*, and the Countrey of *Media*: whether the *Russe* Merchants trade for raw filkes, syndon, saphion, skins, and other commodi-

ties. The cheife Townes of *Media* where the *Russe* tradeth, are *Derbent* (built by *Alexander* the great, as the Inhabitants say), and *Zamachio*, where the staple is kept for rawe filkes. Their manner is (in the Spring time) to reuiue the silke-worms (that lye dead all the Winter) by laying them in the warme Sun, and to hasten their quickning, that they may sooner goe to worke) to put them into bags, and so to hang the vnder their childrens armes. As for the Worme called *Chrimisin* (as wee call it *Chrymſon*) that maketh coloured silke, it is bred not in *Media*, but in *Assyria*. This trade to *Derbent* & *Zamachio* for raw filkes, and other commodities of that Country, as also into *Persia*, and *Bougharia*, downe the River *Volga*, and through the *Caspian* Sea; is permitted aſwell to the English, as to the *Russe* Merchants, by the Emperours last Graunt, as appeareth. Which hee accounteth for a very speciall fauour, and might prouee indeed very beneficiall to all kinde of Merchants, if the trade were well and orderly vsed.

Of reuiuing the Silke-worms in the Spring time.

The whole Nation of the *Tartars*, are vtterly void of all learning, & without written Law. Yet certaine rules they haue, which they hold by tradition, common to all the *Hoards*, for the practice of their life. Which are of this sort.

The Tartars haue no learning or written Law.

First, To obey their Emperour and other Magistrates, whatsoever they command about the publike seruice.

2. Except for the publike beboofe, euery man to be free, and out of controlement.

3. No private man to possesse any Lands, but the whole Country to be in common.

4. To neglect all daintinesse and variety of meates, and to content themselves with that which cometh next to hand, for more hardnesse, and readinesse in the executing of their affaires.

5. To weare any base attire, and to patch their clothes, whether there be any neede or not: that when there is neede, it be no shame to weare a patcht Coate.

6. To take, or steale from any stranger whatsoever they can get, as being enemies to all men, saue to such as will subiect themselves to them.

7. Towards their owne Hoord and Nation, to be true in word and deed.

8. To suffer no stranger to come within the Realm. If any do the same to be bond-slave to
E e e e him

Orders and obseruations among them.

Of the Per-
mians, Samoi-
tes, & Lappes.The Permi-
ans.

The Samoit

Indigenz or
beggars.The Samoit
religion.Slata Baba or
the golden
hagge.The Obdo-
rian.

hum that first taketh him, except such Mar-
chants, and other as haue the Tartar Ball, or
Passport about them.

The *Permians* and *Samoites*, that do lie
from *Russia*, North and Northeast, are
thought likewise to haue taken their be-
ginning from the *Tartar* kinde. And it
may partly be ghesed by the fashion of
their countenance, as hauing all broad
and flat faces, as the *Tartars* haue, except
the *Chirchasse*.

The *Permians* are accounted for a very
ancient people. They are now subiect
to the *Russe*. They liue by hunting,
and trading with their furs, as doth also the
• *Samoys*, that dwellch more towards the
North sea.

The *Samoys* hath his name (as the *Russe*
saith) of eating himselfe: as in times past,
they liued as Cannibals, eating one an o-
ther. Which they make more probable,
because (at this time) they eat all kinde
of frawe flesh, whatsoever it be, euen the
very carrion that lyeth in the ditch. But
as the *Samoites* themselves will say, they
were called *Samie*, that is of themselves,
as though they were *Indigena*, or poore
people bred vpon that very soile. That ne-
uer changed their seat from one place to
another, as most Nations haue doone.
They are subiect, at this time, to the Em-
perour of *Russia*.

I talked with certaine of them, & finde
that they acknowledge one God; but re-
present him by such things as they haue
most vfe and good by. Therefore they do
worship the Sunne, the Ollen, the Lofh,
and such like. As for the storie of *Slata Ba-
ba*, or the *Golden hagge*, (which I haue read
in some Maps and Descriptions of these
countries, to be an Idole, after the forme
of an old woman) that being demanded
by the Priest, giues them certaine oracles,
concerning the successe, and euent of
things; I found it to be but a very Fable.
Onely in the Prouince of *Obdaria*, vpon
the Sea side, neare to the mouth of the
great riuer *Obda*, there is a Rocke, which
naturally (being somewhat helped by
imagination) may seeme to beare the
shape of a ragged woman, with a child
in her armes (as the Rocke by the North
Cape the shape of a Fryer) where the *Ob-
dorian Samoit*es vfe much to resort, by rea-
son of the commoditie of the place for
fishing: and there sometime (as their ma-

ner is) conceiue and praefite their force-
ries, and ominous coniecturings, about
the good or the bad speede of their iour-
neys, fishings, huntings, and other such
like.

They are clad in Seale skins, with the
haire fide outwards downe, as low as the
knees, with their breeches and neather-
stocks of the same, both men and women.
They are all black haired, naturally be ar-
dlesse. Therefore the men are hardly dis-
cerned from the women by their lookes,
laue that the women weare a locke of
haire downe along both their eares. They
liue (in a manner) a wilde and a sauage life,
rouing still from one place of the country
to another, without any property of house
or land, more to one then to an other.
Their leader or director in euery compa-
ny, is their *Papa* or Priest.

On the North side of *Russia* next vnto
Corelia, lyeth the Countrey of *Lappia*,
which reacheth in length from the far-
thest poynt Northward, (towards the
North-cape) to the farthest part South-
east (which the *Russe* calleth *Sweetnesse* or
Holy nole, the Englishmen *Capetrace*)
about 345. verst or miles. From *Sweet-
nesse* to *Candelox* by the way of *Verfega*
(which meatureth the breadth of that
country) is 90 miles, or thereabouts. The
whole Countrey (in a manner) is eyther
Lakes or Mountains, which towards the
Sea side are called *Tondro*, because they
are all of hard and craggy rocke, but the
in-land partes are well furnished with
woods growing vpon the hilles sides, the
Lakes lying betweene. Their dyet is very
bare and simple. Bread they haue none,
but feed onely vpon fish and fowle. They
are subiect to the Emperour of *Russia*,
and the two Kings of *Sweden* and *Den-
marke*; which all exact tribute & custome
of them (as was said before): but the Em-
perour of *Russia* beareth the greatest hand
ouer them, and exact of them farre more
then the rest. The opinion is, that they
were first tearmed *Lappes*, of their brieue
and short speach. The *Russe* diuideth the
whole nation of the *Lappes* into two sorts.
The one they call *Nowremansky Lapy*,
that is, the *Norwegian Lappes*: because
they be of the *Danish* Religion. For the
Danes & *Norwegians* they account for one
people. The other that haue no Religi-
on at all, but liue as brute and Heathenish
people,

The Samoit
habite and
behauiour.

The Lappes.

Their dyet
and feeding.Diuision of
the Lappes.

CHAP. III.

Fourthly, concerning Ecclesiasticall Of-
fices and Orders; The Rites and Sacraments
observed in the Mosconian Church: with
their Marriages and other Ceremonies be-
side.



Concerning the
government of
their Church, it
is framed altoge-
ther after the
manner of the
Greeks, as being
a part of that
Church, and neuer acknowledging the
iurisdiction of the Latine Church, usurp-
ed by the Pope. That I may keepe the
better measure in describing their Cere-
monies, then they in the vjing the (where-
in they are infinite) I will note briefly.

First, what Ecclesiasticall degrees, or
Offices they haue, with the iurisdiction &
praefite of them.

Secondly, what doctrine they holde
in matter of Religion.

Thirdly, what Leiturgy, or forme of
seruice they vfe in their Churches, with
the manner of their administring the Sa-
craments.

Fourthly, what other strange Cere-
monies, and superstitious deuotions are
vfed among them.

Their Offices, or degrees of Church-
men, are as many in number, and the same
in a manner (both in name and degree)
that were in the Westerne Churches.
First they haue their *Patriarch*, then their
Metropolitans, their *Archbishops*, their *Pla-
dikey* or *Bishops*, their *Protopapes* or *Arch-
Priests*, their *Papes* or *Priests*, their *Dea-
cons*, *Fryars*, *Monks*, *Nuns*, and *Eremites*.

Their *Patriarch*, or chiefe director in
matter of religion vntill this last year, was
of the City of *Constanstinople* (whom
they called the *Patriarch* of *Sio*) because,
being driuen by the *Turke* out of *Constan-
stinople* (the seat of his Empire) he remo-
ued to the Isle *Sio*, sometimes called *Chio*,
and there placed his Patriarchall Sea. So
that the Emperors & Cleargy of *Russia*,
were wont yearly to send gifts thither,

Eccc 2 and

The Church
Officers.The Patri-
arch.The Lappes
vnde of all
Learning.The Lappes
glue or sell no
windes.Their Wea-
pons.The Lappes
Marr on S. Pe-
ters day.

and to acknowledge a spirituall kinde of homage, and subiection due to him, and to that Church. Which custome they haue held (as it seemeth) euer since they professed the Christian Religion. Which how long it hath bene, I coule not well learne, for that they haue no story or monument of Antiquity (that I could heere of) to shew what hath bene done in times past within their Countrey, concerning either Church or Commonwealth matters.

A solemne
great mari-
age.

Onely I heard a report amongst them, that about three hundred yeares since, there was a marriage betwixt the Emperour of *Constantinople*, & the kings daughter of that Countrey: who (at the first) denied to ioyne his daughter in marriage with the Greeke Emperour, because he was of the Christian Religion. Which agreeth well with that which I find in the story of *Laonicus Chalacandylas*, concerning Turkish affaires in his fourth book: where he speaketh of such a marriage, betwixt *Iohn* the Greeke Emperour, and the Kings daughter of *Sarmatia*.

And this argueth (out of their own report) that at that time, they had not receyued the Christian Religion: As also, that they were conuerted to the faith, and withall peruerted at the very same time, receyuing the doctrine of the Gospel corrupted with superstitions euen at the very first, when they tooke it from the Greeke Church, which it selfe then was degenerate, and corrupted with many superstitions and fowle errors, both in Doctrine & Discipline: as may appeare by the storie of *Nicephorus Gregoras*, in his eighth and ninth bookes.

The Poloni-
an history.

But, as touching the time of their conuersion to the Christian faith, I suppose rather, that it is mistaken by the *Russe*: for that which I find in the *Polonian* story, the second Booke, the third chapter: where is sayde, that about the yeare 990. *Plodimir* Duke of *Russia*, married one *Anne*, sister to *Basilius* and *Constantinus* brothers, and Emperours of *Constantinople*. Whereupon the *Russe* receyued the Faith and profession of Christ. Which, though it be somewhat more ancient then the time noted before out of the *Russe* report; yet it falleth out al to one reckning, touching this point, vizin what truth and sincerity of doctrine the *Russe* receyued the first

stamp of religion: forasmuch as the Greeke church (at that time also) was many waies infected with error and superstition.

In the yeare 1588. came vnto the *Mosko* the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, or *Sio*, called *Hieronimo*, being banished (as som sayd) by the Turke, as some other reported, by the Greeke Clergy deputed. The Emperour being giuen altogether to superstitious deuotions, gaue him great entertainment. Before his comming vnto *Mosko*, he had bin in *Italy* with the Pope, as was reported there by som of his company. His errand was, to consult with the Emperour, concerning these points.

First, about a league to passe between him and the King of Spaine, as the meekest Prince to ioyne with him in opposition against the Turke. To which purpose also Ambassages had passed betwixt the *Russe* and the *Persian*. Likewise from the *Georgians* to the Emperour of *Russia*, to ioyne league together, for the invading of the Turke on all sides of his dominion: taking the advantage of the simple quality of the Turke that then was. This treatie was helped forward by the Emperours Ambassador of *Almaigne*, sent at the same time to sollicite an inuasion on the partes of *Polonia*, that lye towards *Russland*, and to borrow money of the *Russe* Emperour, to pursue the warre for his brother *Maximilian* against the *Swedens* son, then King of *Poland*.

But this consultation concerning a league betwixt the *Russe* & the Spaniard (which was then in some forwardnesse, and already one appointed for Ambassage into Spaine) was defeated, by means of the ouerthrow giuen to the Spanish king by her Maiesty, the Queen of England the last yeare before. Which made the *Russe* Emperour and his Counsell, to giue the sadder countenance to the English Ambassador there at that time: for that they were disappointed of so good a policy, as was this coniunction, supposed to be betwixt them and the Spanish.

His second purpose (whereto the first serued as an introduction) was, in reuenge of the Turke and the Greeke Clergye, that hadde thrust him from his seate, to treat with him about the reducing of the *Russe* church vnder the Pope of *Rome*. Wherein it may seeme, that comming lately from *Rome*, hee was set vpon by the

The translation
of the Pa-
triarchall Sea
from Con-
stantinople or Sio
to Mosko

The first in-
tention.

Ambassage
betweene the
Russe & *Persian*.

the Pope, who hath attempted the same many times before, though all in vaine: and namely in the time of the late Emperour *Iuan Vasiluovich*, by one *Anthony* his Legate. But thought this (belike) a far better meane to obtaine his purpose, by treaty and mediation of their owne Patriarch. But this not succeeding, the Patriarch fell to a third point of treaty, concerning the resignation of his Patriarchship, and translation of the Sea from *Constantinople*, or *Sio*, to the City of *Mosko*. Which was so well liked, and entertained by the Emperour (as a matter of high religion and policy) that no other treaty (specially of forraign Ambassages) could be heard or regarded, till that matter was concluded.

The third in-
tention.

Resonsyeed-
d by the
Patriarch.

The *Russe*
Church,
daughter to
the Greeke
Church.

Coming in
the Patriarch.

The Pa-
triarchship of
Constantinople
translated to
Mosko.

The second
intention.

The reasons wherewith the Patriarch perswaded the translating of his Sea to the City of *Mosko*, were these in effect.

First, for that the Sea of the Patriarch was vnder the Turke, that is enemy to the faith: And therefore to be remoued into some other Countrey of Christian profession.

Secondly, because the *Russe* Church was the onely naturall Daughter of the Greeke at this time, and holdeth the same Doctrine and Ceremonies with it: the rest being all subiect to the Turke, and fallen away from the right profession. Wherein the subtrill Greeke (to make the better market of his broken ware) aduanced the honour that would grow to the Emperour, and his Countrey: to haue the Patriarchs seate, translated into the chiefe City, and seate of his Empire. As for the right of translating the Sea, and appointing his successeur; hee made no doubt of it, but that it pertained wholly vnto himselfe.

So the Emperour and his Counsell, with the principall of his Clergye, being assembled at the *Mosko*, it was determined, that the Metropolitane of *Mosko*, should become Patriarch of the whole Greeke Church, and haue the same full authority and iurisdiction, that pertained before to the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, or *Sio*. And that it might be done with more order and solemnity, the 25. of January, 1588. the Greeke Patriarch, accompanied with the *Russe* Clergye, went vnto the great Church of *Precheste*, or our Lady, within the Emperours Castle (hauing first

wandered through the whole City in manner of a procession, and blessing the people with his two fingers) where he made an Oration, and deliuered his resignation in an instrument of writing, and so layde downe his Patriarchiall staffe. Which was presently receiued by the Metropolitane of *Mosko*, & diuers other ceremonies vsed about the inauguration of this new Patriarch.

The day was holden very solemne by the people of the City, who were commanded to forebear their works, and to attend this solemnity. The great Patriarch that day was honored with rich presents sent him from the Emperour & Emperesse of Place, Cloath of Gold, Furs, &c. carried with great pompe through the streetes of *Mosko*, and (at his departing) receiued many gifts more, both from the Emperour, Nobility, and Clergye. Thus the Patriarchship of *Constantinople*, or *Sio*, (which hath continued since the Counsell of *Nice*) is now translated vnto *Mosko*, or they made beleeue, that they haue a Patriarch, with the same right and authority that the other had. VVherin the suble Greeke hath made good advantage of their superstition, & is now gone away with a rich booty into *Poland*, whither their Patriarchship be currant or not.

The matter is not vnlike to make some Schisme betwixt the Greeke and *Russe* Church, if the *Russe* hold this Patriarchship that he hath so well payed for, & the Greekes elect another withall, as likely they wil, whither this man were banished by the Turke, or depriued by order of his owne Clergye. Which might happen to giue advantage to the Pope, & to bring ouer the *Russe* Church to the Sea of *Rome* (to which ende peraduenture hee deuised this stratagem, and cast in this matter of Schisme among them) but that the Emperours of *Russia* knew well enough, (by the example of other Christian Princes) what inconuenience would grow to their State and Countrey, by subiecting themselves to the *Romish* Sea. To which ende, the late Emperour *Iuan Vasiluovich* was very inquisitive, of the Popes authority ouer the Princes of Christendome, and sent one of very purpose to *Rome*, to behold the order and behaviour of his Court.

With this Patriarch *Hieronimo* was driuen out (at the same time by the great

A solemne
Holliday in
Mosko.

An easie mat-
ter to be per-
suaded.

Demetrio
Archbishop
of Larissa ex-
cluded with
the Patriarch.

Reasons of
good & great
likelihood.

The Patriarch
Jurisdiction.

The Metro-
polites.

Archbishops.

Turke) one *Demetrio*, Archbishop of *Larissa*: who went into *England*, and pretended the same cause of their banishment by the Turke (to wit) their not admitting of the Popes new Kalender, for the alteration of the year. Which, how unlikely it is, may appeare by these circumstances.

First, because there is no such affection, nor friendly respect, betwixt the Pope and the Turke; as that he should banish a subject, for not obeying the Popes ordinance, specially in a matter of some sequell, for the alteration of times within his owne Countries.

Secondly, for that he maketh no such scruple in deducting of times, and keeping of a iust and precise account from the incarnation of Christ: whom hee doth not acknowledge, otherwise then as I noted before.

Thirdly, for that the said Patriarch is now at *Naples in Italy*, whither (it may be guessed) he would not haue gone within the Popes reach, and so neare to his nose, if he had beene banished, for opposing himselfe against the Popes Decree.

This Office of Patriarchship now translated to *Mosko*, beareth a superior authority ouer all the Churches, not onely of *Russia*, and other the Emperors dominions; but throughout all the Churches of Christendome, that were before vnder the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, or *Sio*: or at least, the *Russe* Patriarch imagineth himselfe to haue the same authority. He hath vnder him (as his proper Diocesse) the Province of *Mosko*, besides other peculiars. His Court or Office is kept at the *Mosko*.

Before the creation of this new Patriarch, they had but one *Metropolit*, that was called the *Metropolit of Mosko*. Now for more state to their Church, and new Patriarch; they haue two *Metropolites*, the one of *Novogrod velica*, the other of *Rostow*. Their Office is, to receiue of the Patriarch, such Ecclesiasticall Orders, as he thinks good, & to deliuer the charge of the ouer to the Archbishops: besides the ordering of their owne Diocesse.

Their Archbishops are foure: of *Smolensko*, *Cazan*, *Volsko*, and *Velogda*. The parts of their Office is all one with the *Metropolites*: saue that they haue an vnder jurisdiction, as *Suffraganes* to the Metro-

polites, and superiors to the Bishops. The next are the *Vladikeis*, or Bishops, that are but fixe in all: of *Crutitska*, of *Resan*, of *Ofser*, and *Torshock*, of *Collo menska*, of *Volodemer*, of *Susdalla*. These haue euery one a very large Diocesse: as diuiding the rest of the whole Country among them.

The matters pertaining to the Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction, of the *Metropolites*, Archbishops, and Bishops, are the same (in a manner) that are vsed by the Clergie in other parts of Christendome. For, besides their authority ouer the Clergie, and ordering such matters as are mere Ecclesiasticall; their jurisdiction extendeth to all testamentary causes, matters of marriage, and diuorcements, some pleas of iniuries, &c.

To which purpose also they haue their Officials, or Commissaries (which they call *Boiaren Vladitsky*) that are Lay-men of the degree of Dukes, or Gentlemen, that keepe their Courts, and execute their jurisdiction. Which, besides their other oppressions ouer the common people, raigne ouer the Priests: as the Dukes and Diacks do ouer the poore people, within their Precincts.

As for the Archbishoppe or Bishop himselfe, he beareth no way in deciding those causes, that are brought into his Court. But if hee would moderate any matter, he must do it by entreaty with his Gentleman Officiall. The reason is, because these *Boiarsky*, or Gentlemen officials, are not appointed by the Bishops, but by the Emperour himselfe, or his Counsell, and are to giue account of their doings to none but to them. If the Bishop can entreat (at his admission) to haue the choise of his owne Officiall; it is accounted for a speciall great fauour. But to speake it as it is, the Clergie of *Russia*, as well concerning their lands and reuenues, as their authority and iurisdiction; are altogether ordered and ouer-ruled by the Emperour, and his Counsell, and haue to much, and no more of both as their pleasure doth permit them.

They haue also their assistants of severall Counsels (as they call them) of certaine Priests that are of their Dioces, residing within their Cathedrall cities, to the number of foure & twenty a peece. These aduise with them, about the speciall and necessary

Bishops.

Ecclesiastical
Jurisdiction.

Their Gen-
tlemen, Com-
missaries.

Oppression
also ouer the
Priests.

The Emper-
our appointeth
the Gen-
tlemen Offi-
cials and not
the Arch-Bishop.

Assistance of
several Coun-
sels.

The Church
reuenues.

The habit of
their Clergie
men.

Their ordina-
ry habit.

Their vpper
Garment.

The election
of bishops

The learning
and exercise
of the Russe
Clergie.

necessary matters belonging vnto theyr charge.

Concerning their rents and reuenues to maintaine their dignities, it is somewhat large. The Patriarches yearly rents out of his lands (besides other fees) is about three thousand Rubbels or Markes. The *Metropolites* and Archbishops, about two thousand and five hundred. The Bishops some a thousand, some eight hundred, some five hundred, &c. They haue had some of them (as I haue heard say) ten or twelue thousand rubbels a year; as had the *Metropolit of Novograde*.

Their habite or apparel (when they shew themselves in their Pontificalibus, after their solemnest manner) is a Miter on their heads, after the Popish fashion, with Pearle and precious stone, a Cope on their backs, commonly of Cloth of Gold, embrodered with Pearle, and a Crossiers staffe in their hands, layed ouer all with plate of siluer double gilt, with a Croffe or Shepherds crook at the vpper end of it.

Their ordinary habit otherwife, when they ride or go abroad, is a hood on their heads of blacke colour, that hangeth downe their backs, and standeth out like a Bonbrace before. Their vpper garment (which they call *keis*) is a gowne or Mantle of blacke Damaske, with many lifts or garges of white Sattin laid vpon it, euery garge about two fingers broad, and theye Crossiers staffe carried before them. These followe after, blessing the people with their two forefingers, with a maruelous grace.

The election, and appointing of the Bishops and the rest, pertaineth wholly to the Emperour himselfe. They are chosen euery out of the Monasteries: so that there is no Bishop, Archbyschoppe, nor *Metropolit*, but hath bene a Monke, or Fryer before. And (by that reason) they are, and must all bee vnmarried men, for their vow of Chastity, when they wer first thorne. When the Emperour hath appointed whom he thinketh good, hee is inuested in the Cathedrall Church of his Diocesse, with many ceremonies, much after the manner of the Popish inauguration. They haue also their Deanes, and their Arch-deacons.

As for preaching the word of God, or any teaching, or exhorting such as are vn-

der them; they neither vse it, nor haue any skill of it: the whole Clergie beeing vtterly vnlearned, both for other knowledge, and in the worde of God. Onely their manner is twice euery year, viz: the first of September (which is the first day of their year) and on *S. Iohn* Baptists day to make an ordinary speech to the people, euery *Metropolit*, Archbyschop and Byschop in his Cathedrall Church, so this or the like effect.

That if any be in malice toward his neighbor, he shall leave off his malice: if any haue thought of treason or rebellion against his Prince, he beware of such practise: if he haue not kept his fasts and Vowes, nor doone his other duties to the holy church, he shall amend that fault, &c.

And this is a matter of forme with the vttered in as many words, and no more (in a manner) then I haue here set downe. Yet the matter is done with that grace & solemnity, in a pulpit of purpose set vpp for this one Act; as if he wer to discourse at large of the whole substance of diuinity. At the *Mosko*, the Emperour himselfe is euery present at this solemn exhortation.

As themselves are voyde of all manner of learning, so they are warie to keepe out all means that might bring any in: as fearing to haue their ignorance and vngodlinesse discouered. To that purpose they haue perswaded the Emperours, that it would breed inuouation, and so danger to their State, to haue any nouelty of learning come within the Realme. Wherein they say but truth, for that a man of spirit and vnderstanding, holpen by Learning and liberrall education, can hardly endure a tyrannicall government.

Some times past, in the other Emperours time) there came a Presse & Letters out of *Polonia*, to the City of *Mosko*, where a Printing-house was set vpp, with great liking and allowance of the Emperour himself. But not long after, the house was set on fire in the night time, & the Presse and Letters quite burnt vpp, and (as it was thought) by the procurement of the Clergie men.

Their Priests, whome they call *Papies* are made by the Byschoppes, without any great trial for worthinesse of gifts, before they admit them, or ceremonies in their admission: saue that their heads are thorn

(not

The first day
of the year.

The Priests
fearfull to
haue their ig-
norance dis-
couered.

Learning can
hardly liue vn-
der tyranny.

A Printing
house erected
in Mosko.

Priests not
made for me-
rit or worthi-
nesse, and the
manner how.

(not shauen, for that they like not) about an hand bredth or more in the Crowne, and that place annointed with Oyle by the Bythop: who in his admission putteth vpon the Priest, first his Surpleſſe; and then setteth a white croſſe on his brest of ſilke, or ſome other matter, which hee is to weare eight dayes, and no more: and ſo giueth him authority to ſay and ſing in the Church, and to adminiſter the Sacraments.

They are men vtterly vnlearned, which is no maruell, forasmuch as their makers, the Bythoppes themſelues (as before was ſayde) are cleere of that quality, & make no farther vſe at all of any kinde of Learning, no not of the Scriptures themſelues, ſaue to reade and to ſing them. Their ordinary charge and function, is to ſay the Liturgie, to adminiſter the Sacraments after their manner, to keep & decke their Idols, and to doe the other Ceremonies vſuall in their Churches. Their number is great, becauſe theyr Townes are parted into many ſmall Parishes, without any diſcretion, for deuiding them into competent numbers of houſholds, and people for a iuſt Congregation: as the manner in all places where the meanes is neglected, for increaſing of knowledge, and inſtruction towards God. Which cannot well be had, where by meanes of an vnequall partition of the people, and parishes, there followeth a want and vnequality of ſtipend, for a ſufficient Miniſtery.

For their Priests, it is lawfull to marry for the first time. But if the first Wife dye, a ſecond he cannot take, but he muſt loſe his Prieſthood, and his liuing withal. The reaſon, they make out of that place of *Saint Paul to Timothy*, 1.3.2. not well vnderſtood, thinking that to bee ſpoken of diuers wiues ſucceſſiuely, that the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of at one and the ſame time. If he will needes marry againe after his first Wife is dead, hee is no longer called *Papa*, but *Kappa*, or Priest *Quondam*. This maketh the Priests to make much of their Wiues, who are accounted as the Matrones, and of beſt reputation, among the Women of the Parish.

For the ſtipend of the Priest, their manner is not to pay him any tenths of corne, or ought elſe: but hee muſt ſtand at the

deuotion of the people of his owne Parish, and make vp the Incomes towards his maintenance, ſo well as he can, by offerings, Thrifts, marriages, burials, diriges, and prayers for the dead and the liuing (which they call *Mollitua*). For beſides their publike ſeruite within their Churches, their manner is, for euery private man to haue a prayer ſaide for him by the Priest, vpon any occaſion of buſineſſe whatſoeuer, whether he ride, goe, ſayle, plough, or whatſoeuer elſe hee doeth. Which is not framed according to the occaſion of his buſineſſe, but at random, being ſome of their ordinary and vſuall Church prayers. And this is thought to be more holy and effectual, if it be repeated by the Priests mouth, rather then by his owne.

They haue a cuſtome beſides to ſolemnize the Saints day, that is Patron to their Church once euery yeare. What time all their neighbours of their Country, & parishes about, come in to haue prayers ſaide to that Saint, for themſelues, and their friends: and ſo make an Offering to the Priest for his paines.

This Offering may yeeld them ſome ten pounds a yeare, more or leſſe, as the Patron or Saint of that Church is of credite and eſtimation among them. The manner is on this day (which they keepe anniuersary for the Priest) to hyre diuers of his neighbour-Priests to helpe him: as hauing more Diſhes to dreſſe for the Saint, then hee can well turne his hand vnto.

They vſe beſides to viſite their pariſhioners houſes, with holy Water, and Perfume, commonly once a quarter: and ſo hauing ſprinkled and beſenſed the Goodman and his Wife, with the reſt of their houſhold and houſhold-ſtuffe, they receyue ſome deuotion (more or leſſe) as the man is of ability. This and the reſt laid together, may make vp for the Priest towards his maintenance, about thirtie or forty Rubbels a yeere: whereof he payeth the tenth part to the Bythoppe of the Dioceſſe.

The *Papa* or Priest is knowne by his long tuſſs of hayre, hanging down by his eares, his gowne with a broad Cape, and a walking ſtaffe in his hand. For the reſt of his habite, he is apparelled like to the common ſort. When he ſaith the Liturgie

Prayers for euery private man.

Solemnizing the Saintes day of the Churches.

The manner of keeping the Priests Anniuersaries.

The Priests maintenance.

The Priests attire, & how he is knowne.

gie or ſeruite, within the Church, he hath on him his Surpleſſe, and ſometimes his Cope, if the day be more ſolemne. They haue beſides their *Papas* or priests, theyr *Churnypapas* (as they call them) that is, *Blacks Priests*; that may keepe their benefices, though they bee admitted Friars withall within ſome Monaſterie. They ſeeme to be the very ſame, that were called Regular Priests in the Popiſh church. Vnder the Priest, is a Deacon in euery Church, that doth nothing but the office of a Parſon Clarke. As for their *Protopapas*, or Arch-priests, and their Archdeacons (that are next in election to bee their *Protopapas*) they ſerue onely in the Cathedral Churches.

As theſe haire are clipped off, and taken from thy head: ſo now wee take thee, and ſeparate thee cleane from the world and worldly things, &c.

Off Friars they haue an infinite rabble, farre greater then in any other Country, where Popery is profeſſed. Euery Citie, and good part of the Country, ſwartheth full of them. For they haue wrought (as the Popiſh Fryars did by their ſuperſtition and hypocriſie) that if any part of the Realme be better and ſweeter then others; there ſtandeth a Friery or a Monaſterie, dedicated to ſome Saint.

The number of them is ſo much the greater, not onely for that it is augmented by the ſuperſtition of the country; but becauſe the Fryars life is the ſafeſt from the oppreſſions and exactions which fall vpon the Commons. Which cauſeth many to put on the Friers weede, as the beſt Armour to beare off ſuch blowes. Beſides ſuch as are voluntary, there are diuers that are forced to ſheare theſelues Fryers, vpon ſome diſpleaſure. Theſe are for the moſt part of the cheefe Nobility.

Diuers take the Monaſteries as a place of Sanctuary, and there become Fryers, to auoid ſome puniſhment, that they had deſerued by the lawes of the realme. For if he get a Monaſtery ouer his heade, and there put on a Coule before hee be attached, it is a proteccion to him for euer againſt any Law, for what crime ſoeuer: except it be for treaſon. But this *Prouiſo* goeth withall, that no man commeth there (except ſuch as are commanded by the Emperour to be receyued) but he giueth them Lands, or bringeth his ſtocke with him, and putteth it into the cōmon Treafury. Some bring a thouſand Rubbels, and ſome more. None is admitted

vnder three or foure hundred.

The manner of their admission is after this ſort. Firſt, the Abbot ſtripeth him of all his ſecular or ordinary Apparell. Then he putteth vpon him next vnto his ſkinne, a white Flannell ſhirt, with a long garment ouer it downe vnto the ground, girded to him with a broad leather belt. His vppermoſt Garment is a Weede of *Garras* or Say, for colour and faſhion, much like to the vpper weed of a Chimney ſweeper. Then is crowne ſhorne a hand bredth, or more, cloſe to the verie ſkin, and theſe or the like words are pronounced by the Abbot, while hee clippeth his haire.

As theſe haire are clipped off, and taken from thy head: ſo now wee take thee, and ſeparate thee cleane from the world and worldly things, &c.

This done, he annointeth his crowne with oyle, and putteth on his Coule: and ſo taketh him in among the Fraternitie. They vow perpetual chaſtity, and abſtinenſe from fleſh.

Beſides their Landes (that are verie great) they are the greateſt Marchants in the whole Country, and deale for all manner of commodities. Some of their Monaſteries diſpend in Lands one thouſand, or two thouſand Rubbels a yeare. There is one Abbey called *Trois*, that hath in lands and fees, the ſumme of an hundred thouſand Rubbels, or markes a yeare.

It is built in manner of a Caſtle, walled round about with great Ordenance planted on the Wall, and containeth within it a large bredth of ground, and great variety of building. There are of Fryers within it (beſides their Officers and other ſeruants) about ſeuē hundred. The Empreſſe that then was, had many Vowes to *Saint Sergius*, that is patron there: to intreat him to make her fruitfull, as hauing no children by the Emperour her Husband. Lightly (euery yeare) ſhe went on Pilgrimage to him from the *Moſko*, on ſoote, about foureſcore ordinary miles, with five or ſixe thouſand women attending vpon her, all in blew Lineries, and foure thouſand ſouldiers for her Guard. But *S. Sergius* hath not yet heard her prayers, though (they ſay) hee hath a ſpeciall gift and faculty that way.

What Learning there is among theyr Fri-

their manner of ſhearing Fryars.

The Abbot wooden as a Friars adminiſtion.

Fryers the greateſt Marchants in the Country.

A warlike Abbey.

The Saint to make women fruitfull in Children.

The Empreſſe going on pilgrimage.

Their vſuall charge and function.

Partition of their townes into parishes.

The Ruſſe priests can marry but once.

The Qgon-dam Priests.

Stipends alotted to the Priests.

Black Priests for keeping of Benefices.

A Deacon or parſon Clarke, Protopapas.

Friars an infinite company in the Country, and as many ſuperſtitions.

Fryars live ſafeſt from oppreſſion & taxation inſpoed on the Commons.

The Monaſterie is as a ſanctuary for offences committed.

The Fryars
learning an-
swerable to
their Bythops

Questions &
answers be-
tweene the
Author & a
Russe priest.

Nunneries of
Noblemens
Widdowes &
daughters,
and none also
to be admit-
ted there.

Eremites cal-
led holy men,
like to Gym-
nosophists.

Fryars, may be known by their Bythops, that are the choise men out of all their Monasteries. I talked with one of them at the City of *Pologda*, where (to trie his skill) I offered him a *Russe* Testament, and turned him to the first chap. of *S. Mathens* Gospell. Where he began to read in very good order.

I asked him first, What part of Scripture it was that he had read? He answered, that he could not well tell. How many Euangelists there were in the Newe Testament? He saide he knew not. How many Apostles there were? He thought there were twelue. How he should be faued? Whereunto he answered me (with a peece of *Russe* Doctrine) that hee knew not whether hee should be faued, or no: But if God wold *Polballonate* him, or gratifie him so much, as to faue him, so it was; he would be glad of it: if not, what remedy? I asked him. Why he shored him selfe a Fryer? He answered, because hee would eate his breade in quietnesse and peace.

This is the learning of the Fryars of Russia, which though it be not to be measured by one, yet partly it may be gesfed (by the ignorance of this man) what is in the rest.

They haue also very many Nunneries, whereof some may admit none but Noblemens Widdowes and Daughters, when the Emperour meaneth to keepe them vnmarried, from continuing the blood of stocke, which hee would haue extinguished. To speak of the life of their Fryars and Nunnes, it needs not, to those that know the hypocrisse and vncleanness of that Cloyster-broode. The *Russe* himselfe (though otherwise addicted to all superstition) speaketh so fowly of it, that it must needs gain silence of any modest man.

Besides these, they haue certaine Eremites (whome they call Holy men) that are like to those Gymnosophists for their life and behaviour: though farre vnlike for their knowledge and Learning. They vse to goe stark naked, saue a clowte about their middle, with their hayre hanging long and wildly about their shoulders, and many of them with an iron collar, or chaine about their neckes or middle, euen in the very extremity of Winter.

These they take as Prophets, and men of great holinesse, giuing them a libertie to speake what they list, without any controlment, though it be of the very highest himselfe. So that if he reprove any openly, in what sort soeuer; they answer nothing, but that it is *Pogracum*, that is, for their finnes. And if any of them take meece of sale ware from any mans shop, as he passeth by, to giue where he list; hee thinketh himselfe much beloued of God, and much beholding to the holy man, for taking it in that sort.

Of this kinde there are not many, because it is a very hard and cold profession, to goe naked in *Russia*, especially in winter. Among other at this time, they haue one at *Mosko*, that walketh naked about the Streets, and inuethy commonly, against the State and Government, especially against the *Godones*, that are thought at this time, to bee great Oppressours of that Common-wealth.

Another there was, that died not many yeares agoe (whom they called *Basileo*) that would take vpon him to reprove the olde Emperor for all his cruelty, and oppressions done towards his people. His body they haue translated (of late) into a sumptuous Church, neere the Emperours house in *Mosko*, & haue Canonized him for a Saint. Many miracles he doth there (for so the Fryers make the people to beleene) and many Offerings are made vnto him, not onely by the people, but by the cheefe Nobility, and the Emperour & Emperesse themselves, which visite that Church with great deuotion.

But at my beeing at *Mosko*, this Saint had ill lucke in working his miracles. For a lame man, that had his limbes restored (as it was pretended by him) was charged by a woman that was familiar with him (being then false out) that he halted but in the day time, and could leape merrily when he came home at night. And that he had intended this matter six yeares before.

Now he is put into a Monasterie, and there railth vpon the Fryers, that hyred him to haue this counterfeyte miracle practised vpon him. Besides this disgrace, a little before my coming from thence, there were eight flaine within his Church, by fire in a Thunder. Which caused his bels (that wet tingling before all

Prophets and
men of great
fancie.

An Eremit
now liuing in
Russia.

Basileothe
Eremit

Offerings to
a dead sup-
posed Saint.

A very mira-
cle monger.

Nichola the
Eremit of
great estima-
tion.

Presents be-
tweene the
Emperour and
an Eremit.

Lawful repro-
uery or finde
fault.

Of their Li-
uings or forme
of Church
seruice, and
their manner
of administe-
ring the Sacraments.

all day and night long, as in triumphe of the myracles wrought by *Basileo* their S.) to ring from what softly; and hath wrought no little discredit vnto this Miracle worker.

There was another of great account at *Plesko* (called *Nichola* of *Plesko*) that did much good, when this Emperours Father came to sacke the Towne, vpon suspicion of their reuolting and rebellion against him. The Emperour, after he had saluted the Eremit, at his lodging, sent him a reward. And the Holy man, to requite the Emperour, sent him a peece of raw flesh, being then their Lent. Which the Emperour seeing, bid one to tel him, that hee marvelled, that the Holye man would offer him flesh to eat in the Lent, when it was forbidden by order of holie Church. And doth *Enasiko* (which is as much to say as Iacke) thinke (quoth *Nichola*) that it is vnlawfull to eat a peece of beastes flesh in Lent. & not to eate up so much mans flesh, as he hath done already?

So, threatening the Emperour, with a prophesie of some harde adventure to come vpon him, except hee left murthering of his people, and departing from the Towne, hee saued a great many mens lues at that time.

This maketh the people to like very well of them, because they are as *Pasquils* to note their great mens fautes, that no man else dare speake of. Yet it falleth out sometime, that for this rude liberty which they take vpon them (after a counterfeite manner) by imitation of Prophets, they are made away in secret: as was one or two of them, in the last Emperours time, for being ouer-bolde in speaking against his government.

Their morning seruice they call *Zau-trama*, that is, Matins. It is done in this order.

The Priest entereth into the Church, with his Deacon following him. And, when hee is come vnto the middle of the Church, he begetteth to say with a lowd voyce: *Blaslausy Vladika*, that is, *Blesse vs heavenly Pastor*, meaning of Christ. Then he addeth, *In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the holy Ghost, one very God in Trinity: and Apody Pomeluy*, Or, *Lord haue mercy vpon vs*, *Lord haue mercie vpon vs*, *Lord haue mercy vpon vs*, repeated three times.

This done, he marcheth on toward the Chancell or *Sancium Sanctorum* (as they vse to call it) and so entereth into the *Schar-suey Dwerre*, or the heavenly doore: which no man may enter into, but the Priest onely. Where standing at the Altare or Table (set neere to the vpper wall of the Chancell) hee sayeth the Lordes prayer, and then againe *Apody Pomeluy*, or *Lord haue mercy vpon vs*, *Lord haue mercy vpon vs*, &c. pronounced twelue times. Then prayled be the Trinity *the Father, the Son, and the holy Ghost, for euer and euer*. Where to the Deacons and people say, Amen. Next after, the Priest addeth the Psalms for that day, and begetteth with, *O come let vs worship and fall down before the Lord*, &c. and therewithall himselfe, with the Deacons, and people, all turn themselves towards their Idols or Images that hang on the Wall, and (crossing themselves) bow downe three times, knocking their heads to the very ground. After this, hee readeth the ten Commandements, and *Athanasius* Creede, out of the Service booke.

This being done, the Deacon that standeth without the heavenly doore or Chancell, readeth a peece of a Legend, out of a Written Booke (for they haue it not in Print) of some Saints life, Miracles, &c. This is diuided into many parts, for every day in the yeare, and is read by them with a plaine singing Note, not vnlike to the Popish Tune, when they sung their Gospels.

After all this (which reacheth vnto an houre, and an halfe, or two howers of length) he addeth certaine set Collectes, or prayers vpon that which he hath read out of the Legend before: and so endeth his Service. All this while stande burning before their Idols, a great many of Wax Candles (whereof some are of the biggenesse of a mans waste) vowed, or enoynd by penance, vpon the people of the Parish.

About nine of the clocke in the Morning, they haue another Service, called *Obeiana* (or Compline) much after the order of the Popish Service, that bare that name. If it be some high or Festiual day, they furnish their Service besides, With *Blesed be the Lord God of Israel*, &c. and, *We praise thee, O God*, &c. sung with a more sollemne and curious note.

The heaucaly
doore, for none
to enter, but
the priest.

Worship to
their Idols
and Images.

Ninea clocke
seruice in the
morning.

Their

Their euen-
ing Service.

Their Evening Service, called *Vecherna*, where the Priest beginneth with *Blaisey Vladaika*, as hee did in the morning, and with the Psalmes appoynted for the *Vecherna*. Which being read, he singeth, *My soule doth magnifie the Lord, &c.* And then the Priest, Deacons, and People, all with one voyce sing, *Alpsody pomelui*, or *Lord haue mercy vpon vs*, thirty times together. Whereunto the boyes that are in the Church, answer all with one voyce, rowling it vp so fast, as their lips can goe; *Verij, Verij, Verij, Verij*, or *Praisfe, Praisfe, Praisfe, &c.* thirty times together, with a very strange noyse. Then is read by the Priest, and vpon the Holy-dayes sung the first Psalm, *Blessed is the man, &c.* And in the end of it, is added, *Alleluia*, repeated ten times.

Then next in order, is some part of the Gospel read by the Priest, which he ends with *Alleluia*, repeated three times. And so hauing said a Collect, in remembrance of the Saint of that day, he ends his evening Service.

All this while, the Priest stands aboute at the Altare or high Table, within the Chancel, or *Sanktum Sanctorum*, whence hee neuer moueth all the Service time. The Deacon or Deacons (which are many in their Cathedrall Churches) stand without the Chauncell by the *Scharfney Dvere*, or heavenly dore: for within they may not be seene all the Service time, though otherwise their office is to sweep, and keepe it, and to set vp the waxe candles before their Idoles. The people do stand together (the whole Service time) in the Church, and some in the Church porch: for Piew or Seate they haue none within their Churches.

The Sacrament of Baptisme they administer after this manner: The child is brought to the Church (and this is done within eight dayes after it is borne.) If it be the child of some Noble man, it is brought in a rich Sled or Waggon, with chaires and cushions of cloath of Golde, and such like sumptuous shew of their best furniture. When they are come to the Church, the Priest standeth readie to receiue the child within the Church-porch, with his tub of water by him. And then beginneth to declare vnto them, that they haue brought a little Infidell to be made a Christian, &c. This ended, he

teacheth the witnesses, that are two or three, in a certayne set forme out of his Booke (what their duty is,) in bringing vp the child after he is baptized, viz. That hee must bee taught to know God, and Christ our Saviour. And because God is of great Maieitic, and we must not presume to come vnto him, without Mediators (as the manner is when we make any suite to an Emperour, or great Prince) therefore they must teach him what Saints are the best, and chiefe mediators, &c. This done, he commaundeth the diuell in the name of God (after a coniuring manner) to come out of the water and so after certaine prayers, he plungeth the child ouer head and eares. For this they holde to be a poynt very necessary, that no part of the child be left vndipped into the water.

The words that beare with them the forme of Baptisme, vttered by the Priest, when he dipperth in the child, are the very same that are prescribed in the Gospel, and vied by vs, that is, *In the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the Ghost*. For that they should alter the forme of the words, and say, *by the holy Ghost*, as I haue heard they did, following certaine heretikes of the Greeke Church, I found to be vnttrue, as well by the report of them that haue bene often at their Baptismes, as by their Booke of Leiturgie it selfe, wherein the order of Baptisme is precisely set downe.

When the child is baptized, the Priest layeth Oyle and Salt tempered together vpon the fore-head, and both the sides of his face, and then vpon his mouth, drawing it along with his finger ouer the child's lippes (as did the Popish Priests) saying withall, certaine prayers, to this effect: That God will make him a good Christian, &c. All this is doone in the Church porch.

Then is the child (as being now made a Christian, & meet to be receiued within the Church doore) carried into the Church, the Priest going before, and is there presented to the chiefe Idoll of the Church, being layd on a cushion before the feet of the Image, by it (as by the mediator) to be commended vnto God. If the child be sicke, or weake (specially in the Winter) they vse to make the water luke warme. After Baptisme, the manner

Instructions
giuen by the
priest to the
witnesses.

The Priests
words at the
dipping the
childe in the
water.

Other cere-
monies after
Baptisme.

is

is to cut off the haire from the child's head and hauing wrapped it within a peece of wax, to lay it vp, as a relike or monument in a secret place of the Church.

This is the manner of their Baptisme, which they account to be the best & perfectest forme. As they do all other parts of their religion, receiued (as they say) by tradition from the best church, meaning the Greeke. And therefore they will take great paines to make a Profelitte or Conuerter, either of an Infidell, or of a forraign Christian, by rebaptizing him after the Russe manner.

When they take any Tartar prisoner, commonly they will offer him life, with condition to be baptized. And yet they perswade very fewe of them to redeeme their life so: because of the natural hatred the Tartar beareth to the Russe, and the opinion he hath of his fals hood and iniustice. The yeare after *Mosko* was fired by the *Chrim Tartar*, there was taken a *Dismorsley*, one of the chief in that exploit, with 300. Tartars more: who had all their liues offered them, if they would be baptized after the Russe maner. Which they all refused to do, with many reproches against those that perswaded them. And so being carried to the riuer *Mosko*, (that runneth thorough the City) they were all baptized after a violent manner: being thrust downe with a knocke on the head into the water, through an hole made in the Ice for that purpose.

Of *Lieslanders* that are Captiues, there are many that take on them this second Russe baptisme, to get more libertie, and some-what besides towards their liuing, which the Emperour ordinarily vseth to giue them. Of Englishmen (since they frequented the country) there was neuer any found, that so much forgot God, his faith, and country, as that he would be content to be baptized Russe, for any respect of ease, preferment, or other means whatsoever: save onely *Richard Relph*, that following before an vngodly Trade, by keeping a *Caback* (against the order of the country) and being putte off from that Trade, and spoiled by the Emperours Officers of that which he hadde, entered himselfe into the Russe profession, and so was rebaptized, liuing now as much an Idolater, as before he was a rioter and vnthrifty person.

Such as thus receiue the Russe baptisme, are first caried into some Monastery, to be instructed there in the doctrine and ceremonies of the Church. Where they vse these ceremonies.

First, they put him into a new & fresh suite of apparrell, made of the Russe fashion, and set a Coronet, or (in Sommer) a garland vpon his head.

Then they annoint his head with oile, & put a wax candle light into his hand: & to pray ouer him foure times a day, the space of vii. daies. All this while hee is to abstaine from flesh and white meats.

The seuen dayes being ended, he is purified and washed in a Bath-stoue, and so the eight day he is brought to the church, where he is taught (by the Friers) how to behaue himself in presence of their idols; by ducking down, knocking of the head, crossing himselfe, and such like gestures, which are the greatest part of the Russe religion.

The Sacrament of the Lords Supper, they receiue but once a year, in their gret Lent time, a little before Easter. Three at the most are admitted at one time, and neuer aboue. The manner of their communicating is thus. First, they do confesse themselves of all their sins, to the Priest (whome they call their ghostly Father.) Then they come to the Church, and are called vp to the Communion table, that standeth like an Altar, a little remooued from the vpper end of the Church, after the Dutch manner.

Heere first they are asked of the Priest, whether they be clean, or no: that is, whether they haue neuer a sinne behinde that they left vnconfessed. If they answer, *No*, they are taken to the table. Where the Priest beginneth with certain viual prayers, the Communicants standing in the meane while with their armes folded one within another, like penitentiaries, or mourners. When these prayers are ended, the Priest taketh a spoon, and filleth it full of Claret Wine. Then he putteth into it a small peece of bread, and tempereth them both together, and so deliuereth them in the Spoon to the Communicants, that stand in order, speaking the viual words of the Sacrament, *Eate this, &c. Drink this, &c.* both at one time without any pause.

After that, hee deliuereth them againe

F fff bread

Of such as receiue the Russe baptism, what ceremonies are vied to them.

The administering of the Lords Supper

Profelittes or Conuersers first
baptized.

300. Tartars
that would not
be baptized.

Rebaptizing
of Lieslanders.

An English-
man rebapti-
zed after the
Russe manner

The Deacons
office or ser-
uice.

The manner
of the Russe
Baptisme.

bread by it selfe, and then wine carded together with a little warme water, to represent blood more rightly (as they thinke) and the water withall, that flowed out of the side of Christ. Whiles this is in doing, the Communicants vnfold their armes. And then folding them againe, follow the Priest thrice round about the Communion Table, and so returne to their places againe. Where hauing saide certaine other prayers, hee dismisseth the Communicants, with charge to be merry, and to cheere vp themselves for the fewen dayes next following. Which being ended, he enioyneth them to fast for it as long time after. Which they vse to observe with very great deuotion, eating nothing else but bread and salt, except a little cabbage, and some other hearb or roote, with water or quassemead for their drinke.

This is their manner of administering the Sacraments, wherein what they differ from the Institution of Christ, and what ceremonies they haue added of their owne, or rather borrowed of the Greekes, may easily be noted.

Their cheefe errors in matter of faith, I finde to be these.

First, concerning the word of God it selfe, they will not reade publicly certain Bookes of the Canonickall Scripture, as the Bookes of *Moses*; specially the foure last, *Exodus*, *Leuiticus*, *Numeri*, and *Deuteronomie*, which they say are all made disauthenticke, and put out of vse by the coming of Christ; as not able to discern the difference betwixt the Morall, and the Ceremoniall law.

The Bookes of the Prophets they allow of, but reade them not publicly in their Churches, for the same reason; because they were but directers vnto Christ, and proper (as they say) to the Nation of the Iewes. Onely the booke of *Psalmes* they haue in great estimation, and sing & say them daily in their Churches.

Of the new Testament they allow, and reade all except the Reuelation: which therefore they reade not (though they allow it) because they vnderstand it not, neither haue the like occasion, to know the fulfilling of the propheties contained within it, concerning especially the Apostolicke of the Antichristian Church, as haue the Westerne Churches. Notwith-

standing they haue had their Antichristes of the Greeke Church, and may find their own falling off, and the punishments for it (by the Turkish inuasion) in the propheties of that Booke.

Secondly (which is the fountain of the rest of all their corruptions both in Doctrine and Ceremonies) they holde with the Papists, that their Church Traditions are of equall authority with the written word of God. Wherein they prefer their selues before other Churches: affirming, that they haue the true and right traditions, deliuered by the Apostles to the Greeke Church, and so vnto them.

3. That the Church (meaning the Greeke, and specially the Patriarch & his Synod, as the head of the rest) haue a soveraigne authority to interpret the scriptures, and that all are bound, to hold that interpretation as found and authenticke.

4. Concerning the diuine Nature, and the three persons, in the one substance of God, that the Holye ghost proceedeth from the Father onely, and not from the Sonne.

5. About the office of Christ, they hold many fowle errors, and the same (almost) as doth the Popish Church; namely, that he is their sole Mediator of redemption, but not of intercession.

Their cheefe reason (if they be talked withall) for defence of this error, is, that vnapt and foolish comparison, betwene God and a Monarch or Prince of this world, that must be sued vnto by Mediators about him: wherein they giue special preferment to some about others, as to the blessed Virgin, whom they call *Prescheste*, or vndeified: & *S. Nicolas*, whom they call *Scora pomosnick*, or the *Speedy helper*, & say, that he hath 300. Angels of the cheefe, appointed by God to attend on him. This hath brought them to an horrible excessse of idolatry, after the grossest and prophaneest manner; giuing vnto their Images, all Religious worship of Prayer, Thanksgiuing, Offerings, and Adoration, with prostrating and knocking their heads to the ground before them, as to God himselfe. Which because they doo to the picture, not to the portraiture of the Saint, they say they worship not an Idoll, but the Saint in his image, & so offend not God. Forgetting the commādmēt of God, that forbiddeth to make the image

2. Traditions equall to the holy scripture

3. The church to haue soveraigne authority in interpreting the Scriptures.

4. The holy Ghost to proceed from the Father onely.

5. Christ not sole mediator of intercession.

An idle comparison of God, vnto a Prince of this world.

S. Nicolas the speedy helper

A vaine extolling, popish idolatry.

image or likenesse of any thing, for any religious worshipping or vse whatsoever. Their Church walles are very full of them, richly hangd and set forth with Pearle & stone vppon the smooth Table. Though some also they haue embossed, that sticke from the boord almost an inch outwards. They call them *Choudoudites*, or their miracle workers: and when they provide thee to set vp in their churches, in no case they may say that they haue bought the image but exchanged money for it.

6. For the meanes of Iustification, they agree with the Papistes, that it is not by faith onely, apprehending Christ; but by their workes also. And that *Opus operatum* or the worke for the worke sake, must needs please God. And therefore they are all in their numbers of Prayers, Fastes, Vowes, and offerings to Saints, Almshouses, Crossings, and such like, and carrie their numbering beads about with them continually; aswell the Emperor and his Nobility, as the common people, not onely in the Church, but in all other public meetings, specially at any set or solemne meeting, as in their Fasts, Law Courtes, common consultations, entertainment of Ambassadors, and such like.

7. They say (with the Papists) that no man can be assured of his saluation, til the last sentence be passed at the day of iudgment.

8. They vse Auricular confession, and thinke that they are purged (by the verediction) from so many sins as they confesse by name, and in particular to the Priest.

9. If they do hold three Sacraments, of *Baptisme*, the *Lords Supper*, and the *last anoynting or unction*. Yet concerning their Sacrament of extreame unction, they hold it not so necessary to saluation, as they doe Baptisme; but thinke it a great curse and punishment of God, if any dye without it.

10. They thinke there is a necessitie of Baptisme, and that all are condemned that dye without it.

11. They rebaptize as many Christians (not being of the Greeke church) as they conuert to their Russe profession: because they are diuided from the true Church, which is the Greeke, as they say.

12. They make a difference of meates and drinckes, accounting the vse of one, to be more holy then of another. And there-

fore in their set fasts, they forbear to eat flesh, and white meates (as we call them) after the manner of the Popish superstition: which they observe so strictly, and with such blind deuotion, as that they will rather die, then eat one bit of flesh, egges or such like, for the health of their bodies in their extreme sicknesse.

13. They hold marriage to be vnlawful for all the Clergy men, except the Priests only, and for them also after the first wife (as was said before.) Neither do they wel allowe of it in Lay-men after the second marriage. Which is a pretence now vsed against the Emperours onely brother, a child of six yeares old: Who therefore is not prayed for in their Churches, as their manner is otherwise for the Princes blood because he was borne of the sixth marriage, and so not legitimate. This charge was giuen to the Priests by the Emperor himselfe, by procurement of the *Godmoes*: who make him beleue, that it is a good pollicy, to turne away the liking of the people from the next successor.

Many other false opinions they haue in matter of Religion. But these are the chiefe, which they hold partly by meanes of their traditions (which they haue received from the Greeke Church) but specially by ignorance of the holye Scriptures. Which notwithstanding they haue in the Polonian tooong (that is al one with theirs, some few words only excepted) yet few of them read them with that godly care which they ought; to doe: neither haue they (if they would) bookes sufficient of the Olde and New Testament for the common people, but of their Leiturgie onely, or Booke of common Seruice, whereof there are very great numbers.

All this mischeefe commeth from the Clergie, who being ignorant and godlesse themselves, are exceedingly warie, to keepe the people (likewise) in their ignorance and blindness, for their liuing and bellies sake: partly also from their manner of Government settled among them: which the Emperours (whom it specially behooueth) liste not to haue changed by any inuolution, but to retaine that Religion that best agreeth with it. Which notwithstanding it is not to be doubted, but that hauing the word of God in some sort (though with-

Fiifz our

Miracle workers.

Justification by workes.

Saluation uncertaine.

Auricular confession.

Three Sacraments.

Al damned that dye without baptisme.

11. Anabaptisme.

12. Difference of meates.

Bread and salt the Russian fast.

Of the Doctrine of the Russe church, and what error it holdeth.

How they allow of the new Testament.

Apostolicke of the Antichristian Church.

13 Marriage for some persons vnlawful

An ill perswasion in priests.

The Polonian tongue differ very little.

The Clergie cause of all ignorance.

out the ordinary meanes, to attaine to a true sence and vnderstanding of it) God hath also his number among them. As may partly appeare, by that which a *Ruffe* at *Moske* laid to a follower of an Ambassador, speaking against their Images and other superstitions: That God had given vnto his Country light to day, and might giue it to morrow (if he pleased) to them.

As for any inquisition or proceeding against me for matter of religion, I could heare of none: saue (a few yeares since) against one man and his wife, who were kept in close prison, the space of 28. yeares, till they were ouer-growne into a deformed fashion, for their hayre, nailes, colour of countenance, and such like, and in the ende were burned at *Moske*, in a small house set on fire. The cause was kept secret, but like it was for some part of truth, in matter of religion: though the people were made to beleue by the Priests and Fryars, that they held some great & damnable heresie.

The manner of making and solemnizing their Mariages, is different from the manner of other Countries. The man (though he neuer saw the woman before) is not permitted to haue any sight of her all the time of his wooing: which he doth not by himselfe, but by his Mother, or some other ancient woman of his kin or acquaintance. When the liking is taken (as well by the Parents, as by the parties themselves, for, without the knowledge and consent of the parents, the contract is not lawfull) the fathers on both sides, or such as are to them in stead of Fathers, with their other chiefe friends, haue a meeting and conference about the dowry, which is commonly very large, after the ability of the Parents: so that you shal haue a Market-man (as they call them) giue a thousand Rubbels, or more with his daughter.

As for the man, it is neuer required of him, nor standeth with their custome, to make any ioynter in recompence of the dowry. But in case he haue a childe by his Wife, he enioyeth a third deale after his decease. If he haue two children by her, or more, there is to haue a courtie more, at the discretion of the husband. If the husband depart without issue by his wife, (shee is returned home to her friends without any thing at all, saue onely her

dowry: if the husband leaue so much behind him in goods. When the agreement is made concerning the Dowry, they signe bonds one to the other, as well for the payment of the dowry, as the performing of the marriage by a certain day. If the woman were neuer married before, her father and friends are bound (besides) to assure her a maiden. Which breedeth many babbels and quarrels at law, if the man take any conceit, concerning the behauiour and honesty of his wife.

Thus the contract being made, the parties begin to send Tokens the one to the other; the woman first, then afterward the man, but yet see not one another till the marriage be solemnized. On the eue before the marriage day, the bride is carried in a *Collimago*, or Coach, or in a sled (if it be Winter) to the bridegroomes house, with her marriage apparrell and bedstead with her, which they are to lye in. For this is euer provided by the bride, and is commonly very faire, with much cost bestowed vpon it. Heere shee is accompanied all that night by her mother, and other women: but not welcomed, nor once seene by the bridegroome himselfe.

When the time is come to haue the Marriage solemnized, the Bride hath put vpon her a kinde of hooide, made of fine knitworke or Lawne, that couereth her head, and all her bodie down to the middle. And so accompanied with his friends and the bride-groome with his, they goe to Church all on horsebacke, though the Church bee neere hand, and themselves but of very meane degree.

The wordes of contract, and other ceremonies in solemnizing the marriage, are much after the order, and with the same words that are vsed with vs: with a ring also giuen to the Bride. Which being put on, & the wordes of contract pronounced: the Brides hand is deliuered into the hand of the Bridegroom, which standeth all this while on the one side of the Altar or Table, and the Bride on the other. So the marriage knot being knit by the Priest, the Bride commeth to the Bridegroom (standing at the end of the Altar or Table) and falleth downe at his feete, knocking her head vpon his shooe, in token of her subiection & obedience. And the Bridegroome againe casteth the

Agreement concerning the Dowry.

No fight will the marriage be solemnized.

Ceremonies in marriage.

The Bride taken of obedience to her husband.

lappe of his Gowne or vpper garment, ouer the Bride, in token of his duty to protect and cherish her.

Then the Bridegroom and Bride, standing both together at the Tables end, cometh first the father, and the other friends of the Bride, and bow themselves downe low to the Bride-groome: and so likewise his friends bow themselves to the Bride, in token of affinity and loue, euer after, betwixt the two Kindreds. And withall, the father of the Bridegroom, offereth to the priest a loafe of bread, who deliuereth it straight againe to the father, and other friends of the Bride, with attestation before God and their Idols, that he deliuer the Dowry wholly and truly at the day appointed, and hold loue euer after, one Kindred with another. Whereupon they breake the loafe into peeces, and eate of it, to testifie their true and sincere meanings, for performing of that charge, and therefore to become as graines of one Loafe, or men of one Table.

These Ceremonies being ended, the Bride-groome taketh the Bride by the hand, and so they goe on together, with their friends after them, towards the Church porch. Where meet them certaine with pots and cups in their hands, with Meade and Ruffe Wine. Whereof the Bride-groome taketh first a Charke, or little cuppe full in his hand, and drinketh to the Bride: who opening her hood or vaile belowe, and putting the Cup to her mouth vnderneath it (for being seene of the Bride-groome) pledgeth him againe.

Thus returning altogether from the Church, the Bride-groome goeth not home to his owne, but vnto his Fathers house, and the likewise to hers, where eyther entertaine their friends apart. At the entering into the house, they vse to sling Corne out of the windowes vpon the Bridegroom and Bride, in token of plenty and fruitfulnessse to be with them euer after.

When the Euening is come, the Bride is brought to the Bride-groomes Fathers house, and there lodgeth that night, with her vaile or couer still ouer her head. All that night, shee may not speak one word (for that charge shee receiueth by tradition from her mother and other matrons her Friends) that the Bride-groome

must neither heare, nor see her, till the day after the marriage. Neither three dayes after, may she be heard to speake, saue certaine few words at the Table, in a set forme, with great manners and reuerence to the Bride-groome. If shee behaue her selfe otherwise, it is a great prejudice to her credite and life euer after: and will highly bee disliked of the Bride-groome himselfe.

After the third day, they depart vnto their own house, and make a feast to both their friends together. The marriage day, and the whole time of their Festiual, the Bride-groome hath the honor to be called *Moloday Knez*, or young Duke, and the Bride *Moloday Knezny*, or yong Dutchesse.

In living with their wives, they shew themselves to be but of a barbarous condition: vsing them as seruantes rather then wives. Except the Noble-women, which are, or seeme to bee of more estimation with their husbands, then the rest of meaner sort. They haue this fowle abuse, contrary to good order, and the word of God it selfe; that vpon dislike of his wife, or other cause whatsoever, the man may go into a Monastery, & theare himselfe a Fryer, by pretence of deuotion, and so leaue his wife to shifte for her selfe so well as she can.

The other Ceremonies of their Church, are many in number: especially, the abuse about the signe of the Crosse, which they set vp in their high-ways, in the tops of their Churches, and in euery doore of their houses, signing themselves continually with it on their foreheades & breasts, with great deuotion, as they will seeme by their outward gesture and behauiour. Which were much lesse offence, if they gaue not withall, that Religious reuerence and worshipsse vnto it, which is due vnto none but God onely, and vsed the dumbe shew and signing of it, instead of Thanksgiuing, and of all other duties which they doe owe vnto God.

When they rise euery day in the Morning, they goe commonlie in the sight of some Scepter, that hath a crosse made on the toppe of it: and so bowing themselves towards the crosse, they signe themselves withall on their foreheades and breasts. And this is their thank-

F f f 3

gi.

A man and his wife kept in prison 28. yeares, and after burned.

The manner of solemnizing their Mariages.

After liking taken on both sides.

The manner of endowment for Wives.

Signs of loue and affinity betweene the parents and friends.

Drinking of the Bride and Bridegroom together.

The evening and night ceremonies.

Titles giuen to the Bride-groome and Bride.

Barbarous behaviour in living with their wives.

The other Ceremonies of the Russe Church.

Rising in the morning.

giuing to God for their nights rest, without any word speaking, except peradventure they say, *Alody Pomeley*, or, *Lord haue mercy vpon vs.*

When they sit downe to meate, and rise againe from it, the thankgiuing to God, is the crossing of their fore-heads and breasts. Except it be some few that adde peradventure, a word or two of some ordinary prayer, impertinent to that purpose.

When they are to giue an oath, for the deciding of any controuersie at law, they do it by swearing by the Crosse, and kissing the feet of it, making it as G O D, whose name onely is to be vsed in such trial of Iustice.

When they enter into any house (where euer there is an Idoll hanging on the wal) they signe themselves with the crosse, and bow themselves to it.

When they beginne any worke, be it little or much, they arme themselves first with the signe of the crosse. And this commonly is all their prayer vnto God, for good speede of their businesse. And thus they serue God with crosses, after a crosse and vaine manner: not vnderstanding what the Crosse of Christ is, nor the power of it. And yet they thinke all strangers Christians, to be no better then Turkes, in comparison of themselves (and so they wil say) because they bow not themselves, when they meete with the Crosse, nor signe themselves with it, as the Russe manner is.

They haue holy water, in like vse and estimation as the Popish Church hath. But herein they exceed them, in that they doe not onely hallow their holy water stockes, and tubs full of water; but all the Riuer of the Country once euery year. At *Mosko* it is done with great pompe & solemnity: the Emperour himselfe being present at it, with all his Nobility, marching through the freetes towards the Riuer of *Moskua*, in manner of procession, in this order as followeth. First goe two Deacons, with banners in their hands, the one of *Precheite* (or our Lady) the other of *S. Michael*, fighting with his Dragon. Then follow after, the rest of the Deacons and the Priests of *Mosko*, two and two in a ranke, with coaps on their backs, and their Idols at their breasts, carried with girdles or slings, made fast about their

necks. Next the Priests, come their Bishops in their pontificalibus: then the Fryars, Monks and Abbots: and after, the Patriarchs in very rich attire, with a ball, or sphere on the top of his myter, to signify his vniuersality ouer that Church. Last commeth the Emperour, with all his Nobility. The whole traine is of a mile long, or more.

When they are come to the Riuer, a great hole is made in the yce, where the market is kept, of a rod and a halfe broad, with a stage round about it to keepe off the preale. Then beginneth the Patriarch to say certaine prayers, and coniureth the diuell to come out of the water: and so casting in salt, and sending it with frankincense, maketh the whole Riuer to become holy water. The morning before, all the people of *Mosko* vse to make crosses of chawke ouer euery doore, & window of their houses: least the diuell being coniured out of the water, should flye into their houses.

When the ceremonies are ended, you shall see the black gard of the Emperours house, & then the rest of the Towne with their pailles and buckets, to rake off the hallowed water for drinke, and other vses. You shall also see the women dippe in their children ouer head and eares, and many men and women leap into it, forme naked, some with their clothes on, when some man would thinke his finger would freeze off, if hee should but dippe it into the water. When the men haue doone, they bring their horses to the riuer, to drinke of the sanctified water; and so make them as holy as a horse. Their ser day for this solemne action of halowing their riuers, is that we call *Twelue day*. The like is doone by other Bishops, in all parts of the Realme.

Their maner is also to giue it to their sicke, in their greatest extremitie; thinking that it will cyther recouer them, or sanctifie them to God. Whereby they kill many, through their vnreasonable superstition, as did the *Lord Borris* his onely sonne, at my being at the *Mosco*: whom he killed (as was sayd by the Physitions) by powring into him colde holy water, and by presenting him naked into the Church, to their Saint *Basilis*, in the colde of the Winter, in an extremitie of sickenesse.

They

Order obserued at the Riuer.

After the ceremony is ended.

Horses drinke of the holy water on Twelue day.

Drinking of holy water.

The language of Christ in processions.

Brewing with holy water.

Palme Sunday ceremony by ancient tradition.

Another ceremony before Christ's fall.

Falls besides foure funerall Lentens, and at what times they are.

They haue an Image of *Christ*, which they call *Nerubis*, (which signifies as much as *Made without hands*) for so their priests (and superstition withall) perfwades them it was. This in their processions, they carry about with them on high vpon a pole, enclosed within a Pike, made like a Lanthorne, and doe reuerence to it, as to a great mysteric.

At euery brewing, their manner is likewise, to bring a dish of their woort to the Priest, within the Church: which being hallowed by him, is poured into the brewing, and so giueth it such a vertue, as when they drinke of it, they are seldom sober. The like they doe with the first fruites of their come in Haruest.

They haue another ceremony vpon *Palme Sunday* of ancient tradition: what time the Patriarch rideth through the *Mosko*, the Emperour himselfe holding his horse bridle, and the people crying, *Mosanna*, and spreading their vpper garments vnder his horse feet. The Emperour bath of the Patriarch for his good seruice of that day, 200. rubbles of standing pension. Another Pageant they haue much like vnto this, the weeke before the Nativity of Christ: When euery Bishop in his Cathedral Church, setteth forth a shew of the three children in the Ouen. Where the Angell is made to come flying from the roofof the Church, with great admiration of the lookers on, and many terrible flashes of fire, are made with rozen, and gun-powder, by the *Chaldeans* (as they call them) that runne about the towne all the Twelue dayes, disguised in their Players coats, and make much good sport for the honour of the Bishops Pageant. At the *Mosco*, the Emperour himselfe, and the Emperesse neuer faile to be at it, although it be but the same matter played euery yeare, without any new inuention at all.

Besides their fasts on Wednesdayes, and Fridayes throughout the whole yere, (the one, because they say Christ was sold on the Wednesday, the other, because he suffered on the Friday) they haue foure great Fast, or Lents euery yeare. The first, (which they call their great Lent) is at the same time with ours. The second, about Midfomer. The third, in Haruest time. The fourth, about Hallowtide: which they keepe not of pollicie, but of

meere superstitions.

In their great Lent, for the first weeke, they doe eate nothing but Bread and salt, and drinke nothing but water, neyther meddle with any matter of their vocation, but intend their shrining and fasting only.

They haue also three *Vigils* or *wakes* in their Lent, which they call *Stoimia*, and the last Friday their great *Vigil*, as they do call it. What time the whole parish must be present in the Church, and watch from nine of the clocke in the Euening, vntill fixe in the Morning, all the while standing, except when they do fall downe, and knocke their heads to their Idoles, which must be an hundred and seauenteen times, iust, through the whole night.

About their burials also, they haue many superstitious and prophane ceremonies: as putting within the finger of the corpse, a Letter to Saint *Nicholas*, whom they make their chiefe Mediator, and (as it were) the Porter of Heauen gates, as the Papists doe theyr *Peter*.

In Winter time, when all is covered with snow, and the ground so hard frozen, as that no spade, nor pickaxe can enter; their manner is not to bury their dead, but to keepe the bodies (so many as die all the Winter time) in an house, in the suburbs, or out-parts of the towne, which they call *Bolsedom*, that is to say, *Gods house*: where the dead bodies are piled vp together, like billets on a woodstacke, as hard, with the frost, as a verie stone, till the Spring-tide come and dissolve the frost; what time euery man raketh his dead friend, and committeth him to the ground.

They haue besides, their yeares and monthes mindes, for their friends departed. What time they haue prayers faide ouer the graue by the priest; who hath a penny ordinary for his paines. When any dyeth, they haue ordinarie women mourners, that come to lament for the dead party: and stand howling ouer the body, after a prophane, and heathenish manner (sometimes in the house, sometimes bringing the body into the backside: Asking him what he wanted, and what he meant to doe? They bury their dead, as the party vsed to goe, with coate, hose, bootes, hatte, and the rest of his apparel.

Many

Vigils or Wakes they haue three.

Burials and their superstitious ceremonies at them.

No buriall in the winter.

Month mindes for departed friends.

Buriall according as they went liuing.

Many other vaine and superstitious ceremonies they haue, which were long and tedious to report. By these it may appeare; how farre they are fallen from the true knowledge and practise of Christian Religion: hauing changed the Word of God, for their vaine traditions, and brought all to externall, and ridiculous ceremonies, without any regard of spirit and truth, which God requires in his true worship.

CHAP. V.

¶ Lastly, an Oeconomicall discourse of the Emperours Court; his Familie and Household affaires: And more priuate behaviour of the people.

Of the Emperours domestike or priuate behaviour.

The Emperours ghostly father

His priuate prayer, and the manner how it is performed in ceremonies

HHe Emperours priuate behaviour, so much as may be, or is meete to be knowne, is after this manner: Hee riseth commonly about foure of the clocke in the morning. After his apparrelling and washing, in cometh his ghostly father, or priest of his chamber, which is named in their tongue, *Otez Dubouna*, with his Crosse in his hand, wherewith he blefseth him, laying it first on his fore-head, then vpon his cheekes, or sides of his face, and then offreth him the end of it to kisse. This being doone, the clauke of the crosse (called *Chresby Deyack Profery*) bringeth into his chamber a paynted Image, representing the Saint for that day. For every day with them hath his funerall Saint, as it were a patron for that day. This he placeth among the rest of his Image gods, wherewithall his Chamber is decked, as thicke almost as the wall can beare, with Lampes and wax Candles burning before them. They are very costly and gorgeously decked with pearls and precious stones. This Image being placed before him, the Emperour begins to crosse himselfe after the *Russe* manner; first on the fore-head, then on both sides of his breast, with *Apydy Pomeley*, *Pomeley mena hofpody*, *facyoy mena*

grefnick Syhodesfua: which is as much to say, as, *Helpe mee O Lord my God, Lord comfort mee, defend and keepe mee a sinner from doing euill, &c.* This he directeth towards the Image or Saint for that day, whom he nameth in his prayer, together with our Lady (whom they call *Precheste*) Saint *Nicholas*, or some other, to whome he beareth most deuotion, bowing himselfe prostrate vnto them, with knocking his head to the very ground. Thus he continueth the space of a quarter of an houre or thereabouts.

Then cometh againe the ghostly father, or chamber priest, with a silver bolle full of holy water, which they call in *Russe*, *Smetva vada*, and a sprinkle of Basil (as they call it) in his hand, and so all to besprinkle first the Image gods, and then the Emperour. This holy water is brought fresh euery day from the Monasteries, farre and neere, sent vnto the Emperour from the Abbot or from the Priour, in the name of the Saint, which is patrone of that Monastery, as a special token of good will from him.

These deuotions being ended, he sendeth in to the Empreffe, to aske whether she hath rested in health, &c. And after a little pause, goeth himselfe to salute her in a middle roome betwixt both their chambers. The Empreffe lyeth apart from him, and keepeth not one Chamber, nor Table with the Emperour daily, saue vpon the eene of their Lents, or commo Fasts: what time she is his ordinary ghest at bed and board. After their meeting in the morning, they go together to their priuate Church or Chappell, where is saide, or sung a mourning Service (called *Zamtrana*) of an houre long or thereabouts. From the Church he returneth home, & sitteth him downe in a great Chamber, to be seene and saluted by his Nobility, such as are in fauour about the Court. If he haue to say to any of the, or they to him, then is the time. And this is ordinary, except his health, or some other occasion alter the custome.

About nine in the morning, he goeth vnto another Church within his Castle: where is sung by Priests and Choristers, the high Service (called *Obedna* or *Complin*) which commonly lasteth the space of two houres: the Emperour in the mean time, talking commonly with some

Sprinkling with holy water.

The Emperours visitation of the Empreffe.

The Emperours presence euery morning.

The Emperours high and lowe leuene seruice.

of

The Emperours seruice at his Table.

A Table for the Nobilitie, &c.

His sleeping after dinner.

His euening recreation, or leuene tales.

of his Councell, Nobilitie, or Captains, which haue to say to him, or hee to them. And the Councell likewise conferre together among themselves, as if they were in their councell house. This ended, he returneth home, and recreateth himselfe till it be dinner time.

Hee is serued at his Table on this manner. First, euery dish (as it is deliuered at the Dresser) is tasted by the Cooke, in the presence of his high Steward, or his Deputy. And so is receiued by the Gentlemen waiters (called *Shilshy*) and by them carried vp to the Emperours Table, the high Steward going before. There it is receiued by the Sewer (called *Erafinoy*) who giueth a taste of euery dish vnto the Taster, and so placeth it before the Emperour. The number of his dishes for his ordinary seruice, is about seauentie; dressed somewhat grosely, with much garlike and salt, much after the Dutch manner. When he exceedeth, vpon some occasion of the day, or entertainment of some Ambassador, he hath many more dishes. The seruice is sent vp by two dishes at a time, or three at the most, that hee may eate it warme: first the baked, then the roasted meates, and last of all, the brothes. In his dining Chamber is another Table: where sit the chiefe of his Nobility that are about his Court, and his ghostly Father, or Chaplaine. On the one side of the Chamber standeth a Cubbard, or Table of Plate, very fayre and rich, with a great cesterne of Copper by it, full of yce and snow, wherein stand the pots that serue for that meale. The taster holdeth the cup that hee drinketh in all dinner time, and deliuereth it vnto him with a say, when he calleth for it. The manner is to make many dishes out of the seruice, after it is set on the Table, and to send them to such Noblemen and Officers, as the Emperour liketh best. And this is counted a great fauour and honour.

After dinner, he layeth him downe to rest, where commonly hee taketh three houres sleepe, vnlesse hee doe employ one of the houres to bathing or boxing. And this custome for sleeping after dinner, is an ordinary matter with him, as with all the *Russes*. After his sleepe hee goeth to Euen-song (called by them *Vechurna*) and thence returning (for the most part) recreateth himselfe with the

Empresse till supper time, with iesters, and dwarfes, men and women, that doe tumble before him, and sing many songs after the *Russe* manner. This is his common and vniuersall forme of recreation betweene his meales, wherein hee most delighteth.

One other speciall recreation, is the fight with wilde Beares, which are caught in pittes, or nettes, and are kept in barred Cages for that purpose, against the Emperour bee disposed to see the pastime. The fight with the Beare is on this sort: The man is turned into a circle walled round about, where hee is to quite himselfe so well as hee can; for there is no way to flee out. When the Beare is turned loose, he cometh vpon him with open mouth. If at the first push hee misse his ayne, so that the Beare doe come within him, he is in great danger. But the wilde Beare being very fierce, hath this quality, that giueth aduantage to the Hunter. His manner is, when he assaileth a man, to rise vpright on his two hinder legges, and so to come roaring with open mouth vpon him. And if the Hunter then can push right into the very breast of him betweene his fore-legges (as commonly he will not misse) resting the other end of the Boare-speare at the side of his foot: and so keeping the pike still towards the face of the Beare, hee speedeth him commonly at one blowe.

But many times these Hunters come short, and are eyther slaine, or miserably torne with the teeth and talents of the fierce beast. If the party quite himselfe well in this fight with the Beare, he is carried to drinke at the Emperours Seller doores where hee drinketh himselfe drunke for the honour of *Hofpedare*. And this is his reward, for aduenturing his life for the Emperours pleasure.

To maintain this pastime, the Emperour hath certaine Huntsmen, that are appointed for that purpose, to take the wilde Beare. This is his recreation commonly on the Holy-daies. Sometimes he spendeth his time in looking vpon his Goldsmiths and Jewellers, Taylors, Embroyderers, Painters, and such like, and so goeth to his supper. When it draweth towards bed time, his Priest faith certaine prayers; and then the Emperour blefseth and crosseth himselfe, as in the morning,

Fight with Beares, by men put to them.

The manner to kill the Beare.

His preparation to bed.

for

A description
of the Empe-
ror, when the
Author was
there.

for a quarter of an houre or thereabouts,
and so goeth to his bed.

The Emperor that now is (called *Theodore Iuanowich*) is for his person of a mean stature, somewhat lowe and grosse, of a fallow complexion, and enclining to the drop sicke, hawk nosed, vnsteady in his pace, by reason of some weaknesse of his limbs, heavy and vnactive, yet commonly smiling almost to a laughter. For quality otherwise, simple and slowe witted, but very gentle, and of an easie nature, quiet, mercifull, of no martiall disposition, nor greatly apt for matter of pollicy, very superstitious, and infinite that way. Besides his priuate deuotions at home, hee goeth euery weeke commonly on pilgrimage to some Monastery, or other that is needfull hand. He is of 74. yeares old, or thereabouts, and hath reigned almost the space of fixe yeares.

Of the Empe-
rors priuate,
or household
Officers,
Master of the
Horie,

The chiefe Officers of the Emperors household, are these which follow. The first is the Office of the *Boiaren Consheua*, or Master of the Horie. Which containeth no more then is expressed by the name, that is, to be Ouerseer of the horie, and not *Magister equitum*, or Master of the horsemen. For hee appointeth other for that seruice, as occasion doth require (as before was said.) He that beareth that Office at this time, is *Borris Federawich Godenot*, Brother to the Emperesse. Of Horie for seruice in his wars (besides other for his ordinary vses) hee hath to the number of ten thousand, which are kept about *Mosko*.

The Lord
Steward.

The next is the Lord Steward of his household, at this time, one *Gregory Vasilowich Godenot*.

The Lord
Treasurer.

The third is his Treasurer, that keepeth all his monies, jewells, plate, &c. now called *Stepan Vasilowich Godenot*.

Controller.

The fourth his Controller, now *Andreas Petrowich Clelinine*.

Chamberlain

The fifth his Chamberlain. He that attendeth that Office at this time, is called *Eistoma Bisabroza Pastelnishay*.

Tasters.

The sixth his Tasters, now *Theodore Alexandrowich*, and *Iuan Vasilowich Godenot*.

Harbengers.

The seventh his Harbengers, which are three Noblemen, and diuers other Gentlemen that do the Office vnder the. There are his ordinary Officers, and Offices of the chiefeft account.

Of Gentlemen beside that waite about his Chamber and Person (called *Shilsey Strapcy*) there are two hundred, all Noblemens sonnes.

His ordinary Guard is 2000. Hagbutters, ready with their pieces charged, and their match lighted, with other necessary Furniture continually day & night: which come not within the house, but waite without in the court or yard, where the Emperour is abiding. In the night time, there lodgeth next to his bedchamber, the chiefe Chamberlaine, with one or two more of best trust about him.

A second chamber off, there lodge fixe other of like account, for their trust and faithfulness.

In the third Chamber lie certaine yong Gentlemen, of these two hundred, called *Shilsey Strapcy*, that take their turnes by forties euery night.

There are Groomes besides, that watch in their course, and lye at euery gate and doore of the Court, called *Eshoppick*.

The Hagbutters or Gunners, whereof there are two thousand (as was saide before) watch about the Emperors lodging, or bed-chamber by course two hundred and fifty euery night, and two hundred and fifty more in the Court yard, & about the Treasurie house.

His Court or House at the *Mosko*, is made Castle-wise, walled about with great store of faire Ordenance planted vpon the Wall, and containeth a great bredth of ground within it, with many dwelling houses. Which are appointed for such as are knowne to be sure and trusty to the Emperour.

The priuate behaviour and qualitie of the *Russe* people, may partly be vnderstood, by that which hath bene sayde concerning the publique state and viage of the Countrey. As touching the naturall habite of their bodies, they are, for the most part, of a large size, and of verie fleshy bodies; accounting it a grace to be somewhat grosse and burley, and therefore they nourish and spread their beards, to haue them long and broad. But, for the most part, they are very vnwieldy and vnactive withall. Which may be thought to come, partly of the Climate, and the numbnesse which they get by the colde in winter, and partly of their dyet, which is most of rootes, onions, garlike, cabbage, and

Gentlemen
of the Cham-
ber.

The Guard.

Night time.

Groomes.

The Guard
for his lodg-
ing.

Of the pri-
uate beha-
uour, or qual-
ity of the
Russe
people.

Constitution
of their bo-
dies.

Their ordi-
nary dyet.

Their drinke
at their meales

The after-
noones rest.

Drinking
drinke euery
day.

Their often
vsing of Bath-
houses.

Two extre-
mities of heat
and colde.

At coming
out of their
Bathhouses.

and such like things that breed grosse humours, which they vse to eate alone, and with their other meates.

Their dyet is rather much then curious. At their meales they beginne commonly with a *Chark*, or small cuppe of *Aqua uita*, (which they do call *Russe* wine) and then drinke not till towards the end of their meales, taking it in largely, and all together, with kissing one another, at euery pledge. And therefore, after dinner there is no talking with them, but euery man goeth to his bench to take his after-noonnes sleepe, which is as ordinary with them as their nights rest. When they exceed, and haue varietie of dishes, the first are their baked meates (for roasted meates they vse little) and then their portage and broaths. To drinke drunke, is an ordinary matter with them euery day in the week. Their common drinke is *Mead*, the poorer sort vse water, and thin drinke called *Quasse*, which is nothing else (as wee vse to say) but water turned out of his wittes, with a little branne meashed with it.

This dyet would breede in them many diseases, but that they vse bath-houses, or hot-houses, in stead of all physike, commonly twice or thrice euery weeke. All the Winter time, and almost the whole Summer, they heate there *Peaches*, which are made like the *Germane* Bathhouses, & their *Polads* like Ovens, that so warme the house, that a stranger at the first shall hardly like of it. These two extremities, specially in the Winter of heate within their houses, and of extreme coldewithout, together with their dyet; maketh them of a darke and fallow complexion, their skinned being tanned and parched both with cold and with heate: specially the women, that (for the greater part) are of farre worse complexions, then the men. Whereof the cause I take to be their keeping within the hot-houses, and busying themselves about the heating & vsing of their bathhouses, and peaches.

The *Russe*, because that he is vsed to both these extremities of heate and of colde, can beare them both a great deale more patiently, then strangers can doe. You shall see them sometimes (to season their bodies) come out of their Bathhouses all on a froth, and fuming as hot almost as a Pig at a Spit, and presently to

leape into the Riuer stark naked, or to poure colde water all ouer their bodies, and that in the coldest of all the Winter time. The women, to mend the bad lute of their skins, vse to paint their faces with white and red colours, so visibly, that euery man may perceiue it. Which is made no matter, because it is common, and liked well by their husbands: who make their Wives and Daughters ordinary allowance, to buy them colours to paint their faces withal, and delight themselves much, to see them of fowle women, to become such faire Images. This parcheth the skinned, and helpeth to deforme them when their painting is off.

They apparell themselves after the Greeke manner. The Noblemans attire is on this fashion.

First a *Taffia*, or little night-cappe on his head, that couereth little more then his crowne, commonly very rich, wrought of silke and gold thred, and set with pearl and precious stones. His head he keepeth shaven close to the very skin, except he be in some displeasure with the Emperour. Then hee suffereth his hayre to grow and hang downe vpon his shoulders, couering his face as vgly and deformedly as he can.

Ouer the *Taffia*, hee weareth a wide Cap of blacke Foxe (which they account for the best Furre) with a *Tiara* or long bonnet put within it, standing vp like a *Persian* or *Babilonian* Hat.

About his necke (which is scene all bare) is a collar set with pearle and precious stones, about three or foure fingers broad.

Next ouer his shirt (which is curiously wrought, because he strippeth himselfe into it in the Summer time, while he is in the house) is a *Shepon*, or light Garment of silke, made downe to the knees, buttoned before: and then a *Caslan* or a close coate buttoned, & girt to him with a *Persian* girdle, whereat hee hangs his kniues and spoone. This commonly is of cloth of gold, and hangeth downe as low as his anckles.

Ouer that he weareth a loose garment of some rich silke, furred and faced about with some gold Lace, called a *Ferris*.

Another ouer that, of Chamlet, or like stuffe, called an *Alkaben*, sleeued and hanging lowe, and the cape commonly brooched

Women there
paint grossely

The Nobles-
mans attire.

broached and set all with pearle.

When he goeth abroad, he casteth ouer al these, which are but sleight (though they seeme to be many) another garment called an *Honoratkey*, like to the *Alkoben*, saue that it is made without a collar for the necke. And this is commonly of fine cloth, or Camells haire.

His buskins, which he weareth in stead of hose, with linnen folds vnder them in stead of boot-hose, are made of a *Persian* leather called *Saphian*, embrodered with pearle. His vpper stockes commonly are of cloth of gold.

When he goeth abroad, hee mounteth on horse backe, although it be but to goe to the next doore; which is the custome and maner also of the *Boiarskey*, or gentlemen.

The *Boiarskey* or gentlemen attire is of the same fashion, but diffreth in stufes; and yet he will haue his *Caslan* or vnder-coate sometimes of cloth of golde, the rest of cloth or silke.

The Noble woman (called *Chyna Boiarskoma*) weareth on her head, first a kall of some soft silke (which commonly is red) and ouer it a frontlet, called *Obrofa* of white colour.

Ouer that, her Cap (made after the coife fashion of cloth of golde) called *Shapka Zempska*, edged with some rich furre, and set with pearles and stones. Though they haue of late begunne to disdain embrodering with pearles about their caps, because the Diacks, and some Merchants wiues haue taken vppo the fashion.

In their cares they weare care-rings (which they call *Sargee*) of two inches or more in compasse, the matter of golde set with Rubies, or Saphires, or some like pretious stone.

In Sommer they goe often with kerchiefs of fine white lawne or Cambricke, fastened vnder the chinne, with two long tasselles pendent. The kerchiefe spotted and set thicke with rich pearle.

When they ride or goe abroad in raynie weather, they vse to weare white hats with coloured bands, called by them *Scapa Zemsky*.

About their neckes they weare collers of three or foure fingers broad, set with rich pearle and pretious stones.

Their vpper garment is a loose gowne

(called *Oposhen*) commonly of Skarlet, with wide loose sleeues, hanging downe to the ground, buttend before with great gold buttons, or at the least, silver and gilt, high as bigge as a walnut. Which hath hanging ouer it fastened vnder the cappe, a large broad cape of some rich Furre, that hangeth downe almost to the middes of their backes.

Next vnder the *Oposhen* or vpper garment, they weare an other, called a *Leitnick*, that is made close before with great wide sleeues, the cuffs or halfe sleeue vp to the elbowes commonly of cloth of golde: and vnder that a *Ferris Zemsky*, which hangeth loose buttoned throughout to the very footes.

On the hand-wreasts they weare very faire Bracelets, about two fingers broad of pearles and precious stones. They goe all in Buskins of white, yellow, blew, or some other coloured leather, embrodered with pearle. This is the attire of the Noble woman of *Russia*, when she maketh the best shew of her selfe. The gentlewoman apparrell may differ in the stufes, but is all one for the making or fashion.

As for the poore *Mausick*, and his wife, they goe poorly clad. The man with his *Odnoraskey*, or loose gowne to the small of the legges, tied together with a lace before, of course white or blew cloth, with some *Shube* or long waist-coate of Furre, or of sheepe-skinne vnder it, and his furred cappe, and buskins.

The poorer sort of them haue their *Odnoraskey*, or vpper garment, made of Cowes haire. This is their winter habite. In the sommer time, commonly they doe weare nothing but their shirts vpon their backes, and buskins on their legges.

The woman goeth in a redde or blew gowne, when she maketh the best shew, and with some warme *Shube* of Furre vnder it in the winter time. But in the sommer, nothing but her two shirts (for so do they call them) one ouer the other, whether they be within doores, or without.

On their heads, they weare caps of some colored stufes, many of veluet, or of cloth of gold; but for the most part, kerchiefs. Without care-rings of silver, or some other metall, and her croffe about her necke, you shall see no *Russia* woman, be she wife, or maide.

As

The vnder gownes.

Bracelets.

Womens buskins.

The *Mausick*, or common man's attire.

The poore man.

The *Mausick* wife.

Head attire.

Eare-rings & Croffes.

Then wittes and capacities

Guiltie brain geth the knowledge of God

Cruelty of these Ruffe people.

Vagrants begging poore.

As touching their behaviour, and quality otherwise, they are of reasonable capacities, if they had those meanes that some other Nations haue, to traine vp their wittes in good nurture and learning. Which they might borrow of the Polonians, and other their neighbors: but that they refuse it of a very felle pride, as accounting their owne fashion to be farre the best. Partly also (as I sayd before) for that their manner of bringing vp (voyd of all good learning, and ciuill behaviour) is thought (by their gouernors) most agreeable to that State, and their manner of gouernement. Which the people would hardly beare, if they were once ciuilled, and brought to more vnderstanding of God, and good policie.

This causeth the Emperours to keepe out all meanes of making it better, and to be very wary for excluding of all peregrinitie, that might alter their fashions. Which were lesse to be disliked, if it set not a print into the very mindes of his people. For, as themselves are very hardly and cruelly dealt withall by their chiefe Magistrates, and other superiours; so are they as cruel one against another, especially ouer their inferiours, and such as are vnder them. So that the basest and wretchedest *Christian* (as they call him) that stoupeh and crouche like a dogge to the Gentleman, and licketh vp the dust that lieth at his feete, is an intollerable tyrant, where he hath the aduantage.

By this meanes the whole Countrey is filled with rapine, and murder. They doe make no account of the life of a man. Yet shall haue a man robbed sometime in the very streetes of their Townes, if hee goe late in the euening: and yet no man to come forth out of his doores to rescue him, though he heare him cry out. I will not speake of the strangeness of the murders, and other cruelties committed amongst them, that would scarcely be beleued to be doone amongst men, especially such as professe themselves to be Christians.

The number of their vagrant and begging poore is almost infinite; that are so pinched with famine and extreme neede, as that they doe begge after a violent and desperate manner; with, *Giue mee, and cut mee; Giue mee, and kill mee;* and such like phrases. Whereby it may bee ghesseid,

what they are towards strangers, that are so vnaturall and cruell towards their owne. And yet it may be doubted whether is the greater, the crueltie, or intemperancie that is vsed in that Countrey. I will not speake of it, because it is so foote and not to be named. The whole Countrey ouerfloweth with all sinne of that kinde. And no matuell, as hauing no law to restraine whoredomes, adulteries, and like vncleaneesse of life.

As for the truth of his word, the *Ruffe* (for the most part) maketh small regard of it: so he may gaine by a lie, and breach of his promise. And it may be said truly (as they know best that haue traded most with them) that from the great to the small (except some few that will scarcely bee found) the *Ruffe* neyther beleueneth anie thing that another man speaketh, nor speaketh any thing himselfe worthy to be beleued.

These qualities make them very odious to all their neighbours, especially to the *Tartars*, that account themselves to be honest and iust, in comparison of the *Ruffe*. It is supposed by some, that doe well consider of the state of both Countreys, that the offence they do take at the *Ruffe* gouernement, and their manner of behaviour; hath beene a great cause to keepe the *Tartar* still heathenish, and to mislike (as hee dooth) of the Christian profession.

CHAP. VI.

If it may be so ordered or limited, that poisons given at a certaine day, shall not cause death, vntill a time appointed and prefixed.

For, though you can much more clearly and exactly resolve this doubt; yet notwithstanding, seeing you please to vnderstand mine aduice therein, concerning the limitation and efficacy of poisons, at a day or time prefixed; I shall briefly resolve you of my iudgement.

And I haue euenmore helde it absurd and

G g g g ridicu-

Intemperance

No care of word or promise.

The *Ruffe* odious to his neighbours.

This is the last paradox of the first D. cad.

A comparison
derived from
physical me-
dicines of belt
worth.

ridiculous (although it bee maintayned in vulgar opinion) that venoms or poysons should be limited to a certaine time, by empoysoners. For, how can it be so, seeing Physical medicines, euen such as are most profitable, whose vertue (in knowledge thereof, is limited to the composition and quantitie of the dose) cannot be apprehended, but by long and frequent experience? And that being knowne, doth not yet leaue vs any certaine act, but coniectural: wherefore, I cannot see by what reason, an empoysoner should gaine a prehension of time, for the efficacie of this poyson. For, it is not lawfull to make triall, without danger, no nor without punishment: euen as if the action of Physicall receipts, should be experimented vpon healthfull persons.

Triall of poy-
sons made on
Dogs, Hogs,
Birds, &c.

It may be alleadged, and I am of the same opinion too, that they approue their poysons vpon beaſts, as Dogges, Swine and Birds, and that thereby they constitute rules to themselves; hauing obserued diuers times of death, according to the nature of the poysons. As if the natures of men, (being the most temperate of all creatures) and the other were not verie farre different. Besides, it is much more easie, that a precise and certaine houre of euent and successe, should happen vnto beaſts, then to men. For, creatures deprived of reason, haue very little diuersitie (in their kinde) betweene them, feeding on one and the same pasturage, and being not addicted to sundry studies, and occupations: from whence ensueth, that euen by and of the same things, beaſts endure (almost) passions alike.

Little diuer-
sities betweene
vntreasonable
creatures in
their kinde.

Very great &
strange varie-
ties among mee,
for seldom or
 neuer are two
found of one
and the same
complexion.

But for men, although they agree together in kinde, yet notwithstanding they are so different, as seldom or neuer, shall we find two together of likeness in face: but are diuerse in complexions, conditions and occupations or professions, and no one like other among a thousand. Vndoubtedly, I am of the minde, that in the kinde of man, there is as many differences among particulars, as there is diuersities of kinde among all other creatures. And therefore, it ought to be held altogether abusive, and noway firme, and such coniecture of empoysoners; as is very easie to be proued, and made plaine to euery vnderstanding: and vpon this hopefull perswasion, wee will fall presently to our

businessse.

Many haue thought and held, that Theophrastus (a very graue and approued Philosopher) was the Authour of this opinion, because he wrote thus of *Aconitum*. *It is said to be compounded in such sort, that it can kill at a certaine time: as namely, within two moneths, three moneths, sixe moneths, a whole yeare, and sometimes in two yeares. And some affirme, that such people shall die more miserably, then if they could haue resisted longer time. For their bodies will impair by little and little, perishing in a daily languishing: whereas such as die suddenly, haue the more easie death.*

But the authoritie of Theophrastus, or of our selues, can moue nothing in this matter; considering, that he wrote this, more vpon others opinion, then his own, as the words themselves doe euidently testifie. And if any one desire to know the cause of this perswasion, hee shall meete with a two-folde answer thereto. The first is, the subtile craftinesse of men, who flatter and fondly play with their owne vices. For, how many may be found, that can not so patiently endure, when they are reprobued in some euill, happening by an external accident; as if one should tell them, that it received originall by a bad temperature of their body, or of their owne intemperance? For, admit that nothing could be saide, to bee the cause of the first constitution, and therefore (by consequent) the reprooche of his imperfection concerned him nothing: yet notwithstanding, because it is our owne naturally, we will conceale and couer it, yea, and fauour it beyond measure. So that if there happen any fault on the behalfe of our imperfection, we stand most in feare to be thereof reprobued. And hence it ensueth, that we more gladly yeelde agreement, to haue the cause from some external occasion, then of any intior.

Examples in this case are very manifest, euen in such as haue least knowledge, being ignorant in good Arts and Sciences, transported by simple iudgement of fellowes. As aged, and the most part of weak witted people doe, to whom nothing admittable can be spoken, ynlesse it be referred to some Saint, or poyson closely giuen, or to the witching lookes of some old woman: whence proceeded the complaint whereof Virgil speaketh.

Theophrastus
a learned Phi-
loopher, his
opinion of A-
conitum.

Theophrastus
not to be cre-
dited in this
case.

Two answers
to the true
ous perswas-
ion. The first
answer.

We can not
indure to hear
our owne im-
perfections
reprobued.

The ignorance
of causes indu-
ceth (very often)
vnto such opi-
nions and
Sorecties.

*I know not by what ill aspect of wrong,
My tender Lambes (enchanted) walke along.*

For there must needes be probable lying, that either instantly, or soone after the poyson is giuen, or continued in the surest manner; if any length or respite of time can be giuen thereto.

The other cause of this opinion, is the depraued interpretation of Astronomical Theoremes or Speculations. For the prooofe whereof, Astrologers constitute (which is true) the diuers manners or passions of inferiour bodies, to be from the diuers coniunction, opposition and interchanged aspect of the superiour. From hence, the ignorant vulgar take occasion, to ground and establish the varietie of effects, euen vpon the least differences that can be obserued in the celestiall bodies.

The second
untrue and
aberration of
the second
cause.

As when they constitute some one plant, to haue power and efficacie against feaues; provided, that it be gathered before Sunne rising. This is an error spread too farre abroad. For, not onely from these differences (triuall, light, and of no account at all) men commonly construct the diuersitie of effects in their kinds: but also would haue the accidents of those effects to be diuers, for the selfe same reason; euen as is the time to manifest the efficacie of poyson. The folly (in this point) further related by Theophrastus, he sayth: *That death happeneth in as short a time, as a Plant is to be gathered.* Let vs seeke then for a true solution of this Probleme, by reason rather then the testimonies of any. Which we may most commodiously doe (if I abuse not mine owne iudgement) by beginning with the definition of venome or poyson; to the end it may be the easier vnderstood, what the matter is that vrgeth our instant disputation.

The like ill
of keas
gaibed
vpon Saint
laber. Eue or
Vigile.

Theophrastus
his words of
the hidden con-
tinge of death

A definition
of venome, and
what it is vn-
derstood to be

The operation
of poyson
in their owne
nature.

We properly call venome or poyson, whatsoever being receiued into the body, doth so fight against the body, as it is not to be surmounted; but contrariwise, doth so alter the body, as the body it selfe alters in diet. In all venoms there are two especiall differences: for, eyther they are enemies to humane nature, by reason of their manifest qualitie; or else they are aduerses thereto in their whole substance. Moreover, some may kill quickly, others more tardily, euen of their owne proper nature. Such kill suddenly, and in fewest daies and houres, which are immediately carried to

the profunditie of the hart. Such venoms are extremely hot, and (for the most part) corrosiue or putrefactive; the Greeks call them *Sepiques*, endued with most subtile parts. For, colde and grosse venomes are more ydle, and insinuate into the veins and arteries more slowly.

Some there are, which infect and kill the body, by their onely vapour or insublimable exhalation. Others, that holde the prime place of atrocitie and malignitie. As certaine poisons artificial, which haue so subtile a vertue, as being but rubbed or annointed vpon the stirrups, will pierce thorow the booties of the Rider, euen till it attaine to the naked soale of his foote; and from thence ascendeth vp into the body, by the fountaines or ouertures of the skinn, and so corrupt all the members. Brides and Saddles of horses may also be infected, and afterwards, indued by naturall heat into the arteries and veins of the rider entering by the pores in his hands and thighs. As in like manner, Garments, Beds and Coverings may be poysoned. To these venoms may be referred, such as kill only by sight, smell, or being but tasted onely (without swallowing or letting downe) suddenly destroying a man; without any the least lingering.

Of some that
destroye more
then others.

Poysoning
mens stirrups,
bridles & sad-
dles for hor-
ses, garments,
beds, &c.

All venomes or poysons bring present death with them, for as there remains not any time of respite, for succor to saue the poore mans life, but he dies. I vnderstand, that such poysons are in frequent vse among the *Turkes*, and such other nations. Grosse venoms or poisons do differ from these, as being slower in performing their action; but in the end burne very strongly, bite, eat, torment, & by their lingering) beget the greater strength & cruel violence.

Such speeding
poysons are in
daily vse a-
mongst the
Turkes and o-
ther barba-
rous nations.

Now there is not onely a difference of efficacie, in poisons of diuers kinds, but also there happens to them as great a varietie of respites, to hurt according to their constitution and temperature, by whom they are taken. For some feeble the harme sooner or later then others; some are ouerthrowne thereby, others escape. Because many times it comes so to passe, that the poisons power is mitigated & overcome, by the very complexio of him that hath receiued it, else, that it is so strong of it self, as it needeth no other counterpoyson to vanquish it. So falleth it out with them that dwell in pestilent aires, & others that

Diffence in
the poysons,
and difference
in their times
of working.

Of bodies pe
silently in-
fected.

A very ridicu-
lous affirmati-
on.

Galen in Pa-
rad. i. Dec. i.

A kind of ydle
arguementatō.

A Goate is a
beast, there-
fore a Goate
is an Affe.

At a solemn
Banquet in I-
talie made by
Cæsar Borgia.

An example
derived from
physical pur-
gatives.

are attainted with the plague: some of them being sicke, chance to die suddenly, others later, and other (in the end) escape.

If it be so, it seemes then altogether ridiculous to affirme, that it is possible to giue a poison, which (at a day prefixed, & at a certaine time of that day) shall cause the parties death, & that the condition of the poison is so to doe. To which error I may well referre another, fauouring of the same taste, and which we haue long since ouerthrowne, to wit: *That medicines take the beginning of their mutation or changing from our heate*. Whence it ensueth, that being grossly pressed, they produce their effects the later. But if I should consent to them herein, yet notwithstanding, they can neuer come to approve their affirmation, vnlesse it be capiously. For if any man argue thus: This drugges discovereth his power later then this; therefore he will doe it at a certaine time. The argumentation is false, and *Aristotle* calleth it *Elenchus non consequens*: Euen as if a man should say, A Goate is a Beast, therefore a Goate is an Affe. For, *To do a thing late, and to do a thing at a certaine time*, are of diuers kinds, and differ from doing a thing in some time.

Heereby it appeareth, that these great Professours haue no other eye, but onelic on the conditions of the poysons, as in this poynt it is very euident, for we heare no distinction of bodies: but onely pre- sence of the poyson, whereunto they onely attribute the limitation of time, and not to any complexion in the parties. Obseruation hath bene made, that poison hath bene giuen at a Feast or Banquet to diuers persons, all in one houre, (when friends haue merrily met together, without suspicion of any such villanie) whereof some dyed suddenly, others died within some few dayes after, and some felt no anguish at all, yet every one received a like quantitie.

The like we see to happen daily in purgative medicines, which being giuen to diuers persons (euen all alike in measure, and all alike in preparation) they worke vpon some bodies very suddenly, others more slowly, others very hardly, and vpon some nothing at all. Moreover, the vacuities of some men is with much ease, others with great difficultie; grievously grinding or cutting, and frequent debility

of the heart. What need is there then of alleading many men, when vpon one and the same man, one and the same medicine cannot produce the same effects.

Seeing then, that according to the diuers and vnparallel complexion, & conformation of the body, we see such things to happen, for the most part; and besides, that the iust temperature of euery particular man is no way to be comprehended: how then shall any one man dare to say, how long time naturall heate shall resist or withstand poison? Say I admitted, that some one man should be so expert an empoysoner, that he could weigh (in a certainty of iudgement) the power of his poyson, euen as exquisitely as he weigheth muske in the Ballance: yet notwithstanding, I will neuer graunt, that he can as exactly limite poyson, for the nature of him that is to receiue it: but he will faile somewhat of the end, or of the time by him proposed. For, Physicke it selfe is held to be a Science, grounded but vpon coniectures, concerning what is to be prescribed for euery man, in the proper quantitie and qualitie of meetest remedies. For, *no man knoweth how to write or speake iustly or properly, as Galen saith in the third booke of his Methods*. And a little after: *In the Arte of Physicke* (saith he) *there is not aie thing or remedie, but may be named in his kinde: but that which cannot be spoken, written, nor entirely appointed or ordained, is the quantitie for euery one*.

Hee repeateth this same matter many times, and to the purpose ensuing, as enstrueting, that euery man hath his peculiar curing, and that the naturall proprietie is vnpeakeable and incomprehensible of an exact Science. Vulgar Physitians call it *Idiosyncrasis*, the naturall proprietie, as *Galen* saith. And because all confesse, that it cannot be comprehended; they attribute the true Art of Physicke to *Asculapius* & *Apollo*. For the principle, and foundation (as it were) of perfect, compleate, & infallible Physicke (which *Galen* calls; *The true Arte of Medicine*) is the particular knowledge of Naturals. Whereupon he makes this addition. *If I knew how to acknowledge iustly, the nature of each one in particular: I should verily thinke to be such a one as Asculapius, and to know as much in my understanding. But because it is not to be doone, I am determined to exercise my selfe*

The complexion and temperature of all men is incomprehensible, neither can poysons worke in one and the same manner vpon them.

Physick as exercise prescribed but on coniecture.

Galen in lib. viii. iustia.

so much, to come so neere him as a man may, and to exhort others therein to follow mine example.

If Physicke then be coniecturall, and not certaine in the party that prepareth or appoineth remedies to euery body, & the issue is not to be seene, but finally by a long obseruation and experience; who can perwade himselfe herein concerning poysons? For, if in the Art of physicke, Experience is dangerous, as the wife & learned Hippocrates well aduise vs: it is easie to conceiue, how vncertain the prooofe of poysons are, because it is not lawfull to experiment their vertue, both without danger and punishment also, as wholesome medicines in diuersitie of persons.

And whatsoever hath bin obserued vpon brute Beasts, as I formerly saide, is very vnapt for any accommodation to a man, because the natures of men and beasts are greatly differing, as namely by this prooofe: that Stares feede safely vpon Hemlocke, and Quails on Helleborus, which are both physicke and poyson to vs. From these reasons then we may collect finally, that the Arte (if it may be termed an Arte) or coniectures of empoysoners, is to be esteemed very erroneous, and of slender firmnes: considering, that one selfe same poyson produceth his action, sometimes quickly, and sometimes slackly, and that not so much by any reason in it selfe, as by the nature and complexion of the body, widensse or narrownesse of the passages, strength or weaknesse of naturall heate; and the plenty or scarcity of semblable excrements, & diuers other meanes.

For the power of poyson remaineth sometimes vaine and fruitlesse, or mightily rebated, according to such bodies, as haue their faculties of the soule stout and strong, by reason of an excellent good temperature. And *Galen* thinketh, that the building and composition of the body, is the cause why Hemlocke killeth a man, & nourisheth Stares. Whereto he addeth, the strength and vigour of heate, diminishing and subtilizing, in regard he is perwaded that it happeneth so, that colde poysons better and sooner doe declare their force, when they are giuen to hott natures. Which may appeare a Paradoxe to many: but hauing bin made most euidently apparant by the said author, I dare

let the prooofe passe vpon my credite, because his experience is warrantable.

As for the nature of excrements, they weaken the actions of poysons, being repugnant to their qualities. For if there be any abundance of phlegme in the entrails, the power of hot poyson will be greatly rebated: and on the contrary, hot moyltre hasteneth the action of such a poyson. Likewise, ouer-copious chollier stoppeth and breaketh the stupefactive venome receiued, whereas phlegme fauoreth it. And all that these wicked empoysoners do know, is nothing else, but what poysons onely kill, by euident condition of their qualities, and that they hurt with all their substance. Such are they as kill by corrupting or corrosion, which must haue time to enforce their mallice (as *Galen* saith) whereas other do weaken themselves by their tardying. For they do all purifie in time, & so much the more, as the place is moister and hotter.

Such then as worke by purtifying, time doth augment their action: because they encrease the corruption, and in regard they cease not to corrupt themselves; reciprocally they corrupt and rot the body. From whence ensueth, that death is caused long time after: especially such poysons as are of grosse and earthy substance. Thus you may see, what empoysoners haue learned by long obseruation.

First, they know how to distinguish venomes, which kill by their insigne and notorious qualities, from other that cause death by their whole substance.

Secondly, that they naturally bring to any man whatsoever, a most sudden harme, and yet doe not discouer their vigour, but vpon longer time.

Thirdly, that (of both the two kinds) they kill eyther sooner or later (without any respect to the body) according as they haue the most, or the least quantity.

Fourthly, they can deale in such sort, that all poysons shall be tempered according to their owne pleasure, and make them sweeter or sharper, because they should kill the sooner or slower, which is without any feerer or myracle of nature.

We usually exercise the same cunning, in purgative drugges, setting an edge on such as are dull and flowe, and giue them as spurs to further purpose: and contrariwise, wee retaine ouer-hasty penetration

Gggg 3 in

Of the searal action of poysons vpon phlegme and chollier, by their searing or abound- ing.

Of poysons that haue their working by purtification.

What apprehension can empoysoners haue of them by four meanes in obseruation.

Application of purgative drugges in physick.

Effects of
poysons to be
limited to a
moment of
time.

Diversity of
effects both
in the agent
and patient.

The iudge-
ment and an-
swer of Pedro
de Albano
upon this
point.

Fore-spoken
or bewitched.

Plinius lib. 14.
cap. 7.

A m^o of more
then ordinary
skill to haue
such know-
ledge.

in the other, by mingling with them, such as are naturally more slacke & tardy. But that a man should limit the effects of poysons, to a certaine day, and to a point or moment named; we hold to bee merely absurd and ridiculous, because the nature of each man cannot be perfectly knowne (as we haue before sufficiently declared) from whence proceedeth the most vncertaine tearme or time of euery poyson, for procuring the death of a man. For euery naturall action meeteth with diuers effects, according to the diuers disposition, as well of that which worketh, as of that which suffereth. And this happeneth, not onely by reason of euident qualities, but also of hidden and proper: whence also it ensueth, that the thing which doth this man a great deale of harme, may bee as profitable to another.

Pedro de Albano (whom some call the Reconciler, or Peace-maker) where hee explicated this question, propoundeth: That he may do it, who hauing certainly knowne the continuance of a mans life, by the measure and quantity of his radical humour: may giue him a poyson, that shall consume in ten yeares space. From hence he collecteth, some men may bee poysoned, that droope and dry away daily (vulgarly termed in *Italian*, *Herbati et Strigati*) and so it may bee ordered sometimes, that poysoning may bee limited. But that it is to be presupposed by Astrologie, I hardly thinke to be euer diuined.

I confesse, that all such as are seene to droope and decay by little and little, being empoysoned, haue a long affliction: but yet there is no certaine time when those men shall bee taken hence. *Pliny* speaketh of no time knowne more certaine of death, then vs of the Sea Hare (a venomous fish) bringeth, where he saith: *Such men as (in eating) feede poyson, and by the first signe perceiue the poyson: shall dye in as many houres after, as the Hare hath liued.* Now, who shall diuine the age of the Hare, to the ende, that the appointed houre of death, may be fore-tolde thereby?

And yet if I did admit them, that a man did know how many dayes the Hare hath liued: I can neuer grant (for al that) that all men shall dye at one and the same time, because one and the selfe same poyson, worketh diuersly, according to the

diuersity of mens bodies, as it hath bene more then sufficiently proued. So that it had bene much more truly saide (as the same *Pliny* after addeth) *The saide poyson can haue no certainty of time, according as Licinius Macer also saith.*

Poyson can
haue no cer-
tainty of time

CHAP. VII.

Of diuers erroneous and idle opinions, conceived in fantastike braines, and verily beleued, as if they were sound truths.



People erre in many matters, concerning diuers creatures (haply not inuented of them selues) but held by elder and precedent intimation; as little also apprehended or vnderstoode by them; but, perhappes, mere fictions of their owne braines, vpon some appearing probable reasons. As wise and woorthie Poets, who haue entrusted bad and befall men, to the imitation of vertue, by witty fables and pleasant inuentions, which euer hath bene, and still is permitted as lawfull in them, euen as the like licence is allowed to Painters, as *Horace* testifieth, saying:

*Poets and Painters equall power containe,
To say on do, what best shall like their braine.*

As for Painters, we see that they figure an Angell in the forme of a Youth, clothed with a garment of Starres, bare headed, and hauing wings like a Bird. And the Soule of man is represented like to a young Infant, stark naked. The diuell, so haue hornes, and a dreadfull taile: And yet neuertheless, these are but spirites without bodies, and cannot carry the resemblance of any visible creature.

In the like manner, Hell, which is but a place, is figured with a hideous gaping throat: Death, being but a priuation of life, is resembled by the Anatomized bones of a dead man, carrying a Scithe in his hand. Loue, which is but a passion and accident, not subsisting any way of it selfe, is painted and presented like a naked child,

Reporte de-
liuered by an
cient people,
do carry no
mean credit
among many.

The dying of
Horace.

The variable
shapes giuen
by Painters
to many
things.
Diuell.

Hell.
Death.

Loue.

The Windes.

The twelue
signes in the
Zodiack in fe-
rall figures.

The figures
of heauen.

The Planets.

The Starres.

The elements
fire, Ayre,
Water, Earth.

Creatures
figured in fa-
bulous manner
The Salamander
The Dolphin.

The Pellican.

childe, and blind; wearing wings, a Bow, and a Quiuer furnished with Arrowes. The Windes, which are but a moued agitated Ayre, are figured with mens heads, hauing their Cheekes hugely swolne, euen as we see one founding of a Trumpet.

As for Astrologers, though they want paintings, whereby to enstrut ignorant people: yet haue they demonstrations likewise, and presentation is made of the twelue Signes of the Zodiack (which are but certaine Starres) yet disposed into diuers figures, as one of a Ramme, another of a Bull, the third of two twinned infants, &c. And so the images of heauen which are out of the Zodiack; one in forme of a Beare, another of an Eagle, others in riuers, in an Harpie, Dogge, Dragon, &c. And next the Planets, which are but stars, as Saturne, Iupiter, Mars, Mercurie, and Venus; these beare the forme of personages, in diuers habites and countenances: but the Sun and Moone are otherwise shewne and distinguished.

Painters also, haue euermore denoted the figure of a Starre with five rayons or beames, thereby expresting the twinkling splendour: although all the Starres do not sparkle in that manner, and well wee know beside, that they are all round in figure, without points or corporeall beams. As for the Elements, they figure the fire (which is inuisible) like vnto our artificial fire, which is not much amisse to the purpose. The Ayre cannot be painted, no more then heauen, cleare and transparent bodies; but yet they are represented by a blew or azure colour. Water is figured by Waues, and the Earth in shape of a Globe, rounde as a Ball.

Of Creatures, they counterfeyte some fabulously: as the Salamander, which is no such thing as it is painted; nor the Dolphin likewise: as it is presented in Armes and Deuices; Nor the Flower de Luce, as it is commonly knowne to euery one. And the Heart, be it of a man, or of other creature, it is of no such shape as Painters giue it.

The Pellicane is figured, with her sharpe Beake turned vpon her breast, which she launcheth therewith, to make hir blood yssue forth, for the nourishing of hir young ones, euen to the price of her owne life,

dying thereby: And yet we see and know that the Pellican hath her beak edgelesse, flat, and broad; iustly like in fashion vnto the Apothecaries Spatule or Slice, as being no way able to wound her breast. Also, the Greeke worde [*Pellican*] signifying an Axe or Coopers Adge or Ads, plainly declareth that her Beake is flat, & as it should be.

Moreouer it is sayde, that the Sire or Hee-Bird, beatech the young ones, euen as with blowes on the face, or (as we vse to say) boxes on the eare, vntill they are almost dead; and then the Dam woundeth her breast, to resume them with her blood: blowes commonly are giuen with flat, and not pointed things.

The Phoenix, being painted burning her selfe in a fire, prepared purposely for her; is much more fabulous. But al these things are lawfully permitted to Painters and Poets (as we saide before) vpon some good respect and secret reason, needlesse to bee reported here, making mention onely but of certaine erroneous opinions, which the vulgar holde for sure and most certaine, and which are the more excusable, because many great Philosophers and ancient Physitions, haue defended the like opinions.

1. Of the Viper.

I hath bin a very ancient opinion, that the Viper ioyneth with her male, by reueyning his head in at her mouth (through defect of other genitall partes) and that the female by the delight shee feelleth, locketh her teeth so fast together, as thereby shee biteth off her males head, and so conceyeth. Afterwards, when the time for deliuey cometh, the yong ones hauing no other yssue, and (euen as it were) to reuenge the death of theyr Father: bite and tear the belly of their mother, whereby shee dyeth. Here is the reason why its saide of a *Posthumus*, of whome the mother dieth in deliuerance. *He is like the Viper, that neuer seeth his father nor mother:* This hath sometime serued as an Embleme with this deuice or motto, *Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris.*

All this is false, and fauored by fables, but badly; that being well vnderstoode, which *Aristotle* hath said. *The Viper (saith he) is conceived of Egges which she hatcheth*

The Phoenix.

In what man-
ner the Viper
is saide to re-
gender by hir
male.

Words giuen
of the post-
humus.

Whar thou
wouldst not
haue done to
thou, doe not
thou to ano-
ther.

*Arist. in Anim.
lib 9 cap. 7.*

in her belly, and become little Vipers: they come forth all formed, being depoyled of the membrane or thinnie skinne, which contained them within the wombe; and that is their *seconde*. But the later-most (mooned with impatience) bite and tear that membrane, to issue forth the more hastily. For the damme or mother bringeth above twenty, and yet deliuereth but one daily, which maketh the him-mot impatient, and constraineth them an-gerly to gnawe the tunicle or membrane; but neither the mothers sides or belly, as is vaine-ly imagined.

Many may be deceived also, concern-ing the original and etymologie of the word, as if *Vipera* were to say, *Quasi vi-piens*: whereas it is (indeed) of *Vreum pi-rens*. For there is not any Serpent, that produceth her broode or young alive, or liuing, but the Viper. Others lay egges, which (out of the belly) are conuerted in-to Serpents.

2. Of the Beaver, called *Castor* also.

IT is vulgarly helde, that this beast tea-reth away his testicles with his owne teeth, when he perceiueh himselfe to be pursued by Hunt-men: hauing a kind of knowledge naturally, that they seeke him only for them. Whereupon some thinke, that this name of *Castor* was giuen him: because he geldeth himselfe, and so (by consequent) becometh chaste.

Which is mcerely false; for, as *Disco-rides* wrote long since; hee can by no means reach or touch his stones. Those are onely two tumours, which (by yeares) comes to him, & are as imposthums, full of fatte matter or suppuration, called *Casto-riam*, which also hee can not teare away. And he is not rearme'd *Castor*, of gelding; or of chastite; but of the Greeke word *Gaster*, which significth a Belly, because he is full paunched, and this is nothing else, but by changing the letter *Ginto C*. Read hereupon the most learned History of *M. Ronsdelius*, of Fishes, in the last chapter of the second Tome.

3. Of the Salamander.

Great error is there also, concerning the true Nature of this creature, which is said to liue in the fire, and hath power to extinguih it. From which coniecture,

was taken the deuice of great King *Francis*, the first of that name (father of Arts and Sciences) *Nutrisco*, & *extingo*: I feed and extinguih.

Disco-rides hath very learnedly deli-uered the contrary, and *Galen* also saying: That the Salamander can resist the fire for some time; but it burneth, by carrying any long while therein. Neuthelesse, it were better to hold with *Aristotle*, in saying; That the Salamander is not burned in the fire, but walks aloft vpon it, extinguih both the flame and coales.

Experience, which is more strong then all authorities of the wisest in the world, teacheth vs, that this is a matter no way to be credited. As for the figure of the Salamander, the portraiture thereof also is mcerely fabulous, and contriued by Painters, who haue thrust such an ima-gination vpon it; making shew also of it, to be a farre greater Beast then it is. It is like to the smaller sort of Lizzards, which frequent the wallies in *Languedoc*, named *Langroles*, and in *Daulphine* *Larmules*. But the Salamander is somewhat greater, marked with many spots. His body is full of a white moysture, and thicke like Milke, which issueth forth by the pores of the skinne, pressing it neuer so little. Which milke or moysture is so colde, that the Sa-lamander may (for some time) withstand the fire, but yet not long, without burn-ing, roasting and dying, as we haue many times made good triall of. Farre is it from quenching the fire, or much lesse liuing in it: like as the Chameleone liueth by the ayre, and I iudge both alike in truth: albeit I neuer saw any Chameleon alitue to make proofe of.

4. Of the Shee-Beare.

IT is said also, that the produceth a peece of flesh, not hauing the forme of any creature: and afterward shee licketh it in such manner; that thereby onely shee gi-ueth it both fashion and forme. This is but a kinde of hyperbolical speaking, for to say truly, the yong one is very vnlight-ly after the birth, being all couered with foame or froth, and in such a quantity, as it seemeth indeede but a hump of flesh, without any distinction of parts. The Dam or Mother cleanseth it immediately thereof, by licking al the filth away, wher-

Disco. lib. 4. c. 2.
Galen in lib. 3.
de Temp.

Aristotle infor.
Anim. l. 2. c. 19

Painters haue
raised in true
forme of the
Salamander.

Like Newts,
Alices and In-
tle Lizards
haunting oyle
and ill kept
houses.

A description
of the Sal-
mander re-
semblance.

The Beare
brought forth
a perfect crea-
ture attill
first, although
not so readily
distinguish'd,
as afterward.

by (not long after) it appeareth in the true shape of a creature. So may we see a *W* helpe (or a yong Lambe newly yeaned) much muddled and befouled at the first, as it is hardly knowne at the prime view: but when the Damme hath doone her louing and naturall Office, then all the parts are plainly scene and distinguihed.

CHAP. VIII.

An vniuersal Question: What Language a child should speake, that neuer heard any speech. That a man or woman borne dumb, is necessarily deafe. As also, bee that is Nurst among dumbe people, And not on the contrary, that one dumbe by Nature, should be deafe: And whence it ensueth, that a man is so tardie, in knowing howe to speake.



Vulgar people beleue, and hold it as a thing most as-sured, that a man shoulde naturally speake the Lan-guage of *Adam*, if he neuer learned any other speech from his infan-cie; even as if hee had bene nurst by a dumbe Woman, among dumbe people; or in a Desert vterly vninhabited of peo-ple, where neuer any speech had bene heard.

Herodotus declareth in his second booke, that *Sammetich*, a King of the *Egypti-ans*, was desirous (on a time) to make proofe hereof, to the end, that he might iudge thereby, what was the most auncient and naturall Language, of all them that were spoken in the world. He caused two Children to bee nurst in a Forrest, where neuer any voyce of man was, or could be heard. After two yeeres were past, and they being brought before the King, sometimes they could pronounce this Word *Ede*, which in the *Phrygian* tongue, significth Bread. Whereupon some gathered, that the *Phrygian* was the first language of man.

But as *Saint Augustine* sayeth, these children might haue learned the Word *Rec* (and so retained it) of Goats, among

which they were nourished. For, as hee sheweth in his worke of the quantitie of the Soule; all manner of speaking is by hearing, and by imitation. Notwithstan-ding, in his Booke of the Cittie of God, hee thinketh and beleueh, that before the confusion of Tongues (which happened at the building of the Tower of *Babel*) the Hebrew Language was natural-ly to all. As if words were an action pro-ceeding from naturall instinct, or the sim-ple and proper motion of the soule: even as if they had power in themselves (and of themselves, with some naturall inclin-ations) to bring forth in euidence and effect speech, without any enstrueting. Such knowledge is to sucke, to cry, mourne, laugh, mouing hands and feet, & when strength serueth, to go.

The Goate, Lambe, Chicken, and other such like creatures, so soone as they are bred and brought forth, bring them-selves to the teates, knowing naturally, that there is their nourishment. Beeing grown greater, they make choise (among a thousand diuers plants) such as best dig-est and agree with their complexion. They bleate and cackle, euen from their production, which answereth to the cries of children: and this is done without tea-ching, or any enstrueting, or so much as example or imitation.

Man hath the like actions and repre-sentations, euen as other creatures, sim-ply naturall of his owne, and without any apprenticeship. But the worde or Speech, which is a voyce significative, expresseing the conceptions of a reasonable Soule: they proceede onely and wholly from a Science or Discipline, which is comprehended by the means of hearing. So that it is impossible, that any one being deafe, from his birth, and persevering in the same deafenesse, should euer knowe how to speake, although that his tongue, and other parts thereto appointed, rare most exquisitely compoled and ordain'd, as none more formally can be any way de-fined.

What then shall wee say of him that neuer heard anything? Speech is a Dis-cipline, no lesse then that of Musick: both the one and the other, are apprehended by hearing. From whence it cometh, that a child (in what place soeuer it is nourished and brought vp) apprehendeth

Aug. in Ciritel.
Dist. 1. c. 11

A refutation
of the latter
words of *S.*
Augustine.

Such things
as are done
by instinct of
nature onely.

That wordes
or speaking
proceedeth
of a science
or discipline.

Speech is an
instruccion
comparable
to Musick.

The Viper de-
liuereth her
broode, but by
one daily.

No Serpent
yeeldeth her
yong liuing,
but the Viper.

The naturall
vnderstanding
of the Beaver.

Disco. lib. 4. c. 23.

*Ronsdelius de pif-
tibus. l. 2. cap. 6. c.*

Herodotus in l. 2.
Prooue made
by a King of
Egypt, to
know which
was the most
auncient Lan-
guage of all
other.

The op inion
of *S. Augustine*
Aug. in Genes.
lib. 9.

The mother
tongue, or
learned from
the Mother.

eth and retaineth the same vulgar Language (which some tearme Vernacle or Maternall) whatsoever it be, either Hebrew, Greeke, Latine or Barbarisme; one is as easie to him as another. For, in having nothing by naturall impression, he is indifferent to all: like as the colour of white receiveth all other tinctures, and some kinde of water all favours; and so in the like comparisons.

That Adam
had neuer
spoken of
himselfe, or
naturally.

Adam could neuer have spoken any naturall language of his owne, no more then we: but God inspired him with an understanding soule, capable of such a language as pleased him: As he did likewise to Eve; and their first children learned to speake by them, even as ours now do of vs.

Men naturally
more en-
clined to euill
then good.

Heere wee are to know, that from the corruption of our first Parents transgression, we haue and hold all our naturall conditions and inclinations, and namely, the very greatest imperfection that can be, of enclining more vnto euill then good, more truly learned Original sinne. But as concerning speech or speaking, we haue it not but by aptitude & habilitie, euen as all other disciplines or instructions.

What is truly
naturall of
the Soule.

That which is truly naturall of our soule, is enclined or carrected into a body of such quality, temperature and complexion, as man ought to haue for his perfection. For the sonde nicenesse of birth, is like the infant in his first yeare, vnapt to reason, by the imperfection of his body, and likewise as they, who by accident of sicknesse, or passion of minde (as Loue and idle disturbances) become weakly brained, foolish, fottish, lunaticke, and mad. In all which imperfections, the soule is euermore her owne, remaining still in her integrity: and yet (neuertheless) cannot exercise her reason, by not hauing the body at her command.

The vnperfect
of children in
their first
yeares, & the
effects en-
clined by passi-
ons of the
minde.

Aristotle instructeth (to singular good purpose) That our soule is ignorant of all things, and like vnto a new Table, newly polished, and prepared, wherein nothing hath bene depicted or engrauen, when it was infused into the body of man, but sent downe from Heauen as we beleue. Shee hath nothing but simplicity, sincerity, purity, facility and conueniencie, with inclination and aptitude to every Arte and Science, and to all

The opinion
of Aristotle,
that the soule
hath nothing
of it selfe, as
concerning
Sciences.

knowledge of things diuine and humane (which is the true definition of Philosophy) Alwayes referred and excepted, those faculties and actions, necessarily required in a liuing soule, as those in Beasts; which our soule exerciseth in the body from the very beginning, and before the infant is borne, without doctrine or discipline (as already hath bene related).

Doctrine is not requisite in her, but for Artes and Sciences, hauing nothing in her, whatsoever diuine Plato sayeth to the contrary, affirming; That the reasonable soule hath knowledge of all things, when it cometh into the body: but being plunged and submerged in the great humidity of the body, it forgetteth all. Like to him that becometh obliuious, or (as they say in Greeke) sicke of a Lethargie, in regard of the Phlegmaticke humour which drowneth his braine. But afterward, in such measure, as the body loseth this great humidity, and drieth it selfe by little and little: the Soule also recouereth it selfe by paucity of degrees, and comprehendeth all things demonstrated and shewne vnto her, as in remembering and acknowledging her selfe, and not in learning any nouelties.

This was the opinion of good olde Plato, which maketh well for such as affirme, that wee haue some certainty of Language, which came from our first Parents, Adam and Eve: and that wee should (in time) speake the very same, if the other, which wee ordinarily heare in our houses, did not preoccupate it. But in truth, our soule neyther knoweth, or holdeth (of it selfe) any Language, nor is affected or giuen to any one in particular: but enclined equally, and is indifferent to all tongues, and in so good manner, as one hindereth not another, which (perhaps) a naturall tongue would, if it had any at all. At leastwise, some slippes or branches were to be remembered thereof, as in such, that could not altogether forget the accents, or the prolations, with some certaine words and phraes of their mother-tongue.

The reasonable soule then, hauing not any language of it selfe, is very proper and apt to comprehend, and well to expresse by found and entire instruments,

The true definition of philosophy concerning the Soule.

The opinion of Plato, quite contrary to that of Aristotle, concerning the capacity of the soule.

A naturall Language from our first Parents Adam & Eve.

That our soul knoweth no manner of language naturally.

Chap. 7.

Of Naturall Speech.

The happy memory of King Michridates.

That the voice is only of nature, and not of words or speech.

Every creature hath properly a voice.

Aristotle lib. 7. lib. 1.

What it is to speake, how it is formed, and to what end.

How an infant beginneth first to practise, and attaineth to speech.

ments, all diuersity of tongues. As it is recorded of King Michridates, to haue so happy a memory; that he could well and properly speake two and twenty diuers Languages.

By nature, we haue no more simply then a voyce, common to all other creatures that breathe, and different onely in them, by and according to their kindes. For every animall hath a proper voyce, which grossly signifieth his affections or passions: Which is no way knowne how to be expressed (saith Ammonius vpon Aristotle) or represented by letters or syllables, no more then the sundry murmures of the Sea, and of the Windes. Euen so, man in his prime or first moneths, when hee liueth simply as a beast, hath nothing but a voyce onely, before hee learns to speake: whereof being deprived, he is said to be dumb, although he hath not lost his voyce. Whereof Aristotle speaketh very notably in his Problems: That Man onely is dumbe.

Speech then is nothing else, but to fashion and articulate the voyce naturall, by addition of a vocall consonance, in the composing and enterlacing, for the exprelling of significant words, which explicate, and (as a man may say) do infan- tize and produce the conceptions of man: which are infinitely more diuers, and in farre greater number, then those of other Creatures, exempted of reason and discourse. And therefore it greatly behooueth, that a man should know extraordinarily, how to diuersifie his voyce, for answering to that which the great capacity of his spirit containeth.

An infant collecteth and assemblith diuers conceptions in his vnderstanding, and the words which he heareth (accompanied with some actions) strue to make signification of all: which he comprehendeth by little and little, and then retaineth by frequent reiteration. Afterward, when his tongue is growne more firme and able; hee strueth to represent that which he hath retained, by imperfect fumbling, and at the end of a little long apprenticeship, speaketh like to a young Parrot, after a long time spent in listening. For otherwise, as well the one as the other, would haue but his branches or slippes, which is the naturall voyce, without any other signification, then of certaine affections or passions, as we haue already said.

Lets now obserue that which Aristotle saith, in his Historie of Creatures. Those creatures which speake, haue voyce also: but all such as haue voyce, speake not. For, such as are deaffe by nature, are also dumbe: where by they may yet render a voyce, but not speake one word. And in his Booke of the Sences, and their organs, where he maketh a comparison of such as are blind and deaffe borne, he saith, Deaffe and dumbe are as accidents, which necessarily follow one another. Also Alexander Aphrodisieus produceth in his Problemes, that being demanded, why men borne deaffe, should be dumbe likewise; answereth familiarly, They can neuer speake that which they neuer heare.

For better confirmation of this matter, we must necessarily adde that which Aristotle writeth in the same place before alleged, concerning the Voyce, and the singing of Birdes, which is in part simply naturall, and in part of some intelligence and learning as his owne amongst them. For, I will not heere inferre, that some man may reach a Bird, to tune another Song beside her owne: and the enstrudition of the dammes (both he and she) to their young ones. Whereby we may easily comprehend, that if Birdes haue one naturall song (which is the voyce common to all their kinde) and another taught or apprehended in time of continuing with their owne: that, they could not so keepe and enioy, as if they had bin immediately seperated, and taken out of the nest. Euen so in like manner, an infant to be frequented with all people that speake, and (by their meere conuerration) instructed to speake; would else haue none other but his owne naturall voyce, as at the infant of his birth, and bringing into the world.

The voice (saith Aristotle) displaceth, what difference is made to be among the languages of Beasts & Birdes, euen among them of one and the same kinde, in diuers places. Let the Partridge in sundry Countreies; serue for example, hauing diuers notes; for some chucke or iouke, and others clacker or chirpe. And there are diuers smaller Birdes, which chaunt no such notes as their Dams doe; but being taken out of their Nests, are quite changed from paternall education: and so learne the tunes of other enstrudted Birdes, or of mens voices: inuring themselves to their notes, customes and manners. Sometime it hath bene obserued in a Nightingale, that

Difference betweene the voyce and speech. Aristotle in 4. lib. Anim. in cap. 9.

cap. 1.

Alex. Aphrodisieus lib. Probl. 133.

That the singing of Birdes is in part by apprehension or learning.

A child without teaching to speake, could haue but his naturall voyce.

Arist in lib. 4. de Anim. in cap. 7.

That Birdes do learne diuers notes & tunes one of another; by the senses their owne.

language

taught her to sing to her young ones, and so gave them imitation to diuers songs. For, speech cannot come of nature, as the voyce doth: but is to be attained by study and discipline. Thus you may perceiue also, why men make vse of diuers Languages, albeit they are like to one another in voyce, &c.

Me-thinks this should seeme prooffe enough, that speech is a thing properly learned by the means of hearing, from whence it enueth inuitably, that such as are deaffe borne, & they that neuer heard any speech (without being deaffe) are dumbe by consequent, except (by succellion of time) they doe enioy hearing, and their eares be vnstoppt; as we haue diuers times obserued, and made practise of, by children that haue not spoken before seauen or eight yeares.

Now I come (in passing along) to touch a point not impertinent to our purpose, to wit: What difference there is in the speech, which an Infant learneth of himselfe, from that of a Parrot, a Starling, a Pyca Larke, a Linnct, a Thrush, a Raven, a Iaye, and such like, as they haue learned. Very certaine it is, that as their soules are different, euen so is their Language: in regard that a childe vnderstandeth what he speaketh, and would speake so and so, or better if hee could, to explicate and make his conceptions vnderstood: whereas on the contrary, a Bird hath not any intelligence, of the signification of whatsoeuer it prateleth. So that, if a Bird demaund, or answere sometime (praising to purpose) it is by hap or aduerture, and not ordinarily: except it bee suggested, remembered, or else expressly made to speake it.

Morouer, a Bird will alwaies adde some crosse thwarting word or other, which argueth sufficiently, that it hath not any intelligence at all. Vherupon it hath bin commonly said, that who soeuer speaketh, and knoweth not what he speaketh, prateleth like a Parrot. So a simple man may learne some folly, or vnfitting words, in the Germanes, Polish, or any other unknowne tongue to him, and ignorantly vse it as a salutation, and be derided for his labour: like others, that thinking to bee reputed learned, will vse many Latine sentences and phrases, quite contrary to their owne meaning in the speaking.

It remaineth now to know, seeing the naturall dumbe man is deaffe by consequent: if likewise the man dumbe by nature (by reason of some defect in his tongue, or in other parts requisite for speaking) bee also deaffe consequently? *Laetantius Firmianus*, in his Booke of the workes of God, would haue it to bee so: but being too grosse an Anatomist (as is easily comprehended by his reasons) hee is not in this point to be credited. *Alexander Aphrodisiens*, in the place before alledged, seemeth to say no: but he buildeth vpon no good foundation, when he saith; *That there is a paire of nerves, which come from the Braine, one portion whereof goeth to the tongue, and the other to the eares. And that by this means, the affections of the tooing and of the eares, doe easily communicate themselves together.* Also, so far as that one of the said portions may bee offended and corrupted, without the other: it hapneth also, that a man may become deaffe by some disease, and yet (on the contrary) not be dumbe.

But his supposition holdeth no place in this point, no more then the reasons of some moderne men; following *Pedro de Albano*, rearme the Peace-maker, saying: *That the sixth likenesse in the Nerves of the Braine, which mooueth the tongue, is firmly alied to the fifth likenesse, which serueth for hearing.* For, as I will neuer grant, that defect of speech followeth deafenesse, by any consent or sympathy of the tooing with the eares, but only through want of enstruction, which should be receiued by the eares: so can I not consent, that by the vice or incongruity of those parts dedicated to speaking, hearing should any way be offended.

In the acte also there is no likelyhood or coherence, considering that those parts worke not; eyther for the integrity, not for the construction of the eares, & lesse for the enstruction of hearing; who (for her selfe) hath no neede of any teaching, no more then the sight, or any of the exterior senses. And as for them, they require nothing else, but to be free and open, without any impeachment or hinderance, and that their object should bee neere, within a certaine distance. Why then, we see and heare naturally, without any doctrine or discipline. Seeing then, that hearing neyther taketh or apprehendeth any thing of the verbal instruments;

The second Argument: whether the dumbe man by birth, is al to deaffe by consequent.

Leffan in Op. Didi. s. 127.

Alex. Aphrodisiens lib. Prob. 133.

Diuers both ancient and moderne writers discussed in this point.

An especial note well worth the observing.

What the exterior senses do necessarily require.

Hearing apprehendeth nothing of the verbal instruments, nor of words.

nor of words themselves (as concerning her owne simple action to heare) he that is dumbe from his birth, by the imperfection of his tongue, shall not be deaffe in that respect: no more, then as if from a braue discoursing man, the tooing should bee come out of his head. And it hath bene commonly obserued, that such as haue their tongues cut or slit, haue heard neuer a iot the lesse in that regard, neither found any defect in their hearing.

If be true then, that the instruments of speech, conferre not nor communicate particularly with the eares, and that speaking worketh nothing with hearing, as (on the contrary) hearing doth, and is necessarie for speech; it enueth plainly, that the dumbe by nature, shall neuer heare in that respect (supposing, that the organ of the eare or hearing, is no way therein interested. And that the deaffe by birth, must be dumbe necessarily: although in his tongue, and those other parts, requisite for speech, there is not any defect at all. Obserue then I praye, that in all this purpose, I speake of birth and of Nature, indifferently, to signifie the deaffe or dumbe from the beginning. And I name the dumbe from birth, not he that cannot speake (for so wee should bee all dumbe) but hee that is not any way apte to speake.

Lets vs come now to the third point. From whence it proceedeth, that a man hauing so prompt and able a spirite, that hee comprehendeth all things in small compasse of time; is yet (notwithstanding) so slow and tardie, in knowing howe to speake, and articulate his voyce. Whereas on the contrary, beasts & other creatures, immediately, or soone after their production, haue their voyce absolute & perfect, euen as well and fully, as euer they shall haue.

Aristotle in his Problemes, maketh answer hereto, saying; *The voyce of man hath great diuersities in it; other creatures expresse no Letters at all, or very fewe, (as two or three onely) and without Consonants, which, ioyned with Vowels, make the words. Speech (saith he) is not sly and simply of the voyce, but is perfected and accomplished of the affection or condition of the voyce, with signification; and the affections of the voyce, they are the letters.* Children therefore, before they know how, or can pronounce

letters, expresse their passions (no other-wise then as beasts do) by a natural voyce and no way taught or enstructed, which is common to all infants, of any country whatsoeuer. But yet speech is different in Towne and Towne, nay, in one and the same Towne or City, by reason of the voyce artificially distinguished, thorough the great diuersity of letters coupled, and intercalled of infinite kinds; whereof proceedeth diuers words, signifying an infinity of things. Seeing then, that there are so many manners or fashions of speaking, and that (of five or six letters) may be made fifty several words, and al differing the one from the other: wee may easilie thereby vnderstand, why an infant formeth his voyce so late, in regard of beasts, who haue their voyces merely simple, & (as *Alexander Aphrodisiens* sayth) most natural of all creatures.

For, whatsoeuer is extreemly diuers, & must be diuersified by many differences; cannot bee attained in any short space of time. Be it in regard of the foile, which apprehendeth the science of speaking; or be it in the tooing, which ought to expresse it, & require time also, both to break and enable the words in their vttering, as we vse to say of the hand, for instruments of Musick. Vherupon he that is dumbe, beginneth at the first to mumble and stasse in the mouth, being not able to make a found of all the Letters, nor to pronounce words with any habdility; onely by reason of the tongues softnes, whereas her rudenesse requireth a new labour.

There is another doubt vpon the same purpose, which is much more vnease to explicate, & *Aristotle* propoundeth it in his Problemes. *From whence it cometh, that some infants begin to speake before due ages; to whom commonly the words are formed, and after they haue wel expressed some words, become dumbe again, and returne to the first condition, until the ordinary terme and time of speaking?* Many haue held this to be prodigious, & especially, when it is told them, that some haue spokē at the very point of their birth. Questionles, it is very rare, and hardly to be credited: and yet it may well happen by naturall reason, as thus. An infant, at the same instant it heareth, it vnderstandeth, & then it may speake. But ordinarily, hearing goeth far before vnderstanding, & vnderstanding likewise precedeth

A childes speech hath many diuersities and distinctions in it.

Difference of speech almost in euery Citie and Towne.

Concerning the voyce of beasts. Alex. Aphrodisiens lib. 1. 1. Prob. 141.

Things of extreme diuersity craue time, or their learning.

Arist. in lib. 12. Prob. 27.

What is the reason, that some infants speake before their time, & afterward become dumbe

H h h h spea

The conclusion, that men borne dumbe, are deaffe also.

What difference there is betweene the speech of Infants, and that of Birds.

Whatsoeuer Birds, practise to speake without any intelligence.

speaking: the instrument for speech and words, is not (as yet) of such temperature as is convenient for explicating those things which the spirit hath conceived.

Of such instances as too-neit prattle to speake, and yet saile there of afterward.

On the contrary, some speake much sooner then they knowe how to vnderstand (as we haue already saide of Parrats and other Birds that prattle) counterfeiting such words as they heare: vntill time convenient for them both, that is to say, ability to vnderstand and speake. Such children then, to whom the obiectes of hearing make much sooner impression in the soule, then the instrument of Speech knowes how to perfect: it happeneth to them sometimes, that after they haue vnderstood diuers things, suddenly they pronounce them. And especially after they sleepe, when the spirits haue made themselves more copious; they haue the more strength and impetuous vigour, to moue the tongue in distinct manner. But this endureth not, neither can be of any long continuance; but the infant will returne to his first dumbnesse againe.

An apt comparison of some conditions in our felices, answerable to children's imperfections.

In like manner, sometimes wee shall finde our felices so disposed as (without thinking thereon) words and sentences will merely flow in our mouths: whereof againe (at other times) we shall be so delayed and hindered, as wee can scarcely, or with any easie possibility, expresse things well knowne and familiar vnto vs. Euen so it may come to passe, that an infant shall speak something, and afterward his tongue returning to the first ordinarie condition: he becommeth dumbe, vntill the vttermost time of his perfection and strength.

Of children becomming dumbe by deafnesse.

It is a contrary case, in an infant that becommeth dumbe by deafnesse, after he hath spoken some gibbrish or prattle, yea spoken intelligibly; as we haue heard credibly reported, concerning all the male children of M. *Anthony Butin* (a famous Apothecary in *Tolosa*, dwelling at the signe of the three Kings) from which his daughters were exempted. They all spake, till about the age of foure years, & afterward became deafe in such sorte, as they could not heare any noyse; and so (by little and little) ceased to speake. This hapned, in regard that their hearing continuing no longer, they did easilie forget

A rare example of dumbnesse.

the little Language, which they had learned in their first yeares. As an infant (indeed) is very obliuious, by reason of his great humidity: and particularly the saide *Butins* children, who were verie rheumaticke. And so hauing no longer means of continuance, to apprehend and speake by hearing, they became dumbe. As any one, who hath learned some few French or Dutch words, through want of continuing conference in those Languages, forgets the little he had before. Or hee that discontinueth his Grammer, or some other Science, or playing on Instruments of Musicke, easilie forgetteth all by want of vse.

Men learning Languages, may sometime lose them by want of vse.

These and such like accidents hapning dayly, confirme our first proposition, in fauour whereof, we haue thus largely discoursed. For, if one may become dumbe, by reason of deafnesse, which happeneth by accident, & after he could speake: who will make any doubt at all, but that the deafe by birth, must needs be inevitably dumbe?

Deafe by birth, is inevitably dumbe.

I will adde heereto a very notable accident, which maketh some-what to this purpose: of some, that by a Wounde or hurt, or some sicknesse beside of the braine: haue wholly lost remembrance of all things, yea euen of speech, which they learned againe by little and little, like as children do, hauing hearing at their command, and the instruments of speech no way engaged. Graue men, and woorthie of faith, doe testifie, to haue scene some wounded in the head, from one side to the other, and euen in the eye (whereof M. *Rondeletius* relateth an History in his practice, and the appendix to the 21. Chapter) who forgot so much as their owne Names, and were faine to bee taught all things, euen like young children. So came they wholly to the first condition of an infant from birth: except vulgar speech, which yet some of them retained. But other impressions of their tongues became estranged, concerning Artes and Sciences learned before, and things which they had formerly both scene and knowne; all quire defaced out of their soules, by the inundation and ruine of the harme.

Of such as haue forgot all things, and their owne very names.

Rondeletius in lib. praeli. Cap. 21.

The End of the Ninth booke.



The Tenth Booke.

CHAP. I.

Of the Kingdome of Ireland: The Antiquity, Original, and first Inhabitation thereof, according to the confirmation of the best approved Authors.



The warning given by Noah of the worlds vniuersall destruction by water.

In the yeare of the world 1525. the holy Patriarch *Noah*, began to admonish the people, of vengeance to follow, for their wicked liues and detestable sinnes; and hee prepared to builde the Arke, as thereby foreshewing to his kinsfolke and friends, the vniuersall Flood or Deluge that was to ensue, and wherewith the whole face of the earth should be covered within few yeares, except amendment grew from them in short time; all which he did before the Flood, one hundred and fiftie and twenty yeares. But when every man seemed to neglect his worthe admonitions; & Neece to *Noah*, who was named *Cetur*, hearing this dreadful prophesie of her Vnckle, and doubting least it would come to passe indeed, determined (with certain friends of hers) to seek their fortune in some forraigne Region. Persuading her selfe, that if she could find a Countrey neuer inhabited, and (consequently) vnspotted with sin: the generall sentence of Gods wrath would not there take effect.

Cetur, who was the neece to Noah.

Cetur arrived in Ireland, with three men and fifty women.

lost the residue of her company, by misfortune of sundry shipwrackes, sustayned in that her long and troublesome voyage. The names of the men were these, *Bithi*, *Laigria*, and *Fintan*. The coast where shee first set foote on land, and where also shee lyeth buried, was cald *Anaunculara Littus*; The Shipping riuaer or Shore. The Stones; wherein the memory hereof was preferred from violence of the Waters, haue bene scene of some, as they themselves haue reported, but how truly I haue not to say.

Bithi, Laigria, Fintan.

Anaunculara Littus.

AN. MUN. 1556

Within forty dayes after her coming on Land there, the Vniuersall Floud came, and ouer-flowed all that coast, as well as the other parts of the worlde. But whereas this tale bewrayeth it selfe (too manifestly) to bee an vntueth, if time and other circumstances be thorowly examined; I will stand no longer about the prooffe or disproofe thereof. Onely this is sufficient (I thinke) to bring it out of credite, to consider: that the Art of Navigation or sayling, was vnkowne to the world, before the vniuersall Deluge, and no part inhabited, except the continent of *Syria*, and thereabout.

This tale can carry no likelihood of any truth in it.

Rab. Isaac in Gen. 1.

But to let passe such a forged fable, with the record thereof engrauen in a Stone, (a deuice borrowed, as some thinke, from *Iosaphus*;) it shall bee sufficient for the glory of the Irish nation in their Antiquity, to graunt, that *Ireland* was discovered and peopled by some of *Noahs* kindred, euen as the first Islands of the Worlde (if they will needs haue it so, as the likelihood is great) according to; which is set forth in their histories. When about 300. yeares after the generall floude, immediately vpon the confusion of Tongues; *Iaphes*

AN. MUN. 1549 After the best authors, make 300. yeares, &c. not 100. betwene Noahs Flood, & Babel.

H h h h and

and his posteritie (imboldened by *Noahs* example) aduencured by ship, to commit themselves to passe the seas, and to search out the unknowne corners of the world, and so finding out diuers Isles in the west parts of the world.

There was (say they) in that retinue, one of the same progeny named *Bartolemus*, or *Batholomew*, who, encouraged with the late attempt and successe of *Nimrod*, kinsman to *Ninus* (then newly intruded vpon the Monarchy of *Assyria*) searched so farre west-intending to attaine to some gouernement, where he might rule without any partner in authority; till at the length, Fortune brought him and his people vpon the coast of *Ireland*. Heree he seiled himselfe with his three sonnes *Langaine*, *Salanus* and *Ruthburgus*, right aduise and stout Gentlemen, who, searching the Land from side to side, and from end to end, left remembrances of their names, in certaine notable places, and named after themas *Langaine*, *Stragrum* & Mount *Salanga*, since named *Saint Dominicks* hill, and *Ruthburgus* his Poole. Little is remembered of *Bartolemus*, sauing that in short space (with many hands working at once) he ridde and made playne a great part of the Countrey, ouer-growne with woods and thickets.

Thus became *Ireland* inhabited by this people, vnder the gouernement of the three Sonnes to *Bartolemus*, and their offspring, for the space of three hundred yeares. Together with *Bartolemus*, arriued in *Ireland* certain vngodly people of *Nimrods* race, woorthily reamed Giants, as those that (in bodily shape) exceeded the common proportion of other men, and vied their strength to gaine soueraintie, and to oppress the weak with rapine and violence. That lineage (*Chams* brood) did grow, in short while, to great numbers, and alwaies endeouored themselves (wherefoeuer they came) to beare the rule ouer others. One cause thereof was their bodily strength, inflexible to their hugeness of stature; another, the examples of *Cham* or *Zoroastres* the Magitian, & *Nimrod*, grandfather to *Ninus*. Which two persons (in themselves and progenie) were renowned through the world as victorious Princes, ruling ouer two mighty Kingdomes, *Agrip* and *Assyria*.

A third cause also there was, namely,

they repined at the blessings bestowed on *Sem* and *Iaphet*, thinking it necessary to withstand all lawfull rule and dominion: left the curle of slavery (prophecied by *Noah*) should light vpon them, as at the length it did. Whereupon, rebelliously withdrawing their obedience, from their lawfull Gouernours heere in *Ireland*, and taking head; they set vp a King of their owne fashion, and maintayning his estate to the oppression of the subiects, by bringing them into continuall bondage. The successe was variable on both sides, betweene the lawfull Gouernours and these vnrulers, with daily risings and skirmishes, so much to the griefe of them, who coucted to liue in quiet order vnder their rightfull Princes: that they determined, with the chance of one generall battell, either wholie to subdue those proud rebellious tyrants, or else, to end their liues in freedom, and so be rid of further misery.

But first, whereas there had growne certayne debates and enmities amongst themselves, whereby they had weakened their owne forces, they held it not amisse, to make peace together, before they put their whole state in hazard of one battell against the Giants: concluding therefore an agreement, & ioyning in league (with promise) to assist each other in subduing the common enemy. Growing to assemble their power, out of all partes of the land, and coming to ioyne battell with the Giants; after they had fought fiercely together for the space of certayne houres: victorie enclined to the rightfull part, so that the lawfull Kings preyailing against the vnruling tyrants, great slaughter was made on the whole broode of that mischieuous generation. For the Kings, meaning to free themselves from all danger in time to come, vied their happy victorie with too great crueltie, which after turned to their owne confusion. For, sparing neyther man, woman, nor child that came in their way, for meere despite, & fuller satisfying their intended reuenge; they vouchsafed not to bury the carcases of their slaine enemies, but cast them out like a sort of dead dogs, through the noyesome stench whereof, such an infectious pestilence ensued in all places, only thoro the ayres corruption, as few escaped with life, besides such as got away by Sea.

And hereby runnes a vaine tale among the

Emil example
are too quick
ly followed,

Rebellion a
gainst Gouer-
nours,

A very gene-
rous and wor-
thy resolution

It is not good
in weakness
to warre with
strong arms,

Victory over-
cruelly vied,
and with more
rigour then
needed.

A very strange
inflicting pe-
nience, *Ann*
quid, 527.

the *Irish*, that one of the Giants named *Riannus*, chancing to be preferred from this mortallitie, liued 2041 yeares, which is more then twife the age of *Methusalem*. By this man (say they) *Saint Patrick* was informed, concerning the whole estate of the Countrey, and afterwards, (vpon request) hauing receiued Baptisme of the sayd *Saint Patrick*: hee decessed in the year after the birth of our Saviour foure hundred and thirty, as in the *Irish* historie hath bene very vnaduisedly written. But, letting that passe, wee finde it recorded, That an infinite number of Giants were slayne and destroyed, in manner as hath bene already related: yet some got themselves into lurking Caves and Dens, and kept closely there, till lacke of food caused them to come forth, and make shift for subsistence. When, perceiving no resistance, because the Land was (in a manner) left desolate; they waxed bolder, and when they vnderstoode how matters had passed: they seiled themselves in the best parts of the Countrey, easily subduing the poore silly foules that remayned, and so reuiving their lineage, they became lords of the whole Land, keeping the same in subiection, three score years together.

Genesis 10, 2

Annun 527
Nemodus and
his four sonnes,
Starnus, Gar-
bancles, Aninus,
and Fergusius.

Ireland again
inhabited by
the offspring
of Iaphet.

Annun, 533

Among the sons of *Iaphet*, we read in *Genesis*, that *Magog* was one, who planted his people in *Scythia*, neare *Tanais*, from thence, about the yere of the world, 2117 *Nemodus*, with his four sonnes, *Starnus*, *Garbancles*, *Aninus* and *Fergusius* Captaines ouer a faire companie of people) were sent into *Ireland*: who passing by *Grecia*, and taking in such as were desirous to seeke aduentures with them; at length they landed in *Ireland*, inhabited the Countrey, and multiplied the Land, although not without continuall warre, which they helde with the Giants two hundred and sixtene yeares. At the end of which rearme, the Giants preyailing, chased them thence agayne, so that they returned into *Syria*. This was about the year after the Creation (as by their account it should seeme) two thousand five hundred thirtie three; from which time, the Giants kept possession of the Land (without forraine inuasion) till the year two thousand seauen hundred and foureteene. But yet all that time, they were not able to fraime a Common-wealth: for, falling still at variance among themselves,

and measuring euery thing by might; feidiously they vexed one another.

Which comming to the knowledge of the *Grecians*, it moued these bretheren, sonnes to one *Dela* (being notable Seamen and skilfull Pilots) to rigge a Nauie, & to attempt the conquest of this Land. These were all of the nextest posteritie to *Nemodus*, and named *Gandius*, *Genandius*, *Sagandus*, *Ruthernius* and *Slanius*. When all things were ready, and their companies assembled: they put to Sea, and landed at the length in *Ireland*; where finding the power of the Giants greatly weakened, by their owne quarrells and ciuile dissensions; with the more ease did they come to the end of their owne purpose, winning the whole Countrey, and vterly extirpating that bloodie generation, deadly enemies to mankind: diuiding also the Island into five parts, and in each of them they feuerally reigning. Furthermore, to satisfie all sides, and auoide contention; they concluded to fixe a Meare-stone in the middle point of *Ireland*, to which each of their kingdomes should extend; so that they might be equally partakers of the commodities found within the Countrey soile.

These bretheren also are supposed, to haue inuented the distribution of Shires into Cantreds, euery Cantred or Barony to containe one hundred townships. At length, desire of soueraintie, set the five bretheren at variance, and greatly hindered their growing wealth. But *Slanius*, getting the vpper hand, and bringing his foure bretheren to a lowe ebbe:ooke on him as chiefe about his other bretheren, intruding round about the Meare-middle Stone, for the space of certayne miles, which plot of ground (in time) obtaigned the priuilege and name, of one intire part, and now maketh vp the number of five parts (into which *Ireland* is sayd to be diuided) and is called *Meth*, and in Latine *Media*; taking this name (as some haue supposed) because (in respect of the other) it contained but the moitie of Cantreds, viz. sixtene; whereas each of the other Cantreds comprehended 32. a peece: or else, because it lyeth in the midst of the land. This part *Slanius* ioynd as a surplussage (ouer and aboue his inheritance) to the Monarchy; which part (notwithstanding) grew after to be a fullall kingdome.

Hhhh 3

Thirite

The sonnes of
Dela, neere in
linage to Ne-
modus, skilful
in Nauigation

They passe in-
to Ireland, &c.
vterly roote
out the race
of the Giants,

They diuided
the whole Is-
land into five
parts, distin-
guished by a
meare-stone.

A Cantred.

Desire of Sou-
eraintie is
the cause of
variance,

Meth or the
middle part
of Ireland, and
how it attained
that name

Bartolemus or
Batholomew,
Clem. lib. 4.
Cambred. li. 3

Langaine,
Salanus and
Ruthburgus,
the three sons
to Bartolemus.

Ruthburgus Sta-
gnum.

Ireland first
inhabited.

Giants arriued
in Ireland.

Bergion the
sonne of Nep-
tune and bro-
ther to Albion
(as Iohn Bale
hath it) con-
quered Ireland
and the Orke-
neys.

Slanius dyed
and was bur-
ied in a moun-
taine in Meth

Thirty yeares the Monarchy yet continued in this order; but finally, *Slanius* departed this life, and was buried in a Mountaine of *Meth*, which till now (as they say) beareth name after him. Then the Princes, subiect to him, began to stomacke the matter, and denied their obedience to his successor: whereupon ensued continuall Warres betweene them, which (in long time) could neuer be fully ceassed. In the necke of these troubles also, there arrived in *Ireland* a new Army of Scythians, who made claime vnto the Land (by a title of right) which they pretended from their fore-father *Nemodus*: and for taking and making parts, they set all in such an vpror, that haucke vvas made on each side hostily, in most miserable manner.

A new Armie
of Scythians
arrived in Ire-
land.

Brennus cald
into Ireland,
to ayde one
part of the fa-
cious people.

To be short, they spent themselves, in pursuing one another with such outrage: that they began to grow carelesse, what Nations or Soldiers they receyved to their ayde, either to keepe vp, or beate downe a side. By which occasion, the *Brittaines* also stept in among them, procuring *Brennus*, the brother of *Belinus*, to direct his course thither with the same Navy, which he had made ready to passe oyer into *Gallia*, now called *France*, to the ayde of *Segwine*, then King of the *Allobroges*, that invaded the Countreyes of *Sauoy* and *Dauphinou*.

Segwine king
of the Allo-
broges.

But his enterprize into *Ireland* tooke small effect, though there were other Kings of the *Brittaines*, that got dominion there; in so much that *Gurguntius*, or *Gurguntius*, the sonne of *Belinus*, accounted *Ireland* (among other his dominions) to belong to him by lineall descent. Notwithstanding, the *British* Princes neuer enjoyed the quiet possession thereof, longer then they held it by maine force; but were often repelled, and put to the worke with seeking after it, finding there little other gaine then stripes, whereof they carried away good store. But now to come to the Spaniards, that lastly (vnder the conduct of foure Captaines) passed into *Ireland*, from *Biscaye*, and inhabited that Island: it shall not be impertinent (following the order obserued) to speake somewhat of their originall, that it may the better appeare, from whence the *Irish* nation had their first beginning.

The British
Princes neuer
enjoyed the
quiet posses-
sion of Ireland.

In the yeare of the world, 2436. after

the vniuersall flood, 870. while the *Israelites* sene in *Aegypt*, *Gathelus* the sonne of one *Nealus*, a great Lord in *Grecia*, vpon disfaour was exiled his country, with a number of his factious friends and adherents. This noble Gentleman, being very wise, valiant, and well spoken: gotte honourable entertaine of *Pharaoh*, furnished *Ormus*. And afterward departing that Countrey, trauesed the seas, and landing first in *Portugall*, after some bickerings with the inhabitants: at length, yet hee got (by their consent) a portion of the Countrey, lying by the banks of the River, anciently called *Munda*, and nowe *Mondega*, where (shortly after) he began to builde a City, first named *Brachara*, but now *Barfalo*, as *Hellor Batium* affirmeth.

The history
of the Spani-
ards arrivall
in Ireland, vnder
the conduct of foure
Captaines.

The River of
Munda, now
Mondega.

Brachara now
Braga or *Barfalo*.

The Citie
Compellit of
Gallicia in
Spain.

Gathelus pas-
sed into Ire-
land, and in
there highly
honoured.

The names of
Ireland, and
whereof they
were called, as
they holde
opinion.

After this, when the people vnder *Gathelus* began to encrease in power; thorough perswasion of the Spaniards their neighbours, they removed into *Gallicia*, where they also builded a City, named *Brigantium*, which is now called *Coruna*. Finally, when they grew into such a huge multitude, that *Gallicia* was not able to sustaine them; *Gathelus*, with a certain number of them, passed ouer into *Ireland* and there grew into such estimation with the barbarous people, that for his knowledge especially in Languages, hee was highly honoured. For, he not onely enriched and beautified the *Irish* tongue; but entrusted them in letters also: he sought vp their Antiquities, and likewise practised their youth in warlike exercises, after the manner of the *Greekes* and *Egyptians*, from whence he was descended.

To conclude, hee was so acceptable and welcome to them, that (to gratifye such a worthy benefactor) they agreed to call the Island *Gathelia*, and after his wife *Scotia*. This is one opinion, but yet incredible, not onely to *Humphrey Lhuid*, but also to other learned men, and diligent searchers of Antiquities: by reason of the sundry arguments of improbability, as well in the miscount of yeares, as other vnlikehoods found therein, when the circum-
stances come to be duly examined, thorowly weighed, and well considered. Yet certaine it is, that *Ireland* was aunciently named *Scotia*, and the people *Scots*, as by diuers old writings it may be sufficiently proued: albeit, by what occasion it took

first

Ire land was
anciently cal-
led Scotus.

Bayon build-
ed by Gathe-
lus his people

The gouernor
of Bayon, and
four brethren
Spaniards
travell'd to
seeke their
house a-
broad.

Gurguntius
coming from
the conquest
of Denmarke.

Gurguntius
appointeth
the Spaniards
leues in Ire-
land, so liue
vnder his
subiectiō.

first that name, or from whence they came, it is yet doubted. But to proceede with the History, as we finde it. The residue of *Gathelus* his people, which remained in *Spain*, founded the City of *Bayon*, in the Confinnes of *Gascogne*, and replenished the Sea coastes of *Spain*, with store of inhabitants. And wel-neere about two hundred yeares, after their first arrivall there (when they were againe pestered with multitudes of people) they began to fancie a new voyage: but whether at that time, or some other els, they crossed ouer into *Ireland*, is altogether vncertaine.

Notwithstanding, sure it is, that in the dayes of *Gurguntius*, King of the *Brittaines*, the cheefe Gouernour of *Bayon*, with four Brethren Spaniards, two of which are saide to be *Hibernus* and *Hermion*, not the sonnes (as some thinke) of *Gathelus* (as *Hellor Batium* affirmeth) but (some other perhaps, that were descended of him; who vnderstanding that diuers of the western Isles were empty of inhabitants: assembling a great company of men, women, and children, embarked with the same in three score great vessels, and directing their course Westward, howered a long time on the Sea, about the Isles of *Orkenney*. At length, they met (by good hap) with *Gurguntius*, then returning from the conquest of *Denmarke* (as in the *Brittish* history it appeareth) whom they besought in consideration of their want of victuals and other necessities (being such, as they were no longer able to endure the Sea, being cumberd with such store of women and children) to direct & appoint them some place, where they might inhabit; promising to hold the same of him, and to become liege-people to him and his heires for euer.

Gurguntius aduising with himselfe hereon, remembered, with what trouble he held the *Irish* in subiection, & conceiuing hope that these strangers might either subdue, or wholly destroy that vnuly generation; accepted & took those oathes of the Spaniards with hostages, & furnishing them & their ships, with all needfull things; set them ouer into *Ireland*, where, alighted with such *Brittaines* as *Gurguntius* had appointed to go with them for their guides: they made a conquest of the whole countrey, & settled themselves ioyfully therein.

Some write, that *Ireland* was (before that present) voide of all inhabitants: but yet they agree, that these Spaniards were guided thither by the *Britains*, & vnder such conditions as before is recited. Vnder which it appeareth, that the kings of *Britain* had an elder right to the realm of *Ireland*, then by the conquest of *K. Henry 2.* which title they euer maintained, & sometimes pre-
sented in pursuit thereof, as in the daies of *K. Arthur*, to whom the *Irish* (as in diuers histories is remembered) acknowledged their due subiection, with paymēt of their tribute, & making their appearance at the city, called in the *British* tongue, *Caer Lhonor*. Vnder unto, when their free assent, the submission of their Princes, with lawfull conquest & prescription are annexed, an inuincible title must needs be enforced.

But now to our purpose. The Spaniards substantially assisted with the *Britains*, settled themselves, and diuided their seats in quarters; the foure Brethren reigning severally apart in sidry portions, with good quietnesse and encrease of wealth: vntill pride & ambition armed two of them, against the other two; as *Hibernus* and one of his brethren, against *Hermion* and his Brother. In this dissention, *Hermion* slew his brother *Hibernus*; of whom, at the same time (as some hold) the countrey was named *Hibernia*. Although some are of opinion, that it tooke name of Iron, by plentifull Mines of that kinde of Metall, wherewith the land abounded: & so those Authors of Antiquity, which call it *Tennus*, name it more aptly after the speech of the inhabitants, then others which call it *Hibernia*.

Proceede wee now to *Hermion*, who to auoyde the ill opinion of men, by attaining thus to the Souerainty, making his way through his brothers blood most vnaturally, and in an unhappie Ciuill-Warre: purged himselfe to his subiects, that neither maliciously, nor contentiously, but for his necessary defence and safety, hee had borne Armes agaynst his brethren. And to witnesse, how farre he was from all desire to rule alone: hee appointed certaine Captaines, as Kings, to rule (vnder him) severall Countreyes: referring to himselfe but one fourth part, and the portion of *Meth*, allotted to the Monarchy, for the better maintenance of his estate.

The arrivall
of the Spani-
ards in Ireland,
and their con-
quest there.

Geoffrey Mon.

The Irish wer
subiect to K.
Arthur, and
payed him
Tribute at
west Chester.

Dissention betweene
the brethren,
such are the
fruits of am-
bition.

Hibernia, af-
ter the name
of *Hibernus*, as
some imagi-
ned.

No crime so
manifest or
deservable,
that wanteth
a colourable
pretence to
excuse it.

Therof

Ireland diu-
ided into five
Kingdomes:
And one four-
taine Ruier
ouer the rest.

These parts appointed fourth in this
wife, at length grew to five Kingdomes,
Leinster, Connacht, Ulster, and Mounster
divided into two parts, and sometime to
more, by vsurping or compounding a-
mong themselves: but euer, one was cho-
sen to bee chiefe Soueraigne Monarch o-
uer them all. Thus it seemeth certainly,
that the *Spaniards* of the North parts of
Spaine, inhabiting about the Countries of
Biscaye and *Gallicia*, came and peopled Ire-
land (as both their owne Histories, & the
British do agree wholly) but from whence
they came first, to inhabit those Coun-
tries of *Spain*, cannot by mee be auouched.
For no other Writers (but such as haue
registred the *Scottish* Chronicles) make
mention of *Gathelus* his coming thither,
with *Scota* his Wife, and their people, as
by the said Chronicles is pretended.

An hundred
and thirty
Kings from
Hermion to
Laogirus.

An hundred and thirty chiefe Kings
are reckoned of this Nation, from *Her-
mion* to *Laogirus*, the sonne of *Nealus
Magnus*; in whose time, that holy eftec-
med man, *S. Patricke* converted them to
Christianity. But now, while the *Irishmen*
liued in some tollerable rest & order, vnder
their severall Kings; one *Rodericke*, a
Scythian Prince (with a small company of
men, being weather-driuen about the
Coasts of *Britaine*) was by chance cast
vpon the shore of *Ireland*. These were
Picts, and the very first (that had bin heard
off in those parts) as some good Authors
haue recorded) a people (euen from their
cradle) naturally addicted to contention,
land-leapers, mercilesse, fierce and hardy.
They being brought & presented to the
Irish King, desired Interpreters; which
being granted them; *Roderick* their chiefe
Commander and Leader, made this re-
quest for him and his, as followeth.

The Oration of Roderick, King of the Picts, to the King of Ireland.



As degenerate, or falling
from the courage of our An-
cestours, but forsaking our
clues to Fortunes course,
wee are become to craue of
Ireland (as humble Suppliants) who neuer
before this present, haue embased our selues

to any other Nation. Behold Sir King, and
regard vs well: no light occasion causeth
these lustie bodies to stoop. Scythians
we are, and Picts of *Scythia*, no small por-
tion of glory remaineth in the two names.
What shall I speake of the ciuill warre, that
hath expelled vs from our native homes, or
rip up olde Histories, to mooue strangers to
bemoane vs? Let our seruants and chil-
dren discourse thereof at leisure. Our in-
stant motion is, to grant vs some time of a-
bode in your Land, for which effect & pur-
pose, our urgent necessity befeetheth your fa-
uour: A King, of a King, and men of men,
are to craue assistance.

Princes can well discerne and consider,
how neereit toucheth their honour and repu-
tation, yea, and their owne surety, to uphold
and releue the state of a King, decayed by
treason. And manifest it is to all men of
reasonable consideration, that nothing more
be seemeth the nature of men, then to be mo-
ued with compassion: yea, euen (as it were)
to feele themselves hurt, when they heare
and vnderstand of other mens calamities.
Admit then (we beseech you) and receive a-
mong yee, these few scattered remnants of
Scythians. If your roomes be narrow, yee
are not many: If the soile of your Country
be barren, we are borne and inured to hard-
nesse: If you liue in peace, wee are as your
command as subiects: If you warre, we are
ready to serue you as Souldiers. We demand
no Kingdome, no State, no pompous triumph:
in Ireland. We are heere alone, and haue left
such vanities behinde vs with our enemies.
How soeuer you extreme of vs, we shall con-
tent our selues therewith, and learne to frame
our likings to yours: as calling vnto minde,
what we haue bene, not what we are.

Great consultation was had about the
request of these strangers, & many things
debated to and fro. In conclusion, the
Irish gaue fourth for answer, the opinion
of their Antiquaries, such as were skillfull
in olde Histories, & graue sayings of their
Elders. Whereby they gathered, that it
could not be expedient for the, to accept
the *Scythians* into their Land; because
commixture of Nations in any Realme,
bringeth quarrels. Moreover, the mul-
titude of their owne Inhabitantants was
such, that roomes in the whole Isle was
scarce able to receiue them: and therefore
those few new commers, being placed a-
mong

Dreadlesse he
deluereeth of
what country
they are, and
what manner
of people in
the Country.

Princes can
well iudge
how to iut-
out and re-
leue one a-
nothers di-
stresses.

Misery is very
apt in making
frettes of great humi-
litation.

In doubtfull
cases, it is wis-
dome good
to consult
with delibera-
tion & aduice

mong so many auncient Inhabitants,
might quickly breed disturbance to bring
all out of ioynt, neuertheless, they re-
turned this answer.

The Answer of the Irish King, to the Oration made by King Rodericke.

WE haue considered on your request,
as also those extremities vrging
thereto: And though we may not (conueni-
ently) receiue you among vs; yet shall you
finde vs ready in furthering ye to our neigh-
bours. Not farre hence lyeth the great Isle
of *Britaine*, in the North-part whereof (be-
ing void of Inhabitants) your manhood and
pollicie may purchase roomes, to place your
selues at your ease. We shall appoint Cap-
taines to guide you thither, and wee shall as-
sist yee with our Forces in that Country.
Make ready your Shippes, that you may passe
thither with all conuenient speed.

Wise men
perceiue their
owne perils
by putting
the to others,
so the Irish
periuaded the
Picts to
place them-
selues in *Brit-
taine*.

Marius, other-
wise called
Avragus
King of the
Britaines flew
king Roderick

Encouraged by this perswasion, they
tooke their course towards the North
parts of *Britaine*, now called *Scotland*,
where (contrary to their expectation)
Marius, King of *Britaine*, was ready to a-
waite their coming, and with sharpe
battaile vanquishing them in field, slew
Rodericke, with a great number of his fol-
lowers. Those that escaped with life, &
fought vnto him for grace, he licensed to
inhabite the vttermoost ende of *Scotland*.
This *Marius*, *Humphrey Lhuid* taketh to be
the same, whom the Romaine Writers
name *Avragus*, who reigned about the
yeare of our Lord, seuentie: A Prince of
noble courage, and of no small estimation
in his dayes, as appeareth by that which is
written of him. His right name (as the
said *Lhuid* auoucheth) was *Mewig*.

But now concerning the *Picts*, whether
those that escaped with life, got the
Seas by King *Mewig* graunt, or getting
to their Shippes, with-drew into the Isle of
Orkeney, is doubtfull. Vniuersally also they
wanted to encrease their issue, & because
the *Britaines* thought scarce to match
their daughters, with such an vknowne
and new come Nation: the *Picts* continued,
their first acquaintance with the *I-*

The Brittaines
learned to
marry their
daughters
with the Picts

rish, and (by entreaty) obtained Wiues
from them, with condition, that if the
Crownes should hap to fall in contention,
they should yeelde thus much to the pre-
rogative of the woman: that the Prince
should bee elected rather of the blood
Royall of the Female kinde, then of the
Male. Which order (saith *Beda*) the *Picts*
were very well knowne to keepe vnto his
time.

Heere I could enter into a long, vari-
ous and fruitfull discourse, concerning
great combustions, warres and bloody
contentions, happening (for a very long
time) betweene the *Irish*, *Picts* and *Scots*:
but being impertinent to my intended
purpose, and little beneficiall to the Rea-
der, I will first describe the parts and di-
visions of *Ireland* into Shires and Coun-
tries, and then proceed to shew, how it
receiued the Christian faith at the first.

Ireland became diuided into foure Re-
gions; *Leinster* East; *Connacht* West;
Ulster North; *Mounster* South: And in-
to a fift plot, defalked from euerly fourth
part, yet mearing on each part, called
thereof *Media*, *Meeth*, comprizing as well
East *Meeth*, as West *Meeth*. *Leinster* butt-
eth vpon *England*; *Ulster* vpon the *Scott-
ish* Islands, which face with the *Hebrides*,
scattered betweene both the Realmes:
wherein (at this day) the *Irish* *Scots*, Suc-
cessours of the elder *Scythian*, *Pict* or *Red-
shankes* dwell. Each of these fiue, where
they are frame-able to ciuility, & answer
the Writs of the Princes Courts; are
funded into Shires or Counties in this
manner.

In *Leinster* lyeth the Counties of
Dublyn, *Kildare*, *Wexford* or *Gueisford*,
Catherlach, *Kilkenny*, the Counties of
Lesse and *Ophalie*, called the Kings and
Queenes Counties: these two were so
named by Parliament, in the Reignes of
Phillip and *Mary*, hauing Shire-Townes
concordant, as *Phillips* Towne, and *Mary-
Borough*.

Connacht hath the County *Clare*,
Ulster, the Counties of *Louth*, *Downe*,
Antrim, one moiety of the Towne of *Dro-
gheda* (for the rest is in *Achel*) and *Car-
refergus*.

In *Mounster* lyeth the Counties of *Wat-
terford*, *Limerike*, *Cork*, the County Pa-
lantine of *Tipperary*, *Kerie*, & the Croffe
of *Tipperarie*. In eckertime, *Mounster*

Picts marry
with the Irish,
and couenant
the succession
of their kings

The diuisions
of Ireland-

1. Leinia.
2. Connaria.
3. Hultonina.
4. Mononia.
Media.
West Meeth
& East Meeth
Hebrides.

The Shires &
Counties of
Ireland.
Leinster.

Connacht.
Ulster.

Mounster, and
how diuised
in elder time.

was diuided into East *Mounster*, *Ormond*, West *Mounster*, *Desmond*, South *Mounster*, and *Toonenmond*. Now the reason why *Ireland* was thus diuided, you have heard already, by the five brethren arriving there, valiant and Martiall Gentlemen; *Gandius*, *Genandius*, *Sagundus*, otherwise named *Gangandus*, *Rutheragus* or *Rutheranus* and *Slanius*.

Another diuision of *Ireland* into the English Pale, and the Irish.

The empyring at the English Pale.

Fingall excell'd in husbandry.

Collonnet of Fingall clowne

Fingall and why it was so named.

The great civility in ancient times among the impaled dwellers.

There was also another diuision of *Ireland*, into the English Pale, and *Irishry*. For, while *Ireland* was subdued by the English, diuers of the Conquerours planted themselves neere vnto *Dublin*, and the confines thereto adioyning, and so enclosing and impaling themselves (as it were) within certaine lists and territories; they forced away the *Irish*. Insomuch, as that Country became meere English, and thereof it was termed the English Pale: which (in ancient time) stretched from *Dundalk* to *Catherlagh* or *Kilkenny*. But afterward, what by the slacknesse of Marchers, and encroaching of the *Irish* enemy; the scope of the English Pale became greatly impaired, being cramped and caught into an odde corner of the Country, named *Fingall*, with a parcell of *Meeth* the Kings Land, the Countries of *Kildare* & *Louth*, which parts were applied chiefly with good husbandry, and taken for the richest and ciuilest soyles in *Ireland*. But *Fingall* especially (from time to time) was always so addicted to the chiefe points of husbandry; as that they became nicknamed by their neighbors (for their continuall dudgey) Collonnet, of the Latine word *Coloni*, wherunto the clipp English word Clowne, seemeth to be answerable.

The word *Fingall* countervaileth in English, the race or sept of the English or strangers, because they were solely seized of that part of the Island, grying with their Talents that warme nest so firmly, that from the Conquest, to this day, the *Irish* enemy could not rouse the thence. The Inhabitants of the English Pale, haue benee (in older time) so much addicted to their civility, and so fast sequestered from barbarous Savage-nesse; that their only mother tongue was English. And truly, so long as these impaled dwellers, did suffer themselves (as well in land, as in language) from the rude *Irish* rudenesse was day by day supplanted in the Country,

civility engrafted, good lawes established, loyalty obserued, rebellion suppressed, & in the ende, the coine of a young *England* was like to shoote in *Ireland*. But when their posterity became not altogether so wary in keeping, as their Ancestors were valiant in conquering; the *Irish* language became free-dennized in the English Pale. This canker tooke such deepe roote, that the body, which before was whole and found: became festered by little and little, and (in a manner) wholly purified. And not only this parcel of *Ireland* grew to that civility; but *Wexford* also, and the greater part of *Mounster*. Albeit, of all other places, *Wexford*, with the territory baied, and percolled within the River called the *Pill*, was so quite estranged from *Irishry* (which was rare in those dayes) that if a trauailer of the *Irish*, had pitcht his foote within the *Pill*, and spoken *Irish*, the *Weisfordians* would command him forthwith, to turne the other end of his tongue, and speake English, or else to bring his Troughman with him. But afterward, they so acquainted themselves with the *Irish*, making a mingle-mangle of both languages, that (commonly) the Inhabitants of the meaner sort, grew to speake neither good English nor good *Irish*.

Wee come now to declare, in what manner *Ireland* came to receiue the christian faith: And finde, that immediately after Christs time, Saint *James* the Apostle & other, trauailing into these West parts; did first instruct the *Irish* people, and teach them the glad tydings of the Gospel. So that diuers among them, euen then were christened, and beleueed: but not in such numbers (as may be thought) whereby it should be said, that the Country was generally conuerted. Notwithstanding, the *Scottish* Chronicles doe avouch, that in the dayes of *Fingomarke* their King, who departed this life in the year of our Redemption, 358, *Ireland* was conuerted to the faith, by this meane.

A woman of the *Pictish* blood (say they) chanced in those dayes to serue the Queene of *Ireland*; which woman herselfe being a Christian, first instructed her Queene and Mistresse, in the faith & true points of Christianity, & the Queene her Husband the King, who conuerted the whole *Irish* Nation. Howbeit, by the report

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of the *Irish* Writers themselves, this should not seeme altogether true.

For they affirmed, that their Country was rather till esteemed as one of the vnchristified Isles, till about the year of our Lord, foure hundred twenty and sixe: when *Celestine*, the first of that name, gouerned the See of *Rome*, who, on conference had with his Cleargie, touching the restoring of the Christian faith in the West parts of the world (greatly there decayed by the heresie of *Pelagius*) vnderstood that *Ireland* also, by reason of distance from the heart of Christendome, and rudenesse of the Nation; had receiued little fruit at all of true Religion, a thing much to be lamented.

Among other, that then were assembled to treat of those matters, was one *Paladius*, Arch-deacon of *Rome*, who offered his charitable trauaile, towards the conuersion of those lands, whither it should please them to appoint him to goe. *Celestine* knowing the sufficiency of the man, consecrated him Bishop, authorized his journey by Letters vnder his Seale, furnished his wants, and associating to him, such religious persons and others, as were thought necessary to assist him: deliuered vnto him the Bible with great solemnitie, and other monuments, in furtherance of his good speede, for so long and tedious a journey.

At length hee landed in the North of *Ireland*, from whence he hardly escaped (with life) into the Isles adioyning, where he preached the Gospell, and conuerted no small number of *Scots* to the Christian faith and beleefe; purging also that part which was christened, from the infection of the Pelagians, as in the *Scottish* historie more at large appeareth. He was required by the *Scots*, that dwelt in *Britaine*, to leave the Isles, and come ouer to them, there to instruct the people in the way of true saluation: to the which (with the Popes licence) he seemd willing enough. And the bishop of *Rome*, the more readily compendised thereto, because at that instant time, when *Paladius* was to depart: one *Patrick* attended at *Rome*, suing for licence to be sent into *Ireland*.

The Pope therefore graunted, that *Paladius* might passe ouer to the *Scottes* in *Britaine*, and appoynted *Patrick* to goe (with authoritie from him) into *Ireland*,

where, vpon his arriuall, hee found the people so well bent to heare his admonitions (contrary to their accustomed forwardnesse) that a man would haue imagined, vpon sight of their readinesse; that the Land had bene referred for him to conuert. And because it pleased God, to bestow such an vniuersall benefite on the Land, by his meanes; wee thought good (by following our Author herein) to touch some part of the course of his life.

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And as affliction (commonly) maketh men religious; the regard of his former education, had stamped in him such remorse and humility, that beeing thenceforth weaned from the world: hee tooke himselfe to contemplation, euer lamenting the lacke of grace and truth in that Land. And withall not despairing, but that (in continuance of time) some good might be wrought vpon them; hee learned the Language perfectly. And, allowing one of that Nation, to beare him company for exercise sake; hee departed thence, and got him into *France*, euer hauing in his minde, a desire to see the conuersion

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In what place Saint Patrick was borne.

The life of S. Patricke discussed briefly.

Saint Patricke taken prisoner when he was young, and how hee redeemed himselfe.

Affliction is an especiall means to make men become religious

The passage Patrick made into France.

was diuided into East *Mounster*, *Ormond*, West *Mounster*, *Desmond*, South *Mounster*, and *Toomeamond*. Now the reason why *Ireland* was thus diuided, you haue heard already, by the fūe brethren arriving there, valiant and Martiall Gentlemen; *Gandius*, *Genandius*, *Sagandus*, otherwise named *Gangandus*, *Rauberagus* or *Rutharius*.

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Fingall excell'd in husbandry.

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The passage Patrick took into France.

uersion

uerfion of the *Iriſh* people, whoſe babes yet vnborne, ſeemed to him in his dreaming, from forth they mothers wombs, to call for Chriſtendome.

In this purpoſe, he fought out his vnkle *Martine*, by whoſe meanes he was placed with *Germanus* the Biſh. of *Auxerre*, continuing with him as Scholler or Diſciple for the ſpace of fourtie yeares: all which time hee beſtowed in the ſtudie of holy Scriptures, Prayers, and ſuch godly exerciſes. Afterwards, being renowned through the Latine Church, for his wiſedome, vertue and learning: hee went to *Rome*, bearing Letters with him in his commendation, from the *French* biſhops vnto Pope *Celeſtine*, to whom hee vntered his whole minde and ſecret vow, which long before hee had conceived as touching *Ireland*. *Celeſtine* inueſted him Archbiſhop and Primate of the whole Iſland, ſet him forward with all fauor he could deſire, bringing him and his diſciples onward to their Countrey.

In the 23 yeare of the Emperour *Theodoſius* the younger, being the yeare of our Lord, 430. *Patrick* landed in *Ireland*, and becauſe he ſpake the tongue perfectly, and withall, being a reuerent perſonage in the eyes of all men; many liſtened and gaue eare to his preaching. And the rather, becauſe (as ſome Writers haue recorded) he confirmed his Doctrines with diuerſe miracles. But eſpecially thoſe men regarded his words before all others, that had ſome taſte of the Chriſtian Faith before, eyther by the coming into thoſe partes of *Paladius* and his Diſciple one *Albius*, an *Iriſh* Biſhop, or otherwiſe by ſome other. For, it is to be thought, that continually there remained ſome ſpark of knowledge of Chriſtianity, euer ſince the firſt preaching of the Goſpell, which was ſhortly after Chriſts Aſcention, by *S. James* as before is mentioned. But in continuance of time, *Patrick* wonne the better part of that kingdom to the faith of Chriſt.

Laiſgerius ſon to *Nealus* the great Monarch, albeit hee receiued not the Goſpell himſelfe; yet he permitted all that would embrace it. But becauſe hee reſuſed to be baptiſed, and apply to his doctrine; the Biſhop denounced againſt him a curſe from God accordingly, but yet tempered with mercy and iudgement, as thus: *That during his life he ſhould be victorious: but*

after him, neither ſhould the kingdom ſtand, nor his lineage inherit. Thence hee tooke his way to *Conill*, lord of *Connagh*, who honorably receiued him, and was conuerted with all his people: ſending him afterward to his brother *Logan*, king of *Leinſter*, who hee alſo conuerted. In *Mounſter* he found great friendſhip, by the means of an Earle there, called the Earle of *Daris*, who honored him highly, & gaue him a dwelling place in the Eaſt Angle of *Armagh*, called *Soria*, where he erected many Celles and Monafteries, both for religious men and women. Hee travelled 30. yeares in preaching through the land, planting Biſhops and Prieſts in conuenient places, whoſe learning and conuerſation, by the eſpecial grace & fauor of God, eſtabliſhed the Faith in that rude nation. Other 30. yeares hee ſpent in his prouince of *Armagh*, among his brethren placed in thoſe houſes of Religion, which by his means were founded. So hee liued (in all) about 122. yeares, and lyeth buried in *Downe*.

Now, concerning the chiefe cities and townes of *Ireland*, we are fiſt to ſpeake of *Dublin*, termed the beautie and eye of *Ireland*. It ſeemeth it recorded, that about the yeare 155. three noble Eaſterlings, being brethren, arriued in *Ireland*, whoſe names were *Auellanus*, *Sitaracus* and *Thornus*. *Auellanus* being the eldeſt brother, built *Dublin*, *Sitaracus*, *Waterford* and *Thornus*, *Limerike*. Of the founder *Auellanus*, *Dublin* was termed *Auellana*, and after, by corruption of ſpeech, *Eblana*, and ſo *Ptolomie* calleth it. Some termed it *Dublin*, other, *Dublinia*, many *Dublinum*, but Authors of better ſkill name it *Dublinium*. This citie, as it is not inferiour for Antiquity to any in *Ireland*, ſo in pleaſant ſituation, gorgeous buildings, multitude of people, martiall Chiuallry, obedience and loyalty, abundance of wealth, largeneſſe of hoſpitality, in manner, and ciuilitie, it is ſuperiour to all other cities and towns in that realme: whereupon it is commonly called, the *Iriſh* or yong *London*. The Charter of this citie is large, King *Henry* the 4. gaue it the Sword, in the yeare 1409. and was ruled by a Maior and two Bailiſſes: which were changed into Sheriffs, by a Charter granted by king *Edward* the ſixt, 1547. But it appeares by the ancient Scale of this citie called *Signum propoſitura*, that the Citie hath (in elder times) bene gouerned

Conill Lord of Connagh.

Logan King of Leinſter.

The Earle of Daris.

The death of S. Patrick & his place obſerued in Downe.

The famous cities & townes of Ireland.

Dublin, & the firſt founder thereof, who was Auellanus.

Dublin the fiſt London.

The Sword giuen to Dublin. Sheriffs of Bayliſſes.

uerned by a Pronoſt.

Waterford was founded by *Sitaracus*, in the yeare 155. being a Citie properly builded, and very well compact. Both yong and old there are giuen to thriving, free from factions: the men deale in trafficke, the women in ſpinning & carding; and as they diſtill the beſt *Aqua vita*, ſo they ſpinne the cheefeſt Rugges in *Ireland*.

Of this Citie *Waterford* it is written, to haue continued ſo loyal to the Crowne of *England*, that it is not found regiſtred (ſince the Conqueſt) to haue bin ſtained with the ſmalleſt ſpot of treaſon, nor withſtanding the ſundry aſſaults of traitorous attempts. And therefore the Cities Armes are deckt with this golden word: *In tacta manet*.

Limericke, called in Latine *Limericum*, was builded by *Thornus*, about the very ſame yeare of 155. coaſting on the Sea, hard vpon the Riuer *Sennan*; whereby are moſt notably ſeuered *Mounſter* and *Connagh*, the *Iriſh* name this Citie, *Loumneagh*, and therefore in Engliſh it is called *Limerike*.

Carke, in Latine *Corcinum* or *Corracium*, the fourth Citie of *Ireland*, happily planted on the Sea: their Hauens being a Hauens royall. On the land ſide they were ſo encumbred with euill neighbours, the *Iriſh* Out-lawes, that they were faine to watch their gates hourly, to keepe them ſhut at ſeruiſe times, and at meales. And from Sun to Sun, not to ſuffer any ſtranger to enter the Citie with his weapon, but to leave it at a Lodge appointed.

Drogheda, accounted the beſt Towne in *Ireland*, and truly not farre behinde ſome of their Cities: the one moiety of this Towne is in *Meeth*, the other planted on the further ſide of the water, lyeth in *Vliſter*.

There ranne a blinde Propheſie of this Towne, that *Roffe* was, *Dublin* is, *Drogheda* ſhall be the beſt of the three.

Roffe, a Hauens Towne in *Mounſter*, not farre from *Waterford*, ſeeming to haue bene (in ancient time) a Towne of great port, whereof ſundry and probable coniectures are giuen, by the olde Ditches, which are now a mile diſtant from the *Wallies of Roffe*: betweene which wallies and ditches, the reliques of the ancient *Wallies*, Gates, and Towers (placed be-

tweene both) are to bee ſcene vnto this day.

Weisford, a Hauens Towne not farre from *Roffe*, where of no great matters are recorded: but onely that it is to be eſteemed by all the Engliſh poſterity planted in *Ireland*, as a Towne that was the firſt Fortreſſe and Harbour, of the Engliſh Conquerors, doing them (from time to time) many great and acceptable ſeruices.

Kilkenny, the beſt vpland, or (as they tearme it) the properſt dry Towne in *Ireland*; is diuided into the high Towne, and the *Iriſh* Towne. The high Towne was builded by the Engliſh, after the Conqueſt, and had a parcell of the *Iriſh* Towne vnto it, by the Biſhops grant, made vnto the Founders vpon their earneſt requeſt. *Roberts Talbot*, a worthy Gentleman, in the yeare one thouſand foure hundred, encloſed with wallies the better part of this Towne.

Thomas Towne, a proper Towne builded in the County of *Kilkenny*, by one *Thomas Fitz-Anthony*, an Engliſhman: thereof the *Iriſh* call it *Ballie mac-Andan*, that is, the Towne of *Fitz-Anthony*. But becauſe the Reader may percieue, in what parts of the Countrey the Cities and cheefe Townes ſtand, I haue ſet them downe in this order.

Drogheda, *Carregfargus*, *Downe*, *Armagh*, *Arghaſhe*, *Clogher*, *Munneighan*, *Doomneaghe*, *Karreg mac Roffe*, *Nerrrie*, *Carlingford*, *Archie*, *Doondalke*, *Louth*, *Dublin*, *Bulrudrie*, *Luske*, *Swards*, *Tullagard*, *Lions*, *Newcaſtle*, *Rathenale*, *Oughterarde*, *Nias*, *Clane*, *Alainnooth*, *Kilcocke*, *Rathmangan*, *Kildare*, *Lniann*, *Cafle-Towne*, *Phillips-Towne*, *Maryborough*, *Kilkullen*, *Caſtle-Marien*, *Thiſſledermot*, *Alex*, *Athie*, *Caſterlaugh*, *Leighelen*, *Glanrann*, *Thomas Towne*, *Enſilia* &c. *Caſhelle*, *Callanne*, *Kilkenny*, *Knockraſer*, *Roffe*, *Glommelle*, *Weisford*, *Fernes*, *Filderd*, *Enſecortie*, *Taſhman*, *wicklow*, *Arche*, *Waterford*, *Lifmore*, *Poonegarum*, *Toghill*, *Cork*, *Limerike*, *Kilmallacke*, *Alanna*, *Galluoie*, *Amrie*, *Longbriagh*, *Clare*, *Tomme*, *Sligagh*, *Roffe*, *Canman*, *Arlowenne*, *Trinne*, *Doombaghennne*, *Kathlenith*, *Nannane*, *Aoir*, *Scrine*, *Taragh*, *Kelmec*, *Doonloine*, *Greenocke*, *Duneeke*, *Atolmargh*, *Fowre*, *Longſende*, *Kilkenweſſe*, *Mollagagh*, *Delunne*.

Weisford.

Kilkenny.

Wallies builded in Anno. 1600 by M. Roberts Talbot.

Thomas town

The names of the cheefe Townes in Vliſter.

The names of the cheefe Townes in Leinſter.

Cheefe townes in Mounſter. Cheefe townes in Connagh. Cheefe townes in Meeth. Cheefe townes in Wellmeeth.

Divide made
of Meeth into
two Counties.

The names of
the chiefest
Hauen towns
in Ireland.

Of the Eccle-
siastical ju-
risdiction in
Ireland.

The Archbi-
shoppricke.

19. Suffragan

Vnder Ar-
magh.

Vnder Dublin

In the foure and thirtie yeare of the Reigne of King Henry the eight, it was enacted in a Parliament holden at Dublin, before Sir Anthony Seneleger, Knight, Lord Deputy of Ireland: that Meeth should be diuided and made two Shires, one of them to bee called the County of Meeth, and the other to be named the County of Westmeeth. And that there should be two Sheriffes, & Officers conuenient within the saide Shieres, as is more at large expressed in the Act.

Loughfole, the Banne, Wolderfrith, Carrefergus, Strangford, Ardglas, Longheu, Carlingford, Killeale, Dunkalke, Killogher, Duane, Drogheda, Houlpatrick, Nanie, Baltraie, Brimore, Balbriggan, Rogers Towne, Skerrish, Rulph, Malahide, Banleodeil, Houth, Dublin, Dalke, Wickinloa, Arkloa, Weisford, Bagganbun, the Passage, Waterford, Dungaruan, Rosse nana, Tonghille, Corke mabegge, Corke, Kinsale, Kierie, Rosse lbert, Dorrie, Balmimure, Downenere, Downehead, Downeloung, Attannanne, Craghaune, Downeubwine, Balmeskilliedge, Dargine Ichnou, Trolie, Semme, Callanne, Kilcuyne, Limerike, Imiskartee, Belalenne, Arincenew, Glanemaugh, Ballinreham, Binwarre, Dowru, woran, Korkam, Galwaie, Kilmillie, Innesboshine, Owan, Moore, Kilcolken, Barke, Beclereale, Rathsilbene, Buerweisowre, Bucaness hare, Ardumakow, Rosbare, Kilgolinne Wallalele, Rabranne, Strone, Berweis now, Zaltra, Kallalie, Ardnocke, Adronse, Sligaghe, Innes Bowfenne.

The spirituall Iurisdiction of Ireland, is ordered into foure Provinces, whereof the Primacy was euer giuen (in reuerence of S. Patrick, that conuerted the Country) to the Archbishoppricke of Armagh, who is called *Primas totius Hibernie*, and the Archbishop of Dublin, *Primas Hibernie*. Which custome was since confirmed by Eugenius the third, in Anno. 1148. or 1152. Who sent withal three other pallies of Archbishops to be placed, one at Dublin, one at Cashill, and the last at Twene.

To these were Suffraganes in right, nine and twenty, and they all to the *Primas of Armagh*. Vnder whose Province are the Bishops of Meeth and Deren, Ardagh, Kilmore, Clogher, Downe, Coner, Clonkno, Raboo, Droemore.

Vnder Dublin, wherunto Innocentius the third vnted Glendalagh, the Bishop

of Elphin, Kildare, Fernes, Ossorie, and Leighlin.

Vnder Cashill, the Bishop of Waterford, to whom *Lismore* is vnted, Corke and Clone, Rosse, Ardagh, Limerike, Emelte, Killaloe and Ardfer.

Vnder Twene, Kilmaco, Olsine, Anaghdonne, Clonsfert and Morroo.

In this recount some difference happeneth, by reason of personall and reall vnioun of the Sees, and for other alterations.

The Names of the Gouernours, Lieutenants, Lord Iustices, and Deputies of Ireland, since the Conquest thereof, by King Henry the second.



Richard Strongbow, Earle of Pembroke, Gouernour, Reimond le Grace being ioynd (for his more caſe) in Commiſſion with him.

Reimond le Grace, Lieutenant by himſelfe.

William Fitz Adelme, Lieutenant, hauing John de Curcy, Robert Fitz Stephens, and Miles Cogan, ioynd in Commiſſion with him.

Hugh Lacie, Lieutenant. John Lacie, Conſtable of Che-2 Gouern-ſter, and Richard de Peche. 3 nours.

Hugh Lacy, againe Lieutenant. Hugh Lacy the younger, Lord Iuſtice.

Henry Landorus, Archbiſhop of Dublin, Lord Iuſtice.

Maurice Fitz Gerald, Lord Iuſtice.

John Fitz Geoffrey, Knight, Lord Iuſtice.

Alan de la Zouch, Lord Iuſtice.

Stephen de Long Eſſe, Lord Iuſtice.

William Deane, Lord Iuſtice.

Sir Richard Rochill, or Capell, Lord Iuſtice.

David Barry, Lord Iuſtice.

Robert Pifford, Lord Iuſtice.

Richard de Exceit er, Lord Iuſtice.

Lames Lord Audley, Lord Iuſtice.

Maurice Fitz Maurice, Lord Iuſtice.

Walter, Lord Gennille, Lord Iuſtice.

Robert Pifford, againe Lord Iuſtice.

Vnder Caſh

The yeares of our Lord.

1174.

1177.

1181.

1227.

1228.

1253.

1258.

1261.

1267.

1268.

1269.

1270.

1272.

Fulborne,

1281.

Fulborne, Biſhop of Waterford, Lord Iuſtice.

John Stamford, Archbiſhoppe of Dublin, Lord Iuſtice.

William Veſcie, Lord Iuſtice.

William Dodingſels, Lord Iuſtice.

1295. Thomas Fitz Maurice, Lord Iuſtice.

1298. John Wogan, Lord Iuſtice.

1384. Theobald Perdon, Lord Iuſtice.

1315. Edmund Butler, Lord Iuſtice.

1317. Roger Lord Mortimer, Lord Iuſtice.

Alexander Bignor, Archbiſhop of Dublin, Lord Iuſtice.

1319. Roger Lord Mortimer, the ſecond time Lord Iuſtice.

1320. Thomas Fitz John, Earle of Kildare, Lord Iuſtice.

1321. John Birmingham, Earle of Louth, Lord Iuſtice.

1323. John Lord Darcy, Lord Iuſtice.

1327. Roger Outlaw, Prior of Kilmainin, Lord Iuſtice.

Anthony Lord Lucy, Lord Iuſtice.

1332. John Lord Darcy, ſecond time Lord Iuſtice.

John Lord Charleton, Lord Iuſtice.

1333. Thomas, Biſhop of Hereford, L. Iuſtice.

1339. John Lord Darcy, ordawayed Lord Iuſtice by Paſent, during his life, by King Edward the third.

Raphe Pifford, Lord Iuſtice.

1346. Robert Darcy, Lord Iuſtice.

John Fitz Maurice, Lord Iuſtice.

Walter, Lord Birmingham, Lord Iuſtice: his Deputies were John Archer, Prior of Kilmainin, and Baron Carew, with Sir Thomas Rokesly.

Maurice Fitz Thomas, Earle of Deſmond, had the Office of Lord Iuſtice, for teame of his life, by the grant of king Edward the third.

1355. Thomas Rokesly, Knight, Lord Iuſtice.

1357. Americke de S. Amand, appointed Lord Iuſtices by King Edward.

John Butler, Earle of Ormond, appointed Lord Iuſtices by King Edward.

1361. Maurice Fitz Henry, Earle of Kildare.

1367. Lionel, Duke of Clarence, Lord Iuſtice.

Gerald Fitz Maurice, Earle of Deſmond, Lord Iuſtice.

William Lord Windfor, the firſt Lieutenant in Ireland.

1369. Roger Aſhoun, Lord Iuſtice.

1371. Roger Mortimer, Iuſtices & Lieutenants.

1381. Phillip Courtenay, eſpecially recorded, in Lames Earle of the dayes of King Richard the ſecond.

Robert Pere, Earle of Oxford, Marqueſſe of Dublin, created Duke of Ireland.

Roger Mortimer Earle of March. Lieutenant.

Roger Mortimer, Earle of March and Viſter, Lieutenant.

Roger Grey, Lord Iuſtice.

John Stanley Knight, Lord Lieutenant.

Thomas of Lancaſter, brother vnto King Henry the 4. Lord Lieutenant; whole Deputies at ſundry times, were Alexander Biſhop of Meeth, Stephen Scroop, Knight, and the Prior of Kilmainin.

1401. Lames Butler, Earle of Ormond, Lord Iuſtice.

Gerald, Earle of Kildare, Lord Iuſtice.

1403. Lames Butler, Earle of Ormond, ſonné to the foreſaid Lames, Lord Iuſtice.

John Stanley, againe Lord Lieutenant.

1407. Thomas Cranley, Archbiſhop of Dublin, Lord Iuſtice.

1413. John Lord Talbot of Sheffield, Lieutenant.

John Lord Talbot of Sheffield, Lieutenant.

1414. Lames Butler, earle of Ormond, the ſecond time Lieutenant.

1420. Edmund Earle of March, Lames Earle of Ormond, his Deputy.

John Satton, Lord Dndley, Sir Thomas Strunge, his Deputy.

Sir Thomas Stanley, Sir Chriſtopher Plunket his Deputy.

1421. Lames Butler, Deputy to the Earle of Ormond.

Lames Butler, Deputy to the Earle of Ormond.

Lames Butler, Deputy to the Earle of Ormond.

Lames Butler, Deputy to the Earle of Ormond.

Lames Butler, Deputy to the Earle of Ormond.

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Lames Butler, Deputy to the Earle of Ormond.

Lames Butler, Deputy to the Earle of Ormond.

Lieutenants to king Henry the 6.

Richard Plantagenet, Duke of Yorke, Father to King Edward the 4. had the Office of Lieutenant, by letters Patents from King Henry the fixth, for ten yeares. His Deputies (at ſundry times) were the Baron of Deluyn, Richard Fitz Eynſhace, Knight, Lames Earle of Ormond, and Thomas Fitz Maurice, Earle of Kildare.

Thomas Fitz Maurice, Earle of Kildare, Lord Iuſtice in the dayes of King Edward the fourth, vntill the third yeare of his reigne. After whom, George Duke of Clarence, brother to the King, had the Office of Lieutenant during his life, and made his Deputies (at ſundry times) theſe men following:

Thomas, Earle of Deſmond.

John Tiptoft, Earle of Worceſter.

Thomas, Earle of Kildare.

Henry, Lord Grey of Ratibin.

Sir Rowland Eynſhace, Lord Deputy.

1426. Richard

Richard, Duke of Yorke, younger sonne to King Edward the fourth, Lieutenant. Edward, sonne to King Richard the third, Lieutenant, his Deputy was Gerald, Earle of Kildare.

Isabel, Duke of Bedford, and Earle of Pembroke, Lieutenant: his Deputy was Walter, Archbishop of Dublin.

Edward Pymings Knight, Lord Deputy. Henry, Duke of Yorke, afterward King, by the name of Henry the eighth, Lieutenant: his Deputy was Gerald, Earle of Kildare.

Gerald Fitz-Gerald, Earle of Kildare, Lord Deputy.

Thomas Howard, Earle of Surrey, afterward Duke of Norfolk, Lieutenant.

Piers Butler, Earle of Ossory, L. Deputy.

Gerald Fitz-Gerald, Earle of Kildare, again Lord Deputy.

The Baron of Dublin, Lord Deputy.

Piers Butler, Earle of Ossory, againe Lord Deputy.

William Skeffington Knight, Lord Deputy.

Gerald Fitz-Gerald, Earle of Kildare, the third time Lord Deputy.

William Skeffington, againe Lord Deputy.

Leonard Lord Grey, Lord Deputy.

Sir William Burrell Knight, Lord Justice.

Sir Anthony Senteleger Knight, L. Deputy.

The Names of all the Lords, Deputies, and Justices in Ireland, since the death of King Henry the eighth, who dyed in January, 1546.

SIR Anthony Senteleger Knight, by Patent, dated 24. Martij. Anno primo Edw. 6.

Sir Edward Bellingham, Lord Deputy, 22. Aprilis. Anno edm.

Sir Francis Brian, Lord Justice.

Sir William Brabeston, Lord Justice.

Sir Anthony Senteleger, the third time Lord Deputy, 4. August.

Sir James Croftes, Lord Deputy, 29. Aprilis.

Sir Anthony Senteleger, the fourth time Lord Deputy, September 1. Anno primo Reg. Marie.

Thomas Lord Fitz-Walter, Lord Deputy, 27. Aprilis.

Sir Henry Sidney. } Lords Justices.
Doctor Corne, or Corwen. } ces.

Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Justice alone, 18. January.

Thomas Earle of Suffex, Lord Lieutenant 19. Martij.

Sir William Fitz-Williams, Lord Justice.

Thomas Earle of Suffex, Lord Deputy, 6. Maij. Anno primo Reg. Elizab.

Sir Nicholas Arnold, Lord Justice.

Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Deputy the third time.

Doctor Weston, Lord Chancellor.

Sir William Fitz-Williams.

Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Deputy the fourth time.

Sir William Fitz-Williams, Lord Deputy, 11. Decemb. Anno. 14. Elizab.

Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Deputy the fifth time, August 3.

Sir William Drury, Lord Justice, 14. September, by Patent, 18. May.

Sir William Pelham, Lord Justice.

The Lord Arthur Grey.

Adam, Archbishop of Dublin.

Sir Henry Wallop.

Sir John Perot, Lord Deputy.

Sir William Fitz-Williams, Lord Deputy.

Sir William Russell, Lord Deputy.

Thomas Lord Burrough, Lord Deputy.

Robert Earle of Essex, Lord Lieutenant.

Charles Blount, Baron Munsiey, Lord Deputy.

Sir George Adrew, Lord Deputy.

Sir Arthur Ghechster, Lord Deputy.

Sir Oliver St. John, Lord Deputy, who yet to this day, continueth in that honorable Office.

CHAP. II.

Abstract Discourse, how those parts, and Countries, commonly called, the New World, were first found: Also by whom, and what things were there found, and some, and brought away, thence.

Caruell sayling on the Spanish Seas; where fell a tempest, comming so impetuously from the East, the Windes growing still so crooffe and contrary; that at length it was transported

1556.

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transported into an unknown Country, which neuer was in any Card for Navigation. Staying there longer time, then was or could be allowed for returning; no more remayned living then the Pilote or Maister, and three or foure Mariners beside: who also falling sicke, by extremitie of hunger and tedious labour, dyed also at a Port some few daies distance from thence.

But the Pilote, whose name was Andalus, dyed in the house of one Christopher Columbus, a native of Cnquera, (as some others say) of Albizolo, a small village on the river of Genes, neare to Saona. With this Columbus remayned all the Pilotes goods of the sayd Caruell, and especially the Papers and Memories of that whole voyage, reporting the height of the lands, which by them had beene discovered, and found. Some say, that the sayd Andalus trafficked in Canaria and Madera, when this long and fatall navigation happened. Others also rearme him a *hiscane*, which dealt with England and France: and some repute him a *Portuguese*, that went and came from Myrris or India. Others againe report, that the sayd Caruell went into *Portugall*, or to *Madera*, and other Islands; but none doe assure any thing for certain. It is no marvell then, if Authors do disagree in many points, concerning things happening, or found by graue Ancients, and that the Inventors of them are not to be knowne; when our selues are ignorant of matters, within the compasse of so small time since, for finding the Occidental or Western Isles (which we call the *New-found World*) and which was a matter so signall, nouell, and remarkable.

But all agree together, that this Andalus dyed in the house of the sayd Christopher Columbus; who hauing (at the first) beene a Saylor or Mariner, had practised in diuers parts of the world. Afterward, hee learned diligently the measure of the two Tropicks, of the Equator, and of the Clymates, prouoing an expert Maister, in making Cardes to sayle by. And to be informed concerning the Meridional coasts of *Africa*, and of other places where the *Portugalls* had sayled: he went into *Portugall*, to the end he might make his Cardes the better, and there he married. Or, as some say, in the Isle of *Madera*: where it may be credited (as most likely)

that he dwelt when the sayd Caruell coasted there; and the Patron or Pilote thereof lodged in his house, where he recounted to him the voyage he had made, and the new lands by him discovered: to the end that Columbus might see them downe in his Garde, wherein he was further instructed by him.

It is generally supposed, that Columbus was a learned man, a good Geographer, very singularly experienced in Astronomy and Cosmography; and that he laboured to finde the land of the *Antipodes*, and *Il Rico Cipango de Marco Polo*. Moreover, he was often heard to say, that (necessarily) by good coniectures, there was another world; which extended it self towards the West: whereof *Plato*, *Seneca*, and many other Authors, both Greek and Latin, did leade to Cosmographers some good and considerable arguments. Also, that he had read many good ancient Authors, who, in the place where they discourse on the great *Atlantick* Ile; make mention of a land unknowne and concealed, more great then *Asia* or *Africa*. And especially *Aristotle*, writing, that certaine Merchants of *Carthage*, sayling in those parts of *Gibraltar*, towards the West & South, after many daies found a great Island inhabited, with Riuer, &c. nup. b. c.

But, after all this so diuersly delivered, on the behalfe of Columbus, it is most certaine, that he was not learned, but of good iudgement and vnderstanding; and receiving notice of these new Lands, by the means of Andalus; he conferred with diuers learned and iudicious men, concerning what had auiently bene written of other lands and worlds. And the sayd Columbus, wanting meanes to bring to passe what he so earnestly desired, because he was poore; stood in neede of some farre greater fauour, whereby hee might discover those lands.

Perceiuing then, that the King of *Portugall* was hindered by his enterprize of *Africa*, & navigation into the East, which he had then in readiness, and that the King of *Castile* was busied about the warre of *Granada*: he sent his brother, named *Bartolomeus*, to Henry the sixteenth, King of *England*, a very rich and potent Prince, (who had at that present time no waies or troubles) to furnish him with fauour and shippes apt and fit for the enterprize,

liti 3 promi

Reasons of apparent likelihood in the case of Columbus.

The general opinion concerning Columbus, touching his sufficiency in learning, and judgement.

The Authors further examine, and finally conclude, in a concluding Conclusion.

Kings, whose help he required to have success.

In the house of Christopher Columbus dyed the Pilote Andalus.

Variety of opinions concerning this Andalus.

Neds must move Antiquen before, when later mens neglect all memorie.

What Christopher Columbus was at his beginning.

The Windes and Weather will be Commanded Sea.

promising to bring him home from those vnknowne Islands (and in small time) vnvaluable treasures. But Bartholmew returning thence without any resolution; he began to negotiate with *Alphonfus* the fifth King of *Portugall*: of whom he could neyther haue fauour nor money, to finde such wealth as he had promised; because the Bishop of *Vise*, and one Master *Roderick*, men greatly experienced in Cosmography, contrariet him therein, confidently assuring; that there could not bee in the West, any such gold or treasure, as *Columbus* spake of.

Columbus hindered in dealing with the King of *Portugall*.

Columbus though discouraged, will not yet be wholly disheartened.

The 3. Dukes of *Medina* acquainted with this great offer, refused it also.

His petition to the Catholique King *Ferdinand* & his Queene, neglecting where he had greatest hope.

was no way beleueed, and much worse listened vnto; whereat *Columbus* grew very greatly displeased.

Alphonso Quintavilla, Great Chamberlaine or Treasurer to the King, kept him in his house, and dieted him at his owne table, taking great delight to heare him talke of such things, as he made promise of in vnknowne Countries. By the helpe of this Great Treasurer, *Columbus* found the meanes, to haue access & audience with *Gonzales de Mendoza*, arch-Bishop of *Toledo*, and Cardinall, who had great credit and authority with their Majesties. This Lord brought him to the Kings presence, and, after the case was well examined and vnderstood (notwithstanding all was esteemed vaine and false, which *Columbus* had spoken off in the beginning) yet hope was giuen him of expedition, and imployment in his voyage of Navigation, to those Islands vnknowne so soone as the King had taken order for the war of *Granado*, which then lay heauily on his hand.

Columbus, vpon this answer, began to mount his hopes farre higher then before, and was then graciously both heard and esteemed of all the Courtiers, who laughed and made a mockery of him at the first. After the surprisall of *Granado*, he prevailed so successfull, that the Catholique King consented vnto his requests, for passage into those vnknowne parts: assigning vnto him in gift, the tenth part of the Rents and Royall tributes, in all the Lands found and conquered: but without preiudice (notwithstanding) to all rights belonging to the King of *Portugall*. And because the King was then vnfurnished of money for this expedition; *Lodowick*, Secretary for his accounts, lent him seuenteen thousand Ducats: by means whereof, *Columbus* armed & furnished three Caruels at *Pally de Maguera*, and in them fitted 120. men, all well Marinners as Soldiours.

Of one, hee made *Martino Alphonso Pinzono* the Guide and Conductor. Of the second, *Francisco & Vincentio Aeneio*, Brethren to the said *Martino*. And himselfe was Capitaine and Commander of the greatest Caruell among them, taking also with him his Brother *Bartholmew*, who (in like manner) was very practicke and well experienced on the Seas. From

Some meane of entrance for *Columbus* to worke by.

Columbus was promised supply by the Catholique King.

Christopher Columbus (by meane of the Catholique King) armed three Caruels to goe first out the New World. Paulus Institutione of the Caruel, and setting forth his Voyage.

Pally he set forward on Friday, being the third day of August, and held on his voyage between the West and South, passing by *Gomera*, one of the *Canary* Islands, where he stayed for a small refreshing; & thence onward, followed the directions giuen him in the papers and memories of deceased *Andaluso*.

Having sayled eight dayes, he espied so much grasse or Herbage, as if it seemed to be a Meadow; whereof (at first) he & all grew doubtfull, although ther was no danger at all, and backe they would haue returned, but that they saw diuers Willow trees a farre off, which gaue an euident and most certaine signe, that some Land must needs be neere.

On the morrow following, which was the eleauenth day of Nouember, in the year 1492. *Rodericke de Traiana*, beganne to cry out aloud, Land, Land: at which words, all ran to see whether they were true or no; and hauing likewise discovered that it was firme Land, they beganne to praise GOD, and sung *Te Deum Laudamus*, mourning euen with great excess of ioy, and proud of a hopefull proceeding.

After 8. dayes sayling, Roderick de Triana was the first man that discovered Land.

The first Land which they saw, was *Guanabany*, one of the *Iles Lucages*, situated betweene *Florida* and *Cuba*; where suddenly they went on shoare, and there tooke possession of the New world. From *Guanabany* they went to *Barncon*, the Porte of *Cuba*, & there tooke some Indians, and returning backe to the Isle of *Hayti*, cast anchor in the Port, which *Columbus* called *Porte Royall*. There hastily they were faine to land againe; because the chief Caruell smote against a rocke, and began to rise; but yet no person was in perill. When the inhabitants of the Isle saw the Spaniards come on shore so speedily, and with their Armes: they fled from the sea side vp to the Mountaines; imagining them to bee the *Carybes* or *Cambibles*, that came to assaile them.

The Indians fearefull of the Spaniards at their landing.

A woman Indian taken & clothed, and let loose againe.

which caused them presently to come downe againe to the Sea side, to speake with the Spaniards, without any vnderstanding on either side; otherwise then by signes, euen as dumbe folke vse to do. They brought Birds, Bread, Fruits, Gold, and other things, to giue in exchange for Ballads, Beads, Glasses, Needles, Sizets, Pinnes, and other such like things, to the no little ioy and comfort of *Christopher Columbus*, who saluted, embraced, & reuerently entreated the Lord of that land, being of his people called *Cachico*, & gifts passed betweene one another, in signe of loue and amity.

Cachico the first Indian Prince known by *Columbus*.

The Indians brought boats of theyr owne, wherein to bestowe the goodes of the cheefe Caruell that was broken, and brought them on Land with the Spaniards, so louingly, euen as if they hadde dwelt all their life time among them: falling downe in reuerence to the Crosse, and beating themselves on the breasts, like vnto Christians.

The kind offices of the Indians to the Spaniards.

Now *Columbus*, thinking no time soon enough for his returne to Spaine, with newes to the Catholique King, of what he had scene and done, prevailed so wel with the prompt and sodaine consent of *Cachico*, and the assistance of his subiects: as to build a Castle of Wood and Earth; wherein hee left eight and thirty Spaniards, vnder the charge of Captaine *Roderigo d'Armas*, of *Corloua*: to the end, that during his voyage, they might learne the Language and seueres, both of the Nation and Countrey. And this was the first inhabiting of the Spaniards in the *Indies*.

Columbus, by consent of *Cachico*, & help of his people, builded a Castle of Wood and earth.

The Castle being finished, *Columbus* tooke with him tenne Indian men, forty Parrats, many Tortoiles, Conies, and other strange things, farre differing from ours in forme and nature, as testimonies of the places where hee had found them. He brought aboard also into his ships, all the Golde which the people of the countrey had giuen him, in exchange of those toyces and trifles which hee returned for them. And, after hee had taken leaue of his friendly Companions, appointed to remaine there in his absence, as also of *Guacanari* (for so was the *Cachico* or King of that Countrey named) who was verie sorry and loath, that hee should depart thence, he sent away with two Caruels,

Such things as *Columbus* earned aboard his Ship with in.

wherin

wherein were all the other Spaniards of the voyage, except the eight and thirte before remembered, and (having a successful wind) arrived at *Paly* within 50. daies or somewhat lesse.

Columbus
goeth to Bar-
celona to the
King and Queen

The Catholike King and queene were then at *Barcelona*, whither *Columbus* went to see them; and although it was a long way, and he had many things to carry: yet notwithstanding, they were all conveyed with him by Land, and hee was welcomed vnto the Court with great Honour. Infinite people flocked about him, to see the things which hee brought from the New-found Worlde, which were of extraordinary wealth and riches, beside the strange men, of such colour and habit, as neuer hadde the like beene seene before. Some sayde, that hee had found the Navigation, concealed from the *Carthaginians*. And others affirmed it, to be that which *Plato* had written of to bee lost by fortune, and by an ouer-great quantity of muddie or slime encreasing in the Sea. Some other helde another opinion, saying, That that which *Seneca* had foretold was now accomplished, speaking in his Tragedy of *Medea* after this manner. The time will come, that (many yeares hence) New worlds shall be found, and that their Trade could not bee the furthest part of the earth.

Some in Tra-
de-Medea.

Finally, *Columbus* entred the Court of Spaine, the third day of April, a yeare after he had departed thence, presenting to their Maiesties, the Golde and all things else which he had brought from the New World; whereat the King, Queene, and all then present, marvelled not a little, to see such rare things, all (but the gold) newell and vncustomed vnto their sight. They highly commended the Parrats, being of so many goodly colours; some of an extraordinary shining green, others of a liuely red or Vermillion colour, intermixed with many other of choise splendour, little or nothing at all resembling them that were brought from other places. The Conies were small, hauing their eares and tayles like vnto Rats, and their colour grizzeld. Also they greatly praised the Cockes of those Countreyes, being all farre more beautifull then Pea-cockes, wondering besides, that those Countreies yielded no other Corne, and no other bread was yet fedde on there, but such as

Some men ad-
mire auon in
the King
Queene and
Courtiers at
the rare nou-
elties brought
by Columbus

was made of rootes and the like things. But their cheefest meruaile was at the men, who had little circleters or Buckles of Gold hanging in their eares, and finely pierced through their nostrilles: their bodies being neither white nor black, or browne, but like vnto an Oliue colour, or boyled Quinces.

The Indian
men were their
greatest mar-
uel of manuell

Very attentive was the King, to heare what a worthy Relation *Columbus* made, wondering greatly, that the people should haue no Habite, Learning, Mony, Iron, Corne, Wine, neyther any Animall which was greater then a Dogge, nor Shippes or Boates of any bignesse. And much was his patience moued, when he heard him tell, that they did eate one another, being all Idolaters. But he promised, that if God pleased to blesse him with life and health: he would free them from that horrible inhumanity, and root Idolatry out of those Lands, that could bee reduced vnder his dominion and power. In like manner, hee extended great fauour and courtesie to *Columbus*, commanding that he should sit down before him, because (according to the custome of Spaine) the Gentlemen and other attendants, stand alwayes in the Kings presence, for greater honour to the Royall authority.

The people
did eate one
another, and
were Idolat-
ers.

Obseruance
in the Court
of Spaine.

Moreover, he confirmed his grant and priuilege, concerning the tenth part of reuenues in the faide Lands, giuing him the title and Office of Admirall of the *Indies*, and made his Brother *Bartholomew* Lieutenant or vice-Admiral to him. All which being done, a Courrier or Post was dispatched vnto Rome, with letters concerning the New-found lands, to his Maiesties ambassadours, whom (but some few months before) he had sent to congratulate Pope *Alexander* the fixt, at his new creation, and (on his behalfe) to do him obeyfance. Which letters of full and further information, they deliuered to his Holiness; he not a little reioycing at these good newes, as the like did at the Roman Court. In regard whereof, the holy Father, with consent of the whole Colledge of Cardinals, made a new donation to the Kinges of *Castile* and *Leon*, of all the Isles and firme lands that should be found in the West: with charge to send Preachers thither, for conuersion of the Infidels.

Columbus
made Admir-
all of the
Indies.

Newes of this
Indian discou-
eries, sent to
Rome to Pope
Alexander
the fixt.

When

Columbus
sent againe,
with more po-
wer to the In-
dians.

A Vicar
General sent
on the Popes be-
halfe.

The King and
Queene Ca-
tholike, sent
preachers and
handy-crafts
men into the
Indies.

Hitherto
being to sea
againe for the
West-Indies.

When the Catholike King had receyued this ioyfull answer from the Pope, he sent *Christopher Columbus* againe, with more store of people, for further trafficking in this New-found World, and for vtter destruction of Idolatry, and adoration giuen to false Gods. For the better furtherance hereof, by *John Fonqueio*, Deane of *Sinell*, he sent eight Caruelles, making him President of those countries. He sent also twelue Priestes, of vertuous life, and good learning, with *Friar Buleio Castellano*, of the order of *S. Benedickt*, who went to be Vicar-General for the Pope: to the end, that those Ecclesiasticall persons might preach the word of God, conuerting the people to the Faith of Iesus Christ, and do all things appertaining to the conuersion of soules.

Beside all this, many Knights & courtiers, moued by the fame and desire of riches in the same Countreies, and earnest affection to see them; went along with them in company, having diuers Artzans among them, as Goldsmithes, Taylors, Mafons, Carpenters, Laborers, Fishermen, and such like persons, fit for diuers employments.

The King called also (at his own charge) to be bought some store of Horses, Kine, Sheepe, Goates, Swine, and Asses; that breed might there ensue of them. Great store also was sent of Wheate, Barly, and Graine of all kindes to sowe; with Slips, Sprigs of Vines, Sugar Canes, and Plants of sweete fruites, as also Chalk and Lime to build withall. In breefe, they carried diuers other things for the like needefull vses; entertaining into this seruice 1500. Soldiers, which *Columbus* shipt at *Cadix* the 25. day of September, 1493. and good provision of Artillery.

Proceeding on in his voyage, & much more neere to the Equinoctiall then hee did before in his first passage, he came to arrive and take landing in an Island, which hee tearmed by the name of *Desire*, and without any staying there, won the Port *D'Agen*, in the Ile called *Hispaniola*. Pass- ing on thence to *Porte Royale*, where he had left the eight and thirte. Spaniards, who were all illaue by the Indians, because they had lustfully forced their wives and done them many outrages besides: *Columbus* being displeased hereat, yet the- wing no outward discontentment, imme-

diately commanded his Mafons & other men to fall to worke, for the building of a Towne, which (in honour of the Queene) he named *Isabella*.

He builded also a Fort or castle among the Mines of *Cibao*, where he established as Governour, *Moyles Marquarito*, & sent twelue Caruels thence into Spain by *Antonio de Turco*, which carried many grains of Golde, one especially amongst them, weighing eight ounces, which was found by *Aphonso de Houeda*. Hee sent likewise many Parrats, very faire and goodly, and certaine Indian Caribes, being such as fed on the flesh of men, bred and born in the Island of *Acy*, which hee called *Santa Cruz*, and hee himselfe, went with three Caruels more, to finde out other Lands: where he found *Cubo* on the South-side, and *Laniauca*, with other small Isles in diuers parts.

At his returne backe, he found many Spaniards dead and sicke, and some that hadde carried themselves scarcely honestly with their companions: whereof hee commanded some to be hanged, and others to be well beaten, that had giuen forth euill speeches of him. By means whereof, he had some talke with the Vicare to the Pope, who had written to the King, accusing *Columbus* of cruelty and couetousnesse: which caused his Maiestie to send thither his Chamberlain *John de Aguado*, who sent *Columbus* into Spaine prisoner, to render an account of his behaviour to the King.

Christopher Columbus obeying the kings command, went away to iustify himselfe. And arriving at *Medina del Campo* (where as then the Court was) hee came before the King and Queene, presenting infinite grailnes of Gold to them; some whereof, weighed fifteene, and twenty Ounces a peece, with great lumps of Amber, goodly wilde Oliue trees and wonderfull huge plumes of Parrats Feathers, vfed & worn by the Indians, beside many other strange things.

He made report also vnto their Maiesties, concerning the Countreies founde by him, greatly commending the Islands for their admirable riches; declaring besides, that in the month of December, which hee hold to be the heaviest time of all Winter, that the Birds there, do then produce their young ones on the trees; &

A Towne build-
ed by Co-
lumbus, and
called *Isabella*
in honour of
the Queene.

Columbus fin-
derth out other
small Islandes

Spaniards
hanged for
misdeuonour
and Colum-
bus accused
to the king by
the Popes Vi-
ca.

Columbus re-
turned as a
prisoner into
Spaine.

Columbus his
appearing be-
fore the King
and Queene.

The wonder-
full plenty
yeilded by the
earth.

in March, the wilde raiſins were ripe; and corne (ſowne in Ianuarie) yeelded graine within ſeauentie dayes, Lettice and all rootes grew to be very great. Afterward, he gaue a faithfull report to the king, concerning the behaviour of the Spaniards, how he had puniſhed ſome; and inflicted death vpon other, to the end, that his iuſtification might the more plainly appeare.

Greatly did the King both commend and thanke him for his good ſeruiſe, and knowing, that hee had doone no more then Iuſtice, declared him to be abſolued of all imputations layed vnto his charge, furniſhing him with eight ſhippes, for the finding out of other Countries: two whereof *Columbus* ſent before with victualles and munition, and with the other fixe ſhippes, himſelfe ſet away from Saint

Columbus re-
turneth hono-
rably to the
Indies.

Luca de Barrameda, about the end of the month of Maie, in the yeare of our Lord God, one thouſand foure hundred nintie and ſeauen. And becauſe fame and rumour of *Indian* treaſure did ſpread it ſelfe, enticing diuers Pirates of *France* to make voyages ebroade: hee went to *Madera*, and from thence hee ſent three ſhippes, by the right way, for the Iſland called *Hiſpaniola*, with three hundred baniſhed men; and with the other three ſhippes, he went vnto the Iſle of *Cape de Verd*, to make his voyage very neare to the *Equinoctiall*, arriving at the laſt in a great Countrey of firme land. On hee went coaſting three hundred leagues, beyond the Cape with full ſayle, and thwarſing the Sea, came to Saint *Dominico*, a towne belonging to his brother *Bartholomew*, and builded on the Riuer *Oxama*, where hee was receiued to be gouernor, as was contained in his Letters of priuiledge and grant, which the King Catholique had made vnto him, and which hee brought thither with him. Albeit ſome were much diſpleaſed thereat, and his brother *Bartholomew* did not greatly like it: becauſe (in his abſence) till now, hee had the care and managing of all affaires.

Enuy againſt
Columbus by
Roldan *Simenes*
and his af-
ſociates, and
great com-
plaints written
againſt him to
the King.

Columbus hauing taken on him the gouernement, and made many enterpriſes againſt them of the Countrey, finding out many other Iſlands beſides; grew to be enuied by the Spaniards, and in ſuch ſort, that a man named *Roldan Simenes* (a great Potefſtate or Iudge) mutined againſt him,

and three ſcore and ten men more, all leagued and coniuered againſt him, who forſaking *Columbus*, went to *Siragua*, and wrote infinite cuilles of him and his brethren to the King. His Maieſtie, being not a little moued, that matters ſhould be thus combuſtious in the *Indies*; and the Queene taking it very heauily: ſuddenly ſent *Franceſco de Bonadello*, a knight of good repute, to be gouernour in thoſe parts, and giuing him authoritie, eyther to puniſh or imprifon the faultie.

This man came to the Iſland of *Hiſpaniola*, and foure Caruells with him, in the yeare, one thouſand foure hundred nintie and nine; and after hee had made in-quiſition in the Citie of *Dominico*; he ſent *Chriſtopher Columbus*, with *Bartholomew* and *Diego* his brethren, all priſoners to *Spaine*, with yron fetters on their feete. Being landed at *Cadez*, they were deliuered, by Commiſſion ſent from the King, and commanded to appeare at the court. *Columbus* readily obeyed thereto, and could ſo well ſhape his excuſes (mingled with teares and ſighes very paſſionately) that the King hauing heard him, and knowing his fidelitie, ſent him againe (three yeares after) with foure Caruells, to diſcouer more new Countries, and this was in the yeare of our Lord God, 1502. or thereabouts.

Columbus being come to the Iſland of *Hiſpaniola*, and arriuing neare to the riuer *Oxama*, *Nicholas de Ouanda* Gouernour of the Iſle, would not ſuffer his entrance into the Citie of Saint *Dominico*, whereat *Columbus* being much diſtaſted, ſent in to tell him: That if he might not come into the citie, which he himſelfe had cauſed to be builded; he would goe ſinde out another Port, where he might be in better aſſurance. So parting thence, and coueting to ſearch the Straits, for paſſing beyond the *Equinoctiall*, which he had promiſed the King to doe: hee drew directly towards the Weſt, withall, turning to the Cape of *Nigueria*, following till the Meridionall coaſt, returning then to *Cuba*, and after to *Ianica*, where hee loſt two Gallies, and with two other he went to diſcouer new lands. But not without great harmes and perils endured before, for ſome of his followers grew ſicke, and certaine other Spaniards made warre vpon him.

Columbus and
his two bre-
thers
Bartholomew
and
Diego ſent pri-
ſoners into
Spaine fettered
in yrons.

Columbus a-
gaine ſent to
the Indies
with foure
Caruells.

Columbus de-
parteth
encomend-
ing the
Indies to
ſome of his
followers.

Franceſ-

The ingra-
titude of the
people to Co-
lumbus in de-
nying him vi-
tualles, and
ſpurning againſt
his life.

Franceſco de Porra, Captaine of one Galley, and *Diego*, brother to *Columbus*, hauing taken certayne ſmall Barkes, went towards the Iſle of *Hiſpaniola*: where the Natiues and Inhabitants ſeeing them; would admit them to haue no Victuals, but laide trappes and traines to kill them. Wherevpon, *Chriſtopher Columbus* calling ſome of them to him, reproued their lacke of kindneſſe and charity, entreating them to ſell him ſome victuals; aduiſing them further, that except they did ſuccor them, all they in the Iſland ſhould dye of the plague. And to giue them a ſigne as witneſſe of his words, he tolde them, that ſuch a day it would ſo come to paſſe; as they ſhould ſee the Moone whollie aſred as bloode, and quite contrarie to her former condition.

Afterwardes, when they behelde the Moone Eclipſed, at the ſame houre of the day, as *Columbus* had foretolde (not knowing any rules of Aſtroglogie) they verily beleued his words. And, crating pardon of him, deſired him not to be offended with them; & brought him what victuals he could deſire. By this meanes, *Columbus* hauing gotten the victorie againſt thoſe Spaniards, gaue a name vnto the Port, calling it *Porta S. Gloria*.

The death
of
Chriſtopher
Columbus
at
Valadolid
in
Spaine.

Returning home afterward into *Spain*, to yeelde an account of all that hee had done, being arriued at *Palyllidia*; a ſickenneſſe ſeized on him, whereof hee dyed in May, in the yeare 1586. and was enterred at *Seuill*, in the Monastery of the Charter-houſe Monkes. During his life time, he was a man very patient in all his Trauails, and in foure voyages which hee made into the *Indies*, both founde and conquered many Countries, vnto vnknowne before; beſide, hee builded a great part of the Towns and Caſtles in the Iſle of *Hiſpaniola*, purchaſing great renowne, by bringing to end many actions, ſo well deſerving glory and fame; that his name can neuer be forgotten, or *Spaine* ceaſe to ſpeake in giuing him ſuch true honour as hee worthily merited.

The two wo-
rthy ſonnes to
Chriſtopher
Columbus.

The Library
of Don Fer-
dinando, ſon
to *Chriſtopher*
Columbus.

He had two Sonnes, *Don Diego*, who was married to *Madam Maria de Tolleida*, daughter to *Don Ferdinando*, great Commandadore of *Leon*; and *Don Ferdinando*, who was neuer married, but hee had a Library, conſiſting of more then twelue thouſand Volumes, and which (at this

preſent) is in the Conuent of Saint *Dominico* at *Seuill*, a worthy deede of the ſon to ſo famous a Father. As for King *Ferdinand*, he dyed in the yeare of our Lord, one thouſand ſiue hundred and ſixtene, hauing reigned fortie and two yeares, in the two kingdomes of *Caſtile* and *Arago*: Queene *Elizabeth* his wiſe dyed before him, in the yeare of our Lord God, 1604.

Before wee cloſe vp this Diſcourſe of the *New-found World*, it ſhall not varie much from the matter, to ſpeake of a ſtrange opinion, among the people there naturally liuing; concerning the firſt men that euer were in the world, and likewiſe of the generall Flood or Deluge, as I doe finde it ſet downe by the worthy Gentleman of *France*, *Anthony du Verdier*, lord of *Vaſprinas*, in this manner.

Among the Inhabitants of the Weaſt *Indies*, or *New world*, a common and generall receiued opinion was embraced with them, that (at the beginning of the world) from the Septentrionall or Northern partes, there came a man called *Con*, or *Conon*, who had no bones in his whole body, and therefore went verie quicke and lightly, much ſhortening the wayes, abating the hills and mountains, and raiſing the lowe-layd vallies, onlie with his word and will, and named himſelfe to be the ſonne of the Sunne.

This man filled the earth with men and women, which hee produced, giuing vnto them diuers fruites, and other things neceſſary for humane life. But by a diſpleaſure hee receiued from them, hee conuerted the earth (which hee before had freely giuen them) into a drie and barren ſand, and tooke away the raine alſo, that it ſhould neuer more ſhowre downe, nor moiſture any place. Yet, as pitying their miſery, hee left them riuers onely, to the end, that they might conſerue themſelves, in watering the grounds by theyr owne paine and labour.

At length came one *Pachamo*, who was like-wiſe ſonne both to the Sunne and Moone; and (hauing expelled or baniſhed *Conon*) conuerted thoſe men into Cattes; and afterward created other men. The people tooke this man to be a God, and ſo he was generally reputed: vntill the Chriſtians came into thoſe countries, hauing erected a very good Temple vnto him.

The peoples
opinion of the
firſt men in
the world, &
of the deluge

Con, or Co-
non, a man
without bones
in his ſkil.

A heauie diſ-
pleaſure con-
ueiued by Co-
non againſt
men.

Pachamo
came and ex-
pelled *Conon*.

CHAP. III.

¶ Of the Excellencie and Dignitie of Marriage: with many singular and worthy examples, tending to that purpose.



Concerning our present argument, we haue had a chapter already in our former Volume, declaring verie much good matter to that effect, but yet iustly deferring this addition or supplement; in regard, that nothing can be sayd too much in the honour of Marriage. This holy institution of Marriage, was made in the earthly Paradise before sinne, in the time of Innocencie, when as God said to our first Parents, *Bring forth fruit, and multiply, and fill the earth.* But it was not brought to effect, untill the offence by them committed, and for which, they were expulged out of the terrestriall Paradise: as Saint Ierome hath obserued in his Booke against Iouinian.

After the vniuersall Deluge, God gaue command to the good Patriarch Noah againe, *To encrease and multiply*, which is the principall occasion, wherefore Marriage was ordayned, and hath euer since beene so generally recommended: that it hath beene, and is permitted to aged and decrepite people (free from all power of encreasing, and out of hope of any linage) to marry: which yet is expedient for them (if I might say so) to the end, that they may passe their age the more ioyously, as in the kinde company of husband and wife, receiuing pleasure, solace, consolation, and comfortable seruices each to other. Euen as hereof we haue an example by David, who (in his very old age) tooke a yong maiden to wife, as namely, *Abigail* the Shunamite, with whom hee ordinarily lay, and shee slept in the bosome of the King, warming and comforting him, and yet the King knew her not carnally.

They beleeue an end of the world; but that a great drought shall goe before it, and that the Sunne and Moone (which they all adore and reuerence) shall loose themselves. And, vpon this occasion, they make cries and lamentations whensoever the Ecclypses happen: but especially them of the Sunne, as fearing then, that the Sunne, they, and all the whole World, shall be quite consumed and destroyed together.

What more holy, chaste, assured, and acceptable societie can be amongst men, then that of the husband and wife? Oh! how heavenly an harmony, when the one

The Lord Verderis addition to the former Chapter of Pedro Mexia.

Gene. 1. 28.

Hirom in his contr. a. 100.

Gene. 9. 17

The oldest aged people not permitted to marry.

King David's marriage in his old age. 3 Kings 1. 4.

The iust and worthy commendations of Marriage, according to the diuine & original institution.

Chap. 3. The Dignitie of Marriage.

is as the other, two bodies, one soule, one spirit, one will, and one mutual consent (sympathizing in two bodies) The sole married man and his wife, enny not one another, but loue infinitely together, each depending vpon the other, shee reposing in him, and he in her: euen as one selfe same flesh, one and the same concord, alike equally in all things; and all but one: One ioy, one sorrow, one wealth, one poverty, one gaine, one losse, and one selfe same dignitie. They are alwayes companions of one selfe same bed, one and the same table. *Therefore they shall be two in one flesh* (said God) *and not three, or many.*

God would by no means haue in the Ark of Noah, to be any more women then men, to the end that they should all be as one sole woman. In briefe, the loue of the husband to the wife, and of the wife to her husband, surpasseth that of father and mother to their children, of children vnto the father; and that which brothers and sisters ought to haue together. And like as the Ring which the husband (euen as God) puts on the finger of his Spouse or wife (as the soule to the Church) ought to be of golde, and round, as gold, being the most excellent of all metallies: euen so this coniugal loue exceedeth all other, and ought to continue perpetually. And as Propertius saith: *Omnis amor magno, sed aperto in coniuge maior. Enery loue is great, but in wedlocke it appeareth to be much greater.* For, Father, Mother, Children, Brethren, Sisters, Cousins and Friends, all these are the workes of Fortune: but the Husband and the Wife are Mysteries of Almightie GOD: And man had his Wife, and Wife had her Husband, before there was eyther Father, Mother, or Children.

The fruits of Marriage are of Almightie GOD, and of not of Nature, from whence it ensueth, that children borne out of Marriage, that is to say, Bastards, are called Naturall onely, but they which proceede of loyall Marriage, are sayd to be Legitimate. And therefore, the opinion of Lawyers, is, *That a childe borne out of marriage, hath no certaine father, but we may well say, a bad or lewd mother. He* (say they) *is the Sonne of the people, or else the Sonne of no body, that is the Sonne of an unmarried woman.* Onely marriage then (which Baldus calleth, *The principle, origi-*

nall and foundation of Mankind) maketh Children and Heires certayne, augmenteth kindred, engendereth amitie among Allies, reuerenceth and pleaseeth God.

Holy Marriage was so pleasing to the Authour thereof, that he would haue his onely Sonne, to be borne of a married woman, and although it was his will, to be borne of a Virgine, without the feede of a man; yet was it not without the honour of Marriage. For it pleased him, to proceed from a Mother married, yet pure neuertheless, exempt from any carnall soyling: elected to be the Arke of the Testament, the Bush not burning, and the Violl of golde to contayne the celestiall Manna; as well to declare the wonders of his infinite power, as to make that sacred estate so much the more honorable. Witness the presence of the same son of God himselfe, at the matiage of *Cana in Galilee*, where expressing his gracious loue & furtherance, he conuerted water into wine, by an especial and extraordinary miracle.

Moreover, there is not the name of any house or stocke, but (without a woman) it would be quite extinct: neither kindred perpetuated, family increased, or a Common wealth continue in intire condition, or any Empire hold, without such help which the first founders of the *Romaine* Empire approued; for, they hauing no wiues, desired the Daughters of the *Sabines*, their neighbors, but they would not grant the. Whereupon, there followed rape or stealth of 683, of them, which procured a mighty & mortall warre, betwixt the *Romans* and the said *Sabines*: albeit *Romulus* well foresawe, that his Empire could not last, without women. For, the Citty being composed of houses, and the Common-wealth of chosen Princes, both domesticke and familliers, how shall he gouerne a Citty, that hath not learned what it is to gouerne a priuate house? The Philosopher *Socrates* testifieth, to haue learned more morall Philosophie of women, then euer he could naturall, of *Alexander* and *Archelaus*.

Assuredly, Marriage giues exercitation to morall Philosophie: there is a domesticall Common-wealth conioyned therewith, and in it selfe. For the gouernement whereof, a man may easily experiment the power of wisdom, temperance, pietie, & all other vertues whereby louing his

Kkkk

The great glory done by God to the honorable estate of Marriage, as also at the wedding in Cana in Galilee.

The manifold great blessings that enstie to the world by women in marriage.

Diogenes Laertius, in lib. 2.

Socrates learned Morall Philosophy of women.

Marriage occasions great exercise to morall Philosophy.

Oracles and Answers of iduells in their Temple by Lima.

Their opinion concerning a general deluge or drowning of the world.

By what means they gathered the cessation of the waters.

Their acknowledgement of the world's ending.

wife, enſtrucking his children, ruling his family, protecting his goodes, ordering his houſe, and encreasing his race; the yeares of his life, will pace on the more happily. Whereas on the contrary, hee that ſeeketh to ſpend his life time without being married; is miſerable, and worthe to be abandoned of all men.

The Lawe of Lycurgus made for the yong men of Lacedaemon.

For this cauſe, *Lycurgus* made a Lawe to the *Lacedaemonians*, that all ſuch as had attained vnto the age of eight and thirty yeares, without enioying women in marriage; ſhould be baniſhed in ſomer time, from all publique playes, ſpectacles and paſtimes, iudging them as vnworthie, to be ſeene there amongſt other in an open aſſembly. And in winter, they were led out naked, in the common view of the people, becauſe they ſhould be outraged and abuſed by words and exclamations of every one, deteſted as vnworthie the name of men. And themſelues enioyned to confeſſe, that they ſuffered theſe afflictions iuſtly, as hauing ſcorned and deſpiſed that religion: whereof they were preuaricators, and diſobedient to the ordinance of Nature.

As concerning the Romans, they were not altogether ſo ſtrict and ſeuere, & yet ordained, that ſuch as had liued without marriage till their olde age: ſhould be condemned in payment of a great ſumme of money to the publique Treafury, according to their quality and facultie. *Plato* appointed in his lawes, that ſuch men as were not married, ſhould enioy no honor eſtate, or publique dignity: but to be more charged with fines and mulcts, then any of the other Citizens.

A yong man of *Lacedaemon*, would not ariſe out of his place in the publique Theater, to giue way and honour to a valiant ancient Captaine (neer married) named *Callidus*, who was come thither to ſee the paſtimes. And the Captaine growing offended at the arrogancy of the yong man becauſe he diſdained him in that manner, gaue him ſome words of heat and choler, whereto the yong man returned him this anſwer. *O Callidus, thou haſt not (as yet) begotten, neither occaſioned the birth of any one that being now at mine age, and unmarried as thou art, may ariſe hereafter to giue me place, and therefore no other eſtimate is to be made of thee.* The Romans in the time of *Metellus* Conſull, eſtabliſhed many fa-

He in iuſtitia deſeruiſſet uel curat.

mous and worthy priuiledges for newe married perſons; and for ſuch as had three ſons, as may be ſeen in the *Digeſt*, of ſuch as had ten. And our greateſt Diuines, ſet downe twelue cauſes, the which hinder a man from marriage, and doe yet diſannull marriage, although it be conſummated & children procreated. As namely error, con ition, vow, parentage, ſin, to wit, of adultery or murder, diuerſity & difference in religion, violence, prophanes in Priethood, or profeſſion of a falſe religio, bond and promiſe of contrary marriage, as being otherwiſe contracted, honeſty, affinity, and inhability. Al theſe twelue, are bars and hinderances to marriage, according as Cardinall *Caietane* hath comprehended them in theſe verſes.

Error conditio, votum, cognatio, crimen, Cultus diſparitas, uis, ordo, ligamen, honeſtas Si ſis affinis, ſi forte coire nequebis: Haec ſocianda vetant conubia, ſuſta reſtrahunt.

Cerd. Caietan in Sum. Diſt. 19

I haue a great deſire to diſcoure particularly on every one of theſe cauſes, if I had not ſuch a multitude of other matters to ſpeake of: let therefore (for this time) ſuffice that which hath bin ſaid. And for ſuch as are louers of Poetrie, I referre them to the renowned Poet *Scauola de S. Martha*, partly turned and imitated out of the ſiſte booke of *Marcellus Palingenius*, a Latine Poet, in his Zodiack of Life, where he ſingeth elegantly in the praife of Marriage.

CHAP. III.

Of Partharites, King of the Lombards, who being purſued by Grimoald, fledde firſt to Cacanur, King of the Auarians or Huns, afterward into France. And in the end of ter many heavy and troubleſom Trauayls; was (with great honor and renowne, ſeated in his owne kingdom.



Partharites was ſonneto *Albert* King of the Lombards, who (after the death of his father) reigned at *Myllaine*; and *Gondebert* his brother, at *Pauiæ*.

A ſtrife and quarrell, growing betwene the two Brethren, *Gondebert*

ſent

Paulus Diaconus ſets down this hiſtorie more at large.

ſent *Garibald*, Duke of *Thurine*, towards *Grimoald*, Duke of *Beneuentum*, a verie generous Captaine and Commaunder, requiring his aſſiſtance againſt *Partharites*, with ſolemne promiſe, of giuing him his Siſter in marriage. But *Garibald* intending treaſon to his Lord and Maſter; perſwaded *Grimoald*, to come and poſſeſſe the kingdom to his owne uſe, which (thorow diſcord betwene the two brethren) was growne to weake eſtate, and verie neare vpon viter ruine.

Grimoald gaue ouer his Dukedome to his Sonne, in hope of a Kingdom.

When *Grimoald* vnderſtood this, hee gaue ouer his Dukedome of *Beneuentum* to his ſonne, creating him there as abſolute Duke, and, with the greateſt forces he could get together, prepared his iourney for *Pauiæ*; and in all cities and towns as he paſſed along, begot himſelfe ſtore of friends, for his better helpe in obtaing the kingdom. Being come to *Pauiæ*, and entering into priuate conference with *Gondebert*: by cloſe praſtice and intelligence with *Garibald*, *Gondebert* was ſlaine at a Banquet, and he made poſſeſſour of the kingdom. No ſooner did *Partharites* heare theſe ſad tydings, but, leauing faire *Rhodolinda* his wife and Queene, and a yong ſonne of his (both confined by *Grimoald* to *Beneuentum* for cloſe cuſtody) fled ſecretly away, making his recourſe to *Cacanur*, king of the *Auarians* or *Hunnes*.

Partharites fled and left his kingdom.

Grimoald hauing made ſure his Kingdom at *Pauiæ*, and vnderſtanding, that *Partharites* ſecured his ſafetie with *Cacanur*: ſent Ambaſſadours to him, to let him know, that if hee kept *Partharites* in his kingdom, no long peace ſhould continue betwene him and the *Lombardes*, but he muſt expect a King as his enimie. According to this Ambaſſage, the King of the *Auarians* called *Partharites* to him in ſecrecy, deſiring him, that he would wander whither himſelfe pleaſed: becauſe (thorow his meanes) the *Auarians* might not fall into the hatred of the *Lombardes*. And ſo, vpon a royall, ſad and mutuall interchange of woſull lamentations on eyther ſide, the two kings parted, as might haue moued pity in Marble to behold it.

Grimoald ſuffered not Partharites to abide with Cacanur.

A hard caſe, when a King is conſtrained to truſt to his enemy for ſuccour.

Partharites, fruſtrated now of all helpe and comfort, returning into *Italie* againe: purpoſed his repaire to his enimie *Grimoald*, conſiding on his kingly clemencie, becauſe hee waſt delitute of any other ſuccour. And being come neare to the

City of *Lody*, he called to a Gentleman of his, named *Vnulpus*, in whom his intimate truſt wholly conſiſted, ſending him before, to acquaint *Grimoald* with his coming, and to deale iuſtly for his ſafetie. *Vnulpus* preſented himſelfe before the new-made King, viſing ſuch wife and honourable language to him, concerning *Partharites* his King and Maſter, making recourſe to his royall mercie, and truſting only in his goodneſſe; that he would ſeely ſubmit himſelfe to him, if he (with the like benigneſtie) would vouchſafe to embrace him.

Vnulpus a loall ſeruant to Partharites

So effectually did *Vnulpus* deliuer his meſſage, and *Grimoald* (eyther in pride or pleaſure) accept it: that hee promiſed and ſware vpon his faith, no diſpleſure ſhould any way be done to the King his maſter, he might come when he would, & builde ſecurely vpon his faith. *Vnulpus*, hauing brought backe this anſwere to *Partharites*, hee went and preſented himſelfe before *Grimoald*, meercely proſtrate at his feete, who took him vp graciously, & in moſt friendly manner kiſſed him: where vpon, *Partharites* beganne thus: Siſth I am your humble vailſaile and ſeruant, and knowing you to be moſt Chriſtian, and a faithfull louer of pietie: though I might liue ſafe among Pagans, yet, building vpon your mildneſſe and mercy, I am come, and heere yeeld my ſelfe at your feete.

Partharites preſented himſelfe before Grimoald.

Conference between Grimoald and Partharites.

Grimoald viſing his accuſtomed oathes, promiſed him, ſaying *By him that made me to be borne, ſeeing you haue put your ſelfe into my power, you ſhall ſuffer no harme anie what ſoener; but I will take ſuch order, that you ſhall liue well and honorably.* So he commanded him a conuenient lodging, with entertainment anſwerable to his quality, and all things afforded to him in plentifull maner. *Partharites* being departed from the King, to ſuch place as was appoynted for him; it came to paſſe, that the people flocke and referred daily thither (hauing formerly knowne & honoured him) earneſtly deſiring to ſee and ſalute him.

Grimoald his proteſtations to Partharites and the honorable intertainment he gaue him.

But ſee how ready euill tongues are to commit miſchiefe, diuers flatterers and audacious Informers, obſeruing the peoples kind greetings to *Partharites*: reported it in ſuch maner to *Grimoald*, that they incited him very ſtrangely, perſwading him, that if he did not the ſooner procure

Sycophantes and flatterers are alwayes too neare a roo king and princes.

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the death of *Partharites*, hee would bee shaken out of his kingdom, yea, and lose his life likewise; for *Partharites* lodging seemed now, rather to be a Court then his. *Grimald* being a man over-easie in beleefe, and led away with the least persuasions; became so confounded with ieaousie and distrust, that (never remembering his solemn oathes and promises) he fell into an extraordinary rage, and in extremity of heate and choller, swore the death of innocent *Partharites*, wanting nothing but aduice and meanes, how it might both safely and sodainly bee effected.

Now, because it grew somewhat late, and on the morrow the deed must needs be done; he caused (that Evening) great store of delicate meates and wines to be sent to *Partharites*, purposely to make him drunke: that being overcome with eating and drinking, and all his senses possessed with drowinesse, hee might haue the lesse care of his health, and so his life be the sooner betrayed. But a Gentleman who before had serued the father of *Partharites*, and brought him these Juncks from the King: stooping his head lowe beneath the table, as doing him reuerence and embracing his knee, secretly reuealed to him, how *Grimald* had concluded his death, and that this nightes iouial drinking supper, must be a solemne induction thereto.

Heereupon, *Partharites* immediately, (but very couertly) gaue order vnto his Cup bearer and Taster, to fill and bring him no other drinke all supper while, but some small quantities of water onely, and in his private siluer Bowle. So that the Courtiers (who were sent to keepe him company) gawling and carowling many healths of the King to *Partharites*, desiring him still to pledge them in like manner, as thereby expressing his loue to the King: *Partharites* accepted all their feuerall charges, procteling all honor and reuerence to *Grimald*, rowling vp cup after cup as readily as they, seeming as merrie as any of them all, and yet drank nothing else but water. Supper being ended, and the Courtiers returning back to the king, reported the iocund behavior of *Partharites*, and how forward still he was in turning off his owne Bolle, as readily as they did theirs, and neuer refused to pledge his

Highnesse health, thinking him to be very farre spent with wine. Whereat *Grimald* heartily reioycing, merrily saide; *Alas poore silly Drunkard, little thinkest thee, that the Wine and his blood will mingle on the earth to morrow together, in despite of all the friends he hath.*

The same night, he sent strong guards to watch about the house where *Partharites* was lodged, because he should haue no meanes to escape, nor any friends com to giue him assistance. But the poor harmlesse Prince, when supper was past, and all the Courtiers departed thence (relying alone in his Chamber, & none with him but *Vnphus*, and a Page that vied to waite neerest about, to helpe his Garments both off and on, they being both his faithfull seruants, and in whom he reposed most confidence:) he discovered plainly to them, how peremptorily his death was concluded on by *Grimald*, and what a strong watch was set round about his lodging, so that now their poor Lord and Maisters life must needs penith by his treachery.

Vnphus hauing a prompt and readie witte, louing his Lord deere, & caring for no danger to himselfe, so hee might set him free from perill: by means of certaine Blankets belonging to a bedde, and a Beares skinne which he found there in his chamber by chance, so substantially he disguised *Partharites*, that it was impossible to distinguish him from a mere Country Boore or Pezant, and his counterfeiting drunkenness, made the matter to seeme the more likely. *Vnphus* had gotten a good Taggot-slick, and pretending sweating, with beating that drunken Raicall (for so, and sometimes worse he commonly called him) tumbled him first downe the staires, and lastly out of doores, labouring still as if he had giuen many fore blowes. Which when the Guardes there attending perceyued, they demanded of *Vnphus*, what was the matter? Hee answered, saying: Here is a drunken laue, who while the Lordes were heere at Supper with *Partharites*, hath secretly gotten in, and stolne himselfe stark drunke, keeping such a terrible noise, that my Lord (who is as drunk as hee) I feare can take no rest, and by no meanes would I haue him to bee disturbed.

The best and quickest witted drincker, may somtime be deceived.

Partharites discouered his danger to *Vnphus* and his Page.

The cleauntly thurst of *Vnphus* to loose the life of his kingly master

Vnphus cunningly beguiled the Guard and gaineth the escape of *Partharites*.

No

The death of *Partharites* is vowed by *Grimald*.

One of *Grimald*'s owne Gentlemen bewayed the treason.

The wisdom of *Partharites* in preventing the Treason prepared for him.

No doubt at all made the Guardes of *Vnphus* his words, but laughing, to see the slaue belabored so lustily, suffered him to driue him on before him, bidding him beate still, and spare him not. While the Guardes stood laughing at this merry iest, no man needed to bid them make haft, & *Partharites* being quickly got out of sight, *Vnphus* returned to the lodging, which made the Guardes the more confidently perswaded, and secured the King from all pursuite. Moreover, after the Kings departure in that manner, the faithfull Page kept the doore lockt vp fast, till *Vnphus* was returned againe: where they two onely remained in the chamber, praying for their Kings prosperous successe; who arrived that night at the Towne of *Aste*, and from thence (passing the mountaines) went into *France*.

On the morrow mornng, messengers came from the King, to bring *Partharites* to the Pallace, and beating at the doore, the Page spake out at the windowe, saying: Good Gentlemen forbear, his Maicestie hath drunke somewhat hard, is very sleepey, and therefore I pray yet trouble not his rest. Where to they in modestly yielding, went and reported the same to *Grimald*, who well liked that he should sleep so long: yet sent them againe in all haste, and howsoever (awake or asleepe) to bring him away with them. The Souldiers learning to displease the king, came and knocked earnestly at the doore; but being intreated by the Page, as aforesaid, they boldly broke the doore open, & seeking for *Partharites* in his bed, found him not, which made them to demand, what was become of him; & the Page said, he was fled.

Prefently were *Vnphus* and the Page seized on, and haled furiously to the Pallace, where being brought before the king, with vnappalled countenance, they tolde, that the King had escaped with life, discovering the manner truly how, and dreading no infiction for the fact. When *Grimald* had aduicely considered on their faith and loyalty, he called them feuerally againe before him, wishing he had such an other faithfull Page, exhorting him earnestly to keepe his loyalty to his Lord *Partharites*, promising to recompence him worthily for it. *Vnphus* afterwards was brought againe before him, and the king greatly commending both his wisdom

& honesty, demanded, whether he would chuse to liue with him in good grace and acceptance, or follow *Partharites* in the extremity of his fortunes? where to *Vnphus* said, with an oath, That he would rather chuse to die with *Partharites*, in all torments whatsoever; then liue any where else, with all the pleasures and delights that the world could giue him.

The same demand was also made to the Page, & his answer was the like in effect: whereon the King highly extolling their vnpareld loyalty; prayed them both, to command whatsoever his Court afforded, & go in all safety to seek their master. Provided of all things they could desire or carry with them, and securitie granted for their safe passage; they set onward to *France*, in a longing desire to meete with *Partharites*; as soone after they did, to great ioy and comfort on euery side. But first, newes being abroad, that *Grimald* had vnited peace with *Dagobert* King of *France*: it made *Partharites* fearful of some close ambushes to be layed for him, & so he might be sent backe to *Grimald* againe: which made him forlake *France*, & to ship himselfe for *England*: all which calamities happened to him, before his two faithfull seruants could any where finde him.

Being on the Sea all together, and (in hope of good successe) bound for *England*, they had not past a full league from land: But *Partharites* heard a voyce, seeming to come directly from the shore where hee took shipping, demanding in this manner: *Speake there, is Partharites in the ship, or not?* *Partharites* replied without pausing: *I who is it that calleth Partharites? I am that most unhappy man, and (blessed be heauen) heere I am.* Tell him then (answered the voyce) his native Country calles him home, and further he may not goe, for, within three dayes, *Grimald* is dead. *Partharites* amazed at this strange accident, required fauor to be landed with his seruants againe; but could neuer know him that tolde those tidings of *Grimald*'s death, which made him verily perswaded, that it was no mortal man, but his owne good Angell, that thus entrusted him, after his passing thorow so many miseries.

Partharites returning home againe, towards his owne native Countrey, hee was no sooner arrived at the limites of *Italy*; but he met there with a goodly com-

The worthy answer of a loyal and constant seruant.

The honorable dealing of *Grimald* with *Vnphus* and the Page, sending them atter their royal Maister.

A strange and myraculous accident happening to *Partharites*, saying towards *England*.

Grimald sends for *Partharites* to the Pallace, in hope to execute his will vpon him.

Vnphus and the Page violently haled to Court, & the whole matter consided.

Kkkk 3 pany

pany of *Lombards*, with Laurell wreaths on their heads, and Palme branches in their hands, who purpofely attended there for his coming, and fo conducted him joyfully to *Paula*; from whence, the Sonne of *Grimoald* being expelled, he was there (by generall confent) created abfolute King of the *Lombards*, within three moneths after the death of *Grimoald*. He difpatched Pofts to *Beneuentum*, in queft of *Rodefinde* his Queene and Wife, as alfo his Sonne *Cunibert*. And being a man pious, Catholique, a great obferuer of Iuftice, and charitable to the poore; fofoon as he was quietly feated in his kingdom, he builded a goodly Monaftery, neere vnto the Riuier *Theffina*, in which fometime he had concealed himfelfe, when he was enforced from place to place; dedicating the Temple to Gods feruice, and in honour of S. *Agatha* the Virgin & Martyr, planting therein many religious virgins, and endowing it with great liberality of rents and reuenues. His Queene alfo, after her many troubles, and long feparation from her husband, erected the Church of our Lady without the walles, beftowing infinite rich and precious ornaments thereon. And at length, *Partharites* (having reigned eightene yeares) changed this mortall life for a better, to the great greefe of his loving Subiects the *Lombards*.

Nor may we here omit to fay fomething of *Garibald*, Duke of *Thurine*, the beginner of this poore Princes calamities. He hauing infligated (as hath bin related) *Grimoald*, Duke of *Beneuentum*, to murder *Gondebert*, King of the *Lombards*, treacheroufly: within no long while after, a certaine meane man, of little or no refpect at all, coming to the City of *Thurine*, and vnderftanding, that *Garibald* would be in the cheefe Church on Eaft day neere enſuing; flood on the ſteps of the Font for baptiſme, leaning careleſſly on his left arme, by a collome of the Tabernacle, being at the very entrance into the Church, hauing a weapon ready drawne vnder his Cloake. So ſoone as *Garibald* came to bee neere him; he (not fearing all the traine about him) ſuddenly ran the Rapier quite through his body, that inſtantly he fell downe dead. Such as attended *Garibald*, being ſomewhat amazed at ſo vnexpected an accident, purſu-

ing the murderer, could faſten no hold on him, vntill they had ſlaine him, with many weapons being in his body at once. So, although he loſt his life; yet courageouſly he reuenged the iniurious act, committed on *Gondebert* his Lord & Maſter.

CHAP. V.

What manner of men thoſe were and are, that be called Doctōrs of Sorbonne, or Sorbonnifts.



Am ſure there are many, that neuer ſaw the goodly, rich, populous, commodious, and well gouerned City and Vniuerſity of *Paris*; yet diuers that haue ſeene it, or read the Antiquities thereof, may perhaps be ignorant, what kinde of men they are, that beare the title or name of Doctōrs of *Sorbonne*. For all other Doctōrs are honoured by thoſe Cities names, wherein they receiued their degrees: As Doctōrs of *Louaine*, of *Poitiers*, of *Down*, of *Tholeſſa*, of *Montpelier*, of *Paula*, of *Bologna*, of *Tubinge*, of *Fribourge*, and ſo of diuers other. But the Doctōrs in diuinity of *Sorbonne*, beare their name, not of the City where they receiued their licenſes and degrees Doctōrall; but of the place peculiarly. A matter which hath much amazed many, & raiſed doubt in diuers others, that neuer had the happineſſe to viſit *Paris* in which reſpect, I purpoſe to ſet down the true originall thereof, how, and vpon what occaſion it came ſo to paſſe.

It is to be vnderſtood, as I haue elſewhere ſaide, that the courſe of nature will ſooner faile; then people be any other but as their Princes are, as *Caſiodorus* ſaith. King *Lewis*, ninth of that name, reigning King in *France*, whereas other Princes deuiſed (euen as to this day many do) how to build Palaces & vnprofitable houſes, for pride, luxury and prodigality: this holy & religious King cauſed Churches to be erected, Hoſpitals, Abbeyes, Colledges, & other places of piety in imitation of whom, many of his Subiects, & other

All Doctōrs, except they of *Sorbonne*, are inſtituted by names of the Cities & Vniuerſities where they were graduat

The holy life of *Lewis* the ninth, commonly called *Saint Lewis*.

other ſtrangers did the like.

Amongſt other, there was a Diuine of the Kings houſe, his Almoner, and one of his Preachers, who was thought to be provided of ſome good Benefice; yet neyther enriched his kinned, or ſpent his reuenues in vanities, as too many churchmen now adayes vſe to doe. This good man was called Maſter *Robert de Sorbonne*: but to relate further, of what Nation hee was, or of what Family, hath ſcarcely (as yet) bene diſcouered by any. In briefe, mooued in great pietie, and by the example of his King; hee bought a place, which vſually was called in Latine, *Locum Termarum Caſaris*, that is to ſay, The place of *Caſars Bathes*: And it is ſayd, that *Julian*, Nephew the Emperour *Conſtantine*, Gouernour of the *Gauls*, cauſed thoſe Bathes to be builded, and the Lodgings of *Clany*, which then were without the City of *Paris*, and as plaſes of pleaſure: according as we read in ſome Epiſtles, which *Julian* wrote to them of *Antioche*. The ſaide *Julian* was afterwards Emperour, ſinamed the Apoſtata by the Chriſtians. And then, ſuch as pretended to the Imperiall Crowne, termed themſelues *Caſars*: as now at this day, ſuch as are deſigned Emperours after him liuing, are called Kings of the *Romaines*.

In this place there is apparance, that there the *Caſars* Bathes were, as evidently may be diſcerned, by the channells of hewne ſtone, which were found in the yeare of our Lord God, one thouſand five hundred forty and foure, at the gate of *Saint James*, when Baſtions and Rampires were then made, to reſiſt the forces of *Charles* the ſixt, Emperour, who was entred into *France* with a mighty army. Which gutters or cōducts of water, were continued from the village of *Arceuil* (ſo named, in regarde of Arches builded of Bricke, as yet to this preſent are to be ſeene; or of the Latine compounded word *Aqua ductio*) and reaching into *Paris*. Thoſe conduct of water ſerued well for thoſe Bathes, and were needfull now to be renewed, to water the higher parts of the Vniuerſitie of *Paris* (which haue great neede thereof) if my maiſters the *Eſchenins*, would therein employ their paines.

As already hath bene ſayd, this place was builded to bathe or waſh the *Romain*

Emperours, Conſulls, Proconſulls, and ſuch like, and was bought by the ſaid Maſter *Robert Sorbonne*, in the yeare of our Lord, one thouſand two hundred threeſcore and foure. If you deſire to know, to whom (as then) that place appertayned; I muſt therein confeſſe mine ignorance, although I haue made good ſearch in the euidences, belonging to that place of *Sorbonne*, & elſewhere (ſpecifying large rents & reuenues thereto belonging, yet much enlarged by the bounty of *K. Lewis* 9 King of *France*, and others, calling it only *Sorbonne*) and finding it appoynted, to maintain a certayne number of Doctōrs, who ſhould reade publickly in Diuinitie, and alſo of Batchellers to ſtudy, there to be lodged and maintained. Whereupon, from that time to this preſent, the Profeſſors, Batchellers, and other Students in this Colledge, did endeouore themſelues ſo induſtriouſly, and became ſo capable; as there is hardly any other Colledge throughout all Chriſtendome, wherein may be found men ſo ready and exact in Diuinitie, as they are that belong to this *Sorbonne* Colledge.

The Students in this Houſe, are not (as commonly elſewhere) young men, but wel ſtept in yeares; becauſe they haue read publickly, enſtruing the courſe of Philoſophie, which is perſormed in three yeares, in regard there are as many parts, which are *Logicke*, *Phyſicke* and *Metaſphyſicke*. And many times ſome ſuch are there, that haue made three courſes, which are nine yeares, and employed by them in publique Lectures; before they will adventure to ſtudy or reade publickly in Diuinitie; and therefore it is no matter of maruell, that there ſhould continually be ſuch ſingularly learned men in that Colledge.

The Doctōrs and Batchellers, ouer & beſide their being great Philoſophers, are likewiſe very ſkillfull in humane learning, and vnderſtand the tongues, *Greeke*, *Latine* and *Hebrew*, ſpeaking them (for the moſt part) eloquently. They are held in ſuch reputation, that (commonly) they deale in the greateſt difficulties, and in all Eccleſiaſtical occaſions, their aduice is wholly vſed; the Colledge being reputed as one of the beſt Bulwarks to the *Romain* Catholique Church, and ſo accounted through Chriſtendome.

Very

Bathes for the emperours and conſulls of Rome.

Vpon what occaſion, and to what end the Colledge of *Sorbonne* was erected.

The Batchellers of *Sorbonne*, how they become to be learned.

A goodly Monaftery builded by *Partharites*, neere to the Riuier *Theffina* in Italy.

A further profection of the Hiſtory, concerning *Garibald*, the Duke of *Thurine*.

Garibald ſlain in the cheefe Church vpon Eaſter day, by a poore filly fellow.

Aqueducts or Gutters for conveying of water from *Arceuil* to *Paris*.

CHAP. VI.

Very laborious are they in their disputations of the sacred Scriptures, resolute, and of great vnderstanding, and the generall disputes vsed in this Colledge, are on euery Friday after the Feasts of S. Peter & S. Paul, in the Moneth of Iune, vntill the Solemnity of the Feast of All-Saints, the answerer standing there from morning till evening, and bound to answer all the Batchellors Questions, which commonly are about two hundred in number, euery one keeping his ranke and place: nor is there any President, to support him that answereth, whereas all other faculties do not obferue any such order. It is reported, that this custome was introduced by a religious man, of the order of S. Francis, who (to make prooffe of his knowledge) kept open the Schoole all the whole day: and his fellowes, coueting after as much honour as hee had; continued the same course, so that whatsoever consisted in the will of the arguers and answerers, became conuerted into an inuioable loue.

Learned Doctors are as Assistants there, to the end they may iudge on the merit of men, and vnderstand withall, to whom the prime places for Licences are to be giuen. And thus you see, why all Doctors in the facultie of diuinity, which receiue their degrees in that place of Sorbonnes, are stiled by an Emphasis, Doctors of Sorbonne, or Sorbonnists, because that there are principall acts obserued, to approue the learning of any, that would aspire to haue the degree of a Doctor. And this place is particularly noted, as well for antiquity (hauing bene one of the appurtenances to the Pallace Imperiall, at such time as the Romanes were Lords of Gaule, as I declared in the beginning of this Chapter.) As also in regard of the famous men, renowned for their learning and knowledge, that liue (ordinarily) in a sacred society in that Colledge. In which respect, the most part of the best Cities in France, Bishoppicks and Collegiate Churches, resort thither, to make choyse of their Diuines, to provide them of Prebends, and other reuennues meete for such men.

That the Law of the Emperour Senerus, and that of Solon, for promoting any one to Office and Authority in the Common-wealth (being first informed, of a mans life & good manners) was much better then those of the Venetians, Florentines, Genewayes and Lucanes; examining after the time of their In-risdition is past.



He Emperour Senerus, the eighteenth, reigning in the yearre of Iesus Christ, 196. albeit that he was no Christian; yet (after the example of Christianity) wold ordinarily say: *That it was great shame, to bee lesse careful of the life of a Governor, or one that exerciseth the place of iudgement; then the Christians were, in the quality of their Shepheards and Watchmen ouer their Flocks. For they obserued a kinde of Siquis, or a Bill fixed vpon Posts, wherein were set downe the names of such as aspired to any Ecclesiasticall dignity, and examined their liues and behaviour with strictest severity.* In the very same manner, this good Emperour, when hee intended to provide any man for the gouernment of a Prouince, or place where iudgment was to be vsed, or whatsoever else appeared requisite: wold first set vp publike Placards, or Bills of inscription, in diuers places about the City, to the ende, that if any notorious vice were knowne, or criminall cause deseruing open detection, in such as were named in those publike Placards: it was lawfull for all men, to accuse or set downe their blemishes & incapacities, that no wicked or vnworthy person, might be aduanced to such degree of eminency. Thus euery one, and all in generall were permitted to accuse; but yet on penalty of life, if it should be proved to be scandall or calumination, and thereupon, an especial Law was ordained and enrouled expressely.

In my poore opinion, this Law seemeth much more honest and equall, then those

Laupridius in the life of the said Alexander Senerus.

Placards Bills of Siquis, or publike inscription fixed vpon Posts, and to what end they were ordained.

Chap. 6.

Of Lawes for good Life.

The Authors comparison of preedency with present ordination.

A good aduise against valawful euasions.

It is better to aduise firme lawe, then neuer.

What kinde of men are in equity to be aduanced to places of authority.

Respect is the best rule to be ordered by.

Alexander Senerus was no Christian; yet imitated the Christians in making this Edict.

those now adays in vfe, with the Venetians, Florentines, Genewayes, and Lucanes, who after the time of a mans Office is expired, or, that the limitation of his gouernment ceaseeth: do then make enquiry, to cause him render an account of his administration, and then proceed against him according to his demerits. A wicked Magistrate, and publike Conculsionary or extortioner, by giuing a piece of bread to dogs barking at him, so to stop their mouths: may thus salue his thefts, and other depredations of his vile life.

It is much more expedient, to prevent a diseale, then to tarry till it come, & then to expulie it: notwithstanding, it is better late, then neuer, to the ende (at the least) that feare of search and syndication, may reaine Officers within compasse of their duty.

And yet the ordination of Solon (methinks) was farre better, whereby the liues of Officers was to be examined, both before and after their authority, as we reade in the lawes set downe by Demosibenes. For by examining the life and manners of such, as couet or seeke after degrees of Offices, Benefices, Knighthood, exemptions, immunities, gifts and rewards, if they appeare to bee foule or deformed: not only they may be reiected, but also directly (in iustice) punished, & rewards distributed to honest persons, according to the merit of euery man. And by an harmonious proportion, the pursell shold be giuen to the most faithfull; Armes to the most valiant; Iustice-degree to the vp-rightest; censure to the entrest; painfull traualle to the strongest and best able; Prelacy to the most learned and deuoutest. And yet neuerthelesse, carrying respect to Nobility, wealth, age, and the power of euery one, as also the quality of their charges and offices: for it were very ridiculous, to make a Iudge a Warriour, a Prelate a common Lawyer, or a Soldiour to manage cales of conscience.

Now for the better comprehension of our purpose in this Chapter, it is to be obserued, that Alexander Senerus neuer was a Christian: but a worthy man otherwise, and when he made that Edict. As being desirous to place good Magistrats, to be diuers in the Romaine Commonwealth vnder his Empire (finding it full of exacting Officers) in imitation of the

Christians; euen (as it is saide) in the second time of the Primitive Church. And when (for any particular Church) any need appeared of a Bishoppe, a Priest, a Deacon, or some other Officers; the Christians (in those times) fixt vp their Placards, setting downe the name of him or them, that sought to haue such office and dignity: they did it to such ende, that if any vice were knowne in him or them; objection might bee made against the pretendant, so to debout him of his requisition and sute.

And questionlesse, great need there was, that this pollicy shold bee obserued among the Christians; for the Pagans & Idolaters then (being their capitall enemies) sought nothing more, then some subiect or argument, whereby to iniurie and calumniate the Pastors and Prelates among the Christians, onely to make the odious to the people. And they that were promoted vnto Ecclesiasticall Offices in those dayes, had no other stipend or reward, but only some collection of Corne and other matters, among the Christians of the Churches then, to make them garments, and maintaine them poorly enough, being provided of those places, & oftentimes their best assurance was most cruell martyrdome. And that which made men then desirous of Ecclesiasticall aduancements, was not (as now adays) to deriue thence large benefis & reuennues: for then, there were not any foundations ordained, neyther were any tenths leuiod for or from them. But the Pastours then, in a most sacred kinde of charity, coueted to entrust the ignorant, and confirme in faith, intimidate, affrighted and dispersed Christians, persecuted by the Romanes and other Princes, onely for the Christian faith, and to encourage them for suffering martyrdome, according as Eusebius (who liued in those times) hath written at large.

As for the estates of the Venetians, Genewayes, Lucanes, and others now exercised in Italy, they are not during life, as it is in France: wherein yet it is not much a misse, to haue information of them, vpon the expiration of their charges, to cause terror in their offices successors, for best carriage and behavior in their dutie, least a further inquisition come vpon them. In France, estates and offices are exercised, during

The Pastours and Preachers among the Christians were very poore in the beginning of vndertaking their charges

The desire of Pastors in the Primitive Church.

The estates & offices in Italy differing from those in France.

Admirable disputations of the Doctors or Sorbonnists, & how th is order began at the first.

Doctors of Paris are usually termed Doctors of worth and reuerence.

Prisonion
made by the
Statutes of
of France.

The obserua-
tion of Spaine
in the admini-
stration of their
Officers.

How the
kings of Spaine
carry them-
selves to their
substitutes.

during life of the party in possession: but yet with caution, that if he commit any vnbecoming acte, to bee instantly dismissed, and (oftentimes) death ensueth therevpon. But before any man may bee so advanced, the Statutes of France have enjoyned, that good information must be made, concerning the life and manners of the party to enjoy it; before such persons as his Maiesty, or other soueraigne Iudges shall appoint.

The Kings of Spaine, cause information of life and behauiour, of any that aime at degrees and offices, before they are admitted to them. And moreover, at every fiftie yeares end, sometime in more, and in lesse compasse of yeares very often; severall enquiries & informations are made, of all Officers in every Seigneury: as in all the Spaines, the Kingdomes of Naples, Sicily, Milaine, the lower Countreies of Germany, the County of Bourgogne, the Dutchy of Luxembourg, and other, & namely of the places where they exercise their Offices. And if the King do finde, that they misbehaved themselves; his Councell depose them, appointing other in their places, of whom (likewise) the life and conversation is well questioned. Sometimes they are put to death, but very rarely, and many times deposed, yet without note of infamy: only giuing them to vnderstand, that the King is not well contented with their service. Heere is also to be vnderstood, that information cometh not onely against Officers of Justice, as Aduocates, Procurators, Pregnotaries, Iudges soueraigne and subalterne: but likewise against Ecclesiasticks, and men of warre. By which means, every one is compelled to containe himselfe within compasse of duty; and beside, the estates & offices are not vendible.

CHAP. VII.

Of the reason and cause, why both some Princes, and also some Common-wealths, haue alwayes prosperously flourished in the times of warre; and in peacefull dayes haue runne to decay and ruine.

Although I discourse in this Chapter, that some Princes and Common-

wealths haue bin very happy and successful, in times of wars and molestation; and contrariwise, in times of peace haue become vicious, running on to ruine and defolation: yet I neither will, or do thereby inferre, that warre is to bee esteemed more necessary then peace. But I will shew the causes whereby (not all Common-wealths, nor all Princes in generall) yet many liued more vertuously & happily in the times of war, then in their easier dayes of peace. And that so soone as they came to enjoy peace; they fell into ruine, vtterly losing all their greatnesse & splendour. Euen like vnto Iron, which not being vsed or handled, or whereof no frequent employment is made; rusteth and consumeth of it selfe. And this ensued by no other occasion, but only through negligence and want of respect, that when they enjoyed the Sunny daies of peace, no discrete order was taken, for institution of good life and policie, and how to make vie (as men ought to doe) of such sweet tranquillity.

Before I come to approue my sayings by examples, I would first make a briefe relation, concerning the actions of men of warre; to demonstrate, that it is (almost) vtterly incredible, that any goodnesse can deriue it selfe from war. For, who is a greater enemy to the peacefull man, then the furious Soldiour? To the milde, meeke countiman, then the bloody Warriour? To the Philosopher, then the fierce Captaine? To the wife, then fool? Because the greatest delight and felicity of warriors, is, to forradge Countreies, rob the husbandmen, burne Townes and Villages, to massacre good men, to giue all licence to the wicked, to besiege, batter, force and ransacke houses, to kill olde and young, to spare no age or sexe, to rauish Wiues and Virgins, to bathe their hands brutishly in innocent blood, to make a spoile of sacred things, to ruinate Temples, to blaspheme the Name of God, to trample (vnder their foule feete) all right both diuine and humane. These are the fruites of warre, highly acceptable and pleasing to fiery-eye Soldiours, abhominable to good men, & detestable before God. Needlesse is it to amplye with words, that which hath bin too well seene and felt in ouer-many places, whose very memory hath startled the

Peace is al-
ways to be
preferred be-
fore war in a-
ny Kingdome.

In Sunshyne
dayes men
haue greatesse
need to feare
floures.

The fruites are
but bad that
proceed from
warre: hee nee-
des to iustly
followed.

Where warre
keeps his re-
uells, all goes
to wracke and
ruine, without
any pity or
remedie.

foules of them in best safety, and made their haire stand on ende, that thought themselves of boldest resolution.

If then the case stand thus, and that war hath so many discommodities and mischiefs waiting vpon it: how can any good ensue from it?

Further wee are to vnderstand, that when Soldiours are guided by Captaines voide of iudgement, vnderstanding and vertue: all the forenamed euils and mischiefs are ordinarily committed. But if they haue a vertuous Commander, hee will carry himselfe so much the more modestly. And like as greatnesse of courage & magnanimity, is a bright flaming Beacon, leading the way to all other vertues, and exalseth Princes vnto the very highest point of honor: euen so it is vertue (onely) likewise, that most discourageth the hearts of enemies, be they neuer so potent or powerfull warriors, and (oftentimes) gaineth the victory, without a blow deliuered on either side.

Heereof I intend to set downe some examples, that in the Roman Common-wealth, and in the times of their warre there was greater store of vertuous minded men, then when they liued in peace and quietnesse. First let vs remember *Furius Camillus*, who hauing sent backe the children, which the Schoole-Master had brought into his Campe, to make them bondslaves to the Romanes; conquered the City without one blow smitten, which neuertheless was very strong, and well furnished with all warlike munition.

And *Fabritius*, hauing sent the Phylition to king *Pyrrhus*, that had promised to poison him, and refused the moiety of his Kingdomes: although he was one of the very poorest Romane Gentlemen, and caused the prisoners ranfome to be paid, which *Pyrrhus* had freely deliuered, not suffering the meaneest of them to stand beholding to so great a King. And *Scipio*, who (without any paine) conquered a great part of both the Spaines: by sending a lady of rare beauty to her husband, the Prince of *Celiberia*, according to the example of *Cygnus*. These so generous and vertuous actions, tooke away all courage from enemies, to make war any longer against such magnanimous people; who neither could conquer, nor yet be conquered, by base or vnbecoming

behaviour.

And yet this was much better made knowne, after the great day at *Cannas*, when *Hanniball* had put eight thousand prisoners to their ranfome, at an hundred Crownes each man, and one bearing credite for another: hoping vndoubtedly, that the Romanes hauing lost so many men, would not be slacke in paying their ranfome. But it was flatly forbidden (by the Senates especiall decree) that not one prisoner of them all should be redeemed. Whereat *Hanniball* (saith *Polybius*) was so amazed, as all his courage quite forsooke him. Whereas on the contrary, the Romanes secured their state the better, which was shrewdly shaken, and vtterly abandoned (as it were) of all friends and confederates. For the iudgement of the Senate was wise and honourable, because *Hanniball*, hauing so much Romane blood to spill at his pleasure, thought to empty their Treasury of moneys, and draw eight hundred thousand Crownes from them, which they rather chose to spare, than to redeeme the very scum and cowards of all the Roman Army. Wherevpon, and thence forward, every one took a resolution to conquer or dye. So became dreadfull and inuincible. And like as their hearts neuer failed them in their greatest losses; so were they neuer conquered by arrogancy in their victories. And therefore, in the time of war, the Romanes more expressed their greatnesse in courage, then in peace they could do.

Charles the eight of that name, King of France, in the voyage which hee made into Italy, to conquer the Kingdomes of Naples and Sicily, they belonging to him, as he pretended: at the surprisall of a City, a very goodly Lady was brought vnto him, whom he would not touch; but sent her away (and great gifts with her) to her husband. By this acte of chastity he sped so well, that most part of the Townes and Cities as he passed along, brought their keyes vnto him, and conquered (the more easily) the Kingdomes hee laide claime to. And yet neuertheless, this King had Ladies (sometimes) at command in his owne Court, albeit very secretly.

So long as *Caius Marius* followed war, he performed many braue and vertuous exploits therein, largely encreasing (with great

Hanniball &
his Souldi-
ers Romane pri-
soners.

The generous
and uncon-
querable cou-
rage of the
Romanes, and
grounded on
good reason.

The honoura-
ble action of
Charles the
8. King of
France.

The fame &
reputation of
Marius, so
long as he
continued a
Warriour.

Vertue is ma-
ny times vic-
torious with-
out any
blowes giuen.

The Romanes
had more ver-
tuous men in
warre then in
peace.

*Furius Ca-
millus*,

Fabritius,

Scipio.

Vertue can
neuer con-
quer by cow-
ardice.

great Prouinces) his Country and Common-wealth of Rome. As hauing conquered *Iugurthe*, King of the *Numidians*, and made an absolute surrender of his Kingdome to Rome: hee likewise vanquished the *Cymbrians* in *Gaulle*, and the *Germanes* that were entred into *Italy*, and seauen times was he made Consull, euen in iust regard of his great deferuings. But when he ceased from being a Warriour, adding himselfe to idlenesse, and desiring to liue in peace: aspiring by his ambition to tyranny, he caused about tenne thousand Cittizens to dye wretchedly, & ended his owne life in miserable exile. And the very same did *Sylla*, who was esteemed one of the most fortunate men in his time; who in a ranged battaile, ouerthrew *Mithridates* neere to *Charonea*; and his Lieutenant at another time after, not farre from *Athens*. He vanquished also the *Medes*, and the *Dardaniens* or *Troyans*; he put *Carbo* to flight, & droue him quite out of *Italy*; winning the battaile likewise against *Marius*; and so long as he followed the warres, liued most nobly and virtuously. But being returned home to his house, and liuing therein peace, hee became a tyrant and butcher of the Cittizens; so that (in one day) he commanded nine thousand of them to be slaine, promising a certaine stipend or wages, to any one that brought him a *Romane* Cittizens head.

While *Pompey* managed Armes, and was a braue Commander in Armies; hee was esteemed the most vertuous man the liuing. For he restored the Kingdome of *Numidia* to *Masiniissa*, which *Hiarbas* had vliurped from him. He vanquished *Sertorius*, King of *Portugall*, ending also the most dangerous warre of the Pyrats, and ouercame *Mithridates*, King of *Pontus*, contraining him to slay himselfe. He warred in the Northerne parts, conquered *Albania*, *Morea*, the *Henioches*, *Cappia*, *Hiberia*, and afterwards (in the East) surmounte the *Partians*, *Arabians*, and subiected *Iudea* beside. But afterward, the *Romane* people hauing no longer warre, and he returning home to his abiding; grew enuious against his kinsman *Cesar*, and as by the precedent warres, the *Romane* Empire had attained vnto vnspcakable greatnesse: so by peace it impayred too much, onely through ciuill warre, engen-

dred among themselves. In which respect, many people and Kings shooke off the yoke, wherein they stood tributaries to the *Romanes*, and so their Empire (by little and little came to decadence.

Great *Alexander*, so long as hee continued warre in the East, hee was accounted most valiant and temperate. And hauing vanquished *Darius*, finding none other to resist against him, he grew to such insolence; that he would be often drunk, & made himselfe so contemptible, as he became despised of his owne people, his friends and kindred, who caused him to dye by poison, hauing scarcely attained to the age of thirty years.

So long as the *Lacedemonians* had braue warlike Kings and Captaines; and found them employment in warres, eyther, whether it were for defence of their owne Country, or for conquering others, such men as were *Agessilaus*, *Agas*, *Archidamus*, *Brasidas*, *Damonidas*, *Euricratidas*, *Temistocles*, *Callicratides*, and more such like beside; they daily prospered in all attempts they vndertooke. But so soone as they had conquered the *Athenians*, & pillaged and polled their City vnder *Lysander*, and had filled their purses with money, making no more account or care of war: the sweet ease and goodnesse of the time then seized on them, & condemning both exercise and military discipline, they became quickly ruined. For, from all former times of antiquity, they commonly employed painfull diligence, rather by stratagems and pollicies of warre to conquer their enemies, then by power: which was more commended in *Archidamus*, then any other vertue elfe. They alwayes shunned peace, not as disallowing it to be good; but because it continually enticed them to too many vices. For the *Lacedemonian* Lawes ordained, that men might walke through the City in the night time without light; because a Soldiour, most often being in war, might (by all meanes) march against his enemy, and at all houres as occasion presented it selfe, eyther by day or night. Patient also they were in all externall injuries, as raines, windes, heats, frosts, mysts, and in greatest hungers; being euermore constantly resolu'd, eyther to conquer, or dye in the field. Which extremities, could not be exercised by slothfull people, or liuing in peace.

Idlenesse and negligence was the ruine of Great *Alexander*.

Through sloth and idlenesse, the *Lacedemonians* venterly ouerthrew themselves.

* A Nobles of Sparta, son to *Teles*, that would adventure any danger whosoever for his Countreys safety.

The

The Grecian Philosophers banished out of Rome, and the reason why.

A poet banished out of Lacedemon for writing against warre.

The gods of the Lacedemonians were painted armed, and those of the Grecians effeminately.

The French nation entred into long continued feilds, vnto the peace.

The *Romans*, in those times, when they were not corrupted with forces of forren Nations, banished all the *Grecian* Philosophers, and would not admit any knowledge of letters among them, but for their vice: and no lesse hated they the professors of questionary sciences, then their books. They would not practise or learne any thing, but to know how they might best bee obedient to Magistrates, and endure the hardest trauels in batels, to liue or die. A *Thesalian* being demanded, who were the worst conditioned people in his countrey answered; Such as had withdrawn themselves from Military labour and discipline.

A poet, named *Archilochus*, being come to dwell in *Lacedemon*, was banished presently thence, being knowne to haue written: That it was much better to forsake the Target and Armes, then to die in warre. Among the *Lacedemonians*, it was an especial obseruation, to figure all the Images of their gods and goddesses armed, holding lances in their hands, as signifying themselves to be warriors: Because they reputed nothing to be more vile & infamous, then idlenesse and vnarmed peace, being no way so goodly in apparence, as Military vertue: and therefore they paynted their gods in such forme, as themselves alwayes wished to be. Contrariwise, the *Grecians* Theology instructed them; to figure their gods, idle, peaceable, and lying all along. And it seemed, that the *Lacedemonians* had good reason so to do, because they imagined, that all our actions should be conformable to those of the gods: for, in painting the shapes of the gods effeminately, and so to follow them in like qualities, is to be pernicious, and vnprofitable to the Common-wealth.

So soone as *Henry*, second of that name king of *France*, had contracted peace with the Emperor, the Kings of *Spain* and *England*, with all the princes of *Italy*, and with the countreys of high and lower *Germany*, they all being enemies to him: he was very shortly after slaine in a iousting, with a spield of a lance, entering in at the fight of his Beauer. All the great Captaines of *France* esteemed vertuous among all other Nations, in times of peace, fell to killing one another, keeping neither faith nor promise, but proditoriously massacring their very best friends: feining assemblies

about the State affaires: some vnder colour of marriages; others, by pretended feasts and banquets, proceeding on so far in this wicked course, till they killed their king, yea & sought to murder his successor. In brief, they leagued themselves daily one against another, and some against the State, growing into such factions and treacherous coniurations, that the *French* were thought to be a most barbarous kind of people. All which had hapned, but thorough discontinuing exercise of Armes against ancient enemies, and calling them in, to depoyse them of their goods. Like as the ancient *Gauls* formerly did, who in mere enuy one to another, and hauing given ouer the exercise of Armes, one part called in the *Romaines*, and another the *Almaines* or *Germanes*, who were their vtter ruine in the end. And so they became tributaries, who were wont to bee the onely terror of the *Romaines*, *Grecians*, *Spaniards*, yea; and likewise of the *Germanes*.

Seeing then it cometh so to passe, that some Princes, and likewise some Common-wealths (as appeared by our passed Discourse) attained to much honor, and order their affaires better in their storms of warre, then in the calmer seasons of peace: and because it is not possible that warres should continually endure, but Peace must, and will haue some time of sway and dominion: Let vs now see, if there be not as good meanes of vertuous containment, as well in the dayes of peace as of warre; doubtlesse it may be done more commodiously, and the waies of compassing it I will briefly declare.

First of all, when there is no more occasion, for employing men of warre in a Kingdome or Common-wealth: a duce is to be had, what Princes, friends or confederates of strangers, haue any need of men of such martiall qualitie, and thither to send them in their assistance, with charge of returning from thence agayne, when they shall bee commoned thereto. Not onely shall the State or Common-wealth be thus disburthened of paying such wages: but also of such scelerates, as ordinarily doe follow men of warre, the more safely to commit their thefts and villanies, without checke, law, or punishment.

In like manner did *Charles* the fifth of that name, and King of *France*, who

L III hauing

Discipline of military discipline breeds no mean store of evils in any peaceable nation.

The Author falleth to reprehend his first proposition, and to effect his purpose.

How Souldiers are to be dealt withall, when they want watch employment for them.

The misfortune that idlenesse & negligence brought to Marius and Sylla.

Ease hath bin reputed the Nurice of tyranny.

The renowne of Pompey so long as he followed Armes.

By peace the *Romane* Empire vnto its selfe.

A good aduile
to discharge
any kingdom
of theues &
wicked per-
sons, who are
dangerous
people in the
time of peace:

Henry Earle
of Richmond,
afterward K.
of England.

Augustus Ce-
sar's care of
his countries
honor.

War serueth
sometime as
good Physick
for a Com-
monwealth,
to rid it of cor-
rupted hu-
mors.

hauing taken truce with the *English, Na-
marrians, and Brittaines*, being entreated
by *Henry of Castile*, the Bastard, who
made warre vpon his legitimate brother
for the kingdom. For Pope *Vrbane* had
conferred the Crowne vpon him, in re-
gard that *Don Peter*, king of *Castile*, had
intelligence and confederacy with the
King of *Granado*, who was of the Maho-
metane Religion. Morcouer, he was a ty-
rant, doing many things vnbecoming the
name or credit of a Christian King. *Charles*
sent him succour of souldiers, vnder con-
duict of the Constable *Bertrand du Gues-
clin*, who (by that voyage) purged *France*
of an infinite number of *Theues*, the
greater part whereof were flaine in that
warre. The like did *Lewes* the eleuenth,
who, hauing peace with all his enemies,
sent all his souldiers (that rauaged strange-
ly in his kingdom) to the Earle of *Rich-
mond*, who passed them ouer with him in-
to England, because he laid claime to the
kingdome. By this meanes, hee ridde his
realme of rascality, and had some reuenge
also vpon his ancient enemies.

Augustus Cesar, hauing overcome his
Competitor *Mark Anthony*, and hauing
no further employment for war was not
so improuident or indiscreete, as to suffer
his souldiers lye idle and negligently: but
sent forty Legions into remote Prouin-
ces, and to the frontiers of barbarous na-
tions, still to support their militarie dis-
cipline, and to keepe all occasions of ciuill
war, so farre off as might bee. But Great
Constantine the Emperour, following the
counsell of diuers Bythops and Priestes,
who were slenderly experienced in State
affaires: threw off his Legionaries and
men of warre, which was the cause, that
ancient Militarie Discipline became quite
lost, and opened a gate to such enemies,
as (afterward) invaded the Romane Em-
pire on all sides. For they vnderstood not,
that Lawe, iustice, and the whole State
(next vnder God) are in the protection of
Armes, as vnder a soueraign & safe buck-
ler of defence.

Yet there is one point more, very con-
siderable, to shew, that Militarie Dis-
cipline ought to be maintained, and warre
made, vpon good and iust occasions; for
there hath alwayes bene (and neuer shall
we bee without) some theues, murthe-
rers, idle loyterers, vagabonds, murmu-

rs, and stordy vagrants, which (in any
Common-wealth) do hurt and spoyle the
honest simplicitie of good subiects, & not-
withstanding the verie best Iustice that
may be vied, yet can no country bee in-
tirely clenfed of such Cankers. The best
helpe (in this case) is warre, to send such
vnnecessary members farre off from
home-abidings, wherefoeuer any fitting
employment happeneth. Because it ser-
ueth as a purgatiue medicine, very cordi-
all and conuenient, for expelling such cor-
rupted humours, out of the Common-
wealths vniuersall body. Furthermore, in
times of peace, and for better enioying
the benefit thereof; no tolleracion is any
way to bee suffered, of such as haue not
trade or vocation; for idleness and ne-
glicence, cause too many euils in any king-
dome. By this discourse then may bee ob-
serued those reasons, why many Princes
& Commonweales florished in times of
war, & fell to ruine in the daies of peace;
the best meanes also in both of them hath
briefly bin deliuered.

How Magi-
strates are &
ought to cary
their authori-
ty in times of
peace.

CHAP. VIII

That Princes ought not to erect sumptuous
and stately buildings; as hoping there-
by to make their names immortal.

Some Flatterers cannot be
sufficiently blamed, that
perswade Kings and great
Monarks, to builde sum-
ptuous houses and Palaces,
therby to make their names immortal, con-
trary to the iudgment of Count *Balthazar*,
the *Castilian*, in his booke of the Courti-
er, who (in mine opinion) hath highly er-
red, to write and approoue such a vanitie.
For the end of all vertuous actions (ac-
cording to the saying of *Cicero*, in the 3. booke
of his *Tuſculanes*) is honour, glory, and good
renown; not a dumb building, which is copo-
sed of the sweat blood, and means of poor peo-
ple. Palaces canot moue out of the places
where they are builded, nor can they
make knowne the generous deeds of such
as erected them: And men that dwell

That no man
should builde
vainly to im-
mortalize his
name.

*Cicero in Tuſcu-
lib. 3. cap. 7.*

Men's names
survive not
by their build-
ings.

Princes are
sely compar-
ed to Swal-
lows in theyr
lone to theyr
buildings.

Example of
*Catharine de
Medicis*, not
long since Q.
Mother of Fr.

The Qu. Mo-
ther of France
liked not the
building of
sumptuous
houses, which
were indeed
to small vie.

by those places, and strangers that see or
passe by them, when some fifty yeares (or
so) are ouer-passe, can scarcely bee in-
formed, who were the founders, albeit
their names may be engrauen vpon some
stone or other matter; whereby the erec-
tors of Pallaces and proude Buildings,
are often frustrated of theyr hope and in-
tention.

Moreouer, if it be well pondered and
considered, the sayrest buylding is but a
matter of frailtie, and subiect to no long
continuance: for, when men cease from
dwelling there, they runne in poasting
speede to ruine and decay. And Princes
are the occasion hereof: Resembling
Swallows, who will neuer nestle twise
in one nest: Euen so, the most parte of
Princes dwellings become desert, like to
King *Frances*, who buylded a great To-
wer in the Castell of the *Louure* in *Paris*,
made after the auncient manner, and ru-
inated the body of the Lodging, by cau-
sing another to be erected. Afterward he
builded *Madric*, and then agayne the
house of *Fontaine bleau*, yet neuer dwelt in
any of the sayd buildings.

Catharine de Medicis, widow to King
Henry the second deceased, when she was
Regent (although shee was well furni-
shed with vnderstanding, and a Lady of
great honour) yet notwithstanding, shee
suffred her selfe, to be ouermuch perswa-
ded by some flatterers in the Court about
her: that, to render her memory to po-
steritie euerslastingly, shee should erect
some goodly Pallace; whereto shee yel-
ded, after a long time of sollicitation. She
had not sene the fourth part of the build-
ing out of the ground, but shee began to
repent her selfe, saying: Shee knew well e-
nough, that it was mere vanity, to hope
for immortalizing by buildings, stayle, &
subiect to ruine in a short time, and so left
off, from proceeding any further in so fri-
uolous a businesse.

The sayd Lady had houses of pleasure
abroad, passably fayre and commodious:
but in *Paris* shee had not a dwelling, her
children being come to age. The *Louure*,
a royall habitation, was not sufficient to
reciue her and her traine: wherefore, see-
ing that the Court (in those times) kept
ordinarily at *Paris*: shee builded an other of
indifferent cost, in the place where was
founded the order and religion of *Marie*

Magdalen, for sinfull women and maides,
conuerted to repentance, and transpor-
ted the religious women thence, vnto the
Abbey of *Saint Mary Magdalen*, being
much more commodious for them. Re-
prouching the counsell formerly giuen to
her, she would vtiually say: That money
might be better employed, in redeem-
ing the Crowne lands, paying of debts,
easing the people oppressed with grie-
uous taxation; then to bee wasted in
such vaine manner, which wordes right
well became so great a Princeesse as shee
was.

Oftentimes she commended the good
Emperour *Vespasian*, who neuer builded
any Pallace, but contented himselfe
with such as were erected by his prede-
cessours: yet did hee re-edifie diuerse and
sundry ruined Temples and Theaters,
and gaue very bounteously to Hospitalls.
As the like did the Emperour *Domitian*,
who was well satisfied with a small dwel-
ling: and yet builded hee the Capitole,
which was greatly decayed by age, and a
Temple of his owne, dedicated vnto *Iu-
piter*.

The sacred Scriptures tell vs, that the
magnificence and ouer great sumptuous-
nesse of *Salomon*, in building his pallaces
and houses, were the cause, that tenne
Tribes of *Israel* did separte themselves
from obedience to his heyre *Rehoboam*,
and reigned only but ouer two. I will
not speake here of the Temples building,
for his father left him all the stuffe and the
meanes, as needed for the erection of so
holy a Temple. But the immeasurable ex-
pences layde out on his Pallace, for fur-
nishment whereof, the people themselves
so pressed after his deceasse: that they were
constrayned to seeke another King, then
his Sonne *Rehoboam*, who would continue
the prodigall expences of his father
in building, and so (of twelue parts) he
lost ten in his kingdom.

It is right well knowne, by the Text
of the Iewish Chronicles, that King
Salomon abused the Graces and Blessings
both of Almighty God and men: for, it
was not sufficient for him, to make walls
in his pallace of the very goodliest stones,
the best polished, and most plendant in
all the world; but he would needs illu-
mine them also with exquisite colors, co-
uering them besides with maffie golde, as

This Qu. mo-
ther was re-
puted a very
wise Lady.

Proude build-
ing lost Sa-
lomons some
tribes of Is-
rael.

The exceed-
ing great cost
of Salomons
pallace.

Costly wood
of Cedar and
Cedrin, where
of the planks
and floors
were made.

Salomon build
ed many
more Pallaces
beside that in
Ierusalem; &
all as rich as
that.

Salomons
people reuol-
ted from him
for oppressing
them with his
buildings.

The vanity of
Nero Claudius
us Cæsar.

making lesse account of silver, then hee did of leade or yron. The like is to be understood of the planchers and floors, all made of curious and strange woods, the very worst being of Cedar and Cedrin, without corruption, and smelling most sweetly, resembling in color, the beames of the Sun, being so ingeniously handled in the working, that they appeared like most curious shapes and figures, as no men in the world were able to imuent, or counterfeit the like. And yet neuertheless, hee covered those costly woods with plates of gold, enshathed with infinite precious stones: so that the very floors seemed to be second starry Heavens; whereby may easily be presupposed, what the other parts of his Pallace were.

Moreover, Salomon did not onely build one Pallace in Ierusalem, but many more beside in diuers places, euen as rich, or rather more costly then the other. As that which hee erected for his Summers recreation, in the Wood of *Lybanus*, abounding in all variety of vanities. In two Halls he placed five hundred Shields or Targets, of immeasurable greatness, and all of massiue gold, each Target valuing (at the least) two thousand and foure hundred Crownes, as *Empolemus* hath recorded. The said Bucklers or Targets were beaten with the hammer, and engrauen with rare and costly branched workes. He builded another Pallace in *Gazer*, more sumptuous then the two former were: which was quickly ruined after his death, and at this day the places are not knowne where those Pallaces stood. For the building of these, hee traualled and molested his people, who reuolted from him, losing thereby his heyre and sicciflour, and (well neere) all his Kingdom; his Reigne (beside) being full of many warres and other miseries. Behold what goodly benefit redounded to him, by erecting such ouer-sumptuous buildings: for, the *Egyptian* people destroyed and pilled his Pallace before his eyes.

Tranquillus declareth, that *Nero Claudius Cæsar*, the sixt Romane Emperour, was so ambitious; that he desired to make his name immortall, by the meanes of buildings, which he intended to erect, and valued the price of his life, whereof I pur-

pose to sette downe a brieue description.

First, he would haue had all *Rome* to be pulde downe, and then to be built againe at the Citizens charges: saying, that the streets were not strait nor large enough. Heereupon, diuers leud persons (by him suborned) fied the City in sundry places: hee intending afterward to haue it beare his name, and to be called *Neropolis*; which partly was put in execution, albeit the eight part could hardly be burned, and because many houses were built all of stone; with engines he caused them to be destroyed. And as he persecuted thus in ruining the houses, certaine conspiracies (intended against him) chanced to be discouered to him; which made him leaue off, and proceed therein no further. *Cornelius Tacitus* writeth, that hee caused a false fame to be noyed in *Rome*, throwing scandalous aspersions vpon the Christians, as if that they had fired the city. And great likelihood there was, that this imposture should proceed from him, and to be imposed on the Christians: because he was a vowed enemy to all vertuous, holy and well affected people. In which respect, so many Christians as hee could apprehend, were bathed and anointed on their naked bodies, with grease and pitch, and then tyed to pillars, and fire put vnto them; so they seemed as flaming Linkes or Torches, for passengers and night-walkers through the Citie.

For continuance of his names immortalizing, and onely by such buildings he intended; I meane to describe one, another manner of thing, then those which *Salomon* caused to be erected, what store of gold souer he bestowed vpon them: whereof let the Reader be Iudge, for what is heere inserted, I haue traduced out of the faide *Tranquillus*, who both saw that *Nero*, and his Pallace, and auoucheth, that *Nero* neuer did more harmes in all his actions, then in his buildings. He erected a house, extending from his Pallace so farre as Mount *Esquiline*, which hee named, *The House of Gold*: and being almost finished, it was wholly destroyed with thunder and lightning fallings from Heauen, and yet neuertheless, hee builded it againe. It was so spacious, that it had a place for him to walke in, which was a

Gallery

The reason
why Nero com-
manded that
Rome should
be burned,

Cornel. Tacit.
Annal. et vit.
Nero. lib. 3. cap.
Staudorous
impostuous
laide on the
Christians.

One Pallace
built by Nero,
compared with
all them
erected by
Salomon.

The descripti-
on of Neros
costly build-
ing, called,
*The House of
Gold.*

Gallery at the very entrance, containing a thousand paces in length, hauing three ranks of Marble pillars, all made with Arches, most proudly glittering with goodly colors, hauing infinite fabulous Histories, and Poeticall figures. In that place also was a Colossus, of an hundred and twenty foote in height, formed after his owne effigie and resemblance. There was likewise a Poole or Pond, seeming as if it had bene an huge spacious Sea: on the Bankes wherof (all round about) were stately houses builded, so that it appeared to be a faire great City.

Within the compasse of this building, were careable grounds, Vineyards, Pasturages, Medowes and Forrests, with multitudes of diuers kinds of Beaste, as well wilde as tame, enclosed within high walles, in the manner of a Parke, and formed with very artificioall cunning. All other parts of this Pallace, were richly gilded, thickly powdered with precious stones, and mother of Pearle, the floors of the Halls for Dinners and Suppers, were all in-layed with Iuory, and curious wrought plates of fine gold; so subtilly turning each against other, that flowers and sweete waters descending from the Roofe, by conuoyes of arteificioall conueinance, fell on them sitting at the Table, & after were receiued into the floors. Among all the Halls for banquetting, there was one entirely round, which (by inimitable arte) was so composed, that it turned round night and day, like vnto the world.

Ouer and beside all these, hee caused a Fifth-Pond to be made, from *Misena*, so farre as the Lake *Auernas*, all engirt with Galleries: where the warme waters of the gulfes *Baia* fell into it. Beside, he had a trench or ditch made, reaching from *Auernas* to *Ofilia*, for Boates to floate on, containing foure score French miles in length, and of such widenesse, that two great Gallies, with five ranks of Oares might passe on front. Because if one should mount one way, and the other come againe to meet it: they might freely passe without danger of touching one another.

Nor could these Fifth-Ponds, Lakes, Ditches, and other deuices serue the turn; but hee must also haue an artificioall Sea made, which he caused to come from ve-

ry farre off, cutting through Mountraines, Rocks, pulling downe Forrests, and such like: so that it seemed a worke of no mortall power, but as if it were done by God himselfe. To perfect this mighty labour, he gaue command; that so many prisoners as could be found, were it for criminal causes, debts, or any case else whatsoever throughout the whole Romane Empire (which contained then almost all our Hemisphere) should be brought to *Rome*, and there to be employed in this seruice.

And because these mighty workes could not be effected without inestimable expences; he imposed on the City of *Rome* (without exempting people of any quality) great and extraordinary subsidies, and vpon the whole Lands of the Empire, wherein the *Gaulles* (among other Provinces) felt no meane affliction, although they were (well neere) quite ruined by the precedent warres, so that they were constrained to reuolt from his obedience. The like did *Spain*, and great store of the Provinces in *Asia* and *Africa*, and (in the end) all *Italy*. Heereupon, he sent out strickt prohibitions, that no Officer of the Empire should be paid his wages, no, nor the Bishops & Priests, who were paid by the hands of the publicke Receiuers; neither could the Legions haue their pay, which caused great hauck in the Provinces whether they were sent. For he employed all his monyes, about those admirable Workes and Buildings, and yet could not prouide sufficient for that purpose.

In regard whereof, the Senate and whole body of the people, being no longer able to support those prodigall expences; conspired against him. Which coming to his knowledge, & he perceiving approaching danger (being forsaken of all his owne followers) fled out of the City, to a Country Farme belonging to one of his Libertines; where, by the help of one of his friends, he had his throat cut; for he was such a cowardly slaue, that he durst not do it himselfe.

Such was the defuered and miserable end of this Emperour, which happened to him, by employing his reuenues, and the goodes of his Subjects so prodigally, in erecting proude buildings, and to no profice.

The building
must needs
containe a
wonderfull
compasse, so
haue so many
menualties
within it.

Planchers &
Tables of ad-
mirable cum-
ing.

An admirable
Fish-pond, &
a strage Ditch
for Barages.

A counterfeite
Sea made at
the charge of
infinite ex-
pences.

The horrible
taxation im-
posed on the
people, for ef-
fecting these
idle vanities.

The next way
to ouerthrow
all together.

The end of
Nero like to
that of Sarda-
napalus.

Neroes' Palace was more sumptuous than all them of Salomon.

This one worke of his, was three or foure times more costly, and of greater admiration, then eyther the Temple, or all the Pallaces of *Salem*, King of *Israel*. Of which (as also of *Neroes*) not anie kinde of noate or memory remayneth to be seene, and the places are not knowne where they stood. And although men commune and speake of *Neroes* in these our dayes, it is not in regarde of his sumptuous buildings, whereby hee thought to immortalize his name: but for his abominable whooredomes, parricides, and infamous life, which hee ledde so long as hee liued. Whereof, at this time, I desire not to make anie more mention: for so many Historians haue written thereof, and especially *Tranquillus* (Authour of all that hitherto hath bene spoken) as I must send them to his Volumes, which are desirous to reade any more of his life and actions.

CHAP. IX.

Who was the first, amongst all other Monarches and Princes, that commaunded, to present by writing, whatsoeuer was to be negotiated with him.



Very man of iudgement wel may thinke, that a Prince, who hath manie Prouinces vnder his charge, and giueth command to diuers people; must needs be much hindered, from answering all such as are to negotiate with him. And it would be a matter vterly impossible for him to satisfie all suites and demands made vnto him: if hee were not eased by some especiall persons, of good vnderstanding in the State affaires, as a Chancellor, Secretary, and some such other beside. In like maner, that which giueth him greatest contentment, is, when men make their suites to him by writing, as in these dayes is discretely vsed: which was well inuented (and to good purpose) by the Emperor *Tiberius*, who commaunded it to be so done, for any matter whatsoever, and likewise deliuered his an-

A great trouble to any Prince, to answer many suites made vnto him by word or mouth

The Emperor Tiberius, the giuing of petitions was first dustified by him

swers by writing. The reason was, to the end that nothing might escape, till it had bene considered on so well as possibly might be: For, by ouer much talking, and communicating himselfe too often, a Prince may commit diuers errors, which will cause him to be misprised, or meanely esteemed. And it neuer ought to be (as an auncient Greeke said) *That a Prince should speake any otherwise before the people, then as if he were in a stately Tragedy.*

But some may obiekt vnto mee, That this is not the true state of a Prince; for, in doing iustice to his people, hee should heare their complaints and grieuances, vnderstanding from each mans mouth, the vrgent occasions constraining them thereunto, which are ordinarily suppressed, or else disguised by others manning.

I am not of the minde, to haue him so conceale himselfe, that hee should not be seene but very feldome, or neuer. As now-adayes the Kings in the East *Indias* vse to doe, and especially the King of *Barney*, who neuer speaketh, but onely to his wife and childre. When hee is to speake to other, hee doth it by a Gentleman, through a place made of purpose, where he can not be seene, but hath the wordes conueyed from the Gentlemans mouth to his eare, throw the hollow passage of a Truncke: as hee did vnto the Ambassadour of the King Catholique, and as wee reade in the Histories of the *Indies*.

But although he shew himselfe very little, as standing vpon his greatnesse and maiestie; regarde is yet to be had to his quality and power. For, it is not seemely, that a petty Prince should counterfeite the great Kings of *Aethiopia*, *Iot Tartaria*, *Perfia* and *Turkie*, who (indeed) will not haue their subiects to looke directly vpon them: because, they are got so much redoubted for power, as they are for maiestie, as they expresse sufficiently, when they will be seene of their Subiects. And if some say, that the Princes of the East and South should gouerne in that maner, and not they of the West and North: I holde it to be all one in the maine regard. For, it is knowne well enough, that the Kings of *England*, *Sweden*, *Denmarke* and *Poland*, do containe farre more greatnesse towards their Subiects, then the King of

France,

An obiection in this case alledged, and to good purpose

The Kings in the East Indias are daunted of their fight and audiance.

Kings more dreaded for maiestie then power.

Discreetness in the maiesty of princes to their Subiects

Good and substantiall reasons, why princes should negotiate with writing, rather then confer in person with their subiects.

Demetrius made a scorn of his subiects suites.

Plut in vit. Demetrius.

Bold affrontings receiued by Princes, only through speaking with their people.

France, and the King of *Mosconia*, much more then all the rest: and yet perhaps they are not lesse, but (it may bee) better obeyed.

Now let vs returne againe to our purpose, of conferring with a Prince by petition or writing, whereby many commodities ensue vnto him. For first (as hath already bene said) he vseth no communication by that meanes, nor shewes himselfe too familiar with his people, which containeth him still in the farre greater esteeme.

Another reason is, that either if he will not, or cannot grant the demands moued vnto him: if he make refusal, he can receive no shame or disgrace thereby; considering, that the written paper will not blush.

Moreouer, answer is returned with the more assured iudgment, by the time allowed to set downe the Princes Will; which cannot be so well done, speaking with him face to face. For oftentimes, he may be incited to anger, by mouing the matter disorderly, or else vpon some other occasion, whereby he may answer farre from his owne minde. Or els it may happen in some intemperate time; for all Princes are not alike in diet, & then, gifts so immente, and of such importance may be granted, as the whole State shall fare the worse for it.

All which approueth not, that hee should despise to answer requests, being made to him by his people: least it happen to him, as it did to *Demetrius*, who quarrelled the kingdome of *Epyre* against *Pyrrhus*. Hee hauing receiued a great number of petitions, kept them all in the lap of his cloake; and, passing ouer the bridge of a Riuer, he let them all fall downe into the water, according as wee reade in *Plutarch*. Whereupon, his subiects seeing themselves so contemned, conceiued capitall hatred against him: & (soone after) he was forsaken of his Army, who yeeled themselves & the kingdome to *Pyrrhus*, and so he won it without fighting.

It hath bene obserued also, that princes, listening verbally to the suites and requests of their subiects, haue mette with bold and insolent confronters. As the woman, who was put off day by day by *Phillip*, King of *Macedon*, in some matter

of expedition which she required of him, whereupon she sayd: *If thou neither wilt, nor canst do iustice: depose thy selfe, and another will giue it me*: faulcely seeming (by this meanes) to taxe the King with neglect and carelesnesse. The very like words vsed *Joane de Pierre bastiere*, a *Ladie of Chamberiers*, to King *Charles* the ninth, he being in the City of *Bordeaux*, where she demanded iustice of him against the murderer of her husband.

A certaine Rouer of the Sea was taken, who was reported, to bee the most cruell and detestable Pyrat, that euer was heard of. *Alexander* the Great, woulde needs see him and speake with him, to the end hee might the sooner condemne him. Wherefore he demanded of him: whence it proceeded, that he would be a Pyrate, and leade such an infamous kind of life; hauing meanes to provide for himselfe otherwise: As to be in pay with some Warlike Nauy, where hee might receiue good respect; considering, that hee was strong, stout, and a good Soldier, as it had appeared by his passed course of life? With a bold and vndanted countenance, the Rouer returned him this answer. *I am sayd to be a pirate and Rouer on the Sea, because I sayle with a small Vessel, without any other Followers: and when I meete with another, being weaker then my selfe; then I make some appropriation of him. But thou, that makest thy Navigations, with great multitudes of Gallies, and other Shippes of Warre, robbing and ransacking all Maritime Townes and places, yea, and vpon the firme land likewise: Thou must be called an Emperour and a Monarch.* Full well knew *Alexander* by the Pyrates answer, that his behaviour differed verie little from the others, and that hee deferred as well to bee punished as hee: and therefore, being ashamed of so fowle a detection, hee freely pardoned him.

Frances, Duke of *Anion*, and a sonne of *France*, not long since deceased, being desirous to settle himselfe, and to match with some Queene or Princesse that was an heire: made meanes of marriage vnto *Elizabeth* Queene of *England*, letters passing betwene them to that purpose, and their pictures. In the end, the Queen sent him word, that she would neuer contract with any that sought her, except shee might

A Pirat of the sea, that was taken and brought before Great Alexander.

The bold answer of the Pirat to Alexander.

Mounseur of France his suite for marriage with Elizabeth of England.

might fee his perfon, otherwise there needed no further fpeech. The Prince, being perfuaded by yong heads (as liſe aduiled in ſuch a buſineſſe, as himſelfe) and leauing the counſell of more graue experience; went into England to bee ſeene, and with a very ſlender train. But being well obſerued by that Lady, he was found ſo deformed by the ſmall pockes, which had leſt ſuch a deep driuing into his face, his noſe alſo much miſhapen, and ſome kernels riſing in his necke beſide; as might bee the cauſes of looſing the fauour of ſo fayre a Queene. Some were of opinion, that hee ſhould not haue gone, but to haue continued the treatie of Marriage ſtill by Letters; which peraduenture (at length) would haue wonne him grace and fauour.

The Arch-
duke of Au-
ſtria, & Henry
Prince of
Sweden much
better aduiled

More wiſely dealt the Arch-duke of *Auſtria*, and Prince *Henry*, afterwards King of *Sweden*, who made ſuite alſo to the layde Queene to eſpouſe her, but at ſundry times, and were ſent for likewiſe to bee ſeene. But they ſatiſfied themſelues to treat with the Queene by thei Letters, and nor verbally: for, by this means, they were aſſured that ſhe could not cauſe them to bluſh.

The Authors
aduice vpon
this Chapter.

I conclude then, that this inuention of *Tyberius*, was, and is very conuenient for great Monarches and Soueraigne Princes, not to negotiate by words with their Subiects; but to expedite by Writings, becauſe thereby they ſhall ſo much the ſooner diſpatch, and a great deale more equally.

Moreouer, if Princes or Princeſſes, haue any matters betwene them to diſintangle; to performe the ſame by Letters and Deputies ſent from either ſide: for by enter-view and ſpeaking together, liſe good can enſue, at leaſt verie ſildom.

CHAP. X.

Of ſuch qualities and carriage, as (neceſſarily) is required to be in a Prince.



Such as couet to command ouer any one whole Nation, ſhould firſt propounde two things to himſelfe: one is, to be liberal; the other is, to be clement and gentle. For the Prince, which exerciſeth liberality, ſhall make his enemies to become his friends; thoſe of all other places to be his owne; and of diſloyall, faithfull ſeruantes. Hee muſt bee affable to ſtrangers, chiefly ſuch as dwell in the furtheſt parts of his Land: And as a Prince endued with clemencie, is admired of all men, and honoured as a God: So by theſe two Vertues, Liberality and Clemencie, hee is made like vnto God; becauſe his Office is, to doe good vnto all, and to pardon ſuch as are delinquents.

I confeſſe it to bee true, that a Prince ought not (alwayes) to be facile and benigne to his ſubiectes: but that (with his facility and mildeneſſe) he may commixe a grauity and ſeuerity, ſuch as may be termed a kinde of rigour, at ſuch times as neede requirerh; to cauſe feare and terror in bad liuers, and to puniſh them rigorouſly, if neceſſity enforce it, for the prevention of a greater euill. Otherwiſe, the Prince may bee the cauſe of his peoples loſſe, if hee permit too much liſe and libertie, in the performance of diſhoneſt actions; like to *Alcibiades*, who thorough too much eaſie carriage in himſelfe, corrupted and ſpoyled his people. And yet ſeuerity ought to be moderated; for when it is exceſſiue, and ouer-ſharpe ſeueritie: it afflicteth Townes and Citties with great miſeries: euen as when liſe is faceriously accommodated to the onely grace and fauour of the people, it prooeth to be the cauſe of their ruine, by the lacke of a leuell temperature both in the one and other.

Howbeit that in time & place, according to cir-

Pontanus in
his booke of a
Prince.

Of Liberality
and clemency
in a Prince.

Seuerity
ought to bee
mingled with
mildeneſſe.

Seuerity ouer
thinne is the
occaſion of
much annoy-
ance.

Reſpect of
time, place &
difference of
perſons.

Sophocles in *Antig.* Pomp. Trag.

The office of
Diſcipline in
a prince.

The ſpirits &
manners of the
people are by
the prince to
be vnderſtood

The diuerſitie
and vniuerſity
of mens com-
plexions.

The difference
betwene *Ly-
corgus* & *Nu-
ma Pompilius*

circumſtances and difference of perſons, the Prince ought to vie, eyther more ſeueritie, or ſometimes more facilitie (according to reaſon) and as Wiſedome iudgeth it fitteſt to be done, or ſpared for generall good.

Aſſuredly, in regard that the people is as a Monſter with many heads; there is great neede (as *Sophocles* ſayth) of a maine and ſtrong bridle. And as it is a principall poynt of Arte in a good Querrie, to make a horſe pace milde and obediently; euen ſuch is the office of diſcipline in a Prince, to render his ſubiect obedient and modeſt. And yet notwithstanding, to do it in gentle manner, and by benigne means, not rudely contrayning them alwayes: but perſwading, admoniſhing, and reprehending ſometimes, not purſuing euerie ſuſpition; but conuincing in light matters, deferring a buſineſſe in time of danger and doubt, to redreſſe it at ſome other ſeaſon, more apte and proper. For, by reſpreſſing and puniſhing all arrogancie and wickedneſſe; he may the more benignely entertaينه the good, when humbly they preſent their afflictions and requiſts vnto him. All which is the eaſier done, by vnderſtanding the manners and ſpirites of the people, becauſe, ſuch as are of rude and harſh brain (like vnto thoſe of barbarous nations) muſt bee gouerned with more ſeueritie; then they that be of more docible nature, who ought to be mannaed with mildeneſſe and benignitie, without ſtearne lookes, or vnkinde manner of dealing.

The complexions of men are diuers and diſſembleable; eyther by the nature of the place and ayre; or elſe by cuſtome and manner of life. The *Athenians*, were eaſie to anger and mercy, the *Carthaginians* ſad, opinionatiue and obſtinate; the *Romans* great, benigne, louers of their Country, ambitious and couetous of glory and honor. And therefore, ignorance in the manners of ſuch as wee conuerſe withall, doth oft deceiue and diſappoint vs in our opinions and enterpriſes; wherefore, by the diuers nature and cuſtome of the people, *Lycorgus* was rather a ſcator of power, then iuſtice; and *Numa Pompilius* of iuſtice, rather then of power.

For, as a Prince (in ciuile actions) imitateth the ſkilfull behauiour of a Lute-

niſt, who tendeth and diſtendeth their cordes of the inſtrument, to bring an accord of tune as he would haue it; ſo doth hee likewiſe follow the Chirurgical, in order and means for tempering with liſe, becauſe light infirmities hee can cure eaſily; whereas to them of more perill, hee applyeth both yron and fire. In the ſame manner, a Prince maketh vie of the Rod and the Sword, according to the ſeueral occurences, and as they appeare.

It ſoloweth, that a Prince ought to entertaine good Lawes, and to obſerue the chiefteſt of ſuch as hee hath made: but aboue all other) to haue the honour and feare of God before his eyes. It is neceſſary alſo for a Prince to haue the command of himſelfe, and beare a ſtrict hand on the bridle of his owne affections; directing firſt a good courſe of liſe to himſelfe, to the ende, that it may ſerue as a Square or Rule, to meature the liues of other after his manners. For, *very hardly ſhall hee command others* (ſayth *Pindarus*) *that hath not learned himſelfe to obey reaſon, which is the Queene of all things, and a Law, not engrauen in Marble, but in our ſpirites, commanding to performe lawfull actions, and prohibiting ſuch as are contrary, and bad.* Her woorthy enſtructions, wicked Kings (being ſlaues to their owne affections) will not immitate: For, if ſhee were their Queene & Gouverneſſe, they ſhould bee conſtrained to contemne their vileneſſe, and honeſtly to enter faire Vertues ſeruiſe.

The *Pythian Oracle*, by the anſwere it gaue to King *Croesus*, That he ſhould know himſelfe, was not to be vnderſtoodeſt; that he ſhould know the glory and greatneſſe of his Empire: but Reaſon, Queene and miſtris of humane liſe, which appeareth the perturbations of the minde, and reſtrayneth the mightineſſe of power: For, the Poet *Horace* ſayth (by way of enſtruction) that it is a matter no leſſe royall, to repreſſe appetites and affections, then to rule ouer people.

*Latins regnes auidum domando
Spiritus, quam ſi Lybiam remotis
Gallibus iungas, & ceteris, Poëms
Seruiat omi.*

And *Ageſilaw* gloried, that hee had learned better to command himſelfe, then

Apte compari-
ſons of a
princes imi-
tation.

For the feare
of God, and
maintaining of
good Lawes.

A good direc-
tion giuen
by *Pindarus*
the poet.

The anſwere
of the *Pythian*
Oracle to
king *Croesus*.

The enſtruc-
tion giuen by
Horace.

Flattery ought
to be avoided
by a Prince.

Ambition the
Mother of
many mis-
chiefs & the
bane of king-
domes.

Of care and
respect in a
Princes pro-
mises.

An auncient
and excellent
ordination
for faithful-
nesse.

Of affability
in his looks
& language.

then other. *Alexander* the Great, accounted it much more honest and glorious, to conquer himselfe, rather then to conquer enemies. A Prince should shunne flattery, for if he lend his eares to flatterers, he will not alwayes bee himselfe. Credulity is accompanied with rashnesse and folly, and there is no greater argument of folly, then credulity: therefore a Prince should not be too credulous, that is, over-light in beleefe.

Ambition also, which is the Mother and Nurse of many great evils, and the plague of Kingdomes and Commonwealths, should bee excluded from the heart of a Prince. A Prince that remembers himselfe to be but a man, and consequently mortall, will neuer mount vp his thoughts in pride; but pursue equality. If he perceiue all things prosper, and succeed according as hee can wish: hee will then beleefe, that God commandeth ouer humane occasions, whereof himselfe only hath care; and pride is highly displeasing to him.

I would aduise a Prince, to be careful of what he promisseth, and to whom hee maketh any promise; to be respectiue of mens merites and their faculties, as also the times of his giuing promise, for the better preservation of his faith: because there is nothing more vnworthy, and villainlike, then to breake fidelity, and the force of faith is so great, that it ought to be kept, euē with an enemy, if it be promised. And in regard that faith (according as our graue Auncients haue defined it) is constancy and truth in words and conuentions: a Prince ought to be true, and to loue truth, in regard whereof, our betters and elders ordained, and by them it was most wisely instituted; that the Booke of the holy Euangelists (wherein the diuine verity is contained) should daily (in the time of diuine seruice) be giuen to the Prince to kisse, to the end, that being admonished thereby, to pursue and honour truth; he should likewise remember, how studious he must be in louing her vprightly.

I could wish also, that a Prince should suffer no man to depart sad and discontented from his presence: but with cheerful lookes and gracious language, and so expresse himselfe both vnto small and great. Whosoever knoweth his Prince

to be endued with temperance, dare neuer vrgē any vile or vnbeleeving motion to him. *Happy Marcus Cato* (said *Cicero*) to whom no man durst make any vnjust demand! He shall bee thought worthy of authority and soueraigne power, and bee reputed a hopefull Prince by his people; that sharply pursueth wicked men, hateth the intemperate, reiecteth liars, & flyeth (as from the plague) such as aduise him to follow voluptuousnesse: for whosoever takes pleasure in crediting such counsellors; his childhood in rule shall be immodesty, his youth effeminacy, and his age infamy.

Whosoever holdeth gouernment ouer the people, ought to be free from affections; for anger hindereth knowledge of whatsoeuer is good; hatred puffes him on to imperfect actions; loue blindeth his iudgement; pleasure and inordinate will induceth him to violence; passion pricketh him on to reuenge; and enuy enflameth him, with a more haty and fiery temper, then is expedient in him. One and the same constancy in courage (at all times) is most required and commended in a King, as well in cases of aduersity, as prosperity. And if God please to visite him, with any scourge of his diuine Iustice; he ought to reioyce, and remember, that God chastiseth such as hee loueth; learning thereby, to support all with the vertue of patience in contrary fortunes, and not to mount vp in pride, whē affaires are fitting to his owne desires.

Sloth, accompanied with negligence, is greatly hurtfull to a Prince, which in times of safety, begetteth (oftentimes) feare and distrust, whereof the Poet saith,

*Otiū Reges prius et beatas
Perdidit vrbes.*

Wherefore, to shunne such inconveniences, some honest exercise is very fit for him; to play at Tennis (euē till hee sweates) is wholesome for him, and Musicke is very commendable; sometimes to hunt, and to ride great Horfies is necessary, for which *Virgill* gaue commendations to *Picū*, King of the Latines.

Picus equum domitor, debellatorque ferarū.

Which exercises of hunting & managing

Cicero in *Offi.*
lib. 1. cap. 5.

Particular re-
spects fitting
to be in a king
or Gouernor.

Of constancy
in courage in
all occasions
whatsoeuer,
best becom-
ing any
Prince.

For the pre-
servation of
both & neg-
ligence by
some honest
exercises.

Instructions
to all state
Discipline.

Historie and
Morall philo-
sophie fit for
princes & a day-
ly companion.

What benefits
the prince re-
ceiveth by ex-
ultation.

Comparative of an ig-
norant man.

Council is
held to be fa-
uored.

An especial
looking I shall
for all Kings
and princes.

ging horses, were (above all other) frequent with King *Cyrus*, for encreasing the strength of his body, and greatly seruing for the enstruction of Militarie discipline. And patience, to endure both heate and colde, is laudable in a Prince, and is many times more expedient for him, then strict abstinence from meate and drinke.

It is very necessary also, that he should haue good knowledge in Histories, and (if it were possible) not to bee ignorant in Morall Philosophie, which may well be teamed the Hunt-vice: also, to vnderstand Naturall Philosophie, the Science of Ciuill right, and Mathematical Disci- plines. He should be assidue in reading Poets, as *Homer*, whome *Alexander* had alwayes in his hand: and *Virgill*, singularly affected by the Emperor *Octavianus Augustus*. A Prince being endued with all these Sciences, shall receiue inestimable benefite thereby.

First, he shall become wise; for learning begetteth wisdom; next, they will yeeld him such vspeakable pleasure, as no delectations can be thought or vnder- stand: for, inquisition after truth, is the proper worke and perfection of the Spirit. What is more woorthy in a Prince, then to vnderstand true & honest things? To discern falsehood from truth, and villany from honestie? In mine owne iudgement, I account an ignorant man, I will not say onely, like vnto a Statue or Image, or the truncke of a tree: but (almost) differing in nothing from a brute beast.

If the Prince himselfe be not seene in all these Sciences and Disciplines, it shall bee a good quality in him, to cherish and affect the Professors of them, alwayes hauing wise and learned men about him, and to execute nothing, vntill he haue first heard the counsell of them; For, *Council is a sacred thing*, said *Epicarmus*. And he should strue to be like vnto them, in so much as possibly he may: according to the example of many great Kings, Princes and Captains, who highly loued and maintained Philosophers, Poets and skilfull men.

A Prince may perceiue, what account Great *Alexander* made of *Aristotle*, and how much he admired learned men; what

dignitie and praise *Pericles* wonne by the institutions of *Anaxagoras*; and *Epaminondas* by the study of philosophie, who (almost of himselfe) subdued the *Lacedaemonians*, that commanded all Greece. He may further obserue, how *Scipio* kept company with *Panetus* and *Polybius*, learned men; how *Augustus* would walke betwene *Virgill* and *Horace*; and what honours he gaue to *Arrius*. Finally, what deportments were vsed by many other Emperours and Kings, on the behalfe of learned men; and by the example of such persons, himselfe ought to performe the like. The Prince that attaineth to the issue of the qualities before remembered, and are required necessarily in him: shall reigne happily, and the people that liue vnder the lawes of such a Gouernor, will finde themselves more happy then he.

CHAP. XI.

That the eldest Sonne ought alwayes to bee preferred before a younger, especially in the succession of Kingdomes and Principallities, according to the Lawe of Nature. And what harmes haue followed, by doing the contrary.



In *Allemagne* or *Germany*, this bad custom they haue (I meane among the Noblemen,) that if they perceiue their youngest Sonnes able of spirit, and ad-

dick themselves to Armes, and not to endure any injuries; they make them theyr heyres. And the elder, perhappes more discrete, following naturall goodness, & being nothing so turbulent; they make them beleue, that they are idioles and fooles, confining them in prison, or else appointing them to Church-seruice. This manner of dealing, hath caused much war in the Realmes where it is put in practise: and the reason is, because it becometh alwayes, to keepe the order and commandement of God. For, although that the eldest

* A philoso-
pher of *Alex-
andria*.

A custome ob-
serued in *Ger-
many*, not very
commendable.

The Lawe of
God and Na-
ture is for the
eldest.
Deut. 21. 17.

Concerning
right in the
succession of
kingdomes.

The Hungari-
ans held firm
by the right
of the eldest
brother.

The journey
of Pompey
into Iudaea.

The equal
judgement of
Pompey.

Injustice in
Ptolemy the
first King of
Egypt.

eldest Sonne be ill-fighted, lame, crooked, and wholly misshapen, provided, that hee haue a reasonable soule remaining in him; he is not to be excluded from his naturall right. This is not onely to holde, and take place, when question is made about the right of eldership: but also, when the very nearest male by the fathers side, ought to succeed in the crown, how much deformed soener he be. Because, for one inconuenience, a good law should not be infringed, and so dangerous an ouerture made in Monarchies. Nor ought that to be followed, or held as a good lawe, which was made by *Lycurgus*, commanding, that deformed or misshapen children, should be slaine.

Heereupon, Iudgement passed for the Realme of *Hungarie*, by the States of the Countrey, against the disposition of *Launcelot*, King of *Hungarie*: who adopted *Alanus*, the youngest sonne of his brother, to make him King, and sent *Colomanus*, his eldest brother to study at *Paris*, causing him afterward, to vndergoe the Orders of Priesthoode, and bestowed a Bishoppricke vpon him, to deprive him of all hope of succeeding in the Crowne; because he was quint-eyed, crook-backed, lame and stammered. Neuertheless, the State and people expelled the younger brother: and would haue none other to be King then the eldest, who was brought backe againe, dispensation being granted for his Orders, and he married.

Pompey, being gone into the East parts, to make Conquests, and comming into *Iudaea*, found it full of warre, because two brethren warred each with other, onely for the kingly dignity. For *Aristobolus* the younger brother, had invaded the best places of the Kingdome, and quite expelled his brother *Hircanius*: because hee said, that hee was not borne, & apt for Armes. Norwithstanding, *Pompey* adiudged the Kingdome to *Hircanius*, and the high-Priesthoode to *Aristobolus*, which was the chiefeft degree next to the King; and thus the stowt warriour was stayed from prosecution of this purpose.

Ptolomie, the first of that name, King of *Egypt*, preferred the youngest before the eldest; Against the Lawe of Nations, faith *Justin*, and so caused the one to kill the other. In the same kingdome, an other *Ptolomie*, named *Philometus*, at the entrea-

tie of his wife *Cleopatra*, preferred the youngest sonne before the eldest: but after the fathers death, the people repealed the eldest, and excluded the youngest, as *Paulsanias* affirmeth.

In like manner, *Anaxandrides*, King of *Lacedemon*, preferred *Doricus* before *Cleomenes* his elder brother, because hee was more gentle; and yet notwithstanding, *Herodotus* in his fourth Booke sayth, That the people would not permit or suffer it, because it was against the right of Nations.

King *Pyrrhus* making election of an heyre amongst his Sonnes, chose him that had the best and keenest Sword: neuertheless, after his death, the eldest (who was lesse valiant) carried the inheritance away. For, whatsoeuer hardiness, gentleness, fayre feature and wisdom, that may be in the younger, more then in the elder: yet it is not anie occasion, whereby the father should forger himselfe, as to preferre the youngest before the eldest, as did the father of *Atreus* and *Thyestes*, who would needs preferre the youngest Sonne, because hee had better and more vnderstanding in the affaires of State, but thereon ensued bloudie tragedies.

Heereunto likewise I may adde, *Lewes* the Pittifull, King of *France*, who (at the request of his second wife) preferred *Charles* the Baulde, before his Elder Brother *Lotharius*, whereby the Realme became embraced with warres.

The like consequence came by *Robert*, King of *France*, in preferring *Henry*, the first of that name, before his eldest brother, who contented himselfe with *Bourgonne*; because he was a coward and false to his owne heart.

Charles the seventh, could neuer obtaine of Pope *Pius* the second, to aduance *Charles* the youngest Sonne, before *Lewes* the cleauenth, although the King had then good occasion: because the sayde *Lewes* made two attempts to take the Crowne, and to reare away the Scepter from his father, without anie occasion whatsoever. And in very truth (as *Herodotus* saith) Throughout the whole world, the eldest are aduanced to the dominion, euen amongst the most illiterate and barbarous on the earth, they obserue the course of Nature.

When *Frances Bizarro*, a Spanish Captayne, conquered the kingdome of *Perru*, he

Paulsanias in lib. i.

The great
tour of King
Pyrrhus.

They were the
sonnes of
Polops and
Hippodamia.

Lewes the
mercifull.

Robert King
of *France*.

Example of
King *Charles*
the seuenenth.

Herodotus li. a.
Barbarous, illiterate and
sauages instructed nature.

Concerning
two Twins.

Tit Livius in
lib. 8. Bello
Punico.

A pretence of
inheritance
decided by
combate.

he put to death king *Atabaliba*: whereof all the people were very ioyfull, to see him dye, that had slaine his elder brother, to make himselfe King, contrary to the custome of the Countrey, & conforme to the testament of the Father, who hauing two sonnes, willed, that *Gasca* the eldest, should succede him in the Kingdome, without any diuision.

There might also arise a doubt, to wit, if two infants be twins, which of them both should bee reputed the eldest; that must needs bee the eldest, which came fourth first to the worlds light. Another doubt also may bee moued in this case, that if any man (not being a king) hauing a sonne, shall afterward conquer a Kingdome, or some other such like dignity, be it either by Armes, or by donation. It falleth out in following dayes or yeares, that he hath another sonne; to which of these shall belong the kingdome or other honor? It is held for certain, that he who was or shall be borne, after that the Father became a king, in right ought to succede: for the eldest son was not of royal blood, but holds of his fathers first condition, who was not then royall by nature. But the other younger-borne sonne, though coming long after the first, is truly & really a Prince by blood. Like as he is not to be accounted for infamous, and out of hope for being legitimate, who was begot by a man neuer made Priest: but afterward, when he commeth to vndergoe the order of Priesthood, he begetteth then another Sonne; that Son is to remaine impeached, and can neuer come to such legitimacy, as the first borne.

Another difficulty there remaineth yet vndecided, to wit, whether the sonne of the eldest ought to succede his grandfather, or else the Crown appertaine to the younger brother (as it should seeme) because he is the nearest to the King, & the younger standeth withdrawne in degree. It was the opinion of some, and this difficulty hapned for the Kingdome of *Nu-midia*, where the younger son would succede next after his elder brother, without any respect to the children of the eldest. Heereupon, *Scipio* the *Africaine* being arbitrator, not knowing what to answer in this case, betwene the Vnckle and the Nephew, gaue order, that the Kingdome should be enjoyed, by a combat faught

betwene them, as it hath often hapned in *Germany*.

Now at this instant, the Kingdome of *Moscovia* is deferred vnto the younger sonne, after the death of the grandfather, without any regard of the sonne to him that was eldest. Nay, which is more, the elder brother succedeth to the younger in the Kingdome, although hee haue sonnes: As great *Basilus*, King of *Moscovia*, succeeded in the Kingdome after his elder Brother, who had sonnes. And this was vsuall, not onely among the *Vandalers*; but also in all the Northerne countries, according to the affirmation of *Procopius*, as also in *Eng'land*. And for this cause, *Richard*, sonne to the heire & eldest, was defeated of the Crowne, which was adiudged by the States to *Henry* of *Lancaster*, younger brother to the Father of *Richard*, in the yeare 1399. And in the like case, *Robert* of *Naples*, the younger sonne, enioyed the kingdome of *Naples*, by sentence of the Pope, and the sonne to the elder brother, King of *Hungary*, was dispossessed. But now adayes, this rule holdeth not in the countries hithertoward, neither doth it carrie any practise in the Crowne of *France*, since then when it so happened: the sonnes of the eldest are alwaies preferred before the younger brother, and the *English* obserue the same course.

Some kings haue bin so superstitiously affected, and (beside) very ill aduised, that they would needs make search for the natiuities of their childre, to giue to him the Crowne, whose Stars appeared most to flourish in. In the number of whom, was *Alphonfus*, king of *Castile*, who by this means would needs preferre the younger son before the elder; but he slew the younger, and caused his father to die in prison: by which I find, that he was but a poore Prognosticator. Wherefore, to auoide ciuile war, which is the ruine of kingdomes and common-weales, the law of nature, (or rather the Lawe of God) ought to be followed, which commandeth, to conferre kingdomes vpon the eldest, as alwayes it was practised amongst the Hebrewes: and as we further finde, that the kingdome of *India* was conferred vpon *Iehoram*, because he was the eldest, as the Scripture affirmeth. Vv hich also the wife *Lycurgus* imitated; for, although the *Lacedemonians* had created him King, after the death of *Charilaus*:

Concerning
the Kingdome
of *Moscovia*.

An vsiting
law decreed
to be abolished.

Kings becoming
superstitious
Astrologists.

Alphonfus,
K. of *Castile*.

Pardus lib. a.
cap. 21. §.

M m m yet

The honest
confidence of
Liaiguar.

yet notwithstanding, hee would not accept the crowne; but kept it, and rendered it to the sonne of the others brother, whē he came to competent age.

CHAP. XII.

The Monarchy of the Cæsars, or Romanes.



Lulius Cæsar, a verye gracious Prince, and one of the Worldes cheefest Capitaines; reigned 5. yeares. He vanquished Pompey & his confederats: Ptolomy he slew, & restored Cleopatra his friend (sister to Ptolomy) to the Kingdome of Egypt. Returning home to Rome, hee was slaine in the Senate house, by Brutus, Cæsius, and other Conspirators. Discomfited then liued: But if you would haue more of Cæsars life, reade Suetonius and Florus, in the life of Cæsar.

Octavius Augustus the last Nephew of Julius, by the sisters side, and his adopted Sonne, reigned 56. yeares: he was happy in warre, moderate in peace, and liberrall to euery one. Then liued Virgill, Horace, Tibullus, Propertius, Virtrunius, Mecenas: And then died Cleopatra, and her husband Marke Anthony, Egypt beeing then reduced into a Prouince. Herod a stranger (fauoured by Augustus) was then King of Iudea. So the Scepter being wholly taken from Iudas Iesus Christ, God and man, the Sauour of the world, was then borne of a Virgin in Bethlehem, according to the Prophetes of Iacob, Genes. 49. Esay 7. Michas 5.

Iesus Christ came in the yeare of Augustus 42. and of the world. 3963. Ouid was then in exile: the City of Lyons founded: and then liued Titus Livius, Valerius Maximus, Strabo: and Francus, King of the Sircambrians, in the lower Allemagne: Aquila, Tiberius, Galba, Labenus and Caius,

were then Law-giues, or Law-makers. Herod the great murderer of Innocents; and there were numbered then at Rome, foure hundred, sixty foure thousand men.

Claudius Tiberius, the sonne of Liuis, afterward Wife to Augustus, reigned 23. yeares, beginning very well, but prouing afterward to bee most wicked. Iesus Christ (for our saluation) was then crucified in Hierusalem, vnder Pilate the Pro-uost of Iudea: he saide, that A good Shepherd should clip his Sheepe, and not denoure them.

C. Caligula, Sonne of Germanus, a most wicked mā, reigned 13. yeares. This beast, the ruine of men, made himselfe to be adored as God: hee poysoned his Vnckle Tiberius, and deslorved all his Sisters, leauing them then vnto others like abusing.

T. Claudius, Vnckle of Caligula, and monster of men, reigned fourteen yeares. He preferred Nero before his owne Son, by the treason of whom, he was poysoned with a Mustrume. Messalina, his first Wife, peerelesse in all lubricity and wickednesse, then flourished: And Saint Peter the Apostle liued (reported to bee first Bishop of Rome:) Then liued likewise Philo the Iew, Perseus, Mela, Pliny the elder, and Columella. Saint Paul the Apostle went then through the World, proclaiming Iesus Christ, accompanied with Saint Luke. Then liued Dyonisius Areopagita: And then was the first council of Hierusalem.

Nero, the sonne of Agripina, afterward the Wife of Claudius, reigned thirteene yeares. He was the first Persecutor of the Church, and did put Saint Peter and Saint Paul to death: he slew likewise his Master Seneca, also his owne Mother, and Lucan the Poet. Then liued Simon Magnus, and Appollonius. Nero being expelled from Rome, flew himselfe; after he had set Rome on fire, to make himselfe palltime of a Bon-fire.

Sergius Galba, in the seventh Month of his Empire, was slaine by Otto. Suetonius, Egesius lib. 4. cap. 21.

M. Silanus Otto, hee also most wickedly slew himselfe, in the third Moneth of his Empire: confessing, that hee had cruelly tormented the spirit of Galba. According to Suetonius, and Tacitus lib. 7.

The yeares of
Christ.

17.

39.

43.

57.

70.

Anlus

71. **Anlus Pisellius**, brought vp at Bourdeaux de Caprea, being a vicious man and a glutton, was hewed in peeces, and cast into Tyber, hauing reigned eight Moneths. He caused himselfe to be serued at his table, with two thousand severall kindes of Fishes, and seauen thousand of Fowles, all at one supper. Suetonius lib. 9. Iosephus, lib. 5. de Bel. Iudai.

71. **Vespasian**, a modest & gracious Prince, a louer of skillfull men, and good Artizans, reigned tenne yeares, accompanied with his sonne Titus, who ruinated Hierusalem: Iosephus, Proculus, Epictetus. This ruine was the most lamentable that euer happened, for therein dyed eleuen hundred thousand men: Reade Iosephus, in his sixe and seauen Bookes of the Iewish wars, and Egesippus.

81. **Titus**, the delight and solace of mankind, reigned two yeares. He vsed to say, That no man ought to depart from a Prince, with a sad countenance: Cæsius, Neratius, Proculus & Pegasus were then Lawyers, and Saint Bartholomew was then martyred in India: Saint Matthias in Iudea: Saint Andrew in Scythia: Saint Mathew in Ethiopia: Saint Thomas in Bragman. Hierusalem was then taken; the famine beeing so extreame, as Mothers were compelled to eate their owne children.

83. **Domitian**, brother to Titus, was a most wicked man, and persecutor of the Christians: he reigned fifteene yeares: then liued Martialis, Inuenall, Statius, Trogus: and Saint John wrote the Gospell, as also Iosephus did the warres of the Iewes. Domitian would needs afterward bee called God and Lord of his people, wherefore (being greatly hated of all men) hee was slaine.

97. **Nerva**, a good Prince, and the adopted Father of Traian, reigned one yeare: he gaue more then an hundred thousand Crownes, to releese poore Cittizens. He tooke away extreame taxations, & (wanting money) he sold his garments, plate and Pallace, esteeming his owne Parents and Kindred much lesse, then hee did the publike benefit. The Christians were in great quiet vnder him, and the banished repealed, among whom was Saint Iohn.

99. **Traian**, a good Emperour, but that hee persecuted the Church; reigned nineteene yeares. Being admonished,

that he was ouer-gracious to all men, hee answered; That he was such to his Subiects, as hee could with others should bee to him, if he were a Subiect. Then liued S. Ignatius, S. Eusebius, Pliny the younger, Plutarch, Anlus Gellius, Suetonius, Tacitus, Solinus.

Adrian, a man studious and skillfull in all Sciences, and the first Emperour that suffered a Beard on his Face, reigned 21. yeares: Iulius Cæsius, Julian, and Neratius Priscus, were Lawyers and Councillors to the Emperour. Then were liuing Ptolomy the great Astrologer, Phavorinus, Dyonisius the Milesian, and Elishodorus. Hierusalem was repaired by Adrian, who therfore had his name charged, and was called Helias.

Antoninus Pius, reigned twenty three yeares. He was a Prince of such clemencie, as strange Nations wold resort vnto him, and make him Iudge of their differences; for he had alway this saying ready: I had rather saue one Cittizen, then kill a thousand Enemies. In this time were Polycarpus, Irenæus, Iustine Martire, Egesippus, Appian, Florus, Macrobis, Iustine, Galen, and Palladius: Lucian the Atheist, also was then torne with Dogs. This Emperour tooke away the wages or hyre of Strumpets, punished idle Magistrates, and was called, Father of his Country. Reade Eutropius lib. 8. Theophorus the ninth Pope (as some report) did then institute, or rather restore the time of Lent.

M. Antoninus the Philosopher (called Aurelius borne in Gaul, with L. Commodus Verus, and called Brethren in the Bookes of the Pandectes) reigned nineteen yeares. This young Prince being unwilling to oppress his subiects, made sale of all his fairest and richest Jewels, Plate, and wearing garments belonging vnto him and his Wife. Eutrop. lib. 8.

Lucius Aurelius Verus, governed the Empire with his brother Marcus Antoninus, the space of eleuen yeares: By some Authors, he is set downe in order before his brother, and by others after him.

L. Commodus, the most wicked sonne of good Antoninus, reigned 13. yeares. He was strangled by his Concubine, & other Conspirators. Eutrop. lib. 8. Orosius lib. 8. cap. 18. Lampridius doth most amply describe his life at large.

Aelius Pertinax reigned fixe Moneths. M m m m 2 He

118.

139.

A diuine say-
ing of a Page.

162.

181.

194.

He had refused the Empire, and being desirous to reforme the government, hee was slaine by *Iulian* his Successor; who bought the name of *Cæsar* of the Warriors. The people much bemoaned this Prince, crying out aloud: O Father of goodnesse; Father of the Senate; Father of all bounty: Farewell.

194.

V. Iulian, reigned seven Moneths, and being hated of all men, for slaying his predecessor, himselfe was also slaine by appointment of the Senate. Dissention grew amongst the Christians, for the celebration of Easter; And the second Councell appointed the day of Sunday, and five other after, *Ensch. lib. 5. cap. 24. Metianus, Secula, Marrianus and Cæsius*, were now Iustit-consuls: *Aphrodisius* and *Aphrodisius* Sophisters.

195.

Procerinus Niger, or *Nigerius*, the sonne of *Annius Fuscus*, indifferently learned, fierce, proud, and inclined to all vices; was saluted as Emperor, by the Soldiours of Syria, where he commanded, and was slaine by *Seuerus*.

L. Septimius Seuerus, reigned 18. yeares. He was a persecuter of the Church, but otherwise a valiant Prince, addicted both to good Letters and Armes. He was so wel beloued, and governed so nobly, that the Senate said of him: *Either hee should neuer haue bene borne, or else hee deserved neuer to dye. Reade Spart. and Vell.* Then liued *Origen, Tertullian, Philostratus* the Sophister, and *Apuleius*.

Cl. Albinus, issued of the Romane Families, of the *Posthumians* and *Albines*, made himselfe Emperor in France. He was surprized by the Soldiours, & brought halfe alive to *Seuerus*: where hauing his head smitten off, he was hanged on a gibbet, and being torne with dogs, he was throwne into the Riuer.

213.

A. B. Caracalla, the sonne of *Seuerus*, and husband to his stepmother, reigned seauen yeares. He slew *Geta* his brother, and *Papinian* the great and famous Lawyer, with diuers other. At last, himselfe was slaine by a Soldiour of his Guard. *Herod. lib. 4.*

Antoninus Geta, the sonne of *Seuerus* and *Iulia*, borne at *Milain*; After the *Parthian* warre, wherein hee wonne great fauour, was called *Cæsar Antoninus*, in the life of his Father.

220.

Op. Marinius, with his sonne *Diadume-*

nus, reigned one yeare. Both the one and other had their heads smitten off, by their men of warre. *Macrinus* was learned and seuer, but (withall) detestable and crafty, causing his Predecessour to bee murdered.

221.

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Heliogabalus, the bastard of *Caracalla*, who was a dishonest whore-hunter, and most abominable in life beside; gaue great estates to wicked Bawds, Panders, Iesters, &c. And being generally despised, hee was slaine by his Soldiours, in the fourth yeare of his Reigne: both his owne body and his Mothers being dragged along the Streetes, and cast into the common lay-stall.

225.

Alexander Seuerus, reigned peaceably without effusion of blood, 13. yeares. He was a good Prince, & did vtterly forbid the selling of Offices. *V. Iulianus, Paulus, Pomponius, Alpheneus, Affricanus, Callistratus*, and other excellent Ciuill Lawyers (the Schollers of *Papinian*) then liued, with *Dion* the Historian, and *Philostrophus*. The Kingdome of the *Persians* was then founded by *Artaxerxes*, and after transpotted to the *Sarrazins*, and now commanded by the *Sophi*.

The Kingdom
of Persia.

238.

Maximinus, a persecuter of the Christians, reigned three yeares. Being at first but a silly Shepheard; he was made Emperour by the Soldiours (without authority of the Senate) and then by them was slaine.

241.

Gordianus, a Princee of a Noble spirit, with his Son named *Gordianus* the younger, a good Prince, reigned six yeares, and was slaine by *Phillip* his successeur. In his time was a wonderfull Eclipse of the Sunne. Reade *J. Capitolinus*, who placeth also *Pupienus* and *Balbinus* (created by the Senate) with *Gordianus* the elder.

Pupienus Maximus, a new man, and sonne to a Smith, gaue himselfe alwayes to vertue and Military fertices, prouing fortunate against the *polonians* and *Germanes*.

M. Calpurnius, and *Pupienus*, after they had bin Consuls, and that the *Gordians* were slaine in *Affrica*; were created Emperours, by appointment of the Senate, against *Maximinus*, and both of the were vnderseuedly slaine.

Gordianus the second, youngest son of *Gordianus* by his Daughter, borne at *Rome*;

was

was slaine in a sedition of Soldiours, by *Phillip*, Prefect of the *Preterians*;

C. Valens Hostilianus, is not placed in this ranke by some Historians, because immediately hee dyed, smitten with the pestilence, so that scarcely there remaineth any memory of him.

247.

Phillip, an Arabian by Nation, was the first Christian of the *Cæsars*, and reigned five yeares. He gaue (by his Testament) all his rights and treasures to Pope *Fabian*; and heere began the riches of the Romane Church. He was likewise slaine by his successeur, as he had kild his Predecessour.

252.

Decius Traian, a persecuter of the Christians, reigned two yeares. *S. Saturnine* the Bishop was martyred at *Tholouse*. *S. Laurence, Hippolita, Cecily, Agatha*, and *Appollina*.

Q. Herennius Etruscus, is not by any Historian placed among the Emperours. Neuertheless, in this ranke is his picture found in the Booke of *Hilbert Goltzius*, and there it is recorded of him, that hee was the sonne of *Decius*, and that he was slaine in *Hungary*, in a battell against the *Gothes*.

254.

Vibius Gallus, with his sonne *Volusianus*, reigned two yeares: Being persecutors of the Church, were both slaine by the Soldiours. At this time there was such a contagious pestilence, and almost so generally dispersed, that in many places ther was left no creature liuing. This pestilence continued fiftene yeares, and seemed to be partly occasioned through the wicked government of this Emperour.

256.

Aemilianus Lybiennus, borne in *Mauritania*, in his young yeares followed armes, and soone after he was made Emperour. He was slaine at *Spoleta*, being aged forty yeares.

271.

Licinius Valerianus, with his Son *Galien*, persecuting the Church, reigned fiftene yeares. He was Captiue to *Sapor*, King of *Persia*, who vied him as a footstoolle when he mounted on horse-backe. *S. Cyprian* & *S. Cornelia*, were then martyred. *Porphyrius* wrote against the christians: The thirtieth Tyrants vsurped the Empire. Reade *Trebellius Pollio*, &c. *S. Paul* the first Hermite began the solitary life.

Galien the son of *Valerian*, suffered the Christians to liue in quiet, and reigned 9. yeares alone, after that his Father was led

captiue into *Persia* by *Sapor*. He was exceeding wife, but addicted to Lust.

Saloninus Valerianus, the sonne of *Galien*, was slaine with his Father, being retired to *Milaine*, and was but tenne yeares olde.

Cæsius Labienus Posthumus, from being a simple Souldior, attained to great dignities: and being in *France*, was made Emperour in the time of *Galien*, where he was slaine.

Flauius Claudius (of whom issued the family of the *Constantines*) a good Prince, of Noble Linnage, and highly esteemed, reigned two yeares. *Dionysius* being then Pope, diuided the Diocesses and Parishes of the Christians. *Tom. 1. de Concil. Lamblicus, Plotinus*, and *Iuuenius* Priest, reduced the foure Gospels into *Hexameter* Verses.

Aurelius Quintillus, brother to *Cladius*, after the death of his brother, was saluted as Emperour by the Senate, and slaine 17. dayes after.

273.

Valerius Aurelianus, a cruell man, reigned six yeares. He tormented the Christians, and repulsed the *Franconians*, entering out of *Germany* into *Gaul*. He was the first that wore an Emperiall Crowne: a lover of Military discipline, and one that rigorously punished the vices of his Soldiours. He vanquished *Zenobis*, a very Warlike Lady, holding the Empire of the East.

Tacitus was slaine the first Moneth of his Empire. This good Prince caused the Bookes of *Cornelius Tacitus* to bee recieued into all Libraries. The *Manicheans* began (from the time of *Aurelianus*) to infect the Church.

279.

Annius Florianus, brother to *Tacitus*, being desirous to reigne, vsurped the Empire as by inheritance: but in a short time he was slaine at *Tharfus*, by his Soldiours.

Probus, a good Prince, the Authour of peace in the high and lower *Germany* or *Almaine*, reigned six yeares and foure Moneths. He said, That he had no neede of Warriors, hauing no enemies; and that the Souldior (not doing any thing) ought not to eate up publicke provision.

279.

Carus, a good and wife Prince, reigned two yeares, with his sonnes *Carinus* and *Numerianus*, two Brethren of very different nature. The first, was most wicked, and full of cruelty: The other was full of

286.

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good

goodnesse, valour and knowledge. Then liued *Volcatius, Herodian, Lampridius, Spartianus, Pollio, Papius and Capitolinus* Historians.

Diolejan with *Maximianus Herculus*, reigned 20. yeares: hee was a most cruell persecutor of the Christians, and would haue himselfe to be worshipped. *Katharine, Lucy, Agnes, Barbus, Sebastian, Vincent, Cosmo and Damian*, and innumerable other Martyrs through the world (in his Reign, to the number of 17. thousand) were put to death in thirty dayes.

Valerius Maximus, fir-named *Herculus*, a man of fierce and cruell nature, was very out-ragious in lust, especially with his owne sisters: blockish in giuing counsell, without ciuility and gouernment, & therefore had *Diolejan* to assist him in the Empire.

Constantius Chlorus, father of *Constantine* and *Galerius*, the one gouerned in the East, the other in the West, 4. yeares together. *Constantine* commaunded in *Gaul, Spaine, Affrica, and Italy*: The other in *Greece, Arnohinus, Laetantius, Dorotheus*, Bishop of *Tyre*, *Eusebius* and other learned personages liued at this time.

Galerius Maximianus, rearm'd *Armentarius*, because he was a Neat-herds son, was made Emperor, being a goodly person, and a fortunate warrior. *Maximinus*, Nephew to *Armentarius* by his sister, was Emperor, and persecuted the Christians in the East. *Seuerus*, Prefect of *Italy* and *Affricke*, was published Emperor by *Galerius*, and fighting with *Maxentius*, was taken at *Rauenna*, and slaine.

Maxentius, elected Emperour by his Soldiours, reigned a Tyrant, and was like vnto his Father *Maximinus*. Being vanquished by *Constantine*, neere to *Pont-Mulius*, he was drowned in a Gulfe, and his body neuer after found.

Licinius Licinianus, borne of Country Parents, was fortunate in the wars which he had against *Maximinus*. Afterward, he became a mocker of Christ, and persecuted such as beleueed in him; and because he was ignorant, he was a great enemy to all that were learned.

Martinianus, was created *Cæsar* by *Licinius* against *Constantine*; hee was in his Camp at night, but fled before next morning.

Constantine the Great, sonne of *Helena*

an holy woman, with *Maxentius* and *Licinius*, reigned 31. yeares. He was religious and affable, and transported the Bible into diuers Countries. He assembled the Councell of *Nice* against *Arius* the Heretike. He builded the City of *Constantinople*, calling it after his owne Name: whether the Imperiall seate was translated, and changed from *Rome* into *Greece*, after he had granted *Siluester* to be Pope. *Euseb. lib. 10. Niceph. lib. 8.*

Crispus was made *Cæsar* by his Father *Constantine*, but being afterward falsely accused to his Father, he was put to death; for that hee would not consent to the inordinate appetite of *Fausline* his stepmother.

Constantine the second, with his Brethren reigned 17. yeares, ioyning thereto the three yeares reigne of *Maxentius*. *Themistius, Donatus, and Libanius* the Sophister then liued: and *Saint Anthony* the Hermit was knowne in *Egipt*, by many miracles.

Julian the Apostata, held the true Religion ten yeares, and was named Emperour by the men of warre in *Paris*, against his will. Hee forbad the Christians the study of letters: and being wounded to death, he cryed out: *At length thou hast vanquished, O Galilean. S. Cyrill, Optatus, Basile, Nazianzene, Epiphanius, Hilary, Didimus, Exuperius* (all learned Diuines) then flourished.

Iouianus, a kind and learned man, reigned eight Moneths, and made confession to his Warriours, of the name of Iesus Christ. Now was the first order of Monks instituted by *S. Basile*, vnder certaine rules of liuing.

Valentinian, a good and Catholique Prince, and *Valens* his brother, reigned 15. yeares. This man held the error of the *Arians*, and constrained the Monkes to vndertake Armes in warre: he dyed vnhappy.

Gratian, the sonne of *Valentinian*, during whose lifetime, he was an associate in the Empire. He reigned afterward with *Valentinian* the second, his younger Brother, and *Theodosius* sixe yeares.

Maximus, rearm'd Emperour by his Soldiours, slew *Gratian*, and held the Empire foure yeares: after which time, *Valentinian* returned to the Empire againe five yeares.

Theodosius,

The Councell of Nice,

395.

Theodosius, after that *Gratian* was slaine by *Maximus*, reigned three yeares with his brother *Valentinian*: the death of who was bemoaned by *S. Ambrose*, for the great zeale hee had to Christian Religion. *S. Hierome, S. Augustine, and P. Orosius* then liued.

399.

Arcadius and *Honorius*, the sonnes of *Theodosius*, reigned twenty nine yeares, as well in the East as in the West. About this time, the great empire of *Rome* began to decline (by the infidelity of *Ruffinus* & *Silico* their Tutors.) The very greatest part thereof was vied by the *Scythians, Burgundians, Lombards, Hungarians, French, Goths, and Vandales*: And *Rome* was four times taken by the *Goths* and *Vandals*, within one hundred thirty nine yeares. Then liued *S. Chrysostome* and *Claudian*.

Rome foure times surprized.

411.

Honorius reigned with *Theodosius*, Son to his Brother, sixteene yeares.

427.

Theodosius the second, youngest sonne of *Arcadius*, reigned at *Constantinople* 27. yeares, after the death of *Honorius*; hauing assisted *Valentinian* the third, the son of *Constantius*, and *Placida*, daughter to *Theodosius*, who reigned five yeares in the West. At this time, the *Frenchmen* leauing *Francia*, began to enter vpon the *Gauls*, vnder *Clodion* their second King.

453.

F. Valerius Martinianus, reigned in the East, seauen yeares, and *Valentinian* the third (at the same time) in the West: during their Reigne, the *Burgundians* and other Westerne Nations, were conuerred to the Faith. The *Vandals* came out of *Spaine* into *Affrica*, and afterward they tooke *Rome*, vnder the conduct of their King *Genetichus*. *Attila*, King of the *Hunnes*, entered into *Gaul* with five hundred thousand men: deliuered battaile to *Aetolius* their second King, who had ioyned with *Aetius*, Lieutenant vnto the Emperour. There he lost an hundred and fourescore thousand men, and fled into *Hungaria*, not any man being wounded behinde. About this time was great *Arthur* King of *Britaine*.

460.

Leo the first, reigned 17. yeares, associated by *Leo* the Sonne of his Daughter; who after he had reigned one year alone, gaue vp the Empire to *Zeno* his Grand-son, who reigned tyrannically 17. yeares.

476.

The estate of the Church was then very greatly troubled, as also that of the Westerne Empire. *Italy* had then nine Em-

perors in twenty yeares, who all slew one another.

Anastasius reigned twenty five yeares: he was an *Eutichian* Heretique, was smitten with lightning, and dyed (as a iust punishment) for his heresie. *Eugenius*.

Iuliane reigned nine yeares: hee was first a Swine-herd, afterward a Cow-herd, next a Carpenter, a Souldiour, a Capraine, and last of all Emperour, gouerning very well and godly, and expelling the *Arrian* Heretiques. Then liued *Boetius*; and *S. Benet* or *Benedict* began this Order.

Iustinian reigned thirty eight yeares. All his care and study, was to reparaire the decayed Empire, and re-establish ciuill right; in the execution whereof, hee was seconded by excellent personages, especially by *Belisarius, Narfes*, and *Tribonianus*. They first chased the *Vandals* out of *Affrica*, which they had held 95. yeares; and deliuered *Rome* from the *Goths*, who had conquered it, & yet were once more expelled thence by *Narfes*.

Iustine the second, reigned ten yeares, beloued of all men for his liberality. *Sophia* his wife mocked him with *Narfes*, the Gouernour of *Italy*, whereto he being offended, called the *Lombards*, by whose helpe he reuenged himselfe. Now was the Kingdome of the *Lombards* founded by *Clebus*, wher reigned thirty two kings, vntill the time of *Charles the Great*.

Tiberius the second, reigned 7. yeares: he was a very charitable man, one that loued God and his Saints, and therefore (no doubt) was beloued of him againe.

Mauritius reigned twenty yeares: he was descended of very meane Parentage, and (in the end) was murdered for his comouersnesse: a vice as much discommendable in a Prince, as liberality is becoming, and maketh him renowned.

Phocas reigned eight yeares: and being the murderer of his Predecessor, himselfe was likewise murdered, with all his Race. Now was the contention for the Primacy of the Church, betwene *Rome* and *Constantinople*, and now was *S. Gregory*.

Heraclius reigned thirty yeares, who was the murderer of *Phocas*. The fifteenth yeare of his reigne, began the rule of *Mahomet*, the false Prophet of *Arabia*, where were the *Agarens* & *Sarrazins*: to whom the

493.

519.

528.

566.

The kingdome of the Lombards.

577.

584.

604.

Contention for Primacy of the church.

612.

288.

308.

310.

the Egyptian and Arabian princes (called *Soldanes*) next succeeded. After them came the Turkes, about the year of our Lord God, one thousand three hundred, *Mahomets* false doctrine (through the negligence of the Emperors & Christian princes) grew to such an head, that it not onely poisoned *Asia* and *Africa*, but also a very great part of *Europe*.

Constantine the third, reigned four moneths, being a good prince, and verie young: He was poisoned by his stepmother, that her sonne might reigne.

Heracion, who hauing his nose and tongue cut out, was banished two yeares after.

Constantians, the sonne of *Constantine*, reigned twenty and seauen yeares: And beeing very couetous, hee was slayne by his owne followers, in the Bathes of *Syracusa*.

Constantine the fourth, reigned seauenteene yeares. Hee ouercame in one battell, thirty thousand *Syracusans*, and afterward fell to great wickednesse. The learned and venerable *Beda* liued in this time.

Iustinian the second, a wicked man, reigned fixteene yeares, but not without interruption, being delected by *Leontius*, and *Leontius* by *Tyberius Abfmaris*, who reigned other three yeares; therefore these three are sayde to reigne fixteene yeares. Now was the beginning of the Dukes of *Venice*, which had beene gouerned before (for the space of two hundred and thirty yeares) by Tribunes.

Philip Bardasanes, reigned two yeres. Hee was cait out of his Empire by his Lieutenant: and after that, they plucked forth his eyes. Hee had much talke and little wisdom, disposing badly of the Empire, he became after a schismaticall Monke.

Anthemius, called also *Athanasius* the second, reigned three yeares: He was delected from his Empire by *Theodosius* chiefe of his Armie, and turned into a Monastery. He had taken away the Empire, and then pluckt out the eyes of his predecessor.

Theodosius the third, reigned one yeare. He left the Empire, seeing himselfe to be assailed by *Leo* his successor, and became a Monke.

Leo the third, a wicked man, reigned

five and twenty yeares. Hee was called *Iconomachus*, a Defacer of Images, and would not suffer the Christians to haue any in their Temples. He was excommunicated by *Gregorie*, and by authoritie of a Councell held at *Rome*, against his owne of *Constantinople*. *Blond*, in his tenth booke. The *Saracins* besieged *Constantinople* three yeares together, in which time died three hundred thousand of the pestilence and famine.

Constantine, the fift of that name, the sonne of *Leo* the *Isaurian*, succeeded his father in the Empire of *Constantinople*, in the year of our Salvation, seauen hundred fortie and two. Hee was firamed *Copronymus*, because hee would discharge his belly in the Founts, appoynted for Christian Baptisme. Hee was an viter enemy, not onely to the Images of Saints, but also to their Reliques, causing them to be burned. Hee did put to death many of the best and most respected persons, and (amongst others) two Patriarchs of *Constantinople*. He made warre against the *Bulgarians*, both by Land and Sea, Fortune smiling vpon him, other-whiles lowring. In his absence, one *Artabasdus* was made Emperour at *Constantinople*. But hee receiving news thereof, returned, and either put out, or rent forth the new Emperours eyes, and caused his children to be slaine. In his time, there was so cold a Winter, that the Sea of *Constantinople* was frozen. After many cruelties, this Emperour dyed a Leaper.

Artabasdus, albeit he was defended of meane birth; yet notwithstanding, for the faithfulness, good vertues, and commendable qualities which were in him, he was liked of the Senate and Souldiers, & afterward was elected Emperour by the zealous Christians, for the hatred that euery one bare to *Constantine* the fift. Hee became a better louer of the Saints, and fortified the City of *Constantinople* against *Constantine*, who had beene expelled from thence. Neuertheless, both hee and it were besieged; and the City beeing surprized, his eyes were plucked out, and his children put to death.

Leo the fourth, was Emperour after his father *Constantine* the fift. He was not onely heire to the Empire, but also to his fathers vices: And his mother, who was deuout, and one that loued God, would

giue

giue no consent, that he should be Emperour. Hee made some attempts vpon the *Saracins* that dwelt in *Syria*. Heeooke the Crowne, which *Mauritius* had dedicated vnto Almighty God, and set it on his owne head, it being very richly beautified with rich pretious stones: But soon after, hee had an Impostume in his head, with a fiery Ague, whereof he dyed.

Constantine, the sixt of that name, and sonne to *Leo* the fourth, was Emperour after his father: Hee reigned nine yeares (very young) with his mother, who with his consent also, was perswaded by *Theodorus* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, to call a general Councell of three hundred and fifty Bishops. In a short while after, *Constantine* excluded his Mother from the Empires gouernement. Hee caused the eyes and tongue of *Nicephorus* to be pulled and cut out, hearing of a secret intention, to make him Emperour. Also hee did shut vp in a Monastery, his wife *Marie*, who was the daughter of King *Charlemaine*, and then tooke a Concubine, by the councell of his Mother, who pretended that her sonne was hated of the people. Heereupon not long after, shee caused him to be taken, and plucking forth his eyes, shut him vp in prison, where hee dyed, in the year 798, and then she reigned alone, about the space of five yeares.

Irene, issued from *Attica*, was Vife to the Emperour *Leo* the fourth, by whome hee had *Constantine* the sixt before mentioned, and reigned with him nine yeares, & afterward (alone by herselfe) five yeares, or little more, as hath already beene sayd. Shee was thence expelled by *Nicephorus*, and sent into exile to the Isle of *Lesbos*, which at this instant is called *Mitilene*. At the time when this Lady gouerned the Empire of *Constantinople*, *Charlemaine* was sacred and crowned Emperour of *Rome*, (or of the West) for his vertues.

CHAP. XIII

The ancient and honourable Historie of the life, fortunes and admired vertues, of faire Landgartha, the royall Queene of Norway.

IT is a case most certayne and assured, that a generous spirit, a gentle soule, and

an vnderstanding filld with cheareful delicacie, is much sooner seized with amorous apprehensions; then that which is farre off from this quaint temper, and which subtilizeth the same perfection of the soule. Considering that loue, pure and perfectly naturall, being a vertue, and vertue cuermore biding in such fubjects, where the hearts are bold and most fantimoniously nourished, and gentle spirits hauing (I know not how) a rellish more diuine then vulgare, or apted for grosse popularitie: It followeth, without anie question to the contrary, that men, the more remarkable they are for greatness, gentleness, good spirit, & illustrious blood, doe also best discourse on louely occasions, and effect them with clearer iudgement, then such as faile in the accomplishments of the soule.

And, to sit this poynt the more seriously; Is it for a Clowne or peazant, to iudge on the raritie of vertues, on the singular giftes of the Spirit, of that which is beloued; and what offices and duties are in the partie affectionate? Effectes doe plainly approoue the contrary; for Poets, who are the very subtillest Painters of humane affections, that I know, and which trace Truth vnder the dissembled colours of wittie Fables, can not better let vs beholde the picture of such an impression; then by the iudgement (so often sung) and performed by the *Trojan*; on the beautie of the three Goddesses. For, the rudenesse of the Shepheard, hauing extincted the bright beams of bloud from his Parents, among the base and grosse thoughts fit for flock-keepers, not knowing the spirites forces, the beautie of the soule, the gentleness of vnderstanding, and the galliardie of the bodie it selfe, in being gouerned by interior reason; gaue the pize (he knew not how) of beauty by appearing in the exterior shape of a lasciuious Lady.

Beholde how farre Poetical Philosophy extendeth it selfe, and iudge, if the forth Shepheard degenerated not from his Parents, who should more haue cherished vertue, which liueth and continueth for euer; then that which withereth, and looseth it selfe by the steppes of age. And if that indiscreet Iudge pronounced the Sentence, in fauour of the most vwoorthie, and lent his affections to the onlie

The reason why good spirits are much more amorous then dull and leaden creatures.

It is not for the Buzzards cleere gaze on the Sunnes radiant splendour.

The interpretation of the Fable, concerning the iudgement of Paris.

The exordium of poetical Philosophy in the Fable.

640

641

643

670

687

The State of the Venetians.

713

715

718

719

780

798

743

743

745

onely tickling of desire, full of wretched folly: (so was he as well recompenced according to his merit, and felt in the ende, that a manly *Hellors* desleignes, fauouring of that which is proper to the vertue of a man; was much rather to be chosen, then the light promise of a hurtful thing, how pleasant soeuer in wish, and alluring the sensuall part of a man.

Also, to speake truly, so many famous women, as haue honoured all the Ages past and ours, by effect and memory of their commendable vertues; if they had had no other rarities to renouwe them, but onely beauty of the body: questionlesse, their names had long since bin buried in a more obscure graue, then euer time ordained for things to be forgotten. No, no, it was vertue, generosity, height of courage, and great enterprizes; which made them immortall, and equalled their glory with the renouwe of men, yea, of the most signall and illustrious.

Against the venomous tongues of such, as neuer cease to take the reputation of so honourable a sexe; no boast need to be made, either of search into the valiances of *Semyramis*, whose memorie is somewhat too farre off; neyther the incredible forces of the *Amazones*, the History being (I know not how) doubtfull in the occurrences. Nor will I induce *Zenobia the Asian Queene*, the dreadfull astonishment (sometime) of the Romane Empire: whose wisdom also was as much to bee commended, as any of the very chiefeest Generals, her direction, policy and good carriage, all making her reputed (long time) for one of the Worlds Monarchs. Nor am I willing (tearing to make men bluth, by reading how many women haue managed Armes, and with no meane felicity) to insert *Cinana*, Daughter to *Phillip King of Macedon*, who made head against the ingratefull successours of her Brother *Alexander*, pursuing the viter ruine of his blood that had advanced them. After many foughten Battailles, hauing carried herself beyond the compasse of man-like valiancy; in the ende, the affected rather to dye, then to see the viter ruine of the famous House of her Ancestors, being vnable any way to helpe it. I will be silent also, in speaking of the braue *Valaeca*, a young Lady of *Bohemia*, who arming

the Ladies of her Country against their Husbands; made a happy course of long warre against the men: vntill such time, as (being betrayed) shee crowded into the throngs of her enemies, of whom (before she could be slaine) she slew a great number.

I will not (I say) discourse so many examples, being satisfied with a History most true and memorable, collected fro famous Antiquity, and from among the Ladies of a people, heretofore accounted very barbarous: wherein (by my slender opinion) honest Gentlemen shall receiue some taste of vertue, without learning the fierce obstinacy of any; and Gdemen, may haue meanes to see and consider, how to make choyse of vertue in louing; and faire minded Maidens, obserue a rule, how to contain their thoughts in loyall affection, to them whom they haue dedicated their desires.

In the time when *Dagobert*, sonne to *Charles the Great*, reigned in *France*, and ouer the Empire, there was a King in *Swetia*, named *Froll*, or *Frolle*, a cruell man, a tyrant, and insupportable to euery one. This King, being neuer contented with his owne Royalties, began to insult obstinately on his neighbours Lands: but especially to fiesh on the king of *Norway*, vpon whose Countries entring without challenge or defiance, he made such great spoyle; that hauing pilld, sacked, and well-neere ruined the whole Country, he vanquished and slew the King, with all his Family. Nor did it suffice this rauenous Wolfe, to haue shed so much innocent blood, for the glutting of his greedy desire: but hee must needs also foyle his name with all kindes of cruelty and villany, in such, that hee left neyther Lady of the House Royall, nor any other that he could lay hold on; but he abused them as villanously, as wickedly hee had robbed other of their inheritable rights. They that were not (as yet) fallen into the gripes of this abhominable Goate, and not knowing how to shunne falling into his cunning and treacherous snares, made such a priuate consultation among themselves by secret intelligence; that at length, they mette together in a corner of the desert belonging vnto the Kingdome, to haue a more free vnderstanding of particular grieuances, and how

Valaeca a young Lady, entred into Armes in Bohemia, against the men of the Country.

The Author referreth his Readers to this History only.

King Froll the cruell tyrant of Swetia

A bloody tyrant makes no spare of any thing; he may compasse his owne vile desires.

The noble me of Norway sought Reueng of Denmark to redress their wofull miserie.

Distressed both of Norway and Ladies, is cruelly distressed.

A Council called among the Ladies of Norway.

how they might best defend theyr honor and innocence.

Newes likewise ran curiously among them, that the Nobilitie of the Country (who had withdrawne themselves into *Denmarke*) solicited King *Reyner*, to bring thither his forces, in reuenge of a dishonourable injury done to his owne blood (for his mother was issued from *Norway*) and the *Dane* being easily spurred on to warre, in regarde he was very youthfull, his blood chearefully boyling, and desirous to archieue honour by Armes; gaue the easier eare to the motion. Beside, desire of reuenge, to see his reputation so much interessed, by the tyrannies of *Swetia*, with pretending a right and title vnto thekingdome of *Norway*: These were no meane motives to incite him on the sooner. And these considerations, gaue hart also to the distressed Ladies, for hope of good successe thereby: but fearing, that matter and meanes (in this case) were not as yet sufficiently ready; this intimated peruation vanished into smoake, euen (well-neere) as suddenly as it was concoiued, being no way able to resolue on any thing.

At length, one in their goodly troupe, and (almost) one of the youngest, fairest and gentlest Virgines, and such a one as had propounded to herselfe, neuer to submit vnder any Lawe, that gaue a man power ouer his wife: She, beholding the sad astonishment of the whole company, and what iust reason they had to be so dreadfully dismayed; making a reuerent obedience vnto them all, deliuered her minde in this manner.

The Oration of Landgartha, to the whole Company of Ladies.

Can it be (faire Ladies of Norway) that illustrious blood, appeareth onely in the strength and dexterity, which fondly wee presume proper and peculiar to men: and we that haue hearts, spirits, bodies and members like vnto theirs, must make them reuengers, and defenders of our continence & chastity? If Fate be so maleuolently affected, that our fathers, brothers and husbands, can obtaie

no succour, to recover their lands, and expulse the Tyrant out of theyr territories: shall it therefore be said, that we must needs serue the inordinate appetits of a villaine? Frolle must abuse those remaining Ladies, that neuer tasted his abhominable embracements. Let Landgartha liue no longer, if she be voyde of all other duties and deuotion, then to attend the pleasures of a Tyrant, and (without resistance) suffer violence to be done to her honour and modestie.

Why Ladies, the *Lyonesse* and *Tygre*esse whet theyr claws and sharpen theyr teeth, to defend theyr young ones, and preserve theyr lines from the Hunts mens hands. The verie smallest Bird will rise both the Beake and Wing, to reuenge the wrong offered by rape of her brood. And we that surmount the one, in sense and reason, the other in strength, & all in wisdom: and can offer for bolde attempts; shall we suffer that a Stranger (not one: iose, fromer then our owne Countries strength) shall make a mockery and abusive pastime, of the most honourable Matrones & Gentlewomen in our Land? No, no, it is not for Landgartha to endure such indignitie, or that (without effusion of her blood) can yeeld to the beaust-like Prince of *Swetia*.

Are we inferiour in courage and generosity of spirit, to braue *Aluilda*, who so long time fought on the Seas, and amazed the very boldest warriours of the world? Are we defective in any thing shee had? We are healthfull, young, gallant, strong and rich enough, to winne whatsoeuer is needfull for vs, by service cyther on Sea or Land. And if *Aluilda* (moued by iust means) prosper in her actions, and had Fortune favorable to all her attempts: can you imagine, that Heaven hath not farre sayer successe in store for vs, hauing Reason and Vertue on our side, and vpright iustice to support our cause? were our iourney to death onely, and that the ending of this wretched life, could appease the Tyrants cruelty, without proceeding any further: I would be the foremost, freely offering my selfe as a Sacrifice, to satiate the furie of his raging lust. If he conieted, and would haue nothing else but our wealth and treasure; I would aduise you to deliuer all, and rather then spare aught, let vs goe seeke future fortune, and beg our bread through all strange countries in the world.

Al, no, no, (sweete Ladies) hee likes our liues too well, and by taking pleasure in them, desireth our euertlasting displeasure. He will suffer

Voreasonable creatures abuse themselves in their owne defence & theirs

Aluilda was daughter to Swardking of the Goethes, & ranged on the seas as a Pirate

In extremities all meane convenient are to be sought and vied.

Corporeall beauty & feature in a woman, is no matter of any great moment

Semyramis the Assyrian Queene. The Amazones women warriors.

Queene Zenobia that made warre vpon the Romanes.

Cinena daughter to Phillip King of Macedonia.

Shame and infamy waite continually at the heels of unbridled lust.

A famous and worthy resolution in a chaste, virtuous & spiritfull minded Virgin.

A League sworne among the Ladies, & Landgartha made the Lady Generall.

It is no common matter that mooueth women to march in arms

I suffer vs to enioy our wealth, for his freeer wallowing in wicked dalliances, which prey is the maine purchase wherewith hee most syneth: for hee more delighteth in our Honours violation, then, by massacring our bodies, to become Lord of all our Jewells, lands, and inheritances. What remaineth then for our deliuerance? Shall we tarry for them that are in Denmarke, expecting when they will come to succour vs? No, rather let Ladies arme themselves, and appearing in open fields, fight valiantly against the villaine, that seeketh to rob vs of our true repute. Let virgine him plainly to vnderstand, that effeminate persons are more soft, and lesse valiant then we are; that chaste and virtuous Ladies are of another temper, then Souldiers mollified by base pailiardise: yea, that they are more truly constant then the Tyrant, whose conscious guiltinesse in ydle offences, is his owne continuall torturing hangman. On then (valiant Prin esses, and Ladies of no meane lustre;) away with our wanton tyes, paintings, perriwigs, and ydle deckings: Let vs change our Spindles, Needles and Samplers into Horses, Lances, Swords and Armour, and trie, if Frolo be as furious in warre, as hee is sterie wanton in his lasciuious Pallace. Let vs reuenge the wrongs our Parents and Kindred haue receiued; or die most gloriously, in the pursuit of so holy, iust and commendable a reuenge.

This courageous remonstrance of the braue spirited Virgine, gaue such bolde animation vnto the rest of the Ladies, as (with one consent) they made a league, vowing louing alliance, and (sollennly swearing faith, loyaltie, mutual succour, and assistance among themselves;) Landgartha was elected chiefe commandresse, or Lady Generall of the Army, and well deserting that, or any other higher dignitie, being the motive to such a maine and important businesse.

Now beganne a muster of all the Women and Maidens, of the most noble and famous houses throughout the whole Countrey: but not without much amazement in Frolo, wondering whereto tended such an assembly. Hee, perswading himselfe, that they intended fight to their friends and kinned in Denmarke, sent command vnto them, that (on perill of their liues) they should returne home to their houses, for enioying the benefite of their

libertie; which he was content to graunt them, in regard of their beauties and gentle behaviour.

But Landgartha, the man-like woman champion, hearing the peremptory command deliuered by the Tyrants Herald, sent them backe with blows and iniurious speeches, telling them; that they would not take their liues, in regard of any respect they had to their Lord: but onely, because they should let him vnderstand, in what deuotion and readinesse they found them, & or seeking some conuenient means and way, whereby to make him render an account for his tyrannie and cruelties.

When Frolo heard these tidings, at the first he made but a scorne thereof, laughing extreamely, at this womanish enterprise and Armie of Ladies, saying: They did well, to make a present of themselves, because he should haue the easier way to find them, and if they came into the field, the bootie would suffice for his Souldiers pay, and likewise for their pleasure beside, in regarde he would bestow wines vpon them all, and saue them a labour from any further fighting. But this pleasant humour soone forooke him, and conuerted into fury, when he was aduerted of their being in the field, & making such a strange massacre of his men, as the like was seldom seene or heard of. Nor spared they the liues of any, that durst reclaime himselfe from following his seruice, which made him curse and sweare, threatening them with a thousand kinde of torments and afflictions, going now (in good earnest) to arme himselfe; as being perswaded, that this feminine lurie had extended so farre, that it was no light matter that could allay it. Hee grew also into such suspicion of himselfe, that he kept a strong Guard about him: as holding but small assurance of his life, amongst the armed troupes of his owne Souldiers: yet hee made many large promises vnto them, of the very fairest and richest amongst them, with all their lands and treasure, to shew themselves valiant and coragious, against this giddy headed army of women; which encreased daily more and more, both in number, victuals and munitions, brought continually to them from euery part.

But howsoeuer (one way) the bad affection of the Norwegians gaue affliction

The Heraulds & Messengers of Frolo are sent back with insult payment by the Ladies.

The Tyrant made a mockerie of the Ladies preparation in arms meaning to marry them to his Souldiers

Frolo prepares himselfe to Armes against the Ladies.

Tyranny is all wayes subiect to tormenting passions.

The arrival of Keyner, King of Denmarke in Norway with a mighty Armie.

to his spirits, and the fauour which his owne subiects afforded to this womanish Army, tormented his soule as violently on the other side: yet he seemed to set a good countenance on his feares, declaring no outward doubt of prenying against them, though (inwardly) his cogitations tolde him dreadfull tydings. Nevertheless, being already in the field; and preparing his equipage, to get the best advantage he could, of the place where the Ladies were encamped: a Courtier came galloping in post to him, bringing newes of the king of Denmarks descent into Norway, with a very potent Armie. What astonishment sooner seized on his soule, to see himselfe inclosed (as it were) with two puissant enemies, and knowing how highly he was hated, by them whom hee had overcome and subiected: yet notwithstanding, perceiving that flight was preiudiciall to his honour; and (moreouer) almost impossible, in regard that the ways whereby he should passe into Swedia, as also euery port and passage were in the enemies power; he resolved, first to runne his fortune on the men, who being defeated, the fight would be farre easier against the women; and thereupon, in the forme of an Oration, thus he spake to his Army.

¶ The Oration of Frolo, King of Swedia, to his Soldiers.

IF you were not those valiant Gotes and Swedians, that haue tamed and beaten this kennell broode of Norwegians, and now conquered their land: If it were not your valiancie, that hath often made pillage and spoile of the Danes; If your invincible force were not well knowne to the world: I should then haue now entreated you, to remember your Ancestors, and the glorious conquests of your predecessors: I should also set before your eyes, how many Kings, People and Nations were vnder-yoked, by the greatnesse and deedes of your famous fore-goers. But, seeing that your proper vertue sufficiently sheweth it selfe, and auoucheth you to be the worthy sonnes and successours, to so many valiant and famous Fathers, and that your deedes are no way indebted to the glorie of their greatnesse: Let vs goe

then, gentle and worthy warriors: Let vs pace on, and giue Keyner to know, that this is no Countrey for him to reigne in, nor to deale in actions of Armes, with the most furious and brauest Nation of Europe. Let vs on (bold spiritues) to chase them againe, which haue so many times fled before vs; and let vs chastice the rebellion of the Norwegians, who falsifying their faith sworne vnto vs: haue called in our enemy to their succor, to quarrell with me for that; which is yours by right of Conquest.

In the meane space, while Frolo marched on to meete the Danes, observe the wisdome and diligence of Landgartha, and her Ladies; who stepped before him with such postling speede, that ere the time, as any intelligence could be obtained of her departure: tydings were suddenly brought him, that both the Camps were ioyned together, and came mainly marching onward to bidde him battaile. Now, although this did not alittle startle his maiesty, and intimated a suspicious kind of feare, lest Fortune should turne her backe on him, hauing formerly fauored him in all his proceedings: yet being a man of high heart, valiant, and borne for Armes: he shewed no semblance of dread or distrust, but rather still sollicit his men, to shew themselves such as alwayes they were knowne to be, and to account the enemy no stronger by the womans combination; but rather to hope, that fortune had conducted them purposely thither, for the larger encreasing of their benefit, and to heighten their corage against any, that durst presume to deprive them of so faire a booty.

On the other side, King Keyner, beeing come within the view of the enemy, rode among the ranks, encouraging his people, propoosing to them his right, and the insuasion made by the Swedian. He required them, to reuenge the wrong doone to so many honourable houses, vtterly overthrowne by the Tyrant, and to sustain the cause of womens modesties, for whom, and in whose defence, long agoe theyr Ancestours had attempted rare actions of Armes, and spent their blood in many parts of the world. He also set before their eyes, the courage and animosities of the Ladies, who marcht orderly vnder the

The noble diligence of Landgartha, ioyning her forces with King Reiners Campe.

Necessity and enforcement makes a cruelly coward valiant.

The effect of an Oration made by King Reiner of Denmarke to his followers, in sight of the enemies camp

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Ensignes of valiant Landgartha, and to imitate by their force, that which weak women had vnderaken, to free themselves from the violence of a Tyrant. Also, that they might assuredly be rewarded; beside the gaine and boote, in getting the bagge and baggage of the Swetians: himselfe would (moreouer) vsue their reward and courtesie to well deservers; that they should for ever haue iust cause to commend his munificence. He declared to the Norwegians, that (for the loue to them) hee would adventure to fight against Frolo, whom if he conquered, hee would spare him no more, then he rest of his race formerly had doone. And therefore to shew themselves valiant, and now to bee fully reuenged on the Swetians tyrannies; seeing Fortune had almost (with great advantage) deliuered him into their hands.

Landgartha, beholding how every one encouraged other to the fight, and observing some rare galliardie; euen in the gracefull lookes of her female followers; in steade of further animating; thus she spake vnto them:

Another Oration of Landgartha, made to the Armie of Ladies.

Her action, gesture and behaviour inflamed the desires of all her faire followers

It is for vs (sayre Ladies) that the glorie of this battaile is referred; and to none else is due the reuenge, for our parents, kindred, friends and familiars. Men may fight (if they will) in their owne quarrell, and deale with whom themselves thinke best: but the valorous Ladies of Norway, will pursue none other then the very Squadron of the Tyrant, and there will wee die in the midst of our endeavour, or make this the last day of his miserable life. Let our horses seeme to stie among the ranks, that we may be obserued to surmount the prooves of men, and that wee can quickly reuente our strength againe, if any disorder should chauce to diuide vs. If our Fortune be our guide, and fauour vs to die gloriously, or vanquish (with hearts be- seeming our Sex) the onely infamous Prince in the world. In a spirit gentle and generous, see (I beseech you) what power Disdayne hath, to behold it selfe offended, and of what worth illustrious blood is, (touch'd with wrong) receiued by women and maydens,

tender, soft, and delicately borne and bred, not inuol'd to the trauaile of Armes, but driuen by desire of reuenge onely. For the rapes made on their violated kindred and friends: must needs bee now acknowledged, by the ornament which they best embelli- shen our faces, and exposeth vs to all manner of hazards, amongst the gallantest troups of men.

King Reyner, hauing giuen the assaults signall, aduisedly obserued the behaviour and warlike order of the women, seeing Landgartha performe both the actions and discrete conduct of a good Souldier, making way through the throngs, and entering (euen in mere despite of the enemy) with her faire-locked troups of Ladies; into the Tyrant of Swetias Squadron. Hee stoode as astonied at so braue hardiment, and (in this astonishment) he felt a kind of softning in his manly soule, raiuing both his eyes and thoughts, with admiration & contemplation of this chaste Damocel: he forthwith followed her fighting, yet knew he not the cause of so sodayne an alteration, and beholding her wonderfull carriage in the fight, saw no stroke returned against her, but it seemed to cleaue his heart in tunder. Hee wished himselfe neere her, to free her from all perill and daunger; yet he rooke great delight to beholde her braue behaviour.

So long his eyes were led by this amorous contemplation, that (very soone after) he saw the Ladies presse on with such impetuous furie, into the maine body of the battaile; and where the king of Swetia was in person: that (in a short while) it became so shrewdly shaken, as, both the vanquishers, and the vanquish confessed, that the victory was more to be attributed to the wife leading of Landgartha, and valiant following of her Ladies, then to the long breathing and loose courage, either in the Souldiers of Denmarke or Norway: for they neuer ceased to pursue the point, till Frolo was heuue in peeces amongst them; as the corrupter of blooming youth, and violater of their chastities, whom he ought (in honour and duty) to defend. Thus in an instant, Frolo payed the crueltie due vnto his disgracefull life, & was punished by celestiall Iudgements, for inuading the land and inheritance be-

The valencie and carriage of Landgartha greatly admired by the King, of Denmarke.

Reyner becoming thus suddenly amorous of faire Landgartha.

The overthrow of the Swetians, and death of their King by the braue valour of the women.

longing to another, and abusing the honor of so many chaste Ladies.

King Reyner attributes the victory to the valiant Landgartha, & her Ladies.

The victory won by the Dane, he freely confessed, that he enjoyed it by the valiancy of the Ladies, and about all the rest by the wife and hardy conduct of hir, who commanded ouer the female troups. But concealing (as yet) the fire crept into his heart, and which tole on still to the verie depth of his soule; he cunningly enquired (as one rapt with amazement, among the rest, at the dexterity of this woman VVarriour) what she was, of what house, and in what country she receiued her Originall? Answer was returned to him, that she was a Maiden to be married, so chaste as possibly might be, as vertuous as any that liued in Norway, in blood Noble, of a famous house, and inferior to no Ladie in wisdom. The vertue and wife carriage of Landgartha in war, hauing won the heart of this youthfull King; gaue yet a far larger entrance to loue, that left no part of his soule vnbesieged: when he heard say, that she was a Virgin Ladie, and of great birth.

The kings passion encreases the more, by her commendable reports.

But because he could rather hate wisht her to be his louely friend, then wedded wife; he saw how short hee came of any such hope, being truly informed of her virgin modesty, standing cleere from all possibility of corruption: neither might he dare to attempt it, seeing how respectfully she was esteemed, affected, and reuenged, & hardy enough to suppress all such sinister enterprises. Moreover, as elsewhere we haue declared, though rapes had bene too common in that Scandian country; yet it was no easy offer to her, that knew well how to reuenge such wrong, and had made good proofe thereof lately, in the iust infliction on a lustfull tyrant. In which respect, hauing a faire and gentle spirit, he resolved, to cloath with grace and good acceptance, what ouer might appear vnequall in her, to sure with the greatnes of a King, and to satisfie his owne desires, by contracting honourable Marriage with her. And because common fame had noised of her, that she had concluded to keep her virginity for euer, without admitting any man to triumph ouer her chaste honor; he laboured the more to win her, & to break this vncharitable purpose in her; affecting her as dearly as his owne life; accounting her the most compleate crea-

ture in the world, & such a Jewell, as none could be more precious.

If this opinion, concerning the rare vertues of Landgartha, had alwayes continued carraied in the soule of this prince; and if she had respected her as well after the enioying her, as before hee had the happinesse to be possessed of her: she should haue receiued no occasion to complaine of him, and he neuer had stood accused of such infidelity and ingratitude to her. But (the more the pity) there is not any thing so precious, rare, or of great consequence; but if a man bee possessed of it, and hath it freely at his owne command: he groweth distastefull of it; accounting his appetite loathingly glutted therewith, and nothing can seeme more contemptible to him.

What more court to intoy they grow careless of afterward.

Reyner, how great a King fouer hee thought himselfe to bee, and how powerfull in his chiefeest commands: yet, he felt himselfe a slave to Loue, nor daring to discover his thoughts: he was become (contrary to precedent custom) a friend to solitude, full of passions, compassed with fears, troubled in spirit, martired in his senses, scarce sustaining any hope; but very coldly and breathing forth sighs incessantly; so that all were amazed at this strange behaviour in him. Notwithstanding, no one durst enter into such boldnesse, as to demand of him, whence came the causes of such comfortlesse solitude. At length, hauing considered sufficiently on what he had to do, and finding the power of loue so potent, that it exceeded all possibility of resistance, as hauing a priuledge about nature, and Landgartha no way to be enioyed, but by the chaste embraces of a marriage bed: he sent for the Lady and her friends, imparting his mind to her in this manner.

The perplexity of King Reyner in his loue, & endeavour how to compass it

I know well (gentle Damocel) that it may moue some admiration in you, vpon what occasion I haue thus sent for you: albeit, the obligation wherein I stande bound to your high desertings, might haue commanded me to do it much sooner. & yet a matter no more then reasonable. But to hold you in no longer suspense the hope I haue, you will continue heere in court; was the motive to my mission, & the power I might pretend ouer your parents and friends, thould wish their willing

The speech of King Reyner, deliuered to Landgartha, in the presence of her parents and friends.

Words are commonly more solemn in their professions, then afterwards they prove sound in their performances

The generous and modest answer of Landgartha: to the former speech of King Reyner.

aduice to you, and enioyne you to grace vs with your company. I know what you are, and am informed of your house and breeding; but much more am I assured of your valor and other vertuous meritis, by the commendable partes and singular rarities, whereof mine owne eyes haue bin a witnesse. You also are not ignorant who I am, what my power is, and the meanes to make my selfe sensible, either offauours or iniures, from whom I happen to receiue them. I confesse, that if there be any thing extravagant in Loue, or surpasseth the greatest power in man; hath taken foundation in my soule, enflaming my best desires to wish you wel: but I am vncertaine, whether you be so courteous or no, to take a liking or acceptable allowance of this affection, and so much the rather, because you appear aboue the reach of other Ladies. Neuerthelesse, if you measure the greatnesse of a King, and of him that is your Soueraigne, with the lustre of your choise perfections: you shall see, that both these rarities paired together, do make but one vnion, & the most excellent that any man can imagine. In brieffe, all my wish, intent, and affection consisteth in this, that if you thinke good, or I may seeme worthy in your eye, to be a fit husband for *Landgartha*; I would take you to Wife, and make you Queene of *Denmarke* and *Norway*. You may thinke heereon, it is in you to conclude all, and to whom I referre my selfe: for, of this my submission, I make your parents and friends witness, calling for them purposely hither, to heare in my motion, and your answer.

Landgartha, who was as apprehensieue, courteous and modest, as high in courage, and strict in opinion: considering who it was that made the motion, and how much he imbased himself in the demand, returned this answer.

SIR, although my deliberation from mine infancy, and continuing to this flourishing condition of mine age, hath alwaies beene, neuer to subiect my selfe to the lawes ordained for marriage, because freedom euer seemed more conforme to the disposition of my spirit, then such obedience as a wife owes to her husband, not that I haue vowed or sworne to any citate whatsoeuer: yet notwithstanding,

hauing regard vnto the duty I owe my Prince, and seeing how iustly I may deserve blame and punishment, in refusing him that hath soueraignie ouer mee and mine; I beseech you to thinke, that your thoughts being so direct as they pretend declaration, and respecting one of so meane merite as my selfe: I am also the onely Maiden of the World, ready to do you most humble seruice. Thanking the great God, that seeing I owe dutie to the fancy of a man (albeit against my former resolute) it falleth so successfull, as in seruice to the most wise and valiant Prince, that of long time hath reigned in these countries. Neuerthelesse Sir, thinke it not strange, I humbly beseech you, if I speake (perhaps) more boldly then becommeth me, to vse a silly virgins aduice, to take longer and more deliberate consideration, in a case so seriously important as this is: humane affections being so light in cases of these and the like impressions; that (many times) they as sodainly wipe themselves out of the soule, as at the first they came to be charactered there. Not that I will accuse so great a King of leuitie, nor suspect his faith any way infirme: but to this end, that hauing made a neer view of my complexions, and more exactly enquired the list of my life; you may the better censure my merit, measuring for hereafter, what you may now most valew in my meannes and insufficiency: so shall you be sure, neuer to vnsway your owne words, or be sory then for that, which you make so great account of now. For know Sir, that the honor which you please to do me at this present, is nothing in respect of the great infamy, redounding then both vpon you and me, & those that gaue you no better counsell in this case, whom it may as neerly concerne. This would be a worthy recompence, for the intire affection you beare me now, and I should dedicate my life to you in deeper deuotion, remaining for euer your most loyal & dutifull seruant.

With such a graue and seuer countenance she vttered these speeches, that the king, amazed at her wisdom, but more at the Maiestick dulness of her wordes, and freedome of so faire and compleate a spirit: I swore instantly such loyalty to hir, as fitted with a king and faithfull husband, wherein he plainly forswore himselfe, as you shall hear in this discourse following.

Vertue worthe aduice fauoring of a difference and, well settled judgement.

Consideration before marriage is vertue necessary, because repentance afterward cometh too late.

At

King Reyner should Landgartha to the joy of her parents, but apparent in her of his affections continuance.

The perfidious and vnfaithfull dealing of Reyner with his fayre wife Landgartha.

At this time the Maiden was not married to the youthfull king (who longed after nothing so much, as to crosse the fayre flower of her chastity) but shee returned home with her parents and friends again, hoping, that the heate of this royall fire, would be quailed in time, and her absence would be the meane to effect it. But *Reynar*, who could not forget her that had so worthily assisted him, and whose figure was liuely imprinted in his soule: followed her to her Fathers dwelling; and, scorned to be delayd by many daies access, espoused her, to the vnspokeable comfort of her parents and friends, but som dread and great distrust in her self, as fearing the continuance of this feruent affection, and hauing won the heart of a King, doubted to be dispossessed thereof. Neuerthelesse, such was her wife and commendable carriage, as to conceale her fears with maiestick modesty: submitting her selfe to the Kings delightful pleasures, and the yoke of marriage, which formerly she had contemned.

But, as no ioyes are durable, being perpetually followed by worldly occurrences: so *Reynar* (being a yong, wanton, and lasciuious king) after hee had bene Father to three children by his Queene, two daughters, and a hopefull yong Prince, filled, or rather ouer-satisfied with the embraces of this poore Lady (who brought him no other dowry but bright beautie, and vertue vnmarchable in all the country) coueting after matter of greater moments, withdrew thence into *Denmarke*, leaving his truly elected spouse in *Norway*, nor with any purpose of sending for her, or returning to her againe, but vtterly to abandon & forsake her. Being in *Denmark*, he heard report of the K. of *Swetia* daughter, whom he desired to inioy, accusing his indiscretion, that he had embased the greatnes of a king, and much blemished his royall title, by marrying with a fillie damofell: and sending a solemne Ambassage into *Swetia*, he obtained (without war or any other great difficulty) her whom he coueted to enioy in marriage.

Heere behold, how constant the Kings affection stood to vertue, and how the maske of fained loue discovered it self. He had sworne fidelity vnto his best beloued *Landgartha* (notwithstanding her wife & worthe aduice of inconueniences to fol-

low) with no meane admiration of her vertues and perfections: but Vertue was then bound to the Idea of pleasure, and therefore of as little lasting, as ease hath continuance in occasions of the flesh. Beside, no sooner had he receiued answer to his minde, from the king of *Swetia*; but forthwith, he aduertised *Landgartha* of a second intended marriage, although vnlawfully; yet praying her patiently to endure a diuorce.

The poore Lady hearing this determination (although long time before, she had both diuined and feared such disaster) was ready to dy with conceit of greefe, to see her selfe despised, without the least occasion of offence giuen, or why he should vnkinde refuse her. At length, considering that the king had some reason for this repudiation, by seeking better alliance, which might succour him in his serious affayres; because he had an enemy that contended with him for the Crowne of *Denmark*, & incited the Emperor to lend him ayd, vnder colour of becoming a Christian, if he would help him to compasse the kingdom: she began somewhat to alluage her minds perturbations, answering that that brought her these bad tydings, thus.

The King (my friends) should not thus abuse *Landgartha*, because he needs not to seek any further, for strengthing his house by stronger alliance: and well may I accuse him of lightnes, whereof I aduertised him in the beginning, and which (to my greefe) I finde now by ouer-deare experience. But if I were as reuengfull for the shame I suffer, as hee is vnioin to my behalfe: I could (perhaps) finde him as busy and troublefome employment, as hee can yeeld him pleasure, luccour, or defence, with whom he hath such hasty to marry. He knows what means I haue to discaise him seeing he felt part of my power in fauouring him, and should perswade himselfe, that *Landgartha* was neuer somuch offended by the tyrant of *Swetia*, as by him, who vnder the flattering name of marriage, hath wronged the modesty of her, that discerneth now, how men the greater they are, so much they thinke themselves dispensed withall, in breaking those Lawes, whereto they binde other in obedience.

Yet one thing caught me somewhat to pardon his fault, and also to accuse mine owne indiscretion, that he being blinded

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Landgartha was to bee diuorced from the King her husband, without any cause of offence giuen.

Kings breaking of Lawes, whereto they strictly binde their subiects.

by loue, and I, by sole reuerence vnto the name Royall: we haue both fayled in one kinde, but not equally punishable, his shame being not so great as mine, because (being free, & without passions) I would submit my selfe to the will of him, who durst not vse any violence towards mee; whereas he was a slaue to his owne cogitations, and transported with desire, which maketh fooles of the very wisest in the world. Let him enjoy the embracings of his new elected Lady, at his own pleasure and contentment; but I pray, (in regard of the faithfull loue I beare him, and so shall doe for euer, being such as I am) that hereafter, he may neuer be so light & changeable in affection, lest some one (offar lesse cunning then himselfe) make him not doe penance for wrong to all the rest. And assure him, that although hee hath wounded the heart of *Landgartha* to death, by preferring another of much lesse merit, and forgetting the debt, which maketh him mine by bond: yet notwithstanding, the Image of King *Reyners* shall remaine perpetually engrauen in my heart, and no accidents of the greatest disaster, can euer deface the sacred and sincere affection, which his plighted faith so lately imprinted in my soule.

Men may run on in vncoustant courses till at length they chance to be over-matched.

Her vertuous and charitable conclusions at parting with the Ambassadors.

Goe and report vnto him, the offer of my seruice, and the desire I haue to please him, instead of seeking any reuenge. Set before his eyes, not any despayring cogitations in mee, but vnconquerable patience. Tell him, I am not a little ioyfull, to see my selfe free from subiection to a husband: but yet so sorie as possibly can be, to looke him whom I loue more then my selfe, and without whom, my dayes for euer are dedicated to mourning. Report vnto him, that *Landgartha* will liue, not to be reuenged vpon the disloyaltie of King *Reyners*; but to the end, that by the effusion of her owne blood, she may yet make him once more to know, that she is more his friend, and more carefull of his States conseruation, then himselfe is. Tell him also, that such Ladies as resemble me, haue their hearts more generously disposed, and farre more fairly furnished with vertue: then base minded men, that alwaies carry gentleness in their looks, but villanie truly stamped in their hearts. For a final conclusion, I pray God giue more ease to my vnfaithfull husband, then (through his

disloyalty) he leaues sorrow and affliction in the soule of his loyall wife: and that she who vniuersally my place, in regard the fault is not hers) may long enjoy peace in that bed, which vertue and merite once made me Mistresse of, and the King taketh from me. I know not by what disaster, but in meere malice and hatred to mee and my fortune.

What greater constancy could be wished, in the heart of the very wisest Philosopher, that euer *Greece* or *Asia* yielded, then appeared in the inuincible soule of this *Norwegian* Lady? What deeper despatch could be done to a worthy woman, then to reiect and throw her off, as if she had beene wicked and immodest? Or what greater occasion may bee giuen, for betraying a husband; then causelesse suspicion, and diuorce or refusal, where reason and iustice can shew no cause why? Poets haue liuely depicted in their Verses, the desperate transports of *Medea*, forsaken by *Iason*, and the fearful cruelties vsed by her, to bee reuenged on such an injury. *Marke Anthony*, by refusing and forsaking the faire sister to *Augustus*, attracted by foolish affection to blacke *Cleopatra*; both *Europe*, *Affricke* & *Asia*, were inhumanely bathed with the blood of men, the brother endeavouring to reuenge the injury, which was offered vnto his sister and the whole Family. And tell me (I pray you) what a wound in *France* was sometime made, by the diuorce of *Elianor*, Countesse of *Poitiers*, and Dutchesse of *Guienne*; the meanes whereof gaue way to the *English*, & that they made themselves so strong in *France*?

Notwithstanding all these, and many more that I could speake of, we see *Landgartha* so humble, vyle, discrete, and such a louer of quietnesse, that, hauing meanes to be reuenged on so high a wrong done her; so farre was she from pursuite, heate, rage or tempest, that making Patience proude of her example: shee offered seruice to him, by whome she was contemned and despised, presenting all duty to an ingratefull husband, and promising fresh supply, after receipt of a former disloyall recompence. You which are iaculous of Ladies honour, and complaine of a giddie madnesse in their braines, and of immortall enmity and hatred engrauen in their Soules; behold this rare woman, declaring

Medea distracted to see her selfe forsaken by Iason. Cuius wars at Rome about an vnjust diuorce. The repudiation of Elianor, caused the long war betweene the English and French.

Let all such as depraue the sexe of women obserue the incomparable vertues of Landgartha.

declaring truly a Christian minde, although the neuer receiued baptism: Of her you may learn, that Ladies haue something in them rightly heroycall, which men can neuer comprehend nor taste of, but by long, studious and wise experience.

And yet *Landgartha* stands not alone in this example, for *France* can make boast of many more great Ladies, that imitated her mildnesse and constancy, & of whom I could enter into a large Discourse: if *French* Historiours were not so frequent among you, wherein you can lose no time to bee continually reading. But yet we haue not said all, that *Landgartha* (not hurried with ialousie, or tempest with fury for this refusal) fought any meanes whereby she might be reuenged: but in doing much more, surmounted all opinion and iudgement, giuing aide to him that had so shamefully left her, and doing good for euill, contrary to some stearne and combustible natures of her sexe, and as the sequell will more amply deliuer.

Reyners, being a Prince greatly addicted to Armes, seeing himselfe at home in peace, and that none of his neighbours sollicitated him by warre; because his Subjects (being naturally giuen to warre, and insured to courses both by Land and Sea) might not liue ydle and slothfull: he permitted them to pursue their fortune, passing them into the Isles of *Ireland*, *Brittain* and *Scotland*. Whereupon, the *Iutes*, and some other of the *Scandian* Territories, that bare him but bad affection, taking occasion by the Kings absence with his Forces, elected and created for their king, a Prince of royall blood, named *Harolde*, who shaping his course to the Emperor *Lewes* the debonnaire, that made his abiding then at *Magnus*, hauing receiued baptism with his followers: was sacred and crowned King of *Denmarke*, by authority Imperiall, doing homage to the Emperor for his Kingdom.

Harolde, being fauoured of his owne people, and affected by the most of them, that embraced Christianity (to whom *Reyners* was no way pleasing) and re-enforced by a goodly band of *Germanes*, wherewith the Emperor furnished him, to put him in possession of his lands: went into *Denmarke*, to expell *Reyners* thence, and all

such as followed his Faction. *Reyners*, waxing weary againe of his wanton desires, returning home secretly into *Denmarke*: found strange alteration since his departure thence. His owne people he encouraged to stand fast with him, called the *Sweatians* also to his succour, and dispatching letters into *Norway*: requested assistance of her, from whom hee might more iustly expect warre then defence, and feruency of reuenge for his vile dealing.

What would an angry heart haue done in this case? A minde neuer satisfied but in doing ill; what an opportunity had it here to worke vpon? How would a man haue carried himselfe, hauing beene notoriously injured, and so faire a wayfarer wide open for him, as neuer was the like to bee expected againe: what haste would he make now to be fully reuenged? Without all contradiction, the breach of faith is very abominable, and wrongs receiued by Noble natures, are not easily qualified, when times and seasons shape out reuengesfull meanes, such as was this wanton upon the faithlesse *Dane*. Neuertheless *Landgartha*, hearing in what anguish her vnkind husband was, and considering with herselfe, that his ruine could not returne her any benefit, seeing also, that shee had two louely Daughters by him, and a Princely sonne, named *Fridellaus* (who afterward was King of *Norway*) motives sufficient for his longer abiding with her: shee leuiued an Army of fixe score Ships, euery one being worthily furnished, wherewith she intended to succour her distressed Husband, to whom shee sent tydings of her preparation and coming, in these few Lines.

The Letter sent by *Landgartha*, to her Husband, King *Reyners*.

If this my second duty may proue as happy, in the recovery of thy Lands & Kingdoms, as my first was against a Tyrant, and yet honouring thee with the victory: I shall account my paines well employed, and neuer expect any other recompence. Make head brachely against the Enemy, for I am coming with all speede, to let him know, that Land-

King Reyners returns home into Denmark from Sweitia, and craving assistance of Landgartha.

The noble disposition & nature of Landgartha.

Fridellaus son to Landgartha by Reyners, was afterward King of Denmark.

All Ladies are not like to Landgartha in the true vertue of patience.

The Subjects take occasion to revolt against Reyners

Harold a christian Prince made King of Denmarke by the Emperor Lewes

Landgartha is both a *Queene* and a *warrior*.

Landgartha.

The Rebels afraid of Landgarthas coming with her forces.

The Rebels, being aduertized of this supply from Norway, labored by all means possible to prouoke King *Reyner* to the fight, before the coming of *Landgartha*, whom they knew to be wife, and very skillfull in the Art Militarie. And the king knowing their intention, delayed the day of battell, by marching further off from them, towards the place where he expected *Landgarthas* landing, that their two forces might the sooner ioyne together, & then to give the enemy battell. Which *Harolde* well perceiving, and knowing, that such delay would redound to his disadvantage; he pursued after *Reyner* with such expedition, laying such traines and ambuscadoes for him, that he compelled him to handy blowes, euen at the verie same instant as *Landgartha* landed.

The fight fell out to bee very furious and bloody, and great numbers of men fell as well on the one side, as on the other, the chiefe Commanders being fiercely animated, the one to defend his Crowne, and the other to vnrise an estate, whereto he pretended a iust title, by reason of the quarrell betweene the King and his Subjects. And both of them standing on the aduantage of life, as well vnderstanding, that no fauour was to be expected, which side sooner proued to bee Conquerour.

The Danes put to the worst by Harolde, & Landgarthas worthy assistance in very great extremitie.

Now, though the *Danes* that followed *Reyner*, performed so much duty as warriours could do, sustaining many impetuous efforts of the assailants; yet were they constrained to turne their backs, beginning to fall into rout and disorder. By this time was *Landgartha* come neare to the Campe, where she made a pause a while, to see which side behaued it selfe brauest; and perceiving *Reyners* men in no meane extremitie, valiantly she entred amongst the thickest of them, incouraging her husbands soldiers on thus: *On them braue spirits set on them manfully, they are our spoile, as villaines not deserving to lue, seeing traitterously they lift up their weapons against their king. On then (I say) vndaunted spirits, heere is Landgartha, who hath brought you victorie, as well against Harolde, as sometime she did against Frolo in Norway.*

In deliuering these wordes, she dealt

such bold blows among the Rebels, as they hardly knew which way to bestir themselves. Now the battell grew to be more fierce on either side the before: the *Danes*, to repaire their disorderd flight, th' other, to maintain their hope of victory, wherof they doubted not, but disdained a woman should deprime them of the occasion, of wholly ruinating *Reyner* and his Army. Neuertheless, whatsoeuer manhood *Harolde* and his men declared in the fight, yet they were oppressed by multitudes, being wearie, spent, & closely followed by the *Norwegians*, who were fresh, cheerefull and active, conducted by a woman of very high resolute, and as furious in warre, as modest and gracious in her Pallace. Thus were they enforced to fight, not without great losse of the very worthiest men in the Army, and the vanquished deliuered to the Conquerours mercie. But, though *Reyner* triumphed of the victory, yet hee enjoyed it by the fortune of her, who, albeit the might boast of her happinesse in war; and thereby attained to a great marriage; yet her other infelicity was a great correy to her heart, to be disdained where she ought to be most beloued & esteemed.

Reyner now was growne sensible of the shamefull wrong he had offered to his first wife, accusing himselfe of disloyaltie, and detesting his former leuitie, entreated her to take such reserue on him, as she thought fittest in her own iudgement. But she, being a Lady of vnmarchable mind, fearing lest the king (conquered by this obligation of duty to her) should commit an other fault, by leauing the K. daughter of *Sweitia*, who had brought him diuers children also: pardon all his passed iniquities to him, & vowing her selfe to a widowed estate of life, neuer more to conuersue with him or any man liuing after a solemne parting betweene them, she returned home into Norway, to gouerne the Countrey by her discrete care, till her son *Fredisslaw* should attaine to yeres of rule, and whom the K. there had constituted as his lawfull heire.

The remainder of this discourse, being more at large pursued by the Annallists of *Denmarke*, *Sweitia* and *Norway*; I purpose here to conclude the Historie, which I haue in this place set downe, more to relate the valour, counsell, aduice, good conduct and wisdom, seldom wanting in Ladies deriued from good birth; then I

Harolde and his men chief to fight, and the victory remaining to Reyner by the valor of Landgartha and his Norwegians.

The reconciliation betwix King Reyner and Landgartha.

Landgartha encourageth the Danes against their enemies.

care for the idle loues of *Reyner*, or any of his Conquests. To the end, that such Ladies, as excell in the like vertues in these our times, may hold on in the pursuit of their perfections, by the honorable examples of them, that (in those precedent daies) declared themselves admirable in their actions, & imitable for their vertues and commendable carriage.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Bezaars Stone, which is reputed to be very vertuous and souveraigne, against all venomes and poysons.



The Bezaars Stone good against all venomes and contagions.

The Stone of the *Bezaar* or *Pazer*, is a true and assured Antidote against all poysons, venomes, bytings of venomous Beasts, infections of the Ayre; As pestilence, carbuncles or plague-sores, Purples, the small Pox, the Meazels, and in briefe, against all diseases popular and contagious. And because experience hath made this stone to be in daily request, and causeth it to be sought for by people of good meanes; therefore sale hath bene made thereof at extraordinary rates, and avarice being so great among men, hath therefore practised and compassed the meanes whereby to adulterate it, as heretofore they did the like by Baulme or Balsamum. But before I write any further thereof, I will tell you from whence they bring it, and how it is engendred in the bodies of certain creatures, which are like vnto Goats heere among vs; but they haue no horns, being of a reddish colour, and feed not but on good and wholesome Hearbes, wherof are plenty on the Mountaines, and where they startle at the least noise of a Piece. But for our better vnderstanding this History, I will insert a small parcell of a Letter, written from Peru by a Spanish Gentleman, to *Monardus* a Physician of *Hispania*, dwelling then in *Senil*, whereby we shall perceiue how they are found.

Whence the stone is brought and how it is engendred.

The Letter of a Gentleman residing in Peru.

The fifteenth of June, 1568, being at the exercise of hunting, with diuers of my friends, among the Mountaines in this Countrey of Peru, continuing at the sport for the space of five dayes, and hauing slain some of the Beasts called *Bezaars*; we dissected their bodies, to finde the stones. But it being a matter impossible for vs to do, because we were not used thereto: we demanded of the Indians, which we had brought with vs thither to attend upon vs; in what part of the body we might soonest finde them; whereto they made vs answer, that they knew it not. But a young Indian Lad, aged about tenne yeares, and being then in our company shewed vs where it was, and we found it in the first stomacke, where the food of the Beast falleth downe, to be ruminated or chewed afterward. Which when the Indians saw, they would haue killed the Boy, as being offended at his enstruction given vs: but we would not suffer them to doe him such violence, and although they are subiect to vs Spaniards, yet they are our deadly enemies. Notwithstanding, while we followed our pastime of hunting, they got the Boy aside and slew him, and afterward sacrificed him, as we were giuen to vnderstand.

Hunting of the Bezaar in Peru.

In what part of the Beast the stone is found.

He that feareth, betheth.

The Indians hold those stones in great esteeme, placing them for Ornaments in their Temples, which they call *Guacas*, adorning also their images with them, and many other things beside, as Gold, Silver, precious stones, and rich Jewels. And I repte it a matter of some admiration, that this Beast is not found in any of the hither Indias, but in the Mountaines of Peru, neyther could I see them any where else: albeit I haue trauielled through all the Kingdomes of Mexico and Peru. In the Prouinces and Isles of *Maranion*, *Florida*, and the *Westerne Islands*, I haue bene diligently informed, and by the Indians heere among vs, vpon vrging them to what use these stones are proper: And they haue assured mee, that they are singular against all venomes, eyther applied outwardly, or receiued inwardly; but especially against all harmes of the heart, and it expelleth wormes out of the body. Being put into wounds, made by imposedd Arrowes (as heere it is too much in use) it is an assured healing, and no other remedy could be found for it but that onely.

The Indians adorning their temples in rich manner.

Informations of the Indians concerning the Bezaars Stones vertues

Wounds cured of imposedd Arrowes.

Stones are in
some Beasts
more, and in
other lesse,
according to
their yeares.

In the first Beast that we dissected, wee found in a Bagge like a little wrie of stones, which Nature had there engendered, onely by the benefit of feeding on good and wholesome hearbs: and in all those which we dissected afterward, we found in some more, in others lesse, according as they were aged in yeares. It is to be noted, that although they are found also in Beasts of the same kinde, which broue and feede on the Plaines: yet they are not so vertuous, as in those bred vpon the Mountaines.

Thus you see in briefe, what was written by this Captaine (and indeed a very worthy Gentleman, living then in the *Indias*) to *Nicholas Monardus*, a learned Physitian, and dwelling in *Seuill*; whereby may be vnderstood, how and from whence these stones proceede. Now wee will heare what the *Portugals* say, who haue made their conquests farre off from thence, to know, whether they agree with the *Spaniards* in this report, or no.

Garcias d'Orta a *Portuguese* Physitian to the Viceroy in the *Indies* discovered by the *Portugals*, saith, that in *Corazine*, and in the Countries of *Perfia*, there is another kinde of Goates, of meaner greatness, which they call *Pazans*, in whose stomach or bulke are found stones of the *Bezaars*, the beginning of them being a small little straw, growing on to a certain greatness, by recouering many coates or tunicles: whereof some are found to bee as big as our common Beanes, others as Acornes, and other of more or lesse quantity, smooth for the most part, and in colour resembling a darke greene. The greatest, because the rarest, are more sought for then the lesser sort, by them of the Country where they are found, as reporting them to haue the most vertue. He reporteth, that he saw one which weighed five Ducates, and which was brought into *Portugall*, that would not be bought for threecore Ducats, albeit it was more worth whence it came: and in all those stones which are brought out of the *Perfian* Countries, a little straw or stalke is found in the very midst of them, as hath bene often approved.

This Stone (saith he) is not found in *Perfia* onely, but also in *Malaca*, and in the Ile which is named *Pucati*, nor farre off from the Promontory of *Comorina*. For,

as they can betray those Beasts, so they kill them, and being well salted or powdered, they serue as good prouision for their Armies. In many of them are found very great bones, vnknewen to the people there inhabiting, or why the *Portugals* labour so much in search of them: which (indeed) is more for the said stones, then any loue they haue to the flesh, although it is very fauoury.

The *Bezaars* stones which come from *Pera*, haue no straws or stalkes in the midst of them; but onely a little cavity or hollownesse, wherein may be found some thicke dust or sand, which is of far greater efficacy then the stone it selfe. I haue scene five graines of this stone (in a little water of Mugwort) given to a Gentlewoman, who had bene seuen dayes in child-birth trauaile: and she was instantly deliuered of a childe dead and putrified. At the Castle of *Lake*, in the lower *Lymosine*, there was a great pestilence, whereof (in lesse space then foure & twenty houres) dyed three persons: afterward it tooke hold on the rest of the household, which were eightene in number. Each one receiued two graines of this stone e- uery morning, with a little water of *Aemula Campana*, continuing so for seuen daies space together, and not any one dyed afterward, or became further touched with the pestilence. Duers beside, that had carbuncles and sores, by vsing this stone, preferred their liues: It is very good also in application, to botches, byles, and all irkelome paines or swellings.

A young Gentleman, with whom it was my chance to be bathing in a River, was bitten in the leg by a Serpent, so that his leg was become very black, and greatly swollen: hee was aduised, to take foure graines of *Bezaars* Stone, with a small quantity of Rose-water, and a graine also was put into the wound; which caused the rancelling and paine to cease, and he was fully cured within twelue dayes space.

Monsieur le Vicomte de Conborn, and Lord of *Chailcauueuf*, Lieutenant for the King in *Lymosine*, reported to me, that he was touched with a pestilential Feauer at *Paris*, and whereof many dyed, of euery quality, age and sexe, and abandoned of all Physitions. By the aduice of his Father in law, the Marshall de *Biron*, he took *Bezaars* Stone for some few dayes, & with

Difference
betweene the
Bezaars stones
of *Pera* and
Perfia.

6

Vertues ap-
proved of the
Bezaars stone

A cure of by-
ring by a Ser-
pent on a gen-
tlemans leg.

Histories of
rare vertues
in the *Bezaars*
stone.

Of other
Stones of *Be-
zaars*, descri-
bed by the
Portugals.

A *Bezaars*
stone that
weighed five
ducats, brought
into *Portugall*

Countries
where Goats
are found
that haue the
Bezaars stones

in a little while after, he recouered, grew to indifferent strength, and was much more healthily disposed, then any of them that had bene offended by the same disease, to the no little admiration of all them, that had knowledge of him and his sickness.

The Inhabitants of *Ormuz* (an Island that is most rich, situate vpon the red sea, and subiect to the *Perfian*) after they haue purged themselves in the Spring & Autumne: vse to take ten graines of this stone, in as many spoonfull of Rose-water, for five mornings following each other, by which meanes (they say) their health is soundly preferred, and youthfull disposition maintained. Against an inueterated scurfe on the head, or body, a loathsome itch, the wilde scab, called *S. Martins mange*, and (about all) against a confirmed ladv or leprosie; there is not any remedy like to this. As can well be witnessed by a Prelate of *Langnedoc*, liuing at this day, who would haue laige himselfe an hundred times, and throwne himselfe out of windows (if hee had not bene carefully respected) onely being tormented with that disease of *S. Martins*. But by vsing this stone, which hee tooke three Months together euery morning, and good government otherwise directed to him; hee is perfectly recouered. Now let vs see how true and natural stones are to bee discerned, from such as are counterfeit, and meerey adulterated.

The *Moors* are exceeding skilfull in knowing them, and especially, from what parts they are brought, in the doing whereof, the *Moore* will lay one in the palme of his hand, and closing it then fast together, he will breathe or blow strongly into his hand: if hee feeles his breathing to passe through his hand, he is assured then, that the stone is falsified. A great number of them are oftentimes to be solde at *Lif-bonne*, the cheefest Metropolitan City of *Portugall*, where is one of the most frequented Portes in al Christendome. And such as there buy them, content not themselves, with this order of trial made by the *Moors*; but dip a twined thred in the iuyce of a very venomous hearbe, which there they call *Balisiera*. Then passing it thwart the soote, or other part of any Beast (as of a Dog) for some few dayes, hee fo

leaueth it in the wound, vntill such time as hee feeleth those accidents, which commonly seize on them: that are poysoned. And when he is perceived to draw neere death; then to make him swallow three or foure graines of *Bezaars* stone, mingled with water: if it preferue his life; it is an apparant signe of the stones goodnes and perfection; but if not, it is adulterated.

The Beast in whose body these stones are found, in *Perfia* and other parts of that Climate, as in *Comorina* (according to the writing of *Garcias d'Orta*, who had scene of them in diuers places) hath horns bending backward, but those in *Pera* haue none at all. Thence saith, that they haue but one, and that the skinn of the saide Beast is kept, to be laid to the stomack of man or woman, possessed with any paine or anguish there, and to procure digestion; and that (without all question to the contrary) this skinn healeth all such diseases; although the persons be aged and decrepit. Moreover, that he saw a stone of the *Bezaars*, or *Bezaars*, in the custody of the *Greekes* Patriarch of *Cypr*, which was as big as a good great Nut: if it were so, that stone was worth no meane summe of money. It were a thing miraculous, to finde a stone of such greatness; & yet he further saith, that an *Arabian* Captain had it giuen him, because hee was secretly conuerted, and became a Christian.

It is not to be thought, that this stone hath bene knowne but within some smal compasse of time; because antiquity speakeeth of it more then five hundred yeares since. For proofe whereof, *Rafis*, an *Arabian* Physitian maketh mention thereof, though not relating from whence it was brought, or where it is to bee found: yet he affirmeth, that it resisteth all kindes of poyson, and that hee made experiment thereof vpon a childe, that innocently had eaten a venomous plant, called *Napellus*, which causeth death immediately; and yet by giuing him a small quantity of this stone, his life was preferred. This stone hath bene so highly esteemed, and especially in those preecedent times; that, as it is reported by *Abdara Narach*, an *Arabian* Doctour, in physicke, who was then at *Corduba*, about those later yeares, when the *Sarrasens* about their vlturpation in *Spain*: he saw a *Bezaars* stone, in the hand

The variety
of hornes
borne by this
Beast.

Some thinke
Thence to be
greatly mis-
informed in
this matter.

The *Bezaars*
stone knowne
in times of
great antiqui-
tie.

Prooue made
vpon a childe
that had fed
on a poyson-
ous hearbe.

An obserua-
tion among the
Inhabitants of
the Island
of *Ormuz*.

Loathsome dis-
eases cured
by the *Bezaars*
stone.

How the
Moors dis-
tinguish the
true stones
from false.

Experiment
made in *Lif-
bonne* for
the true know-
ledge of the
Bezaars stone

Abdara Ne-
rach, a skillfull
Physic on of
Acadia.

The Authors
friendly ad-
uertisement
to the reader.

The admir-
able soueraign-
ty of the Be-
zaars stone in
comparison of
diuers other
preferuatiues.

All Bezaars
stones are not
alike in forme
& proportion.

The discourse
of a false stone
giuen to *Charles*
the ninth, &c.
of France.

of one of the children of *Amirama* (a great and diligent obseruer of Religion) for which he gaue in exchange, a very goodly house which he had in *Corduba*, equall (well neere) to a Princes Pallace. And the said *Abdara* further saith (alleading the forenamed *Rafis*) that this stone being worne about a mans necke, and kept so neere to the heart as may be; defendeth it and the party from all infection, & no poyson can offend the body of him, that hath it thus about him.

Seeing then, that this Stone hath so many good and singular vertues in it, methinks, men (of meanes and worth) should sildome or neuer be without it, for a present succour in such weighty infirmities. Beside, Apothecaries of skill and iudgement, should euermore be well provided of them, because Physicians continually prescribe it in their directions, which they would not do, if they knew men to be vnfurnished of it. For more assurance is to be reposed in it (next to the assisting power of Heauen) then in Treacle or Mithridatum, the consecration of *Alkermes*, &c. of *Zacinth*. As is too well knowne by many barbarous Kings; gouerning in those Regions, where the Beasts are bred that engender these stones, reposing such confidence in them, and making so precious estimation of them; as they cause the expressly to bee brought from all parts. And when they are possessed of them, it is a difficult case to get any one from the: which partly is the reason, why they are so deare and rare to be had.

Heere the Reader likewise is to bee aduertised, that some of these stones are not pointed, or sharply cornered; but blunt, edgelesse and rounded, like to the little fingers ende, or as an Acorne. And although some are found to be great, yet commonly they are but as our ordinary Almonds, and not pointed. They haue also diuers foldes or lappings, one wrapping ouer another, like vnto Onions, all sleecke and smooth: for if you finde the otherwise compacted, they are to bee rejected as false and counterfeit.

One of these stones was presented to *Charles* the ninth, King of France, hee being then at *Molins*, which he caused to be essayed vpon two persons, that had deferved ignominious death, & both of them hauing poyson giuen them to drinke.

One of them was holpen by the stone, who neuertheless dyed; and the other that tooke it not, dyed also. The stone being broken, was found thicke and massiue, not diuided by Spherickall robes or foldings, and was throwne into the fire: And the giuer, who expected to deriue some great recompence from his Maiesty, had nothing at all, but frowning looks of the King, and the Queene his Mother, for his reward.

CHAP. XV.

Concerning the generation of Pearles; where, and how they are found, from whence they are brought; and of their value and estimation.

I Haue read many Authors, to be resolu'd assuredly, concerning the generation of Pearles: but I could finde none of one consent, or agreeing together, and namely, such as frequent the *Indies* in these dayes, are diuers and doubtfull also in their answers. For some say, that they are engendered in Fish-shells, like to those of our Oysters heere among vs, but much greater, and somewhat longer. And when they are desirous to conceiue (vrge'd thereto by nature, and at a certaine time) they open of themselves, to sucke in and draw the dew of heauen: when, if the Ayre bee cloudy or lowring, then they engender troubled Pearles; and if it be windy, they cannot conceiue, so long as the wind continueth. But how fabulous this is, I refer to others iudgement: because in one and the same shell, are found Pearles troubled, cleare, & of diuers colours and formes.

Others say, that the proper birth and production of the Oyster, is by eggs, whereof they are produced, and that the Pearls come forth of the sand and grauelly dust, whereby they are nourished, & wherein they hide themselves: which grauell refretheth it selfe, & encreaseth in them, as the graines of the Raisin in the Grape. And this sandy seed sofneth it selfe, the Oyster being in the water: but so soone as it is out of the water, it hardneth of it selfe, as we may see daily: and this is another opinion of our Pearles production.

The

Authors agree not
concerning the
generation of Pearles.

Great difference in
the generation of
Pearles.

Another opinion of
their generation,
contrary to the
former.

The Egyptian
Merchants re-
porthow
Pearles are
engendered.

Variety of opi-
nions con-
cerning the
generation of
Pearles.

The Iudge-
ment of Char-
les of Mitlein

Americus Ves-
putius recor-
deth what
himselfe had
seene.

Of Pearles
found among
rockes,

The Merchants of Egypt, that at this day Traffique with them, and bring them from the Persian Sea, make men here believe that negotiate with them: that pearls are engendered in the stomacke of a flatte Fish, round like to a Trencher-plate, and as big as a common plate, which is found on the shores of *Nilus*; and that it drinketh the dew of heauen, as wee formerly sayd of the Oyster, all which is a meere fable. And although the Egyptians of these dayes know the matter truly, yet notwithstanding, meaning to mocke such as are ignorant in these things, they publish lies for apparant truths. *Alrothones* sayth, Pearles are engendered in Oysters, as certaine white and solide graines are in the Flesh of Swine, which we vse to tearme Meazels, & is made of a clammy slime, congealing and hardning of it selfe. Which I thinke to be very likely: For, being at *Paris* in the year 1566, and (in assistance with others) at the dissecting of a womans body, long troubled with a disease in the reines, in each of the reines was found a solide substance or body, as big as a common Pearle, glistering, cleare and round; like vnto Pearles.

Charles the Mitlenian saith, Pearles are made of the bones of the Oyster; but then he is much deceyued, because the bones are alwayes in seruice to strengthen the body; but Oysters haue no need of bones: and likewise Pearles are not found in all of them; and if they had bones, then they would be found in all Oysters.

Americus Vesputius, in his booke of *Indian* Navigations writeth, that he obserued the opening of many, & out of some certaine Pearles, which had not attained (as yet) to their maturity and perfection; being in some pretty store or number; but yet those Pearles perished of themselves, and came to nothing. But in them that were more aged, Pearles were founde in the flesh of the Oyster, easily parting from it, and those were the best. And they that are found in them so aged and ancient, were wrinkled and very darke; which is likely to be true, if we do well consider thereon.

It is a meere Fable, which some haue divulged, that Pearles are found among the Rockes, by reason of many fishes laying their Egges, and because they cleaue to the flesh, or to the shell; but this hap-

peneth very rarely. For, all Oysters are not apt to procreate Pearles, but onely such as are rude, white, and pointing, like to the teeth of a Combe; which the Persians call *Cherripo*, cleere and verie smooth within: of which shelles are made Cups, Boxes, Spoons, and other very costly things. Some are found in other kinds of Oysters; but they are neither so great, nor so good, as these that the *Cherripo* produceth, which some haue termed mother of Pearles.

Heere we may note the variety of opinions, concerning the production of Pearles, the knowledge whereof is much concealed: for Oysters keepe alwayes at the depths of the sea, because their shelles are great, and therefore they are so deepe in the sea. If sometimes they are founde neerer to the shores, it happeneth by tempests of the sea; also they swim heere and there, to seek their best nourishments; which when they haue found, there they stay, vntill they haue eaten all they can find. Then if they sene, or perceiue such as seek for them, they will fasten themselves so strongly to the rockes & stones, ouer-couering one another: as very hardly can they be forced thence, but oftentimes labour is bestowed in vaine; and they lye there, as being imagined to be stones.

They are fished for in store of sundrie Countreys and Regions; but the goodliest and those most common, are fished for in the Isle of *Baharem*, an Island bigge enough, and well peopled; being subiect to the Viceroy of *Ormuze*, and is neere to the Cape of *Masina*, in *Arabia Felix*; & there is no meane fishing for them. In the Isles of *Mantula* also, is continual fishing for them (they being as good there, as those of *Baharem*) and the Isle seated on the Persian Gulfe, an hundred Leagues by thereabout, from *Calicut*, and almost throughout the inner *India*. In the Isle of *Zellin*, in the Isles called *Viquez*, and to thorowe the great Empire of *Mexico* At *Tarat*, more then in any of the forenamed Islands, and in the Isles of the New World, they haue bene fished for in such plentie: that the *Casies* or Prince of the said Isle, made a present of a Casket full of Pearls, to *Gaspard de Morales* (a Spanish Commander) which weighed an hundred and ten pounds. He promised

0000 beside

Of the Persi-
an Oyster called
Cherripo.

A reason for
the variety of
opinions in
this matter.

In what parts
the Pearles
are usually
fished for

A Casket
of Pearles
giuen
to a Spanish
Captain.

Attribute giue
of a Quintall
weight of
Pearles year-
ly.

beside, to giue yearly a Quintall weight of Pearles, as a Tribute to the Emperor, and (among them) some were as great as small Nuts, others as big as Nutmegs; & one (about the rest) was found to weigh sixe and twenty Carrats, and another one and thirty: it had the shape of a Muske-Pearle, being very perfect and orientall.

The admir-
able greatnesse
of some pearls
and of extra-
ordinary price
and value.

A Merchant, being named *Peter du Port*, bought the said Pearle of *Gasper de Morales*, for eightene hundred Ducates of gold, and after he had bought it, hee could not sleepe for melancholy, and inward griefe he conceived, because he had giuen so much money for a stone: yet hee sold it againe on the next morrow (& for the same price) to *Pedrarus d'Avila*, for his Wife, the Lady *Isabella Bonadilla*, who also sold it to the Empreffe, Madame *Isabella*. A few named *Daniell*, bought of a country peazant of *Baharem* (no long time since) a Pearle, of the greatnesse of a Musket Bulle, for no more then the summe of eight shillings; and afterward sold it to a Lord in *Sclauonia*, for three thousand Crownes. There was a present made to *Fernando Magellano*, in one of the Isles of the *Molucces*, of foure Pearles, each one of them being as big as a Pigeons Egge; and they were esteemed worth an hundred thousand Crownes. at the least.

In our neerer
Seas they fish
for Pearles, &
finde some
stone.

Returning now to our former purpose, which was to describe where Pearles are found, I say, that not onely they fish for them in the fore-named places: but likewise in all other Seas, bee it eyther of the South or Oceans of *Peru*, the *Antarctike*, *Florida*, *Canada*, *Guinea*, yea, euen here in our neerer Seas, of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Denmarke*; but in some place they are better, fairer, greater and rounder then in other. And namely in some parts of *France*, as at *Rouen*, *Dieppe* and *Rochelle*, where some are found very rare and passable. Now let vs observe, how, and in what manner their fishing is for them.

How and in
what manner
they fish for
such Oysters
as haue pearls
in them.

Such as are appointed for this manner of fishing, entring into their Barques, and (leaving some to tend and haue care of them, and to keepe the Oysters after they are brought to them) leape by great numbers into the Sea, remaining sometimes vnder water halfe an houres space, before they be seene againe, and so conti-

nue at the bottome: hauing strong pockets, or small twisted nettings hanging about them, wherein they put their Oysters. Which being thus taken, they ascende aboue water againe, and are receiued into their Ships: where hauing a while taken their ayre, and strengthened their bodies with some sustenance; they put on their wrappers againe before their faces, which commonly are thin waxed toylets, as fine as the bladders of Swine, that they may the clearer see in the water. Five or sixe times in a day, thus they throw themselves into the water, and towards night returne home with their takings, I meane such Oysters as they hope to finde Pearles in.

Vpon the Sea-shore there are a great number of slaues, as well women as men, who as often as the Oysters are brought on land; fill their Scuttles and Baskets, made of Sea Rushes, carrying them to Vessels full of fresh water; wherein when the Oysters haue continued foure and twenty houres space, and feeling a contrary saour to the Sea-water; they open of themselves, and so soone as they are open, the Pearles funder themselves from the flesh of the Oysters. Afterward, the Merchants emptying the shells out of the vessels, finde all the Pearles in the bottome of the fresh water, and thus they gather the Pearles of *Peru*, and likewise in other places. Nevertheless, they are not the hundred part so good, nor so fair, as those of *Baharem* and *Manila*: And observe withall, that Pearles are not found in euery Oyster, but in some few, in other more, some breeding the greater, other smaller.

The Pearles being thus taken, sometimes they cate the Oysters, and otherwhiles they throw the away, as being wearie and ouer-glutted with them by too frequent vse. These Fishers are slaues, seruing (for this purpose) the Christian Merchants, Maronites, Iewes or Indians, which traffick in *Baharem*: and according to their taking pearled Oysters, so are they cherished and respected by their Masters euery night; which maketh euery one strue to be most beneficiall by his paines. Some times the Seas are swolme more high & boisterous, then the Fishers would haue them to be, because then it is an hinderance to their tarrying long vnder water; and then they make prouision for them-

Men & women
slaues that at-
tend on the
seruice.

In what man-
ner the Pearls
are separated
from the flesh
of the Oyster,
& how they
differ in good-
nesse & great-
nesse.

The slaues re-
spected by
their Masters,
according to
the benefit they
reuerce.

The industrie
of the diuers
or fishers vnder
water to finde
the best
Oysters.

themselves in this manner. They haue a corde, at each end whereof they fasten a stone, which corde they binde about their Backes, and so sincking downe into the Sea, by the weight of those stones, they continue firmly vnder water, and gather the Oysters at their ease: and when they would mount vp to the Shippe, lightly they cast off the stones, and swimme nimbly in their rising. Such as would meddle in fishing for these Oysters, it behooueth them to be very expert in swimming and diuing; because many drown themselves, through want of taking winde, or else are drawne into the depth of the sea, by huge and mighty Fishes, which there they met withall, and then by no means can escape drowning.

Marcus Paulus
was an eie wit-
nesse of this
manner of fish-
ing for pearls.

Marcus Paulus saw this kind of fishing in the kingdom of *Para*, which is in *India*, where it was performed in the same manner, and he sayth, that they fish not but in the moneth of Maie, and then the Peasants or Boores are set on worke by the Merchants. The King hath his Tenths or Tithes, and certain Sorcerers or Enchanters, there called by them *Abraimmins*, haue the twentieth part, and the Peazants haue their payment in money. Here you must know, that without these Enchanters, they that fish in this manner for Oysters, should bee deuoured by certaine greedie and venomous fishes, as Crocodiles, Whales, and other such like deuourers: but they coniure them in such sort, that they escaped from them without any danger. But when night commeth, and the fishing must be forborne till the morrow; the Enchanters release and make their coniurations to cease: onely to prevent theues, who else (in the night time) would plunge and diue into the water, knowing they may doe it safely without perill, and so carry away the pearly Oysters, and frustrate the Merchants of their expectation.

Of inhabitants
whole coniu-
rations doe
great seruice
in the fishing
for pearled
Oysters.

Moreover, there is no people in all the Countrey, that can enchant those terrible fishes, or doe know the words belonging to this coniuration, but onely these *Abraimmins*. And it is to be noted, that all such as traffick in this fishing; doe not cause the Oysters to open themselves in fresh water; but in some Countries, they open them with little knives, or sharpe pointed bodkins. And in many other pla-

All Countries
not alike in o-
pening the o-
ysters, or their
pearles.

ces, as in the *Indies* lately discouered, they set their Oysters ouer a fire, and so by heat procure them to open, by which means they finde the Pearles: but then those pearles appeare of a reddish colour, and carry no chearefull water.

Also it is to be obserued, that all pearls are not write of themselves naturally, but in some places they are found to bee red; as in the Island of *Zipangrie*, situate in the East *Indies*, according as the said *Venetian Paulus* reporteth. And yet there they haue great plenty of them, very singularly excellent, both for greatnes and roundnesse: and in those Countries, they are of deare value, price and estimation, that those white doe carry no comparison with them. Somewhat I can say of my selfe, that I haue seene seauen redde pearles, and no more, belonging vnto the late deceased Dutchesse of *Valentinois*; which had a most goodly lustre, and I was (for a while) perswaded, that they wonne that colour by some artificiall meanes: but after I had read the Discourse of *Marcus Paulus*, then I became to be of another opinion. &c.

Heere likewise will I insert a great secret in nature, and (in my minde) very meruailous, reported to mee by men of good credite, that haue seene the fishing for those Oysters, and found it true by their owne experience. In a certaine season of the year, these Oysters of pearles, doe belch and cast forth a red and blood-like moisture, in great abundance: so that many (of the best in iudgement) among those barbarous people, imagined them to suffer a fluxe of menstruositie, as other fishes in the flume Ocean doe. These Oysters haue their passages, like to all other fishes in Seas or Rivers, so that in some places great store of them is to be found, and within a while after, a rare matter if tenne remayne there to be had, but all are fallen downe aboue tenne miles further off. Sometimes, they which fish in an other Countrey, where scarcely one is left on the morrow or next day, shall light on more then euer was there before.

The *Persians* haue moreover inuented an other manner of fishing, more commodious, and of lesse charge and perill. By making of hurdles of Osters or Palms, well knit together with strong bindings, in such manner as the fishing obserued in

All pearles be
not white nat-
urally of the
fishes: but
some redde
pearles haue
exceed the
white in price
& estimation.

A strange
kind of mor-
ture issuing
from those
pearly Oysters
at a certaine
season of the
year.

Oysters con-
tinue not in
one place.

A later inuen-
tion of the
Persians in fi-
shing for their
pearled Oys-
ters.

our *Xantoge* Seas for Caslerons, vsing certaine Rakes, which rash into the Sea sands, and when they find the beds of Oysters, so force the enter into those hurds. Others walke along amongst the Rocks and Stones, which appeare aboue the water, where oftentimes, they finde some of those Oysters, so fast knit to the Rocks or Stones, as very much labour can scarcely get them off, without breaking the rocke or shell of the Oysters, and then taking from thence the Pearle, so soone as the shell is broken; for otherwise it diminisheth, and doth loose the true and naturall colour.

The *Indians*, *Arabians*, *Persians* and others, in ancient times, made no more account of Pearles, then of ordures and corruptions which the Seas cleered them selues of, during the seasons of their turbulence and boyling. But now wee haue so well enstructed them, in knowledge both of the worth and profic, that they can skill of the goodnesse, and value of things in such sort, as they will sell those commodities at rates deare enough. The *Egyptian* hath bene quicke witted alwayes, as hauing knowledge in good letters of longest continuance, adding his studious contemplations, to vnderstand the secrets of Nature: so that Pearles and precious Stones, at all times hath tasted of his approbation and esteeme. The slaues and basest peazzants in the Isle of *Babareu*, and other adiacent partes of firme Land, neighbouring vpon the Sea; haue oftentimes found Nacres and Oysters on the shoares, beeing dead, and yet they made search into them, and often they found very fayre and also rich Pearles.

Pliny saith, that Oysters haue a King amongst them, according as the like is affirmed of the Bees, Antes, and a guide allotted to the Cranes, and that this king is elected and chosen (by being the very fayrest and greatest) to take a carefull charge of all the rest: And that is the Oyster, which the fishers or diuers couer most to finde, being then assured, that the rest will not feare to followe. *Athenens* alleadgeth another Fable, as thus: That they doe strue to reuenge themselves on the fishers, by opening their shells, so to catch holde of their fingers. But such opinions are merely frivulous, and they

which ordinarily fish in the Oyster-Seas, make a mockerie of such reports. Beside, our Naturalists stand in doubt, whether Cockles, Scallops, Mufcles, Oysters, and such like shell-fish (living in the water) haue any part of vnderstanding. And, by the same reason, if they haue the meanes of withdrawing themselves, vpon sight of the fishers comming, or from any other fish (opposite or contrary to them) endeavouring to eate and deuoure them.

There is a fish, which is very opposite to the Oyster, being termed by the *Persians*, *Taruphall*, or *Taball*, and is of the bignesse of a midling Salmon, hauing a hard skinnie, yet without scales, and his finnes of an azure colour. This fish hath a little head, a sharpe nose or snout, seruing for his mouth, which is full of sharpe teeth: and these pearly Oysters are his delicious diet, luing (almost) by no other kind of foode. When he is desirous of feeding, he watcheth till such time as the Oysters beginne to open, as oftentimes they doe, beeing in the Sea: whereof making his advantage, and thrusting in his nose, hee deuoureth the fish quickly, leaving the shell quite emptie. The fishermen of the Islands, labour diligently to catch this fish, and first of all they open her bowells, wherein they finde store of very goodlie Pearles: then feede they on the fish, because it is dainty and delicate meate. The fewer number of Pearles they finde in an Oyster, so much the greater and fayrer they are, and where they chauce on anie store, they are the clowdier and small. Some are found to be so little, that they can not bee drilled by any meanes; and therefore they call them Seede-pearles, which are purposely kept for Apothecaries, who employ them according to their owne knowledge and experience, or as they are aduised by the Physitian.

The most commendable forme and shape of the pearle, is said to be that which is roundest; yet that in fashion of a Pearle or Akorne, is not much worse; and next to these is that like to a little Nutte: nor doe they reiect such as are writhed and wrinkled, nor the very smallest; but all are employed and made vse of: the best for the richest people, and the other for them of lower qualitie, because they are worn by all degrees of persons, as well men as women, in regarde they are growne to be

Taruphall, or *Taball*, a fish contrary to the pearly Oysters, luing by feeding on them.

The *Taruphall* had plenty of rich Pearles found in his belly.

Of those Pearles that carrie most commendation by their shape.

so common. No Prouince doe I know, whereunto more Pearles are brought, then into *Spain*, and next into *France*, within some small compasse of time, which makes mee so much to maruell at them the more.

In brieft, Pearles haue surpassed the riches of gold and siluer, and of Emeralds brought from forth the *Indies*. And yet I would gladly know the reason, wherefore our graue Auncients made such estimation of Pearles; considering they knew them not to haue any medicinable vertue, and in regard also, they grew quickly olde, as we plainly perceiue, when they haue lost their lustre, clearnesse and whitenesse. For my selfe, I cannot imagine what should be the reason, except it be in regarde of their whitenesse, which is not common to other precious stones: and I perceiue, that no account is made of them, which are of another colour, although they be of the self-same substance. Some haue enstructed mee in an other reason, to wit, because they haue bene brought from the new-found world, and likewise, that in times past, they fetch them from very farre remote Countries, which needs must vrge the more affection to them, because they come from farre hence: Or else wee make such deare estimation of them, in regarde that (many times) they cost the liues of men in fishing for them, as partly we haue before reported. The greatest Pearles are called in Latine *Vniões*, because sildome or

neuer we shall light on two, that are alike eyther in greatnesse, roundnesse, or splendour, or answerable in weight: for wee finde them alwayes separated one from another, and not ioyned together; And the lesser sort they vse to call *Marguerites*.

After that the Merchants haue them in their power, they permit them to be persued by diuers people, wherein the *Indians* and *Persians* are the best exercised, as beeing naturally enclined thereto by frequent practise. Nor do Pearles continue still in one and the same condition, for the truth is, they will fade, wither and waxe light by course of times: especially such as are caught after the full Moone. But being kept in the floure of Rice, mingled with Bay-Salt, they will recouer their former beauty and weight. But they which are caught deepeft, and in the new Moone, are neuer subiect to any such inconueniences.

The flesh (as they vse to call it) or body of the Pearly Oyster, is most wholsom, and of great nourishment; excellent good against melancholy, and for such as languish, or are in a consumption, and also for Hectiques and Tificks. But the *Indians* make no vse of Pearles in their medicines, although the moderne Physitians of the *Arabes* and *Moors* doe, which hath bene learned of them by some of ours, and vsed in all cordiall medicines, being good also for the eyes, finely beaten into powder, and held as an especiall preseruatiue for the sight. O o o o

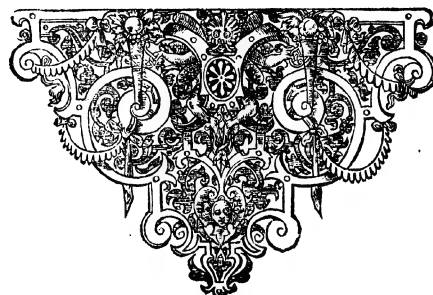
The reason why the greatest Pearles are called in Latine *Vniões*.

The *Indians* and *Persians* haue the greatest skill in Pearles.

Pearles will decay & waxe light.

Pearly Oysters good for diuers diseases.

FINIS.



Barbarous nations made no account of pearles in cluder time.

The wisdom and long continued experience of the Egyptians.

Pliny 12. c. 17. A king amongst the Oysters, and yet it is doubted, whether Oysters haue any vnderstanding, or no; and a great question among the best Naturalists.

so



A Table of the feuerall Bookes and Chapters, with their particular Arguments; contained in this Second Volume. (: * * :)

THE FIRST BOOKE.



*O*f the Ancient Countrey of Gaule,
now called France. What Lawes,
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*O*f the humanity, liberality, hospitality, and courtesie
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*O*f the Gaules made choise of their Generalles And
Commanders for their warres; with a true description of
their Military seruices and discipline.

*O*f the shouts, cries, and strange noises, deuised and
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of contentment, peace, mercy; their Barit, Songes, and
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*O*f the difference between the Soldiours of Cesar, and

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*O*f the dination vsed by the Sarronides, who were a
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In what high account and esteeme Philosophers, and other men of knowledge (in what Sciences) were held in elder times by Emperors and Kings.

That Learning is not only necessary in Kings and Princes: but also for Generals, Captaines, and Commanders, that follow the exercise of Armes.

Of diuers secret natural properties, being in the Viper: And how he may be sed on, and eaten without any danger.

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Of the strange and furious loue of a young Athenian, and of the ridiculous loue of King Xerxes: and howe that Beasts haue many times affected both men and women.

Of a man, that receiuing a wounde from his enemies hand, was deliuered from a deadly danger, wherein he had long time liued: with sundry other examples to the same purpose.

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Of many dammages and dangers, which ensue by the immoderate drinking of wine. And how it hath bene held as a healthfull thing (by some Physicians) to be drunken sometimes.

Certaine aduices and instructions, against forward affection to wine. And some reasons deliuered, why two things do appeare to bee tree, to men that are overcome with drinke.

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Of sudden death happening vnto diuers great persons, that haue thereto bene wished or threatened, by such as they haue vniustly put to death before, &c.

Of the cruelty which Alboaine, King of Lombardy, vsed to his Queene and Wife Rosamond: And by what meanes she reneged her selfe on him.

Of a pleasant, witty, and honest decept, which a famous and vertuous Queene vsed to her owne Husband, whereby Iames, King of Arragon was begotten.

Of an ancient and memorable Custome, obserued by the Inhabitants of Carinthia, at the Coronation of their Prince.

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That men may learne examples by Birds, Flies and other Creatures, to leade a vertuous life.

Of neglect in Martiall Discipline, and of an Army of Christians, that lost all their liues through drunkenness and want of following Military discipline.

Of the miserable ends, and other strange traueses, endured by diuers Kings, Emperors, Dukes and other great Princes, &c.

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Of the Originall of Triumphs; why they were first granted and vsed in Rome. How many they were that triumphed. What a Triumph is: And that there are two sorts of Triumphs.

Of such names of immortal honour and renowne, which the Romane Captaines had granted and giuen them, according to their severall victories.

Of such Crownes, with other recompences and salaries which the Romanes gaue to Soldiers. Also of punishing offenders, &c.

Of the reason, wherefore sleepe was granted and giuen to man: And likewise, that too much sleepe is hurtfull and vicious.

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The Rites and Ceremonies for the creating of an Earle.

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The Kings Charter for the creating of a Marchionesse.

The Kings Charter for the creating of a Duke.

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The Kings Charter for creating of the Prince of Wales.

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A briefe description of the Pompe & Ceremonies at the Coronation of Edward the sixth, King of England, according to the ancient manner, vsed in the Consecration of the Kings of England.

The memorable and famous Coronation, of our most gracious Soueraigne Lord King Iames, and Queene Anne his Wife, the 25. of July, 1603.

A Statute and Acte of Parliament, made in the 31. of King Henry the eight, concerning placing of Lords in the Parliament Chamber, and other Assemblies and Conferences of Council.

The Order of the Parliament Pompe.

The manner of restoring of renewed Nobility, lost before.

Of Customs.

Of Noblemen of the lesser sort.

The Order of the Knights of the Garter, when, and by whom it was ordained.

The Prerogation, or Epilogue of the whole Worke.

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Of the Asmonæans being the second Family.

Antiochus and Lysias are put to death by Demetrius; the wicked behaviour of Alcimus the Priest: The death of Iudas, and succession of his Brother Ionathas.

Concerning the imprisonment of Simons two Iannes and their Mother, by their cruell brother Ptolomy; and lastly their lamentable death. The valiant acts of Iohn

Hircanus, sonne to Simon; and destruction of Samaria.

How the rest and prosperity of Iudea, begate sundrie Sects among the people, especially of the Pharisees, Sadduces, &c. The diuersitie of their opinions, and a breefe narration of the Doctrine in use among the first Fathers.

Concerning the Originall of the Sadduces Sect, contrary in nature to the Pharisees, and what customes were obserued among them.

Of a third Sect, contrary to the Pharisees and Sadduces, who learned themselves by the name of Essæans: Their Originall, Religion, and manner of life.

A returning backe to speake more of Hircanus, and of his sons.

A breefe entrance into the description of the posterity of Antipater, holding the Principallity of Iudea, but not the High-Priest hood.

The third Family, concerning the posterity of Antipater the Idumæan of Ascalon, &c.

A further entrance into the discourse, concerning the race and posterity of Antipater, for the better clearing of some obscure doubts in diuers Authors, &c.

How Herode after all his tumultuous troubles and molestations, attained to the sole government of the kingdom of Iudea.

A breefe Collection, concerning the children of Herode the Great, which he had by his sennie wiues: As also the order of their severall successions.

Of the Ethnarchie of Archelaus, and the plea of him & his Brother Antipas before Augustus, for the right of government.

Of Phillip, son to Herode the Great, and how he governed in his Tetrarchy.

Of the life and death of Herode Antipas, Brother vnto Phillip, and Tetrarch of Samaria, &c.

The life of Agrippa, the first man of that name, coming to be king of Iudea.

A breefe Collection of the principall accidents happening in the time of the siege.

Of three great and notable doubts, which the ancient Philosophers knew not how to resoluë, and for what cause.

Of such ceremonies as were vsed by the Romans, before they moued any war.

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Of the inhumane actions, and monstrous cruelties, of Aristotimus the Tyrant.

The reason, why men cannot know and vnderstande the truth of many things, while they remain in this life.

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Of diuers erroneous and vile opinions, conceyued in fantastike braines, and verily beleueed for sound truths. 894

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A briefe Discourse, how those parts and Countries, commonly called, The New World; were first found, &c.

903

Of the Excellency and Dignity of Marriage: with many singular and worthy examples, tending to that purpose.

916

Of Partharites, King of the Lombards, who being pursued by Grimoald, fled first to Cacanua, King of the Auaris or Huns, afterward into France, &c.

914

What manner of men those were and are, that bee called Doctōrs of Sorbonne, or Sorbonnists.

922

That the Law of the Emperour Seuerus, and that of Solon, for promoting any one to Office and Authority in the Common-wealth (being first informed, of a mans life and good manners) was much better then those of the Venetians, Florentines, Geneweyes and Lucanes; examining after the time of their Iurisdiction is past.

928

Of the reason and cause, why both some Princes, and

also some Common-wealths, haue alwayes prosperously flourished in the times of warre; and in peacefull daies haue runne to decay and ruine.

932

That Princes ought not to erect sumptuous and stately buildings; as hoping thereby to make their names immortal.

936

Who was the first, among all other Monarchs & Princes, that commanded, to present by writing, whatsoeuer was to be negotiated with him.

940

Of such qualities and carriage, (as necessarily) is required to be in a Prince.

942

That the eldest Sonne ought alwayes to bee preferred before the younger, &c.

947

The Monarchy of the Casars, or Romanes.

950

The ancient and honourable History of the life, fortunes, and admired vertues, of faire Landgartha, the royal Queene of Norway.

957

Of the Bezaars stone, &c.

669

Concerning the generation of Pearles, &c.

972

FINIS.



Rites, This, Fr.
Mexico, Pedro.

THE TREASVRIE OF AVNCIENT AND MODERNE TIMES.

Containing the Learned Collections, Iudicious Readings, and Memorable Obseruations: Not onely Diuine, Morrall and Phylosophicall, But also Poeticall, Martiall, Politicall, Historicall, Astrologicall, &c.

Translated out of that Worthby Spanish Gentleman, PEDRO MEXICO.
And *M. Francesco Sansouino*, that Famous Italian. As also, of those Honourable Frenchmen, *Antonie Du Verdier*, Lord of *Vauprinaz*: *Lays Guyon*, *Sieur de la Nauche*, Counsellor vnto the King: *Claudianus Gruget*, *Parisian*, &c.



LONDON,
Printed by W. Iaggard, 1613.

THE
FIFTH
PART

OF THE
HISTORY OF THE
LIFE OF

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OF THE
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LIFE OF

OF THE
HISTORY OF THE
LIFE OF



To the Reader.



Know (Gentle Reader) that Custome commands an Epistle to thee, for Favourable Acceptance, and honest Entertainment of such a great Labour. But I am (at this time) forced to Write unto thee, both on the behalfe of my selfe and the Printer: in regard of many Escapes, which usually chanceth in Printing, by reason, that immediately after the Bookes beginning, sicknesse & other infirmities, did bereave him of his sight. If therefore any thing do or may appeare offensiv, either in Method or Matter, I would not have thee displeased in any thing whatsoever, or that any Argument thorough the whole Booke, should be (in the least degree) preiudiciall to thee. Therefore, accept it with like Love and Kindnesse, as it is sent unto thee, in Honest Affection and Friendlinesse.

CHAP. XV.

Of the Vertue and excellency of Hony, and how it ought to be vsed and applied.



Adam, the Florentine Phisition, a Man most-cou-
tous, for he would not go
forth of the City, to vi-
sitate any sickly and diseased

person; except hee might haue fittie
Crownes allowed him for his paines;
and to visite Pope *Honorius*, he had each
day allowed him an hundred Crownes.
This Man persuing the workes of *Car-
danus* (who left a small Treatise, which
was (as yet) neuer imprinted to our
knowledge, for hee liued in the yeare
one thousand two hundred and foure-
score) found certaine places, where hee
discourfed of Milke, Wine, Beere, and
many other things; but he observed
one especiall Chapter, concerning Ho-
ny and Manna, & that hee alleged *Galen*
therefore, but declareth not out of
which Booke he deriued his Authority.
I enquired of many learned Phisitions,
whether it were true or no, that *Galen*
had written on any such matter? Some
told me, that they had neuer reade any
such thing in his Workes: yet others
affirmed, that hee had made some
report thereof, in his Booke of the Pre-
seruation of Health. But whether it
be so or no, seeing the discourse is com-
mendable, and full of learning: this
Chapter shall containe some portion
of his relation, to the end, that the Rea-
der (not as yet there-with acquainted)
may vnderstand the Vertue of Hony.

He deliuereth it for certaine, that
Galen had seene two men, very different
in yeares, for the one was old, and well
necre; decrepitate; and the other, in the
best time of his age. These men were
most contrary in opinion, concerning
Hony yet brought to agreement, by
store of good reasons, as you shall per-
ceiue. The Auncient and decrepitate
Man saide; that Hony made him verie
healthfull, because it gaue warmth to
his Body; stayed the fluxe in his belly,
when it greatly pained him; cleansed
his Lights and Lungs, when they were

ouer-charged with raw and indigested
Phlegme, onely by spitting; made his
Vrine come orderly, and (consequen-
tie) discharged the Reines. Hee had
also seene some, who were impositions
with *Opium*, and had daungerously fed
on venomous Mushromes or Toad-
stooles; that recovered found health by
the vse of Hony. He said moreover,
that he had had an inneterate & fordid
Vicer in one of his Legs, for which he
could compasse no remedy, by applica-
tion of manifold very likely helpes; and
yet he was thorowly cured, and the Vi-
cer consolidated by Hony onely. He
said also, that he heard of many, who
were cured of Tetters, Itch, and Ring-
wormes; by application of Hony: be-
side, giuers others, that had loud tick-
lings, noyses, and winds in their eares;
yea, & were almost stark deafe; yet hol-
pen by Hony. It caused quick motion in
the Pulses, and (vsed as a Gargarisme)
it is a singuler remedy against the squin-
zy, Kernels in the Necke, & swolne Ald-
monds in the Mouth, and forseene in
the Throat. Applied to the eyes, it took
away thicke mistes and vapours, which
oftentimes obscureth sight.

In breefe, the old man was assuredlie
perswaded, that there was not a better
Aliment or Medicament in all the
World, then Hony; according to the
experience he had made thereof, vpon
his owne person. Having spoken these
things with good iudgment and discre-
tion, he held his peace, and *Galen* com-
manded the other party, to speak what
he could concerning Hony, so highlie
commended by the olde Man; admoni-
shing him withall, to deliuer his minde
without passion or choller, and likewise
to set aside all partiall affection: For *Galen*
found (accidentally) these two Men
thus disputing. The young Man be-
ing Chollerique, prompt; ambitious,
and impatient; perswaded himselfe
of victory before hand; and to preuayle
against the graue man. But *Galen*, who
had great credite in many partes of the
world (in regarde of his singuler know-
ledge, and renoune of his learned labors,
being also Phisition to the Emperors *M.
Antoninus Aurelius Verus*, and to his suc-
cessor *Commodus*) requiured silence; and
having heard the aged mans report, was
as desirous also to heare the young man,

Galen com-
mended the young
man to speak.

Galen a Man
of great au-
thority.

The young
mans declara-
tion against
Hony.

and giuing him a signall when to begin,
he arose vp (as in anger) and proceeded
in this manner:

I protest to speake nothing at this in-
stant, concerning Hony, which I haue
not experienced in mine owne person;
and it may be, more truly and certainly,
then he hath any way made prooue of the
like. I protest withall, that it is the most
pernitious aliment or medicament, that
can be vnder heauen. For, I haue diuers
times made vse thereof (vpon vrgent ne-
cessity) hauing bene surprized on the
Sea by Pyrats, who kept mee captiue for
diuers moneths; when I was constrained
to feed thereon, enforced thereunto by
meere hunger; but hauing eaten it, I
found my stomack wholly vndigestible,
with much procuring to casting, which
brought me (at length) to such gripes in
the belly, that by the meanes of Windi-
nesse, which it extremely caused, I look-
ed for no escape with life. Beside these
things, it brought mee to a dry Cough,
and engendred such a number of worans
in a friend of mine: that notwithstanding
hee dranke Vineger, for want of better
Wine, he must needs haue dyed, if hee
had not voided them.

The vsing of Hony, after my deliue-
rance, made me fall into a Feauer Ter-
rian; during which time, by aduise of som,
I dranke nothing but *Hydromell*, or *Me-
steglin*, which is a Breuage made of Ho-
ny, and foddren Water, boiled till the
third part thereof bee consumed, and it
prolonged my diseafe; but so soone as I
made pure Water my drinke, I mended
presently.

Moreover, the skinn being (by a mis-
chance) a little flayed off my foot; by the
aduise of some Women, I vsed an oym-
ent of Honic, which neuer brought a-
ny skin againe; but when I applied a litle
burnt Paper thereto, it dried and healed
it verie speedily. Briefly, I conclude, that
Honic is neither Aliment, nor wholsom
Medicament, either for the inward or
outward affections; but contrariwise, it
is verie dangerous and hurtfull to Nature.
He pronounced these wordes with such
vehementie and affection, according to
his vse and behauiour; as if he wold haue
tome the aduersarie partie in pieces with
his teeth and nailes.

Galen then spake with great Modestie,
(albeit he was by nature, as Chollerick as

the other) that both of them had deliue-
red the truth, & no man needed to make
anie doubt, because hee wold make it
presently apparant. It is most certaine
(quoth hee) that this aged man speaketh
nothing but truth, declaring what good-
nesse he findeth in Honic; because H-
nic is hotte, and all Aliments or Nutri-
ments of hot Nature, doe agree with all
persons, ages, and sexes, temperately, or
of cold complexion. But this man is of a
Flegmaticke complexion, old, subiect to
many cold distillations, Flegmatick and
Quotidian Feaures; and therefore it is no
maruell, though he giue such assurance,
and finds the vse of Hony wholesome for
him. But yet it is verie likely, that he doth
not vse it indifferently, as it is brought
from the Bee-hiue, but rather prepareth
it: for he causeth it to be boyled, foddren,
and taketh off the scum, in which manner
it nourisheth and conuerteth into good
blood. If it much help him in restraining
the Flux of his Belly, it was in this regard,
that being in that manner prepared, it had
no mordication in it, neither excited any
gripings, as it doth when it is crude and
raw, as my Great Schoole-maister *Hippe-
crates* hath litle written. And whereas hee
saith, that it made speedy discharge of his
Vrine and Reines, from Sand and Gra-
uell, whereto in age he became much sub-
iect: surely, being boiled with Water,
(which the Physitians call *Mulla*) it hath
out of question, such Vertue. By cough-
ing and spitting, it cleanseth the Lightes
and the Liuer; and the Pipes being char-
ged with colde Flegmes (diseases vvhich
depend vpon age) when it is thus reduced
into a Syrtrope, and taken in Mornings
long before feeding, it is verie soueraign,
and excellent also, to make olde people
liue merrily.

It cannot bee good for such as haue
drunke *Opium*, or cold poison, by misad-
venture, follie, or pride of mind (as now
adaies the Turkes, and a great part of the
Grecians vse to do) but it is necessary that
the Honic should be verie aged, as often
or twelue yeares at the least, boyled and
clarified in Wine often or twelue yeares
old; and being so prepared, it correcteth
the great coldnesse of the faide *Opium*
or poison: Against Mushromes or Toad-
stooles (which are commonly venomous)
vndoubtedly, it is a most certain remedy,
as he hath formerly said: but it must then

Galen con-
cedeth the
Concurrians
by learned
experience.

Hony boyled
or foddren is
the cause of
good blood.

Hip. in lib. de
Dieta.

Against Sand
and Grauell.

Against con-
sting and spic-
ing.

Old Honic
good against
Opium & poys-
on.

Against Mus-
tomes of
Toad-stooles.

Of Tadeus the
cousinous Phi-
sition or Phi-
rence.

Of Hony and
Manna alleged
by *Galen*.

Got in lib. de
Confer. Sanit.

Two Men dif-
ferent in opi-
nion as touch-
ing Hony.

The old Mans
allegacion in
defence of
Hony.

The vertue
of Hydromell
or Methegin.For olde and
foule Vicers.For defendens
and winde
in the head.Against It-
ches, Ring-
worms and
Tetter.Against the
weaknesse of
fight.The faying of
Cato.Galen vnder-
tooke to de-
fend the yong
mans spee-
ches.

be ordered into a *Syrpe*, as in that nature it is viced, to displace phlegme, and an old dry cough. *Hydromell* or *Methegin* gargarized, doth very well cleanse all hinderances, which proceede from any thicke phlegme, either in the throat, *Puula* or the Almondess. Concerning the fardide and inueterate *Vicer*, which he seemeth to haue had in his leg, and cured it by the helpe of *Hony*: the case is very euident, for *Hony* cleanseth, cleareth, and is vter enemy to all foridity or filthinesse, and hauing thus neared the *Vicer*; it easily heals & closeth it vp. Touching that which he alleadged, of some, who haue distilled & put *Hony* into their eares, being deaffe- ned, full of the braine: this must be vnderstood of very old *Hony*, foddren with foure times as much old *Wine*, for all hot medicaments (as very olde wine and *Hony* are) they doe disperse windes very easily, and other cold causes, which procure deaffe- nesse, and other accidents in those parts.

That it causeth the drying vp of Itches, Tettters, Ring-wormes, and other such like defoedations in the skinn; proceede from hence, that it is absterfiue of his owne nature, and a great enemy to all corruption, for whatsoeuer things are confectioned in *Hony*, will neuer corrupt. By the same reason, it worketh the death of Itches and Tettters, which are nothing else, but meere vncleannesse and filthinesse of the body. In regard of fight, questionlesse, being mingled with a little *Fennell* water, and so distilled into the eyes; it quitteth them from blearings and watery humors, which congealing in the, doth greatly trouble the sight, especially in such as vie ouermuch weeping. To conclude, Ladies and Gentlewomen doe wash their faces and hands therewith, to keepe them smooth, faire and white. And *Cato* was wont to say; That to liue long, we must vse *Hony* within the body, and oyle without.

Galen thus finishing his prooffe (by very good reasons) that the olde man had spoken truly; would not so giue it ouer, but though the young man (who was oppositively contrary to the other) had declared so much against *Hony*; yet would he maintaine the truth of his speeches likewise. And directing his eye to him, began in this manner, discourring with plenty of words, after the *Astetic* course, and not *Laconically*, as his good and an-

cient *M. Hypocrates* was wont to do in his time. Let no man count it strange (quoth he) if thou doe mislike the vse of *Hony*, and lay so much blame vpon it: for it is very contrary to thy nature, being of an angry and cholericke temper, hot in action, and easily displeased. And though I had not heard thee speak, nor beheld any action of thine; yet very light had beene sufficient to me; thy haire being red, thy skin yellowish, thy body leane and meagery, these are enow whereby to direct iudgement. First, let me tell thee, that diseases are neuer cured, but by their contraries, for whereas thou saidst, that thou hadst a Feauer tertian, and supposed it to come by the vse of *Hony*, a food enforced in the time of thy captiuitie: I make no doubt at all thereof, for *Hony* conuerteth it selfe quickly into red chollier, in any body naturally hot, as thine is, and I wonder it did not more hurt vnto thee, because it was in no manner prepared. For albeit that many viands are good, yet there be some that (before they are eaten) doe require preparation, to correct a certaine malignity, which they haue naturally in them. As *Coriander*, which is venomous of it selfe; Neuerthelessse, corrected with Vineger, it is an excellent medicine for the stomack, trauided with indigestions, and filled with windes. In like manner, crude and raw *Hony*, not repurged from his excrement, offendeth the stomack, engendering a desire of casting, and descending into the intestines, begetteth there such windinesse, and so painefull gripings, as are not possible to be declared, and therefore thou hast affirmed nothing but truth. As for the drie cough which is raised in thee, there is no doubt thereof, for but by eating it raw; some part thereof must needs fall into the conuoye of the lights and liuer, as it doth in all liquid things (that are thick and impure) receiued into the body. And his tartnesse or saltnesse (not being summed away before) prouoketh a dry cough; yet auoyding nothing in spitting, because no matter at all was defected to the lights & liuer. Which hapned not in like sort to this old man, for he had phlegm enough in him, to let fall downe ordinarily vpon those parts. But for that report, that *Hony* should engender wormes; it is quite contrary to all reason; because all things steeped in *Hony*, are exempt from mine

The signes of
a cholericke
man.Hony quite
contrary to a
Feauer tert-
ian.Rawe Hony
and vnprepa-
red is danger-
ous.Coriander
venomous.Crude Hony
procureth
a dry cough.Hony doth
not engender
wormes.Hydromell or
Methegin, for
what persons
it is good.Burnt Paper
good to pro-
cure new
skin.Galen con-
fession of these
two contra-
ries.Conuention
of the key cau-
tious quarrell.

mine or corruption. But if it fall out, that a man vsing *Hony*, had wormes before, or is inclined naturally to them: then it doth maintaine and nourish them, euen as Sugar doth; but it can bee no cause of their generation.

Concerning *Hydromell* or *Methegin*, drunke in the continuance of thy Feauer Tertian, and presumed to prolong the same: there is nothing more certaine, then that this drinke (composed of *Hony* and *Water*) did it. But it was not caused by any defect in the liquor, which of it selfe is most wholesome, for Men of melancholly habitude, and for diseases of black Chollier and Phlegmaticke: but for any cholericke person, such as thy selfe is, most certaine is it, that it is a true foment, and a maintainer of fiery Agues, euen such as thine then was, and he was greatly to be blamed, that thereto did aduise or counsel thee. And whereas thou saidst, that it is an enemy to such places, as the skin is flaid or gne off: it is to be considered, that it was no *Vicer*, like vnto the other; for it detergeth, cleareth, and dryeth not. To regenerate new skinn, we must not apply deterfiue Medicines, but such as are desiccative, without any mortification. And I credit well, that burnt Paper was much more conuenient for it: but yet we must not say, that if Medicines be badly vsed, they are not therefore good, being fitly applied.

I conclude then (by these reasons) that you both haue spoken very well of *Hony*, albeit ye are so different in opinion: but all your contrariety hath no other ground, but that the younger man of ye both, did not vse *Hony* duly, and with consideration and good iudgement, according as the circumstances required. Thus *Galen* gaue ending to this Controuersie, and it was to be feared, that if *Galen* had not thus moderated the matter, the difference had caused blowes between them. Such debates and contentions, are daily seen in Country Townes and Villages; when a man will rashly commend his Scithe, Hatchet, Sickle, Dogge, Bull, or Cow, beyond his Neighbours, and thereupon are ready to goe to Law. But breaking off this discourse, because I would not be offensive to the reader: I will adde another Chapter, to declare

whence the matter of Hony is taken, and how it is made.

CHAP. XVI.

How Hony is made; Whence Adama proceedeth; Of the fiery Hony, and of Sugar.



Ony commeth from the Dew of Heauen, which falleth vpon the Herbes and Flowers, and is sucked vp by the Bees, and enclosed in their stomackes: afterward, it is vomited or cast vp at their mouthes, and they preferre much part thereof in the hollow of their lawes, to liue thereon during winter, and other hard times. Prudent Nature hath so well ordered all things, for the benefit and cominodity of Man; that shee hath bestowed many vertues and vigours on those pretty Flies, in gathering sufficient for themselves, and liberall extender for Man also. For it is a great merchandise, helpful for diuers Maladies, and a singular nourishment for some bodies, as may bee gathered by our former discourse.

Nature hath beene so bountifull to Man, and still continueth the same affection; that she causeth great quantitie of this Hony dew to fall, euen like raine vpon the earth in some Countries, vpon the Mountaines, and places where Frankinsence groweth. To gather it, the Inhabitants lay fleeces of *Wool* vnder the Trees, and beat the Trees, to cause the Dew to fall vpon the fleeces, which drinke it in: afterward, they presse the fleeces, and receiuing this hony-dew into conuenient Vessels; they boyle and purifie it, making vse thereof in their foodes, as also in their Medicines, as they thinke best; and it is much better then that which is wrought by the Bees.

Galen faith, that there fell such great quantitie of this Dew (in his time) in his Country of *Pergamus*; that the Country people (greatly delighted therein) gaue thanks therefore to *Asiuter*. *Ælianus* writeth also, that there fell

How the Bees
do make this
Hony.Nature pro-
vidence for
Man.Hony-dew
falleth like
raine in some
places.Galen re-
ports of Hony
dew.

Hony hindereth Milke from corrupting.

Euripides and Aelianus of the vertue of Hony.

Hony both medicinable & venomous.

Diocorides concerning hony

Hony gathered in Sardignia.

Another kind of dew beside the former.

Grained Manna, the best is of Calabria.

such plenty thereof in India, in a Region which is called *Pragla*, and so moistened the Grassie, that the Sheepe, Kine, and Goates feeding thereon, yielded Milke sweete like Hony, which was very pleasing to drinke. And when they used that Milke in any discafe, they needed not to put any Hony therein, to the end it should not corrupt in the stomacke: as it is appointed in Heckericks Feauers, Consumptions, Tifickes, and for others that are vicerred in the intestines, as is confirmed by the Histories of Portugal.

Euripides saith, that meere Hony fell vpon the Trees in *Meditia*; and *Aelianus* saith, that in *Trapezonde*, the people gathered Hony on the Boxe-tree leaues; and albeit it was bitter, and of strong saour, yet it cured such as were mad, and them that were tormented with the falling sicknesse. Doubtlesse, it is very likeli, that Hony should relish of the Plant or Hearbes quality, from whence it is gathered: for if the Tree be venomous, such will the Hony bee, and if the Hearb or Grassie be healthful, so is it likewise. Which was very well obserued by *Diocorides*, who saith; in *Hogalea* of *Pentus*, there was some Hony so venomous, that it would reduce all the body into a sweat, and take away their senses, that did eate thereof: but the Hearbe *Rhus* being presently taken, was an immediate remedie. In *Sardignia* it is gathered of very bitter taste, because it may bee, that much Worme-wood or Sothern-wood groweth in that Countrey: and yet notwithstanding, it is not venomous, but irksome to taste.

And to the end, that nothing may be omitted, of what may be said concerning Hony; I finde, that there is another kinde of Dew, beside the former, which congealeth of it selfe, & is found and taken vpon the leaues and branches of Trees, vpon Hearbs and Stones, and sometimes on the very ground, forming it self into little Grains, like Gum, which fallth from heaven before break of day; being very sweete in taste. And this dew or moisture, is called grained Manna, the best wherof cometh from *Calabria*, where they take it on their common Ash-trees, vpon the wide commons, and (many times) vpon some other Trees, by some secret of

Nature. It maketh the belly loose, without any violence, as by daily experience it is to be seene, for if a man take the waight of two ounces and an halfe thereof, it releaseth the belly gently, and purgeth choller particularly: nor is there any feare, in giuing it to Women great with childe, and young sucking Children, if they neede any purging. Now aduies, because in stead of Hony, most part of men doe make vse of Sugar, as being more amiable vnto Nature; it shall not vary much from our purpose, if wee enter into some breefe discourse thereof.

Sugar is but the Pith or Marrow of certaine cultiued Reedes or Canes, naturally produced, and boiled in Water, vnill it grow to some hardnesse. The Sugar, wherof our ancients (as *Pliny*, *Galen*, *Diocorides*, *Paulus Aeginetus*, and others) make mention, was none other, but that which came forth of the Cane, by a rife made thereinto, as being ouer full of sugred pith, which congealed to the Cane like a Gumme; and long time (both before and after) no other kinde of Sugar was knowne, but onely that, which quenched thirst in the hottest fiery Agues. Quite contrary to the Sugar of these daies, which prouoketh thirst, and turneth it selfe into bitter choller, euen as Hony doth. This Hony was then rare, and all Sauces, Conserues, Confections, Opiates, Electuaries, and other medicinable compositions, were made with Hony; only through defect of knowing Sugar in those times.

But since Madame Auarice discovered the Art, of pressing and boyling those Sugar Canes, detruing thence great abundance of Sugar: it hath happened; that the *Indians* haue (and yet yearly do) cut the Sugar Canes, making also a yearely planting of the. And therefore there needeth no maruaile, if those great Sugar Canes be not to be found, wherein nature shewed her effects, and so (by consequent) the natural Sugar, vied by our forefathers, is vnterly lost. In stead wherof, our moderne times haue vied Sugar-candy, which is arteficiall and cleare, drawne forth of mincral Salt; being sucked vp on the tongue, whereby it wholly resembles the Sugar of our *Ancients*.

The vertue of this Manna in vfe.

The definition of Sugar.

Pliny, *Galen*, *Diocorides*, *Paulus Aeginetus*.

The natural Sugar vied by our elders.

Conserues the first inuenter of Sugar.

The arteficiall Sugar-candy of these daies

Difference between Hony & Sugar in vertue.

How long time it is since sugar was first knowne.

* *Mainque* and *Mingoue*.

The comparison which our Physitions make between Hony and Sugar, is, that they are both Absterfiue, Deficcative, and Resolueable; but yet Sugar much lesse then Honic. Sugar is not so contrarie to the stomacke, as Honic, neither so hot, that it may be numbered amongst those Medicines, which may be administered in Feauers: and this is the opinion both of *Galen* and *Auicenn*.

The inuention of boyling, and making it into a Licquid kinde of Loaves, for common Traffique and distribution (in such great quantity) through all parts of the world, began within these last 800. yeares. In which time (yet farre off from the Original) the *Africans*, and people of *Asia*, being Neighbors to the *Indians*, got the sight of making Sugar in *India*, & preparing their grounds aptly for Sugar Canes; by transporting some of those sugar Canes into their Countries, and husbanding their tillage for them. Afterward, they communicated the manner thereof to other people, as (at this instant) there is verie good Sugar made in *Egipt*, *Madera*, the *Canarie* Islands, throughout all *Barbary*, *Sticily*, the Isles * *Baleares*, in some partes of *Spain*, and other places. The Reader may perceiue by this Discourse, in what case Honic is good, and in what euil: how it ought to be applied, and in what things it is best vied; What difference there is between Honic and Sugar, and the generation both of the one and other. By obseruing also the disputation, which hapned between those men of different yeares, some profit may be gathered; in what kinde it is wholesome, Nutritiue, and Physicall; and in what Nature also, dangerous and hurtfull.

CHAP. XVII.

How the Gothes used to elect their Kings, Great, Fat, and Corpulent of Bodie. Contrariwise, how the Sarrazins would haue their Kings to be Meagre, Leane, and of small stature.

I were needlesse to declare, what manner of people the Sarrazins were, hauing formerly spoken sufficient there-

of, in a Chapter onely thereto appertaining. And for the *Goths* likewise, somewhat hath already bin said, and the rest remaineth to more conuenient place. My instant purpose is, to relate of what stature and habitude of bodie, both those Nations used to create their Kings, thereby to appeare more apt and proper for command ouer them. The *Goths* would not elect anie man to be their King, except he were tall, great, grosse, and verie corpulent. On the contrary, the *Sarrazins* would haue no King to command ouer them, except he were little, lean, and low of stature. Whosoener considereth well on these matters, will finde neither side to be voide of reason, albeit their opinions were so opposite; and therefore wee will begin with them of great, grosse, and corpulent condition.

Hippocrates, the Prince of Physitions, saith; Great stature is verie seemly & commendable in a young man, and it begetteth him much grace; but it is an vnprofitable charge to age, and much worse then smallness. Doubtlesse, a Prince of high great appaunce, and goodly shape, is much more respected by the greater part of his people, then one that is lowe, leane, and little. To approue this, certain *Normans*, hauing made a Voyage into the Countreies of *Brasile* (where the people were termed *Saluages*, and went wholly Naked, feeding on humane flesh) brought backe in their Ships diuers Captaines of the *Caribes*, and made a present of them to King *Charles* the ninth, who was then young in yeares, onely about the age of fiftene. The *Saluages* perceiving his great attendance, and that euery one was verie respectiue of him, demaunded what he was? One told them, that he was the King, who absolutely commaunded all *France*, a Countreie of large extenture, and well peopled. The *Caribes* answered, saying; Surely there was but ill proceeding in the election of so young a King, rather this man, or that man had bin much better, pointing their fingers to two *Switzers* of great corpulence, and were of the Guard belonging to the said King.

It is contemptible and vnseemlie, to behold a chiefe person, as the king, Captaine, or other men of command, to be of small stature, and their seruants great. The first King of *Israel*, which GOD chose of gaue to his people, was *Saul*;

Kinges fat, great, and cal, and others leane, lowe, & little.

Apoor, 54. li. 2.

The Normans voyage to *Bra* file.

The iudgement of *Saluages* in choice of a King.

Men of small stature, much despised.

a man of high and great stature. After such slightly personage, commended by *Hippocrates* in a young man; he addeth, a great difcommoditie, saying; *Great Corpulence is inſupportable and hurtful to Age, because a great man being old, becommeth bending or bowing, and hath labor enough to beare the bigneſſe of his bodie, by the puffing up or ſwelling in his legges. Moreover, for the moſt part they are Cowardes, without magnanimitie or bodily ſtrength: For neither their ſpirits, natural heat, or animal forces, are ſo well aſſembled and united, as in them of leſſer corpulence.*

If occaſion ſo required, that ſuch men ſhould be expoſed to danger, either by Sea or Land, or ſome miſfortune or aduerſity ſhould befall them, they will quickly ſhake and tremble with feare: which hapneth thus to them, becauſe their Natural heat languiſheth, their ſpirites are thin and little, and their blood leſſe boiling. Beſides, Natural Verue ſpends it ſelfe, when it ſpreads into a long & large exteſſure; which vniting and enclosing it ſelfe in a little bodie, is much more vigorous and powerfull, then that which is heere and there diſperſed. And that which yet is worke, what grace could the *Gether* finde, in a bodie ſo great and groſſer: For ouer and beſide, that they muſt needs be vnable for all royal actions, either in bodie or vnderſtanding: ſo likewise, life could not prolong it ſelfe ſo well in them, as it commonlie dooth in leaner bodies. The reaſon is, becauſe groſſe corpulency hath not ſo manie vitall ſpirites, neither ſuch plentie of bloode in the Veines and Arteries, as Leanneſſe generally hath. For, Fatneſſe doth cauſe great oppreſſion, whereby (ſuch men) doe verie ſoone ſuffocate vnder anie laborious trauell, or ſharpe diſeaſe. It procureth alſo, that in the leaſt ſickneſſe or indiſpoſition happening to them, they thereby become daily tired, panting, fighting, grieving, hartleſſe, deſtored, and in ſuch fort emptied of all courage, that life it ſelfe (thogh tenderly affected) is tedious and irkeſome to them.

Men of leſſer ſtature, haue (naturally) a meniall vigor, and the faculties of Nature ſtrongly combined. We may diſcerne in them verie excellent graces, both Corporall and Spirituall, with ſingular promptitude and ſubtiltie of mind, and that in ſuch fort, as not only they ex-

cell, or equal (at leaſt) the others in any diſpoſition: but likewise, in ſtrength and ſwiftneſſe, as alſo in goodnes of ſtomack for eating or drinking. I haue oftentimes noted in our Armies, ſome French men of ſlender ſtature, who haue bin drinking a Vie (as we terme it) with *Switzers* and *Germaines*, great of bodie, and verie fat: but the *Switzers* and *Germaines* were ſooner drunke, became ſleepey, reeling, and fell to the ground, vnable to vie any function of ſoule or bodie; then the other light timberd men, that went away clemly. The cauſe of all theſe things remaineth, not only in great capacitie & largeneſſe of the Veines and other Veſſels: but likewise in heate both Natural and vehement, which boileth, concocteth, and conſumeth all. Likewise, in a ſtrong and firme braine, which doth not eaſilie apprehend or receiue fumes: but, in ſuch manner, as a Tile made red hot with fire, or a ſhot Iron, that ſlips water off, being caſt vpon them; alſo, like to a verie drie ground, which ſuddenly diſpatcheth and conſumeth Water caſt on it, for there it looſeth it ſelfe, and paſſeth away, as in a ſubtle vapour.

Moreover, that commonly there is more magnanimitie and valour in a little bodie, then in the corpulent, may be approved by the Annals and Hiſtories of *France*, in the life of King *Pepin*, called the Lowe or Little man, Maior of the Pallace, who liued about the yeare, 750. He was of no corpulence, yet contained in him a great ſpirit, generous and robuſt of his members: which was the cauſe, that all the people of *France*, reioiced *Childerick* (who was their legitimate and Natural King, a man of great ſtature) and hauing ſeene him as a Monk, did locke him vp in a Monaftery, there to end his daies, becauſe he was tearmed *Do Nothing*, a Coward, dull, and ordinarily addicted to drunkenneſſe.

We read in the *Romain* Hiſtories, that a man of *Gaulle*, of immeſurable greatneſſe, and higher (by the head) then anie in the Army, called or Challenged anie *Romaine* to fight with him in ſingle combat. Among all the reſt, *Marcus Corninus* (being a man of lowe ſtature) could not endure this inſolence and arrogancy in the *Gaulle*, but vndertook the fight with him, and ſlew him, in faire warre, as we vie to teame it.

Small ſtature preferred before the Corpulente.

Pepin the little man preſided before Childerick the great.

Of a great Gaulle, and a little Romaine.

We

The *Corrhegenians* were of ſo high honour as the *Gothes*, and ſo great, that their eyes were not fixed on Earth, as the *Leanneſſe* great of ſmall ſtature; but ſtared at what was dignitie and honour, and any thing reſpectful either of diſtinction or ſtature. In theſe ſort of ſtation of their Kinges, ſtands *Sarracins*. In ſome manner, they were ſo proud of their ſtature or Learning, and ſo full of ſelfe, which they wore, conſidering more in the diſtinction of men, than any ſubtilty of magnanimity, that they had a ſort of *Canes*, and *Ambrans*, had amongſt them many men of great Learning, and they all read in all the Sciences. And ſo on all other excellent qualities, they were very ſkillfull in the choiſe of their Kinges, as being able (by ſtature and ſtature) to gather mature iudgement of their Magnanimitie, Verue, and Vices: well knowing, that in great and groſſe Bodies, neither Science, Good ſpirit, or Generoſitie, had (commonly) any abiding. And to this Day, they are knowne to be good Phyſionomiſtes, and, beſides that, all the Learning which the *Graecians* left vs, had verie bene loſt, thorough thoſe bloody warres of the *Gothes*, *Ambrans*, *Offrogother*, *Amigothos*, and other barbarous people.

The *Sarracins* were great lovers of learning.

about the year 1000.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the abuſe committed, in carrying Sweet Drugges, Powders, and Perfumes, by both Men or Women: What harmes thereby enſuege, and at what time they came to be firſt uſed, and of their properties.

It thinketh, that the *Romans* dealt both wiſely and worthily in ordaining (at the requeſt of their Centors, *P. Licinius Craſſus*, & *C. Iulius Ceſar*) that no man ſhould ſell any ſweet Odours, or Aromaticall Vnguents, which commonly were brought forth of ſtrange Countries. For this law, they had (vndooubtedly) very great reaſon, becauſe ſuch ſweet perfumes and fauours, do make men effeminate, weak in

Very bad acci- dents enſuing by the carriage of ſweet ſauours.

the brain, and all the other animal parts: engendering nothing elſe, but vertiginous and diſtreſſe, and great toments in the head, with trembling of the Nerves, proceeding by theſe means, a pale and bloodleſſe colour in the Face, and the verie leſſe ſence, which Quick-ſilver cauſeth amongſt *Vipers*, in *Goſts*, and ſuch other creatures.

Moreover, ſuch ſweet ſauours, which are much, laying beſide, they doe great harme in the head, and all ſuch make uſe of them in wearing them, about their bodies: it is only but to attract voluptuous Luſt, whether it be in Men or Women. It was neuer ſeen, that any braue Priests, Captaines, or men of great crueltie, and that made account of vertue, did vie any of theſe Perfumes, or Muſicke ſauours. Not any (as I haue already ſaid) but the voluptuous, or ſuch as haue found defect in their bodie, do carry ſuch ſmells about them, as ſtrange vnauquity breath, which cometh from the brain, or ſome Vicer in the Lights and Linges, being commonly called, a corrupt & ſinking breath. Or for rotten teeth, full of putrid food ſticking in them. Or for ſuch, as haue a Goat-like ſauour, by reaſon of an ill-ſcenting ſweat vnder their armpits, or other parts of the bodie. For ſuch people, I ſay, it is permitted (as a ſhadow to their defects) to carrie Perfumes, or ſweete Powders about them, or elſe to haue their Garments perfumed. *Martiall* ſpeaketh the verie ſame in his Epigrams to *Politianus*. The Eaſterne people did much more vie theſe ſweete Vnguents, then they of the *VVeſts*, and were extraordinarily addicted to Luxuries and Voluptuouſneſſe, beyond all other parts of the world.

The verie greateſt antiquitie that I can finde, for the vie of theſe ſweete Vnguents, is in *Geniſis*, where it is ſaid, that *Jacob* ſent ſuch gifts into *Egipt*, becauſe there was a great dearth of Corne, and to be fauoured of *Joſeph*, who diſtributed the Kings corn out of his Graners, which he had referred to preferre his people, or to make profit thereof, or rather, by diuine inſpiration. *Salomon* in his Canticles, ſpeaketh of moſt ſweete Cynimones, eſpecially in the firſt Chapter. The like doth his Father *David*, and that hee did Anoint his owne Face.

Galen in *Aphor.* ſeſ. 8. Lib. 5.

Sweete Perfumes ſerue to cooſt the bodie impetuſions.

Who are allowed to wear perfumes.

The antiquitie of ſweet odours Gen. 43; 12.

Cant. 1; 11, 12, 13.

Bb After

What in wit,
Alas.

How in En-
terp.

After that *Alexander* had conquered *Darius*, there was found (amongst the other spoiles) a little Coffet full of most sweet and shi gular Vnguent. We read in *Herodotus*, that *Cambyses* King of *Persia*, and Sonne to *Cyrus*, sent his Ambassadors with very rich presents, and vessels full of precious Oynments; to *Maorgibus*, King of the *Ethiopi*ans. But the King having vnderstood by the *ETHIOPIANS*, (who brought him this Present) in what manner those compositions were made, would by no means accept them; because, they were too effeminate for him.

In troth, this barbarous Moore gaue a good Lesson to vs that are Christians, and thinke our selues to excell all other in the worlde for Vertue: that wee are much more barbarous then hee, and all his Countrey of *Ethiopia*. For, in these our dayes, wee cannot bee content with perfuming our Garments, and the haire on our heads; but many are growne to such horrid immodesty, as to anoint those secretes both in men and VVomen (only to prouoke Lust, and for the more lasciuiousnesse) which were not ordained for any such brutish wickednesse. Many also, haue their Beades made of sweet Perfumes, not to vse in their priuie Orisons, but only for Vaine-glorie, and where any interchange of affection is, to procure the better meanes for voluptuous pleasures, and seeme more acceptable to his wanton Mistis, or free to her as idle seruant. Incense bestowed in churches, or on hallowed Altars, are matters of no great value or moment. And yet the Altar of God in *Ierusalem*, was not perfumed but with *Sittim* woode, according to his owne appointment.

Let me not herein be mistaken; as if I would inferre, that *Beniamine*, *Storax*, *Amber*, *Muske*, *Ciuette*, and such like, which are the principall foundation of Vnguent, Pouders and sweets are wholly to be reiected; for they are of great Vertues, and haue peculiar properties against diuers diseases, and then they may lawfully be vied, but not abused. Not as did *Muleasses* King of *Thunis*, who in the year, 1554. hauing left his Kingdome, to require aid of *Charles* the first Emperour, fearing the Turkish forces, which the Admiral to *Barbarossa* prepared against him, wherefoeuer he went, hee abused these

blessings very highly. For he had ordinarily (well-neere) serued in to his Table, a Peacocke, and two Phesants, fained full of most precious and odoriferous Vnguent, amounting to aboute 200. Crownes; besides his other delicious Sawces, Potages, & meats dressed in like manner; and this was plainly seene at Naples. He was so extremely beloued in his kinde fauours, and yet without cause or neede, that when he was cast out of his kingdome for his cruelties, wherein he was re-seated by the said Emperour, and at the sacke of *Thunis* by the Spaniards, when he returned to his Castle, and found his Cabinet emptied of those precious perfumes, which the insolent Soldiours (not knowing their value) carelesly drew away; he said, *That hee grieved more for his Delicate Drugges, then if he had lost his whole Kingdome*, which he had but newly reconquered, by the helpe of the Emperour.

Going afterward againe, to entreate fresh succour (being still feareful of *Barbarossa*) while hee went about this business, he placed his Sonne (as his Lieutenant) in his Kingdome; who seized it only to himselfe. VVhich when *Muleasses* heard of, he returned (with a few people) backe to *Thunis*, thinking they would open the Gates vnto him; but hee found the contrary; for his Son hauing slaine about fiftene hundred of his Followers, and finding the King to be none in number amongst them: at length his Father was knowne; only by the sweete smell of his Odours and Vnguent; and his Son *Amades* being possessed of him, caused his eyes to be pulled out. Beholde, what benefite this wretched King gotte by his sweete fauours and perfumes, being vied vpon no cause or necessity. I haue known too many, that beari'g o'ter-much affection to this vanitie, and enriched with more wealth then wisdom, haue vtterly lost their health, and fallne into exceeding poverty.

Thus yee see, what I haue collected for yee, out of many good and ancient Authors, concerning the vse of drugs or sweet Perfumes; what euil vse is made of them, and how being vnwisly applied, they are the chiefe causes of manie maladies, and seruing (for the most part) for nothing but voluptuousnesse. I hold Opinion, that no man dooth more abuse them, then a man that shoulde most respect

Alas! for King
of Thunis; who
greedily abused
his sweete fa-
uours.

An yd'e con-
ceit a King

The son sup-
planteth the
Father in his
absence.

The miser-
able end of
Muleasses.

The Author
his conclusion

The composi-
tion of all per-
fumes & sweet
ingredts.

spec his honor, and hold it in highest commendation; to be so much forgetful of himselfe, as to feed his effeminate and voluptuous appetites, with these vnfitting & wanton procurements. Now, because there are great controuersies, and manie are ignorant, from whence wee haue our Amber-Greece, Muske, Ciuitt, Beniamine, and Storax, wherewith are composed the said Vnguent, Powders, Sweete Pomanders, and Perfumes, it shall not alter our determination, in our next succeeding Chapter (to recreate the Readers spirits) to speake something more of them, and of their faculties.

CHAP. XIX.

Of Amber-Greece; From whence it is brought: The worth and properties thereof. And certaine Fables (concerning the same) refused.

My purpose is not, to speake of that Amber, which is bred among Rockes of coloured stone, and (by his Native Vertue) attracteth Straw thereto, as the Adament doth Iron: But of that sweet Aromaticall iuice of Amber-Greece; wherof, because many men haue diuers opinions, concerning the production of a thing so rare & precious, I thought good to make some briefe discourse. I would gladly also refute diuers Fables, delinered in publicke conference thereof, without alledging any Authours in my conclusions, that write or speake by heare-say; but only such persons as haue seen the places from whence it is had.

Concerning the name of *Ambar* or *Amber*, it is so called in all Countreies of the name. Our ancients haue supposed, that it is the feede of the Whale, which is left by her vpon the Waters, and so is gathered, because in the Bellies of some Whales, there hath bene found thereof; *Nicholas Menardus*, a Spanis Physitian, saith; That in the year, 1590. (himselfe being present) a Whale was taken nere to the Canarie Islands, which are termed the fortunate, and in the Belly thereof, was found about foure pounds

waight of Amber. Afterward, he was allowed to be present at the taking of manie other, with their young Ones, but not a iotte was to be found in any one of them. Others are of the minde, that amber is nothing else but the excrement of the Whale, which he auoydeth by his egections in April and May: because hee then feedeth on certaine fruits growing on the Sea-bankes, which are verie odoriferous. Some do affirme, that it is not any excrement of the Whale, but of another huge Fish, as great or much more in greatnesse exceeding the Whale; and it hath a head more hard then Marble; neuer swimmeth but in the Northern Seas. But all these coniectures come very thing nere to trvth, because all things of good and great fauour, do com from Countreies and Regions which are hot; as experience deliuereth by our Spices, of which, no one kinde was euer knowne to be produced, from Northernly or cold Countreies.

I finde some other Authors, who say, that Amber is sought for and found, being deuoured by a Great Fish, named the *Asell*, which dying, and floating vpon the Waues, hee is quickly knowne by Mariners, that seize on him with their Hookes, and so dragge him on the shore. There opening his Bellie, they finde store of Amber; but that is onlie good and pure, which they finde against his chine-bone. But there is no aparance of truth here; for Amber is not anie kinde of poison, but a dear Friend to the heart and life. On the other side, Fishes doe neuer seeke anie thing to hurt them, except by Trecherie vied to them; and that men do mingle Venom among other fooode, which is apte and proper for them, as they do to Lyons, Wolves, Foxes, Leopards, Rattes, and diuers other harmefull Beastes, that liue on the land. Many also haue bin perswaded, that Amber is a kind of froth or scum of the Sea; but this Coniecture, is euen as fabulous as the other. For, Amber is not found in those Seas, where Whales doo frequent, and much lesse in any place, where the Sea is continuallie full of Pillowes, or store of froth appeareth. *Thence* saith, that hee Learned of diuers Arabes, Iewes, and Easterne Grekes, dispersed heere and there thorough the Turks iurisdiction; that there are certain

Variety of
Precious, how
Amber is
found, & how
from countrey
it.

A strange Fish
in whom Am-
ber is said to
be found.

Amber is a lo-
uer and friend
to the heart.

Amber suppo-
sed to bee a
scum or froth
of the Sea.

B b 2 Birds

Of the name
Ambar as sta-
ter.

There are two
kinds of Amber.



A verie erroneous opinion of Andrew Thevet, concerning Amber.

Birds in the Isles of the *Veiques* (which are situated in the way leading to *Mozambique*, towards the North) as great as our Geese, and called by them *Ashibobus*. These Birds, do ordinarily withdraw themselves, farre off from any Inhabitations of men, and search in the Night time, either in these uninhabited Islands, or on the toppes and pointes of Rockes and Cliffs, for auoyding disturbance in their rest: and there they mune in great abundance, because they company in huge flihtes together, euen as our Cranes or other Wilde Fowles do with vs. It is faide, that this Dung or muting of these Birds, is true Amber, which being concocted in the heate of the Sunne, purified by the Moones power in the Night, and refined by theayres subtilty, which keepeth continually vpon those promontories: it fo remaineth, till the Sea doth swell and rise (either by those violent Windes, or some other-ragious Tempest) and carrie it thence away. Floating thus, by Morrells or Fraggementes vpon the Waues, it is one while cast into Creekes, Hauens, or Neighbouring Strands: and another while, deuoured or swallowed vp by Fishes. But, it beeing a matter vndigestiue, they are enforced to cast it vpe againe. And the other, that continueth still swimming hither and thither, yeeldeth a reason (by these severall meanes) of three kinds of Amber. The one, is of a Whitish Colour, which is the true Naturall qualitie of fine *Amber-Greece*. The second, is more Clowdie and obscure, and yet good account is likewise made thereof. But, as for the third sort, which hath beene swallowed by Fishes, and sent vp againe, thorough the lacke of Digestion, being Blacke, waighie, and of much lesse saueur, they reckon it to be of slender perfection, and therefore, make no esteeme at all thereof. But all these things, come nothing neere vnto the truth, and I am verie forrie, that *Theuet* (hauing traualled so much) should set downe this in Writing, euen in the verie same manner, as I haue deliuered it, beeing a matter no way likely or probable.

Ælius, and *Simeon Sethius*, Greeke Authors, who onely and chiefele hate spoken of this Amber, do say; That it is a kinde of *Bitumen*, comming forth of

the Pointains or Springs in the bottom of the Sea, and that by floating vpon the water: it becommeth hardened, as mantle things else doe, which hoier vpon the Seas, being first bred in them; all which while, they are soft and tendes but comming forth, they wax presently hardened, as Corall doth. This Amber thus floating, when the Seas are angry and tempestuous, as many times they bee: there is store thereof found among the Rocks and stones, as also about the trees growing on the Sea-shores, when the East wind, or else the North-east (but more enclining to the East) bloweth.

A great quantitie thereof is found in *Sofala*, and in the Isles of *Comaro*, *Demogra*, *Mozambique*, and along this Tract, euen to the Isles of *Maldina*, or *Naledina*, which looke into the East. But when *Zephirus*, or the Westerne Windes do moue the Seas to choller, then is a great quantitie found in the later named Islands. There haue beene some fragments found floating on the Sea, as great and tall as any man; and others of the breadth of foure spannes, and twentie in length. Some do affirme, that they haue a whole Isle (as it were) all built of pure Amber; and within some fewe daies after, when search was made for it, it was disperfed, and could not be found.

Garcias d'Orta, a Portugall Physitian, from whom I tooke this latter opinion: and with whom, the best iudgements of these times doe giue consent, for, being alwaies found veritable, and hauing been present in the Countries where this drug is had, where he kept possession of an Island belonging vnto the King of *Portugal*, wherein great quantity of Amber was daily founde: hee was of the same minde with *Ælius* and *Sethius*, & heard them when they deliuered their Iudgement therein. Hee saith also, that in the yeare, one thousand five hundred fiftie five, neere to the Promontory of *Comaro*, a great lump or proportion thereof was founde, which waighed more then three thousand pounds waight, and hee that found it (supposing it to be a kind of Pitch or *Bitumen*) sold it almost for nothing. For himselfe, hee sayeth, the verie greatest lump that euer hee saw, did not exceed about the waight of fiftene pounds. But the Merchants which traualle into *Ethiopia*, giue good assurance, that

Places where the Amber is found.

Islands where the best Amber is found.

The opinion of *Garcias d'Orta*, a Portugall Physitian and an Eye-witnesse.

The Merchants that comence in *Ethiopia*.

Amber found in the beakes of Birds, and cleauing to the scales in the Sea.

Amber euen by the rich Indians.

Amber sold at deare value in *China*, *Price* and other places.

Amber maintaineth health and long life.

The Vertue and properties of Amber. For the head-ache.

that they do ordinarily behold pieces of much greater scantling: for all the passage from *Sophala*, euen to *Brana*, aboundeth plentifully in Amber. In the country of *Brasile*, there hath bin some found, and yet is, but very rarely. In the year, one thousand five hundred thirtie, a fragment was there found, containing the waight of foure poundes, in sayling vnto a Porte of *Portugal*, called *Sethu-ball*.

Some say, that Amber hath bin found in the Beakes or Billes of certaine Birds, which may be so: and cleauing to some Cockles and Scallops of the Sea, which I imagine happened, by being sifted thereto. But, Maister *Nicholas B. Senne*, a verie Learned Man (my intimate Friende, liuing yet in *Paris*) and curious in search of the rarest things, shewed mee what manner of Beakes those were, and we plainly perceived, that they were the beakes of Sounds or Cuttle-Fishes, and not of Birds.

Amber, is of great estimation among the Wealthie *Indians*, for they cate it in their Meates, and looke how much the price appeareth in bignesse, so much the greater is his price in Value, euen as of precious Stones. There is no Countrey or Region, where more sale is made thereof, then in *China*: for, as the *Portugals* obtained fauour of the *China* Kinges, to Traffike with that kingdom, and bringing thence some small quantitie of Amber, they sold the Waight of twentie Ounces, for fiftie hundred Crownes: Which beeing vnderstoode by other Merchants, they brought thence more store afterward, because (thenceforward) they would not pay such a hie price in that Countrey.

In *France*, it is commonly sold (at this day) for eight or nine Crownes the Ounce, at the least: Neuerthelesse, it is sometimes more, and sometimes lesse.

Let no man count it strange, that it is so curiously courted by Rich and Noble persons; for it hath manie especiall properties, wherby to preserve soundness of Health; and to maintaine long life, as I will briefly declare: First of all, it strengtheneth the Brain, appealing all paines therein: either of the Nerves or Heade, comming of Colde causes: by chafing the fore-head therewith, and all the Head ouer, or making a good bigge Emplaister, and mingling a little Oynment of Muske with it; lay it so to the Head. If a good lump be therof, be hanged about the Necke of Man or Woman, tempered with a little *Lignum Aloe*, and a small quantity of Muske; the very smell thereof cheareth vp a dull braine; augments memory, and recureth both the spirits and heart extraordinarily. Besides, it is a singular remedie, against the plague, and all colde distempers, onely by perfumeing a Night-Cappe therewith. There is nothing more beneficiall for auncient people, and to lengthen life in them; if they moderately vse it in smelling either in perfumeing their Garments, anointing their faces, or mingling it amongst their Meates. A little ponder of the Load-stone compounded with it, and applied Emplaister-wise to the Nauell, it holdeth and restraineth the Fruit, that it fall not before due and convenient time. It is a singular Remedie, not onely against the procidence of the Matrice, but likewise to prevent the fistulacion; being applied with a lide. Copying it both outwardly & inwardly, it maketh Women fruitfull, whose barrennes is caused by coldnesse. It profiteth greatly for paines in the heart, and stomacke, occasioned by windinesse. Such as are afflicted with the *Epilepsie*, that is to say, the falling sicknesse, or discale of *St. Iohn*, if they vse it as an ordinary smell, or receiue it as a perfume, it quite appeaseth it, or causeth a mightie asswaging thereof, as hath beene many times credibly experimented. In like manner, it is verie singular good against the Palsie, if besides taking it inwardly, yee vse it as an Oynment to the necke and Chini-bone of the backe, mingled with some Nuttall Oyle.

If it be taken in Wine, as some Physicians (not well informed in the Nature thereof) haue appointed; it presently causeth drunckennesse, and brings a man (at length) to a trembling in all his ioints. But if any necessity doe require vs to vse it, it must be mingled with the yolke of a new-laid Egge, and the Dose or quantity to be taken, is commonly fixe Graines each day, & to drink no wine in the space of two houres after. If a man that hath a hott Chafing Brain, is procured by

For memorie and a dull braine.

For the Pellenence.

For auncient people vsed moderately.

For Women with Child, and if use either into mixtures hapning to them.

For the falling sicknesse.

For the Palsie

For what people it is hurtfull, and all to be vsed.

For a hott or dry Brain.

Nature, do either vse it as a fauour, or receiue it inwardly: questionlesse, it will proue verie troublesome to his memorie and vnderstanding, and cause diuers diseases in his head, endangering his fall into frenzie or madnesse. And therefore, it is most auailable for olde decrepit people, and such as haue a cold braine; and for such Diseases, whose Causes or Originall do proceed of frigiditie.

Amber of 4. seuerall Colours, and to know the best sort.

There is Amber of foure seuerall colours: White, Gray, Red, and Blacke; which commeth according to the variety of places or Regions, where it is found out. The Gray, is preferred before all the other, and is knowne to be good, if when pricking it with pin, it deliuereth forth a moisture like Oyle. It hath bin tempered in Torchis, Tapers, and Candles, for Emperors, Kinges, and Great Princes: as in the Court of *Campsen*, the last Soldane of Egypt, *Mulesse* King of *Thunis*, and diuers others. It is mingled also amongst other Drugges, for making of Chaines and Braceletes, worne vually by Ladies, and Great Courtiers, without anie great offence or discommendation, the causes in our precedent Chapter alwaies remembred.

CHAP. XX.

Of Muske, and of Ciuit, howe they are engendered, From whence they are brought, and how they are any way good.



Ext vnto Amber, methinks that Musk ought to haue his due ranke. The Barbarians call it *Patt*, and there are manie sorts or kinds thereof. The best of all, is that which commeth from a Countrey, that leaeneth very much into the Vell, as faire as the City of *Choras* doth, and is yellowish, or of Gold colour. The best, next to it, is that which is brought from the *Indies*, and appeareth blacke, whereby it is not so good as the first. The worst of all, is that which they bring from the Land of *Sini*. All these kinds of Musk, are engendered in the Nauell of a certaine Beast, like vnto a wilde Goat, which hath only

one home, and is verie great of bodie. When this Beast is in paine, by a raging swelling in his Nauell, which filleth it selfe with a kind of grosse blood, in manner of an impostume: he afterwarde voideth this bloude, halfe corrupted, and within a certaine while after, it becometh of very sweet fauour.

Serapio (among the *Araber*) hath written diligently and carefully concerning Muske, speaking in this manner: The Beasts that make Muske, and are like vnto wilde Goats, are principally bred in the Countreies of *Tumbuco*, & of *Sini*, which bee neere neighbouring to each other. The Muske of *Tumbuco*, is better then that of *Sini*, because the Goates which make the Muske, do feed on nothing but Spicknard, & other odoriferous plants, whereon only they liue. VVhich hapneth not so in the land of *Sini*, for, albeit the Musk-Goats do there liue also on sweet hearbs and plants: yet are they not to be compared in their Muske, neither to the Spicknard, nor to the other plantes of *Tumbuco*.

The maner also of gathering the Musk, is some reason of the difference, for they of *Tumbuco*, do neuer take the Musk out of the thin skin or wrapper, to sophisticate it; neither will they gather it, but when the season is bright & clear. But the men of *Sini*, they vse to squeeze the skin of the swoln impostume, and mingle and sophisticate it, even in the issuing forth, not caring whether the time be foul or faire, and so they shut it vp in purposed boxes. That is the best Muske, which is the most odorant, and is very ripe when it cometh forth of the swoln bag. These goats which carry the Musk, are no way different, but only in their teeth, for they haue teeth (there commonly cald Dogs teeth) very long, stading out of their mouths, about a span-long, like to the wild Boare.

Musk that is not mature & ripe, hath a most offensive smell: but they which seek for the Musk, do flake the thin skins wherein it is not ripe; and hanging them in the open aire, there leaue them so, yntill they be ripe, and the foule fauour be utterly gone. It becometh very odorant of it self, when it is perfectly baked in the aire: neuerthelessse, the best Muske is that, which naturally receiueth his maturity, euen in the thinne wrappers of the Musk-Goat. The people of this country,

The maner of gathering the Musk in *Tumbuco*, & in *Sini*.

Difference of the Musk-Goats only in their teeth.

Musk not ripe, hath a hurtfull smell, and how they ripen it.

How they find and gather their Muske.

The best Muske, and how it is found and vied.

In what manner we finde Muske to be hurtfull.

The error of *Amatus* a Philition of *Portugall*.

doe gather it among Stones & Trunkes of Trees; for the Beast, when he feels his impostumation ready to ripen: hee taketh great delight, in rubbing his body against the Rockes and Trunkes of Trees, yntill the Bag be broken, and all the congealed matter bee voyded out. This Muske is better then all the other, as being that which is plainly ripened; both by the good temperature of Heauen, and perfect concoction of the sun. They then that seeke after it, so soone as they haue found and gathered it, they close it vp in the thin skines and Bladders, of such Beasts as haue bred Musk, and haue (formerly) bin slaine by them in hunting.

Of this Muske is it, that presents is made to Kinges and Princes, & whereof they make vse. It hath (almost) the equal properties to Amber, but herein it is much worse; for if a Man beare too great quantitie about him, or if he receiue ouer much inwardlie: it brings him to a palse trembling, and raiseeth great torments in the head, enforcing too vehement an attraction of blood to the Nose; as many haue suddenly dyed by bleeding. But in a small and moderate quantity, it is good against all paines in the head, coming of colde causes.

I haue not found any Author, either *Greeke*, *Arabe*, or Moderne, but iurepeth with this Man in opinion, and in the gathering of Muske: except one *Amatus*, a *Portugall* Philition, a Man of very great inconstancy, as diuers haue declared to mee, that had knowledge of him in Turkey. Hee makes a mockerie, of that which hath bene deliuered by diuers good Authours, concerning Musk, and labourereth to assure vs, that in a certaine Countrey of *India*, there is a Beast as big as the Hares here among vs, which being taken, and beaten to death with rods, the bowels and inwardes is then taken forth; and the Flesh bruised, or beaten in a Morter. Afterward it passeth through a Searce, to the end that no bone may remaine vnbruised, and then the flesh is made into round Bals, and wrapped vp in pieces of the said Beasts skine, stil to preserue them in a round forme, and because the Merchantes, that buy them thus readily prepared; may make no

doubt, but that the Muske is of the very same Muske-beast. But both *Portugall*, *Araber*, and *Iewes*, who haue traualled into those partes, and seen these matters thus gathered: are of *Serapius* mind, and hold the course, which I haue formerly alleadged; and that our Muske commeth from a Beast like vnto the wilde Goat.

Marcus Paulus, a *Venetian*, in the first Booke of his Voyages, and the first Chapter, saith; That in the Province of *Singul* in *India*, himselfe found the best Muske in all the world. For in that Countrey, they haue a Beast, of no strange kinde, but about the bignesse of a Cat, with haire like to a Hart, or red Deere, very great Claws, and foure teeth only; to wit, two aboue, and two beneath. Neere, or about the nauell of this Beast, betwene the Flesh and the skin, there is a bladder full of blood, which is true Muske, yeelding the vntuall sent and sweeter fauour. I would be loath to belye such an approued Authour: For it may very welbe, that this Beast is of the same kind, as the Musk-Goat is, notwithstanding the smallnesse in body: because (heere among vs) we see Dogges, Horles, and other Beasts, of all shapes and formes. But yet he agreeth with all the rest in this; that the Muske is found about the Nauell, as hath formerly bin said.

Muske (by length of time) looeth his good smell, or being tainted with wind, or too closely kept. Therefore, to preserue him still in his goodnesse, he must be kept in Boxes of Lead, verie well stopped.

Platerius, a learned man, is of this opinion; That if Muske haue lost his vertue and good odour; it must be hanged in a Viall of Glasse, with the mouth open, in the miditt of a Sink or house of Office, and so it will recouer his former fauour. There is some found composed of another fashion; but then it is sophisticated, and how that composition is made, *Asper* enspireth in his History of B.alls.

Quiet and beside Muske, we haue yet another licquid matter, which is not only odorant; but also pierceeth all the fences and spirits, at the first encounter. Perfumers make great vse thereof, in their compositions of sweete smells, which

The opinion of *Amatus* strongly refuted.

The report of *Marcus Paulus*, a worthy *Venetian* traualler.

The Authors error, as *Marcus Paulus*.

Of Muske looeth his fauour.

A receipt to re-accorde-mutate tainted Muske.

Of Ciuet.

Sundry varieties of Muske according to the countries.

How the Muskies are engendered.

How Ciuet is
engendered.The vertue &
power of Ci-
uet.War contin-
ually betweene
the Agoddilhat
and the Ciuet
Cat.A History of
a Ciuet Cat
in France.

which they tearme mixtures. It is engendered in the skinn of the Testicles of a Beast, much like vnto a *Feyne*, some calling them Cats. To speake more properly, Ciuet is as a sweate, passing betweene the Testicles of this Beast, being of a temperature hot and moist. If it be put into the pits about the Nauele, or into the Wombe-pipe; it serueth maruailously against the suffocations of the Matrix. Many times, vpon vrgent extremity, the Husband vseth it to his owne secrets, and so conuayeth it vnto his Wife; whereby immediate remedy ensueth for the paine.

And as we haue already saide, that Muske being tainted, or ouer-aged, recouereth his strength and quicknesse by stinking ayre, as of a Sinke or Priuy, as by one contrary to correct another. Euen so, in those Countreies where these Ciuet Creatures are bred, there is another Beast, equalling the Ciuet Cat in bignesse, called *Agoddilhat* (which signifieth nothing else but foule sauer, and this beast is (indeede) the most stinking of all other) who continually is at Warre with the Ciuet Cat, his colour being very pleasing, & somewhat neerer to a Sky-colour.

I call to memory, that being (one day) in the House of the Countesse of *Fraunce, Anne de Montmorancy*, a Cat (not being discharged of her Ciuet, according as her selfe sought meanes and place) emptied her burden vpon the Gowne of a young Gentlewoman, deliuering thereon such a great quantitie of Ciuet; that all the spacious roome was filled with the ouer-piercing fauor thereof. Wherevpon, diuers were readie to fall into fownings, others felt grievous paines in their heads, and (among the rest) the young Gentlewoman fell suddenly into a suffocation of the Matrix; yea, and in such extreame manner, that she was reputed dead for the space of twelue houres, and was cured by stinking fumes and ill smells onely. The Gentlewoman gaue sufficient testimony, that she had neuer (before) bene subiect to that perplexitie: and yet notwithstanding, when Women are vexed with the anguish forenamed, if Ciuet be put into the Nauell pities, they feele presently ease. But ye must vnderstand, that it ought to be applied

in a very small quantity. For this cause is it, that Muske and Amber are whole some for many cold diseases, being applied and taken in small quantitie. Here also the Reader may be advertised, that there are people of such complexion, as do affect such sauiours naturally: and others againe, who finde them very hurtfull, and therefore doe fly from them; of which sort there are many more, then of the other. Therefore, when any vs is to be made of them, let euery one well vnderstand his owne naturall inclination, or take the aduise of some skilfull Physitian: for oftentimes, by vsing them indiscreetly, they haue bene the death of diuers people.

How Ciuet
ought to be
vsed, and ap-
plied.

CHAP. XXI.

Of an Edict, made by Dionysius the elder, King of Sicily, against Women, Maids, and yongest Virgines; in whereby he purchased a doublereturne of Money.



Hofocuer readeth the *Grecian* Histories, shall finde, that the Isle of *Sicily* hath anciently bene subiect, to be gouerned and commaunded by Tyrant Kings: among which Tyrants, it appeareth that *Dionysius* (whom they vsed to tearme the elder) surpassed all the rest in tyranny. For, after he had drawne all meanes from his people, by frequent, great and intollerable impositions: hee surcharged them againe with a new taxation, much more irksome and burdalous, then any one, or all the other gone before. Which was an expresse payment, by poules; or head (as they call it) both for Men, Women, Maidens, children, great or little, young or old. And albeit the Collictours of these imposed Monies, made great and grievous execution in the leuies, as well vpon Catell, as seizing mooueables and immoueables; yea, imprisoning the people (euen to the death of many) by cruell viages, and bad handling; yet, notwithstanding all these extremities, no Money could be had, because the Tyrant had drawn them dry, euen to the vtter-
most

Tyrants al-
waies raised
in Sicily.Plutarch, in
viti, de Dim.An intoller-
able taxation
by the poules.How the Ty-
rant waded
his peoples
Monies, and
ouer-awed
them.Signes wher-
by to know
the poverty
of the people.The Scitilians
affected
braue and
proud appar-
rell, both in
the Men and
Women.The mighty
riches of the
Isle of Sicily.A Tyrant es-
tablished adu-
antage on all
occasions.

most penny. All the Mony of this rich Island, hee had employed (in daily pay-ments) for ten thousand foot Souldiers, to guard his person, and ten thousand Horse-men, beside foure hundred Gal-lies, well armed and furnished. Beside this, he payed great pensions to other Common-weales, and to strange Prin-ces; to the end, hee might haue their ayde when neede required; reposing little (or no trust at all) in his own Sub-jects. In breefe, he exercised all kindes of prodigality towards Straungers, at the cost and expences of his owne people, for the more safe assurance of his Estate and dignitie.

He had aduertisement, that there was no more Money to be raised, ney-ther by Wine or Corne, or any other Commodities: for there was great dearth of Victuals two whole yeares together. He knew it euidently, because the people were growne carelesse, and did nothing but laugh at his imposi-tions; as knowing, that he could not bee paid, when they had nothing where-withall to pay, which made them then raise that memorable Prouerbe: *where nothing is to bee had, the King loseth his right.*

But this old Tyrant Foxe, knew wel enough the Custome of the *Scitilians*, which was, to be pompous, affecting brauerie in Apparell, and (aboue all) to be richly decked with Jewels of gold and Siluer, embellished with costly pre-cious stones: neuer regarding their owne condition, as Husbandes and Wiues, nor good of their Families, but suffering all their prouisions to be sold, to feede the Kings impositions, and serue other Negotiations, provided, that they might still enioy their Jewels and brauery. The Men (for Antiqui-ty of this idle Custome) did willingly tolerate it, though they were to endure all the necessities in the World; yea, death it selfe. And this was all which remained, of the mightie riches of *Sci-tilie*: for the Island had abounded in plenty of Corne, which was the maine hope of all the Inhabitants, and (next to *Aegypt*) it was one of the best Garners in the whole World.

Hereupon, he would instantly help himselfe, according as the time fitted him with occasion, which was (in re-

gard that his tyranny, and the two pre-cedent yeares, had greatly impouerieth the Kingdome) notwithstanding al for-mer oppressions: he would now haue the Jewels of the Women and Dam-sels, then which, they had nothing else remaining to them. And for his more cleanly conuoyance hereein, he caused to be published by the Priestes and Sa-crificers (whose Ceremonies hee gaue no faith to, nor any way beleeneed) that the Goddesse *Ceres* was very greatly of-fended with the Islanders, because there was no worshippinge given her, but in an old Temple, ruined, daike, and vterlie vnpleasing; wherefore, she would haue a new one erected to her, built with faire shew, and sumptuous cost; else there should no more happy daies bee seene in that Island. According to these remonstrances, made by the Priestes and Sacrificers, with interposition of his owne authoritie: it was credibly gi-uen forth, that the Goddesse her selfe had appeared to him, & this the Priestes solemnely iustified, being well enstru-cted in the treacherie. Vpon this vir-gent occasion, and pretending carefull respect of the Common weale, as also to appeale the high disauour of *Ceres*, (he being the Goddesse of Corne and Fruits of the Earth;) he had determi-ned, to erect her a new and magnificent Temple. Now, because he had no Mo-ny, nor the people neither, who are cal-led the *Kinges Purse*: he willed and commanded, that all Women, Wiues, Widdowes, Maids, & Damfels, should bring forth their Jewels of Gold, Sil-uer, precious stones, and all other mat-ter else whatsoever, to a certaine place, and at a time by him appointed; impos-ing grievous paines and penalties, on any that durst vse the least contradic-tion. The female sexe were in wonderful perplexitie, and durst not hide any of their Jewels or brauery: because they had so long openly worne them, and good note was taken of them from time to time, both of the riches and value, on feastiual daies; at sollemne sacrifices, publique plaies, banquets, and marria-ges.

Now, for the better obtaining his purpose, and inducement of the people to more willing forwardnesse hereein: he caused a spacious compasse of ground

A cunning
subtily of the
Tyrant.A feigned ap-
plication of
the Goddesse
Ceres.An Edict ve-
ry displeasing
to Women.

The deuile of the Tyrant deuiceth his people.

Neighbouring people also cheared by the Tyrant.

The women could not forget their pomp and pride.

Another subtilty of an old Tyrant.

to be prepared, in an eminent place of the City *Syracusa*, not far off from the Fountaine *Arethusa*, where hee made some proiect, of present building a goodly Temple, by a forme or Modell shaped thereof. Farre off was his mind from any such intent, but day by day to get possession of the Womens Jewels, and hanesteth the leuety of them with all possible speed. He gaue notice heereof also, to the round neighbouring Illes and Countries, where he had no command: from whence he got almost a Million of Gold, where-with they willingly furnished him, onely that the Goddesse would be gracious to them. And thus he held the people in suspence the space of the three whole yeares. In this time, the Land began (naturally) to waxe fruitfull againe, yielding as great plentie of Corne and all things, as formerly it had doone: by which good meanes, Corne, Wine, and Cattell, thriving still with them, the Inhabitants became rich and sufficiently stored.

When the women began to tast of this well-relishing fertility; they could not forget their former vanities, but faine would fall againe to their pride & rich brauery: Only their feare was, least the Tyrant should play the like tricke againe with them. To make an estimate, of the inestimable masse of Wealth, which they were compelled to lay down, for building this new Temple to the Goddesse *Ceres*; is a matter exceeding my capacity, and yet no Temple at all builded. The Tyrants ayme was only at wealth, and hauing compassed what he intended; By the aduise of some well-willers to the Women (pretending compassion on their disurnishment of Jewels) a counterfeit request was made vnto him, that he would be pleased to permit their wearing of Jewels againe. Standing (like a crafty Reinar) vpon some stranges for a while, the suit at length was granted, with this Prouiso. That euery one of the Female sexe (of what degree or age soeuer) should particularly present her offering to the Goddes *Ceres*, either in Gold or Silver, according to the number and value of those Jewels, which they purposed to weare: whereto they consented verie gladly, so foolishly fond were they of their curious adornments, which gaue

way to the Tyrant, to make a double benefit of one and the same Edit. And to this very day, the Women of that Island do continue this proud humour, in beautifying themselves with Jewels; beyond any other Country that I haue read of. The riches that he compassed by this Edit, is not to be valued, for the Ille was (in those daies) much more peopled then now it is: And then the principall and royall City, was called *Syracusa*, which at this present is named *Sarragossa*. This Tyrant, hauing occasion then to vse men of Armes, beside such Strangers as he kept in pay, could leuie sixscore thousand foot, and twelue thousand Horlemen, beside foure hundred Ships and Gallies; whereas at this day, the Land will hardly yeeld fifteene hundred able fighting men. When it was surprized by the *Romaines*, for hauing taken part with the *Carthaginians*; there was found in one place (called the *Magazine* or Store-houle for war) furniture to arme seauenty thousand men, and such large booty was found therein, that *Carthage* (which fought for the Empire) could hardly yeeld the like.

This *Dionysius* was an affronter and Deceiuer, who knew better then any Man else in the World, how to finde meanes of non payment, when reason & equity did require it. Among diuers other, he had entertained a young man, who was reputed to be very skilfull in playing on muscicall Instruments, and tearmed the very best that those times afforded, to whom he promised liberrall wages. The Musitian hauing serued him a long while, requested to haue his due recompence; whereto *Dionysius* replied: That he ought him nothing; Because (quoth he) *I haue giuen thee as much contentment, by hope and promise of great wages and enriching thee, as thou hast yielded me, for I haue taken paine enough, to heare the idle sound of thy instrument.*

In breefe, he cared not how he came by any thing whatsoever, provided that it would yeild him profit, making spare, neither of Statues of the Goddes, or any other sacred thing, but made a meere mockerie of all, as I shall haue occasion to speake else-where. The *Scythians* haue neede of such a King in these daies, to punish that shameful murder and massacre, which they committed

The City of Syracusa, now is called Sarragossa.

The greatest and ablest of Syracusa in former times.

Concerning Dionysius himselfe.

A History of Musitian.

The Scythians are a bad kind of people.

The Scythians Vagab.

mitted (on a day in the Euening time) vpon so many worthy French-men, called thither in their aide and succour, to deliuer them from the seruitude of an other Tyrant; and when they were at libertie, they did bloodily put them all to death.

CHAP. XXII.

Of the Word or Name Grammarian, and what it is truly and properly.



Those persons which the Latines properly called *Grammaticos* (which in all other Languages is tearmed *Grammarians*) were not any such men, as knew not how to speake congruately, or write Orthographically, with good obseruation of accents in their speech, as being unskilfull in the Etimology of Dictions or Vocables, according as some (to this day) haue supposed. For well I know, that it hath bene a common matter, when one would point at a man slenderly learned, or little scene in the soundnesse of learning, as vnderstanding nothing but the very principles: they would rearme him a *Grammarian*, or a *Grammer Schoole-Boy*, for his greater scorne and open disgrace.

The name of a Grammarian very badly vnderstood.

The ancient Latines in Cicerones time.

Grammarians were unskilfull in the Latine tongue, and counted the best Schollers at those times.

But contrariwise, the ancient *Latines*, as in the time of *Cicero*, had no other vnderstanding of the word *Grammarian*: then of a learned Man, well skill in all the Sciences, and thought fit to be the Interpreter of our grauest Authours. The Greekes called *Grammarians*, *Critiques*, of the Greeke Verbe *κρίνω* which signifieth to be judged. For when learned men (were they *Greekes* or *Latines*) had any doubt about the interpretation of some Text, sentence, or saying, in any Science whatsoever: it was then wholly referred to a *Grammarian*.

Suetonius was of the same opinion, in his Booke of famous *Grammarians*, who were likewise called *Learned*, as for example, *Mesala*, *Corvinus*, and *Macrobis* write, that one *Didimus*, sufficiently learned in the Sciences, was esteemed to be a great *Grammarian*. Ci-

sero made high account of one named *Emphion*, whose Schoole continually he frequented, after his handling causes in the Senate. *Nidigius Figulus*, and the excellent Wife-man *Farre*, are said to be the learned *Grammarians* of all other: as also *Marcus Valerius*, *Probus*, and *Palemon*, the most audacious of the that euer professed Letters, with many more beside. And among the *Greeks*, who triumphed more then *Aristarchus*, *Aristotle*, *Theodotus*, and diuers others: all which were esteemed admired *Grammarians*.

CHAP. XXIII.

A Paradoxe, maintaining by witty Arguments: That speedy death is much better to be desired, then a long & tedious late of life.



O great is the disaster & miserie of worldly occasions; that long grieffe, and ouer-burdenous compassion of them (without any other hope of speedy amendment) hath made the better sort of people to asseme and maintaine: *That it is more expedient for a Man (who seareth GOD) to wish for death quickly; then long to endure in these labour some trauailes.* For albeit that death (the true Minister of Iustice, end of all vexations, and most assured way of our eternall health) performs no other good or fauour to Men; but takes them from the afflictions of this World, hindering them (thereby) from offending GOD most strangely, and deliueing them from ferule subiectiue, being in the hands of rauenous, cruell, and bloody Tyrants; yet for this one and onely reason, hee is most highly to be extolled and praised. For, without this happy helpe, we should be miserably condemned to vnsufferable pains, and altogether pressed downe, or smothered, by vnersistable stormes. Our hope (without this) would be quite quenched. And, without this) what is the Sinner, be he neuer so great a Prince or Lorde, not knowing, fearing, and regarding God? By

The lamentable condition of worldly affairs.

A definition of Death, and what good he performeth.

An effectfull reason to be considered.

A memorable
custome ob-
served in
Thrace.

By death we live eternally; and by death we are freed from the prison of all sorrows and mishaps.

This was the reason, why the ancient custome of *Thrace* was so denotie observed, that at the birth of every Infant, they used great sorrow and lamentation. Contrariwise, when any (either aged in yeares, or of what time soeuer) died: They would make much ioy, triumph, and feasting, and (according to the parties Dignity) celebrated the Funerall, with sports, plaies, and other varietie of pleasures. If such a barbarous Nation as this was (deprived of all use of Philosophy, and good Letters) could doe so great an honour to death: Is it not a shame for vs, that call our selues Christians, and know, that our very best benefite came by his death; to whom we pretend both Faith and seruice: to be so wretchedly amorous of life, which is nothing else (according to the learned Poets opinion.) But an obscure Prison, enthralling the best ennobled Spirits.

Blessed Saint *Paul*, *The Vessel of election*, did not he desire to dye, *That he might line with his Lord and Maister*? Yet we (onely to compasse leysure, for committing ten thousand horrible excesses) make life our great God; adding daily one paine vpon another, and augmenting the Register of our numberlesse offences. Are not we so obdinate-ly affected to this short and dangerous pleasure (if that may be called pleasure, which is the plaine high-way to euerslasting death) that for it onely: we care not to loose the life celestiall, diuine, & (then which) the like can no way be so much as dreamt on? *Ezechiel* wished for speedy death; *That he might ioy in the beauties and excellencies of Heauen*. But we count long life, the more to entangle our selues in the filthes of this World. *Simeon*, that good, just, and holy old man, *Desired death with all his heart*: But we (blinded, or deprived, ceter of naturall discourse) hate Death, and speake all the euill we can imagine against it.

Wherefore (thinke ye) was it, that death was (by our Elders) called *Thanasos*? But onely in this respect: That (in the end) it makes vs all ioyfull, and wel pleased with that, which we ought

most of all to desire. Are we then so ignorant and fencelesse; as not to acknowledge the abundance of benefites; which we gaine by being taken out of this hateful Labyrinth? Do we not plainly perceiue, that he which escapeth longest, and tarrieth the longest while in this world, beholdeth (euery day) more troubles and discontentments, then reall ioyes, or true recreations?

If ye alleage vnto me, the noblesse of Age and length of life, for great experience in things past, as seruing to discover and approue them which follow after. Let me then aske ye, of how much happinesse may we boast, in prouing our vnhappyneesse? Considering, that (whether we be well or ill-pleased) wee must patiently endure those things, which we cannot tell how to shun: hearing that which our cares hateth, and seeing things, wherewith our eyes are most strangely offended.

But what is that which we call olde Age; if not a continuall dolour, and languishing discale? what other fir-mings can we giue, to aged men; but mouing Anatomies, or liuing Mortuaries? Filling them with so many distillations, & falling humors; as leaues them not one good houre, during the remainder of all their poore life time. If then, the verie memory of death, and hourly cogitation of our departure, makes such a certaine aduantage for vs, and assures vs infallibly, that we are (thereby) permitted immunity from sin: how much more then would deaths reall presence preuaile with vs?

Who are more fearefull of death, then such, as neither know, nor vnderstand the faire straite passages thereof? which indeede are such, as all the art in Man cannot corrupt or blemish; except (like a Monster, and no sensible Creature) he would deface all Histories both sacred and prophane. What had the famous *Romaine* people bin, if the valiant *Horatius Coclès* had feared death? If *Quintus Curtius* had bin fearefull and timorous, and had not preferred glorious death, before the irksome life of the world: had not (but for him) the goodly City of *Rome* bin subiect to the most dangerous Hell, as can be deuised to name vpon earth? VVhat shall I say of them,

An Allegation
for old
Age, or length
of life.

What old age
is.

Remembrance
of Death.

Who they be
that are most
fearefull of
death.

Horatius Coclès
and *Quintus*
Curtius, two
famous *Romans*.

Cheerfully go-
ing to death.

The Custome
of some bar-
barous Na-
tions.

Of the Ger-
mans.

The Musick
used in warre:
The Authors
Conclusion.

A Philoso-
phers answer
concerning
death.

them, who (for the freedom of their country) were cheerfully to death, with striking vp the drum, and the very high-est sounds of the Trumpet, (euen as if they had been bidden to some triumph) Did ye euer know a man (that feared death) worthy of so great an honour? For this cause was it, that ancient *Hellens* so highly praised & applauded the Custome of some barbarous Nations, who, with like promptitude and alacrity ranne to their death: as if they were to be presented in some publique triumph, or other great pleasures and Iouiall spectacles. Why are the *Germanes* entred into such credit with vs, if it were not onely for this; that they are knowne to be a Nation, merelie prodigall of their liues; and couetous of most precious death?

Hee that gaue the first instrudition, for intermeddling Musick with the harsh battery of warre; as Drummes, Phises, Trumpets, Clarions, and Harps (albeit they of the Harpe is now altogether left) did it for no other occasion, but for a sound assurance to Soldiers: that to dye, was as if a man were going to the Fountaine of all consolation; yea, euen to the perpetuall iouisance, of eternall and immortall Treasures with the highest. Conclude we then, that it much better aualeth to dye quickly, then long time to languish in this wretched world. Let vs also maintaine, that death is more noble and excellent, then life: Because his power extendeth ouer all, and in regard likewise, that he is the Maister Controller of this life. As, not without iust cause and good reason, a Philosopher (being demanded what Death was) readily answered: *An accident and passage inuincible, from which, neither by tears, entreats, fights, or the sweetest Kisses, we can be deliuered.*

CHAP. XXIII.

The saying of Plato familiarly interpreted, That Kings should be Philosophers, or Philosophers raigne.



Here are very many, who in reading good Authors, doe call things literally, without any further translation (which is a custome the more detestable, to interpret the saying of *Plato*, so often spoken of within these last two thousand yeares, blamably learned and excellent. Men: His words are these: *Those Commonweales shall be most happy, where Kings be Philosophers, or Philosophers be Raigners.* And because that diuine Men (especially such as are not contentant in State affaires, nor doe wish for a King, who might altogether bee giuen to learning; and not to the policies fitting his Kingdome) might thereby abuse their iudgement herein, for this would bee the totall ruine of his Monarchy: therefore I will set downe some oblation; what Philosophy is, and what *Plato* meaneth, wherein a King ought to apply his studies; and whereby, there cannot but redound an extraordinary good and profit to all his people.

This Diuine Man *Plato*, vnderstood not by a King Philosopher, a Prince, so addicted and bent to studie, that hee should chance to be deposed from his Dignitie; he might thereof make abstinence of liuing afterward. This humours appeared in *Dionysius*, the younger (King of *Saragossa*), and the greater part of the Isle of *Sicily*. Some to the affront, and imposer of Nouell subsidies; for he being offended with his Subjects, and doubting least his estate would haue no long durance: fell to learne good Letters; to the end, that if he happened to be expelled his Royalty, he might become a Schoole-Maister; for the better support of his life; as indeede (afterward) such fortune befell him. This his study of Philosophy, (which is as much to say, as the love of wisdom) while he raigned King, proceeded but from a bad intention in him: for he had done much better, in effecting some worthy policies in his Kingdome, then frequent use of vices, and exercising tyranny; thereby to haue prevented the office of a Pelant; and liuing in such an abject manner. *Nero* was entrusted (from his youth) in the three partes of Philosophy; and being

his name
was added
to the
title
of King.

Vpon occa-
sion, that King
was added
to vpon
the title
of King.

the same
and in
the same
manner.

The same
intent of *Dionysius*
the younger
in giuing
himselfe to
study.

the same
of *Nero*
in the study
of
Philosophy
and Poetic.

Cc

Tiberius and Adrian, read Quits Art of State.

How a Prince ought to be a Philosopher.

Diffimulation in some Princes

The Emperor Commodus made but bad benefit of his Philosophy.

Poetry is not reckoned to be Philosophy

being created Emperor, was skillfull in Poesie, much addicted to Musick, and to play on the Harpe: yet would hee say, that he could lue well, if he were depofed from the Empire. We had recorded, that many Princes were given to learning, as *Tiberius* and *Adrian* who found good companions of *Quintus* Ioue-Books, and *Martiall* his Epigrams. But this is no part of Philofophizing, neyther labour of minde, how a Prince should lue after his falling.

For a King to bee a Philosopher, it consisteth in establishing his Throne so assuredly; that he may neuer sit tottering in it, or be shaken out of it. In rendering himselfe necessary to the commonwealth, as well by his vertues, as generous disposition; he fits safe from all defection: carrying himselfe in such fort, like one that is a Tutor ouer many millions, as well in charge, as in correction, and (as he) when time respiteth his Office, then to take delight and recreation. Princes that read plenty of Books, doe it oftentimes for pleasure, rather then to deriue any obseruations thence, for profit of their people. And when they chertish learned men about them; it is onely in hypocritie, and to let their Subjects vnderstand, that they are gouerned by their aduise, and by Men of knowledge. So deale the fore-named *Dymisius* the elder, as himselfe would often reueale, to such as were his familiar and intimate friends.

The Emperor *Commodus* (Sonne to *Marcus Antoninus*, and Emperour likewise) fir-named the Philosopher; was learned, and read ouer diuers Books of Philosophy: And yet notwithstanding, he could not reſtraine, from being the most detestable Emperour, which had bene before, or came after him. Contrariwise, his Successour, who had imployed all his life time, in exercising Marchandize about the sale of Wood or Billets: is numbered among the most bemoaned Emperours; and *Fraiane* likewise (who scarcely could write his own name) was esteemed a very vertuous Prince and Emperour.

Princes are not to be repured Philofophers, if they can reade lasciuious Bookes of Loue, or compose in poetry; as *Thibault*, Earle of *Brie* & *Champagne*, and *Raymond*, Counts of *Tolosa*,

whose Poems are yet (at this day) to be ſcene, and they accounted rather ignorant, then learned Philofophers. This is no ſuch Philoſophy: as ought to be exerciſed; but that of true and eſpeti- ciall impit. I will come now brockly to relate. It is to be vnderſtood, that Philoſophy is diuided into three diſtinct parts, to wit: into Phiſicke, Logicke, and Morall Philoſophy, according as *Cicero* ſaith in his Oratour. The firſt, aymeth onelic at an intire ſearch into the obſcuritie of Natures ſecrets. Logicke diueth into the ſubtilty of diſputations and diſcouſe. Morall Philoſophy, ſpeakes of Life and ciuill manners; & this is that which Kings ought to ſeek after. The beſt exerciſing whereof, is neyther read or ſtudied in the Bookes of the *Romane* Lawes, called Ciuill Law: For, how euer it produeth ſome honourable eſſectes, yet (queſtionleſſe) it is the onely Motiue, whereby we enter into a Labyrinth of ſuits. Becauſe, in not being built vpon one only piece, but running into diuerſity of ſcantlings, each man makes a cloack thereof after his owne faſhion. Therefore, let Princes neuer meddle with ſuch intricate matter, but reſerre the ſtudy thereof, to men deſtined for ſo troubleſome a profeſſion.

The firſt Lecture that a Prince bought to take, is out of ſacred & vnreprouable writ; becauſe (therby) he ſhall learne knowledge both of God, & of himſelfe, and that the beginning of true Philoſophy, is the fear of God. Next, he ought (about all things elſe) to bring his people in obedience to the Magiſtrate, and the Magiſtrate of the Law, without any infringing or violation. We read of the *Ethiopi*ans, that at the receipt of their Lawes, they proteſted; that they would be ſubied to thoſe Lawes, & paſſe no other letters contrary to them. The people of *France*, when they place their King in the ſeat of Iuſtice; they deliuer him a ſtaffe in his right hand, on the toppe whereof is the figure of a hand: Giuing therby to vnderſtand, that the King ſhould lend a ſtrong hand to Iuſtice; and then they giue him a ſcepter in the left hand.

He muſt ſtudy to quench ciuill warres in his Kingdome, if there be any, and prevent ſuch as may enſue, vpon the leaſt preſumption or apparance; euer more

Cicero, in *Orat.* Theſe three parts of Philoſophy

Which part of Philoſophy is beſt in a King.

The firſt leſſon for a Prince.

People ought to be ſubied to the Magiſtrate, and the Magiſtrate to the Law.

A King to keep his word with his ſubiects.

Wicked coun- cill of Ma- chianell.

Of Flanders & the Low Coun- tries.

How a Prince ought to be- gin warre.

Taxation for warre ought not to be con- tinued.

more keeping promiſe with his Sub- iects, for otherwiſe it may fall out, that delay and length of time, will bring his life and the State into great danger. The death of *Henrie* the third, King of France, happened thorow euill coun- cill giuen him, and alſo to his Predeceſ- ſors; as the Hiſtories of France and Flanders (written according to truth) doe credibly declare: withouto credi- ting, what deteſtable *Macchianell* hath written on that Article. By the laſt ciuill warres in *Allemagne*, the French brought their Frontiers into the Cities of *Mentz*, *Toula*, and *Perdune*, which are three goodly Imperiall Cities, and held by them to this day. They that are called the States of the Low-Coun- tries, and of Flanders, hardened by long Warres againſt their naturall Prince, vpon reſuſall of ſome ſerious requeſts: are become Cantoned; ſo that in com- mon opinion, the whole Countries haue ſuffered grieuouſly: all which had bin well eaded, if no *Macchianelliſt* had medled among them.

As for ſtrange warres, which a King may haue with other Princes; he muſt bee mindfull of Faith therein, for they are euer the leaſt hurtfull. Provided, that he do it in ſuch fort, that being ſor- rectified with alliance and Confederats, ſtrength, and meanes; hee may haue peace when himſelfe pleaſeth. Euer- more remembering, that he do not imitate *Mithridates*, King of *Pontus*, who coun- ſeling to make himſelfe great, loſt both his State and life together. And *Frances* the firſt, King of *France*, in ſeeking to ioine *Millaine* and *Italy* to his Crown, was fondly taken Priſoner.

He muſt not likewiſe lend eare to ſome kinde of Courtiers, who com- monly are prating, that a generous King ſhould neuer be without war: For in time of their continuance, hee may impoſe great taxes and ſubſidies on his people, which the ſaide people, taking then to be a matter extraordinary, doe ſuſide them (ſoone after) to hold on as ordinary. Theſe meanes (indeede) may encreaſe his reuenues; but ſometimes they reach to troubleſome rebellions, wherein the Prince looſeth both his land and ſubiects. The leagued Coun- tries of *Germany*, had neuer come vnder their Lords obedience; but for the like cauſes.

In like maner, he ought to make no Forts or Cittadels, except in caſe of ve- ry vrgent neceſſitie; for it doth but de- clare contempt and diſtruſt, conceived in the Prince againſt his people, pro- curing (oftentimes) a reuolt in the ſub- iects, with deſire to ſeek a new Mai- ſter. As the like was imagined to haue happened at the good Citie of *Lyons*, which hath euermore bene very obedi- ent to her kings, and lent them ſtrong aide in their neceſſities, when they haue bene thereto required. Neuertheleſſe, through ſome bad counſell, and vpon ſmall occaſion, the Kings of *France* did build a Cittadell there, a meere retreat for al ſcelerates: who, by the cauells of diuers looſe Capraines, too much dimi- niſhing the reuenues of the * *Donaue*, and the Souldiers committed many in- ſolencies in the Citie, violating diuers Virgins, & making pillage of al things. Which was the cauſe, that the men of *Lyons* aroſe to ruinate this Cittadell, that ſerued for nothing elſe but wicked purpoſes. And albeit they were ſollicit- ed to take a new party, yet would they not yeild thereto; but kept themſelues in obedience to their King, being con- tented with the demolition of the Cit- tadell, how euer the King otherwiſe mi- ſtruſted them. Such Cittadels ought not to be erected, but in countries new- ly conquered, and not in ancient and ob- edient Cities, whence Princes can re- ceiue nothing, but commodity & plea- ſure. Nor ought he to exerciſe prodiga- lity, or giue immenſe gifts, eſpecially to ſuch people as haue no merit: for wee know very well, that it is the blood and labour of the people, which is ſo pro- digally waſted. And for offending in ſuch manner, ſome Kings haue been de- iected from their Thrones; as hapned to *Edw.* King of *England*, ſecond of that name, in the year 1325. who affected nothing but the Family of the *Spencers*, giuing them all great conſignations, and the Mony of his ſubſidies. Theſe ex- tremes and vnſufferable courſes, raiſed his Queene, Sonne and people againſt him, who were puniſhed with death, & the King (at length) ſtrangled.

Add we hereto, that it is a great blemiſh and deformity in any King, not to be liberal: for a courteous Prince is con- demned of euery one, and hath few Friends.

The erection of Cittadels do but cauſe hatred in the people.

* The name of the cuſtom- houſe at Lyons.

Lyons impedi- only endured the Cittadell.

Prodigality is very odious in a Prince, when he giueth im- menſe gifts to unworthy peo- ple.

Courteouſneſſe doth commend a King.

A Prince
should inquire
what is re-
ported of him.

Friends. He should informe himselfe, what is reported of him, to vnderstand who are malecontent, and who pleased, providing for both in good discretion. As (very wisely) did *Phillip*, King of *Macedon*, Father to *Alexander* the Great, who was informed, that an ancient Knight (following his Court) did nothing but speak badly of him, and raised disters enemies against him. The King comming covertly to know the cause of this obloquy; heard the old Knight complain, that he had imployed both his youth, age, and vttermost meanes in the Kings seruice, whereby he was not onely growne poore, but also vnregarded. The K. will noting fo soule a fault in himselfe, provided for the Knight in such gracious manner: that he had not (formerly) so greatly reprobued him, but now he did much more exalt him. VVhen the King heard thereof, he said to euery one about him; *I was the sole cause of the Kings iust complaint, but hence-forward I will take order, that others shall not haue the like advantage against me.*

A gracious &
worthy mind
in a King.

The bad and
dangerous
counsell of
Marshall.

The cause
why *Richard*
King of Eng-
land was cr-
elly mislead.

He must be careful to constitute some bad man in great authority, and to haue rule in his Kingdom, euen as his Lieutenant: to the end, that he may bear all the blame, and if the people fall into commotion, they may rest contented with killing him, and so the K. shall remaine safe. This is the Philosophy of *Maister Machiuel*, a matter verie dangerous; for hereby, both the one & other may well loose their liues. As we may read in the History of *England*; that King *Richard* accusing his Earle *Marshall* to the people, to be the onely cause of Subsidies, and robbing them of their Monies, seeming willing to content the people; he banished him the Land. Which man, could finde no place of safety, either in *France*, *Flanders*, *Allemagne*, nor thorow all *Europe*, where to make his abiding. After this bad man, the king committed the government of his kingdom to four other Men, against whom, the people conceived as great hatred, as before they had done against the Earle *Marshall*. Which caused the saide *Richard* to be imprisoned; where those four men were behated before his prison window, and he himselfe (afterward) lost his life.

He should study, not to be ouer dread-

full to his Subiectes, nor too familiar; for the one begetteth hatred, and the other contempt. He should punish the wrongs of other men, and be sparing in his owne. As did good King *Lewes of France*, the 12. who in the time when he was but Duke of *Orleance*, hauing some enmity with King *Charles* the eight, and seeking to leaze the City of *Orleance*, for security of his own person, least the King should further labour to disquiet him: the Citizens made fast their gates against him. It happened, notwithstanding many traeries and misfortunes; this Duke came to the Crowne, after deace of the said King: And then the people of *Orleance* came to entreat him, not to remember precedent accidents, but graciously to grant them pardon.

The King made answer, that he had forgotten all iniuries doone him: but willed them afterward to be careful, how they offended another man. After that *Hamball* with-drew himselfe from *Italie*, the *Romaines* found no better means of raigoin in quiet for the time to come: then by forgetting those iniuries, which they had received by the Common-weales of *Italy*, that had ioy-
ned with *Hamball* in making the warre.

In quarrels among great men hee ought not to entremedle, to support one side more then the other: but cause them to lay downe their Armes, by his absolute authority, and seek best means to reconcile them. For, in formalizing himselfe, more for the one then the other, it hath many times occasioned intestine war, and sometimes the losse of Royal dignity, as hath too often happened both in *France* and *England*.

He should not be addicted to wine, but shun drunkennesse as payson. For a King being drunke, is like a Lion, or any other furious beast, that bites and teares the first he meets withall. It causeth beside, that the K. (hauing his spirits fiered and troubled with wine) may kill some one man in that fury, or otherwise fo offend him: as may afterward endanger both his Royall person and the State. He must moderate choller, so much as in him possible lieth, without vsing either a Sword or Staffe. Imitating hereein the Bees, whose King hath no sting at all: For choller and fury are the chiefe hinderers, that the soule can-

Not to be o-
uer terrible,
nor too fami-
liar to his sub-
iects.

A History of
the Duke of
Orleance.

An answer
truly & right-
ly Royall.

How he ought
to behaue him
selfe in other
mens quarrels

A king should
shun drunken-
nesse.

Anger and
choller very
dangerous.

Whoredome
and incontin-
cy at homi-
noble in a King.

Examples of
vachall hit.

Where the
treasure Roy-
all most con-
sisteth.

Examples of
how & howe-
ry in Subiects
to their Prin-
ces.

War enterpri-
sed late oft-
cannot be but
full of losses.

not forme her functions according to reason.

Incontinency, whoredome, and ob-
scenity, should be detestible to him, and for his better support, he must frequent no luxurious company, nor haue any such person about him, whose ordinary talk is euen more thereto enclining; but such, whose speech is alwaies vertuous. Luxury makes a man dull, neglect, and effeminate, and a King (giuen to that vice) should rather carry a distaffe, then a Scepter. *Sardanapalus*, King of *Assiria*, lost his life, by being ouer-greedily giuen to this sin. So did *Nero*, Emperour of *Rome*. King *Frances*, first of that name, became very vnihealthfull in his aged daies, by being too much addicted to this vice; and yet otherwise, he was vertuous, and a lover of learning.

Being affected of his Subiects, for his good life, his treasury is the purse of his people, who will succour him liberally when he shall haue any needfull occasi-
on. Which, in our memory, and not long since, *Elizabeth*, that famous Q. of *Eng.* found to be true. For in al her time, she neuer oppressed her people, but declared her selfe to be the liuely Mirrour of true Maiesty. And therefore, when there came a very potent Army (verie strongly bent against her and her Kingdome) such as (in humane iudgment) was likely to preuaile: yet her Subiects Bounty & Loue (next to heauens blessing) stood so strongly to her, that when her enemies suppoled her ruine necessarily they were shamefully foyled, and the gloriously triumphed. *Cyrus* and *Alexander*, two great Monarches, made themselves mighty, not by their Money (for they had none at all, or at least very little, at their first aduenturing) but were only assisted by friends, and the purse of their people. Whereas on the contrary, *Darius* and *Cresus*, two Kings that had abundance of treasure, and no loue of their people; were brought into most miserable condition.

Let him not be easily led, to beleue some Counsellors, men affected in the search of nouelties, vsing perswasion, to attempt Conquests and far off voyages: as crossing the Seas, either to *Barbary*, *Asia*, and the foure quarters of the world, 500. a thousand, or two thousand leagues distant from his own King-

dome; and ther to make war: such wars doe oftentimes beget the total ruine of his owne estate. As hapned to King *Lewes of France*, ninth of that name, who lost a goodly Army of Noble-men and braue Souldiers in *Syria*, himselfe also beeing there taken Prisoner, to the no little cost of his owne Kingdom. After his returne home, he would needes be gone thither againe: but he died before the City of *Thunis*, and lost the verie greatest part of his Army.

By perswasion of the *Generall*, *Charles* King of *France*, the sixt, sent an Armie into *Liberty*, against the chiefe Citie of *Affrica*: but one part of the French dyed there thorow Famine, and by inclemency of the aire, and the rest returned home, not hauing performed any one act of honour. *John of Bourgonie*, Counte of *Neuers*, was sent with a worthy French army into *Epire*, against *Bazareth*, Emperour of the *Turkes*, in assistance of the *Hungarians*: but there hee was surprized, and kept as Prisoner, with the Constable of *France*, and diuers others, and the whole French Armie quite defeated. *Lewes of France* the twelfth, sent an army against the *Turks*, that besieged *Antioche*, a Citie in the Isle of *Leibes*: but vterly in vaine, for he lost (well neere) all his people. Notwithstanding, if a King make a league against any Iustidell Prince, and that all Christian Princes (or the more part of them) are thereto, likewise moued and solicited, vpon good reason; the King ought to contribute both Men and Money, but not to goe in person, except hee haue an assured peace with all his Neighbour Princes. Now, albeit a King had conquered a farre-off Country, yet scarcely knowes he how to keepe it for any long time: because the manners of strangers will hardly agree with theirs of that Country, and then the building of Cittadels is to be talk on, but yet he must Philosophize how to maintain them. It much better for any King, to sustaine himselfe vpon the forces of his men of armes, and fidelity of his Subiects; then on the strongest walls he can build. Which the *Laecemonians* practised, by the aduise of *Lycurgus*. But after they had engirt the Citie of *Sparta* with Walles, and gaue themselves wholly to the forti-

Diners true &
well knowne
Histories tes-
tifying to this
purpose.

Exceptions in
this stile to be
observed.

No trust to be
reposed in
strong walls,
but in the faith
and power of
men.

lying of places: thence forward, their Common-weale grew to bee inst nothing. The Turke practiseth the verie same yet to this day. The first Cantons of the *Suiters*, had neuer any wals, and were no other then great Villages; for they relied more vpon their strength, then any trust in wals.

But it may be alleaged vnto me, that it is good for a King to read, to the end, he may learne something, as other men doe, and as other Kings haue formerlie done. This I approue, and do no way mislike, at such times as he is not to bee more seriously employed: For, a King that will well discharge his duty, shall find very little time of respite or leisure. Bookes that discourse on matter of good manners, should then be most familiar with him: because, in them hee shall learne such lessons, as no man else dare be so bold as to teach him.

Concerning
Bookes of His-
tories.

As for Bookes of Histories, he must haue choise and plenty of them, because in reading such as are another mans Collections, that neuer saw, or came where they were acted: they cannot alwaies talke of truth, in regard, that hee giueth credit but to what he finds in another mans Papers, and Writers, will (visually) speak fauourably of their owne occasions. If they be Histories, concerning the time when the Authour liued: he will be sure to fauor the Prince, and the party which hee best affected, or to whom he was Pensioner. As may be noted in *Paulus Iouis*, the *Italian*, and *Sleydam*, the *Germane Historian*, who haue written well enough: except whē they fall into some particular matters, as of Religion, or such like; there they are evidently perceived to wander, in speaking partially, or out of priuate affection. Likewise, he should not iudge of good and lawfull enterprises, according to the bad successe they haue had, or so to condemne them: neither, whē affaires haue bin ill grounded, & worse managed, to repute them good, because they haue passed with fortunate euent. Therefore it behooueth any Prince, to read Histories, with good and deliberate iudgement.

Concerning
the reading of
some Princes.

Alexander Seuerus (at an houre of leisure) would read *Platoes* Common-wealth, the Offices of *Cicero*, and sententious *Horace*. *Wile Scipio*, when oc-

casione serued, would read the Instituti-
ons of *Cyru*, propofed by *Xenophon*. *Charles* the first, Emperour, neuer reade any Authour, but *Philip de Commines*, who wrote the life of King *Lewes* the eleauenth. I would not be mistaken herein, as (seeking by these allegations) to restraints a Prince from reading, or limit him none other, but these Bookes only. But I say, that the principall Bookes, and those which bee most necessary for him: are such, as do discourse on the affaires of State, and of matter belonging to the Common-wealth.

Many times, it falls out, to bee more expedient for a Prince, to buy a Town by intelligence, or giuing Money to the Enemy: then to take it by force of armes, though it cost him not so much; so is the Land sure to be no way ruined.

To conclude, let a King stand vpon his Guards, and haue assured and trusty people about him; euermore ready, least occasion should present it selfe, & he be suddenly surprized: such as were the *Legionaries*, or those trained Souldiers, instituted by King *Francis*, first of that name.

And for conclusion to his Philosophy, he should be little, or of least reckoning in his owne eye, how great or potent focuer hee appeareth to other. As it happened to *Alexander*, who had no sooner ended his Conquests in the East, but (standing vpon his own pride) he was cast downe, and paysoned by his owne Followers. *Baiazeth*, the verie greatest Emperour of all the *Turkes* that were before him: was vanquished, chained, and carried about in a Cage of Iron, by *Tamberlaine*, King of the *Tartares*, who was but a Neat-heard, by his first profession.

Behold (in summe) what Philosophy Princes ought to learne, which is not so much comprized in Bookes as it is the braine (prouided of good and solid iudgement) the feare of God being alwaies principally preferred. So shall the saying of *Plato* be truly found in them: That *Kinges ought to be Philosophers*, or *philosophers raigne*.

The end of the third
BOOKE.

To make a
Building of mo-
ny into the e-
conomies coun-
try.

Alwaies to be
prouided of
meat for warre

Honoury auai-
ling more the
glory.

The Authour
conclusion of
Kings Philo-
sophy.



The Fourth Booke.

CHAP. I.

Of the Kingdome of Persia; Nature of the Country and People; Condition of their Court, Lawes, and Commonwealth of faires, &c.



*P*ersia hath caried the same name, from the beginning to this day, containing it in these seuerall Regions, *Lar* and *Requeimall*. The

Stras the chief
City of Persia

principall City thereof is called *Siras*, in elder times tearmed *Persepolis*; which is gouerned by the Sophy, Great Lord of all *Persia* and *Azimis*, called (by our Elders) *Affria*; and the Kingdom of *Deardeth*, sometime named *Mesopotamia*, and *Seruan*, that was *Media*, and *Parthia*, now called *Iex*; with *Hi ca*, now tearmed *Caraxan*; And *Sarmatia*, now *Dulcendana*; and *Asia*, at this instant called *Hetti*. All these Regions, with the greater *Armenia* (which is a part also of them) are gouerned by the Great Sophy, and the greatest or largest City vnder his command, is named *Tauris*, being built in the midst of the Mountaine *Taurus*, foure Dayes journey off from the *Caspian* Sea. Next vnto *Tauris*, there are other Cities beside; as *Soltania*, *Concaflan*, *Saphan*, *Coraxan*, *Lera*, *Moira*, *Sarmachand*, *Gessi*, *Far*, *Siras*, and *Ormuz*, a City in the *Perseike*

The Gouern-
ment of the
great Sophy.

Sea, which at this day, is called *Mare Asindia*. In this City, is great Commerce of Merchants, made with the *Portugals*, and there they Fish for great abundance of Pearles. There are also other Citties, as *Cureh*, *Iex*, *Casimine*, and *Coy*, with infinite Castles. On the west-side of the Cittie *Tauris*, are the *Caspian* Mountaines, which bee now called the Mountaines of *Ararat*: And on the *Bacchan* Sea (aunciently named the *Caspian* Sea) are these Citties; *Summachia*, *Derben*, *Bacchan*, and *Mamutaga*. All these Prouinces, and their Regions, are very barren, because they haue small store of Riuer: the greatest whereof, is cald *Bindarin*, but (in former times) they entitiled it *Brigada*. The people of these Regions, are warlike, ciuill, and very valiant men: ther is not so much ciuility found in *Asia*, as in these people, but they are all Mahumetists.

Commerce of
Merchandise,
and fishing for
Pearles.

The nature, &
qualitye of the
people.

The best breed
of Horses in
the world.

Xenophon con-
cerning their
gouernment.

Bad people (se-
uered) on the
good and ver-
tuous.

These Prouinces do produce the best Horses that are to be found in the world. And there they make the best Steele Armors, that is in any Lande, which are made at a place called *Azimis*, where there is great abundance of Silke. As concerning the Gouernment heere obserued, *Xenophon* (speaking of those elder dayes) saith; That they haue a certaine cheefe place, called by them, *Freedom*, wherein standeth the Kings Pallace, and all the houses of the cheefest men. Neere vnto this, ther is such another vnde place made fit for Merchants, and things to be sold by Mercenary Artificers, seuered farre off one from another, to the end, that such as are addicted to vntue and Liberall Arts, may not be molested with faules,

fooles, and their ydle chatting; besides, beaſtly people, and the rude miſgoverned multitude, may not preſume to meddle with them.

Some Courts for foure degrees of people.

The Market-place of Freedom or Liberty, is diuided into foure parts or habitations, and are reſtrained Courts. In one, dwelleth young Children: In the ſecond, Youths without Beards: in the third, men of mature yeares: and in the fourth; ſuch as (by Age) are no more able or bound to follow the warres. Each of theſe (by Law) hath his place and exerciſe: the Children and men do aſſemble together daily, in their ſeueral quarters; but the Olde men not ſo often, but only vpon ſome appointed dayes. The young men, with ſuch Armes as they are allowed to exerciſe, doe tend about the Princes dwelling in the Night time, except they be ſuch as haue wiues, who, not being ſubiect to ſuch commaund, is fauoured for the Night ſeruiſe. But they account it not honeſt, but rather a ſhame and diſgrace, to be ouer-ſoone married. Each Court hath twelue *Preſects*, according to the number of the *Persian* tribes. To the Children, are old graue men appointed, apt for their better continuance in good manners: and ſuch men likewiſe to the youthes, as (by their Vertue), can yeild them beſt example of imitation. For, the men of riper yeares, there are Gouernors elected, that by conſormitie of their paſſed liues, and regular ſway of authority, may holde good diſpoſition with them, not anie way to ſwerve from the wil and direction of their Prince, but doe containe them in verie facile obedience.

The exerciſes of each age & degree.

The Children are enſtruched in Schooles.

The exerciſes of each age and degree (to the end that euery man may knowe, with what care and induſtry he muſt become a good Citizen) are theſe. The Children of *Persia* (like to ours) doe attaine to Learning in Schooles, and there they are taught to vnderſtand, what it is to liue according to Juſtice and honeſty. Such as are their Gouernors there, doe ſpend the moſt part of the day, in iudging and giuing ſentence on ſuch Delictes, as are reported one of another. Such as are accuſed of Theft, Rapine, Violence, Deceit, Diſhoneſt Language, and ſuch like offences, being found innocent in theſe Crimes, the falſe accuſers, are preſently puniſhed. About all other Vices, In-

gratitude is moſt ſeuereſly chaſtiſed, as being the occaſion of infinite ſhames among men. And he that is found negligent, in returning like thankfullneſſe for a benefiſt receiued, they ſticke not publickly to maintaine, that out of this Vice, iſſueth contempt of the immortal Gods, their Countrey, Parents, and Friends: & finally, that it is the head and moſt reſtoriginall of all other euils whatſoever. Beſide this, they learne to liue temperately, and for inducement thereto, they repute example of the moſt ancient, to be beſt available, and the beholding of their temperate behaviour.

In like manner, with no great difficulty, they are incited to continencie, with ability to endure both hunger and thirſt: by ſeeing men of ſuch graue yeares, not part away thence to eating or drinking, without liſenſe obtained of the *Preſects*. They eate not in the Mothers company, but alwayes with their Maiſters: for their diet is brought to the School, which is Bread and Hearbes, commonlie called * *Nofurtium*. Little need of drink haue they, becauſe they vſe nothing but Water, vntill the age of ſixteene yeares. They haue Bowes and Arrowes, where- with they praſtiſe ſhooting, and afterward are ſent to dwell among the * *Epheli*, who are young youths, that likewiſe haue, and do ſtill lead the ſame kinde of life.

Their attendance and ſleepe time, is as we haue already ſaid, about the Princes Lodgings, and as well for a Watch or guard to the City, as alſo to preuent ſuch Luxuries, which commonly do ouer-abound in theſe young yeares, except they be helpen by diligent ſolicitude, & venie ſtirring exerciſes. In the day time, they waite vpon their *Preſects*, to the end that they may be alwayes in readineſſe. When the King rides on hunting (which happens diuers times in the month) one part of them do go along with him, carrying each man his Bow, and Quiuer of Arrowes, his Axe or Long Sworde, his Shield, and two Darts: one readie to draw, and the other to hold in his hand, as well to defend as offende with them. The King, as in a ſiſion of a King, euen ſo in Hunting, he is the Captaine, purſuing the chafe with greateſt diligence, and commanding all the reſt what is neceſſary to be done. So that this exerciſe, ap-

Ingratitude is ſeuereſly puniſhed.

Officiating temperately.

Children eate nothing but their Maſters food.

* Water, Kury, or Water-citell.

* Striplings of 15. yeares old.

The attendance of the youths.

The Kings riding on Hunting, and how attended.

pereth

Hunting compared to warfare.

Euery man bears his own provision.

In the time of death or famine.

Concerning ſuch as remain in the Cittie.

Who are moſt commended and honored.

In cauſes of rigent neceſſity, who are employed.

peareth like vnto warre, by carefull foreſight, to keepe a good houre of riſing in the morning, to endure both colde and heate, to run after Wild-Beaſts; and (by the ſharpenneſſe of a ſauage Countrey) to make the body able to euery labor. They are likewiſe (manie times) enforced, to awake the wilde Beaſts comming againſt them, reſpectiue alwayes, that if hee be more powerfull then he was reputed, they may all ſurre preſently, exerciſing ſtill that ſmall reſpit of time, euen as if they were in the Campe for battaile.

Euery man carries his own food with him; and yet they eate not before the houre of ſupper time, except they haue leiſure to ſtand ſtill awhile, in expectation of ſome wilde Beaſts comming, or haue giuen better order for the Chafe. When they haue ſuſt, the next day following they purſue ſtill the Game, vntill the ſame houre of Supper againe, neuer more without feeding, making two daies together but one, in reſpect of eating: which habitude is alſo moſt profitable in Warre, reſpectiue times, which often do enforce a great ſcarſitie of Victuals. If there bee any death, then they vſe to temper their bread, with the aforeſaide *Nofurtium*, for no man there will eate, till vrgent hunger compell him. Farre differing from them, that care not what exceſſe they feede Gluttony withal, who can neuer iudge truly, how little would ſerue, or be really delightfull to Nature: like to him that can pleaſe appetite with ſimple Bread, or a poore ſmall Cake, & ſeckes not to ſlake thirſt with Wine, but harpeleſſe water.

They that remaine at home in their houſes, for ſafe-gard of the Cittie, haue publick places appointed, for like exerciſes in them: They haue a care of all occaſions, euen from verie Childe-hood, to ſee them vſe their Bowes, hurle their Darts, and exerciſe Armes. They that are moſt vertuous, wiſe, learned, and active of perſon, doe carry greateſt Commendation, and are honoured of the people; not only the *Preſects*, but euen ſuch alſo, as haue, bin any occaſion (by their diligence) of their education from Childe-hood, they carry worthie Commendation, and are contained in highſt fauour.

If any lewd Offender ſhould be fought for, any Theſe apprehended, or ſpeedy

ſuccout ſent to ſome neceſſed place, in dealing with theſe occurrences, vvhich require haſt and ſtrength of body; the Gouernors make vſe of none but young, luſty men, who (hauing bin trained ten yeares in ſuch Diſciplines) are ranked among the number of men, that (to the age of ſiue and twenty), haue hadde the Gouernment of them, as the *Preſects* had of their Childe-hood, euer to make them ready for ſeruiſe of the Commonwealth. When they go in battell order, they vſe neither Bowes, Darts, or Weapons, to offend a farre off but ech mans breſt is armed with a Cuiraſſe, his ſhield vpon his arme, and ſo he confrontes his Enemy, either with his Axe, or with his Sword. The Heads or Commanders, are all *Preſects*, yet none of them abide in the City, haue care of the young Children and youth.

When they haue paſt this time, and attained to the age of ſiſtie yeares, they are placed among the old men, ſent forth no more to warre; but reſt in their Countrey, where they elect *Preſects*, ordaine Iudges for publicke and priuate cauſes, and likewiſe (as Iurons) do paſſe vpon the liues of men, that ſentence may be giuen vpon euery delict, according as the crime appeareth by due euidence, in which caſes, euery man offended, hath free liberty to accuſe. He that ſtands condemned in the whole courſe of his life, is reputed moſt infamous. The whole Commonwealth of the *Persians*, containeth in it an hundred and twentie thouſande men.

There is no prohibition, of being inſtruched in the publicke Schooles, where Juſtice is truly taught, neither is it forbidden by any Lawe, but that a man (by his Vertues) may attaine to dignitie and honor, no exception is made, but only want of Vertue. Yet let me tell ye, moſt choiſe is made of Rich mens ſonnes for the Schooles, not becauſe their Parents haue leaſt need, but that themſelues are ſooner infected with Vices. And poore mens ſonnes (for neceſſity of common maintenance) are ſent to Shoppes, to learne Mercenarie exerciſes, whereby to liue.

The Children that haue been enſtruched in the Diſciplines fore-named, may conuerſe with the *Epheli*, but not the others. The *Epheli*, that haue liued according

When they go to battaile.

What they do at the age of ſiſty yeares.

None are deſined inſtruched in the publicke Schooles.

Difference betweene rich & poore mens ſonnes.

Order of defence from one degree to another.

The Persians temperate life, is a great blessing to ours.

The Persians order of warre in these dayes

Their want of footmen.

Their lacke of Shor & great Ordnance.

Example of Vran-Cassius and Ismael.

Difference betwene the Turke arming and the Persian.

ding to the Lawes, may likewise abide among the men, and attaine to Honours and Magistracie. And these men, after they have lived according to the Persian Discipline, may go amongst the Oldest Men, who having lived (all their time) with greatest Iustice, are most worthie and excellent Citizens in the Commonwealth.

An expresse note of abstinence in the Persians, is, that they can endure labour enough, yet live moderately. But among vs, there is little or no respect at all, albeit they hold it for the greatest infamy, to spher in company, or make clean the nose, and to void Vrine publicly, or do any such Offices in open sight. All which, we might easily shun, if we would eate but little, and the grosse naturall humors of the bodie, would consume themselves by labour and exercise of the body.

In these daies, all things in the world being altered, the Persians make their wars with most vniuersal course, and (for ought I can perceiue) bad conditions, because as they have a wonderful Cavalierie, so they have no certaine power of Infanterie or Footmen, either ordinarie or aged. By which part of strength, the Turke (euen in our times) having gotten many notable victories, and being neuer foyled in any place; hath brought verie great and important warres to end. It is a matter also verie vnbeneficiall to the Persians, that they vse no Shotte, neither abound in any Artillerie on Carriages, with which terrible helpe, every attempt is soonest concluded. As was too well exemplified, by the vnhappy prooue of Vran-Cassius, and of Ismael, whose Cavalierie were then honourably victorious. Lately also, in the Caldean Fields, and in memory of our Fathers at Harjengs and Ephrates, where they could not endure the great and vnaccustomed noise of their Horsies, in that most cruel & bloodie Tempest. Wherefore, in no place may the armed man of Persia, compare with the Turke, if he were disarmed. Because the Persian is (of all parts) covered with a scallie Cuirace; his Pancerie or Belly-peece, of Iron; his buffed Helmet strongly crested, and hung thicke with Feathers, his Shield or Target rounde, and curiously embellished with Golde. But the Turke of Europe, as vtterly naked, is scarcely halfe covered with a round

bended Target, after the manner of the Asian Shildes, inter-woven with Reeds, subtilly sweetened with Cinnamon, and embroidered with Silke of sundrie Colours. The Persian likewise couereth his arme and right hand, with a false sleue and Gauntlet of Steele, galloping with a Launce of Ash, which hath two points; and being met in the midst, (after the Moores fashion) oftentimes beares off the blowe on high, for easier passage of the men and Horse disarmed. But, the Turke (according to the Grecian vse) placing his Launces butt-end in his flanke, and flogging it vnto his horsies earre (like them that are made of light and brittle Firre) runnes swiftly vpon the spurre, breaks it at the first blow, and so paising on to the enemies Armie, is constrained to lay hand to his Semitar, or to his iron Mace, as vnable to gouerne the Persians furie. For, they are mounted on great & vertie strong horsies, that haue their foreheads armed with Iron, and their bodies covered with foddren Leather hides (after the manner of the Italianes Cappanions) flatted together in narrowe foldes, and plaisted with Bumbaist or Silke, to beare off every blow falling thereon. In which regard, no one of them (except ouer-audaciously) will compare the best Persian, either with the Archer on Horsebacke, or foote-Soldier of the Turk. For he being armed with a big strong Bowe, full of manie knotted Nerues; drawes an Arrowe of good roundnesse, after the Tartars manner, and his fall is almost deadly.

All these things being equally compared together, the armie of the Sophie, euen bounde and deputed to the King, (by an opinion of a high and Diuine minde, and by a certaine Religious Sacramental reason) not being fearefull of death in any place, although it bee inferior to the Turkes in number, might seeme inuincible, if it were not oppressed by Treacherous and vnworthie men of valour, furie of Artillerie, and vnusall multitudes of men.

I finde, that the principall occasion, why Ismael brought to many Prouinces (by glorious Armes) vnder one sole Emperie, yet with lesse number of Soldiers then others would beleue (especially against Ottoman, who ouer-ran the countrey so farre as Armenia, and wasted all things)

The Persian Launces varying from the Turkes.

The Persian Capitulations for their great horsies.

The Bowes used by the Turkes.

The Sophie army seemeth inuincible.

The reason of Ismaels great successe in war.

Order of the Persians in their warre.

Ismael alleges verie neede of money.

Solyma within much better condition.

Seauen Towers full of money.

Three kinds of Soldiers in Persia.

Liberty to the Kings Guard.

In times when there is no warre.

(things) was only this: that he released all Tributes, and took away every taxation, (only to purchase fame by liberality) vnto his very vassals. And it hath imported this new King thence, to doe because (by force of Armes) he expelled the lawfull heires, from the State and Empire, after Vran-Cassius the Graund-fire, and slayd their Father. In which respect, hee was neuer needie of Money; and therefore, when any warre arose, he brought forth two Armies, combined by their strong and iust Nerues, albeit the countries of the East (abounding in manie things) be full of such diversity of rich Kingdomes; benigne and largely would haue afforded supply of pay, for all the necessities belonging to life and warfare. Quite contrary to Solyma case, who continually was serued with Infanterie and Horsemen; Masters of the Artillerie, & Captaines of the Army, and all such be-side, as were either Officers for the field, or attended in his Pallace; who were daily and monthly paid by the treasurer, that deliuered forth monies. Nor in this case is there any want of Treasuries, because that in Constantinople there are seuen Towers or Castles, which containe in them inestimable mountains of mony, both of gold and silver, with perpetual entrance yearly, of so many tributes and taxationes, as do exceed all expences whatsoever, by the fourth part.

Among the Persians there are 3. sorts of Soldiers, to wit, of the Guard; of men vnder command; and of voluntarie assistants. Those of the Guard, are at a certain pay, and are dieted at the Kings cost, and he likewise (according to an antient Custome) and at certaine times of the year, obserued in writing, as an ouerplus of bounty; giues them Armour, horsies, Garments, Pauillions or Tents for the field, and victuals. At these times, being attended with a goodly companie of Lords, as also the Soldiers at command, and brassest voluntaries; hee maintaines the reputation of a frequent Court; and Progracing vnto places of best maintenance, proceedeth on to visit the most Noble Citties of the Prouinces. When there is no wars, the Dinasti, Lord, Detarachi, and Feudatories of ancient Nobility (who enjoy the Signories of the Castles and Countries, giuen by their elders, do find all the prouision in Prograce; or if

it be giuen them by the King, it is collected againe by Edict. They do also whatsoever else is commanded them, according to the same reason, or equality in condition; as (vnusually) at the Nobilitie in Spain, Prance, and Italy. We see to steele their Lord and King withall.

The number of the Soldiers is great, and when they are in Armes, they resort to their Ensignes; but if a diligent inquiry be made, they neuer amout to 20000. Horse. Nor doe the third part of them (surpased in such better manner) as yet haue before declared, resort to battell, for all the rest are contented with their Hel-mets, Mantles (of hard and thicke-woven stuffe) wrapped about them; and covered with sundry thickes; their fight is conducted with the Lance and Bow. For they haue neuer learned to helpe those former kinde of Armes, and according as place & occasion requires; do blinde the shieldmore the shoulder, to receive the Lance of a pursuing enemy, and stand vpon his defence before, with his Bow and Arrows. Those Shields which are truly made to come from Persia, and from the Royal City of Seiras (where Armour is made of most excellent temper, and verie worthy wormanship) are reputed to be the best estimation. As also, and in Persia.

Next vnto these, are the neighboring Affrins, by authority of named, therefore the Kingdome of the Molochians, do afford the verie best and vallantest Archers, beyond all other, except the Tartars. But the Armenians do euer most of all to fight on foot, & vnto them selues of the Infanterie. For they plaie (vpon the ground) along preparation of Shields; great and plaine, euen as if they had a Rampier before them, and so defend themselves against the furie of the Horsemen, fighting with Pikes, and very short Axes, as also Bowes and arrows; yea, many times they fight both neerer and far off, with Slings that haue short handles. People that come to helpe them as voluntaries, are sent out of Iberia and Albania, who are their confederate Kingdomes, and neighbor vpon Media and Armenia, being (for the most part) halfe Christians; and therefore do maintaine equal hatred against the Ottomans; and warre against them.

The Persian Soldiers great in number.

Ismael's great success in warre.

The Persians are altered to their first armes.

The Persians are altered to their first armes.

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The Persians are altered to their first armes.

CHAP. III. *Against Julius Cæsar, because in his Commentaries of the Wars in Gaul, he oftentimes calleth the Gauls, at this day French-men) Barbarians.*

Hat which I haue purposed
to handle in this Chapter,
proceedeth not either from
affection, or out of great ani-
mosity: but rather to defend
(against the *Spaniard, Italian, or Greeke*)
the famous Kingdome of *France*: For,
whan they are growne discontented with
the *French*, or be chafed, and ouercome
by them in warre; they sightfully reime
them *Barbarians, Idoll-worshippers*, and
Saluages, and say, they learned it of *Iulius Cesar*.
Now, to discusse whether it be true, or
not, that the whole Quaility of the world
was amongst the *Romaines*, and that the
Gauls hadde not as much, or more then
they: is remaineth vpon sufficient prooffe
and teake. Although that *Iulius Cesar* was
a great Capitaine, hauing all these good
partes in him, which are required in an
Emperour: yet notwithstanding, it may
plainly be noted, that being vnable to
ouercome his Conquerors in *Gauls*, hee
therefore callles it a light Nation, incon-
stant and barbarous.

ignat of an ancient Oracle, *Servus servorum*, the last Verse, whereof I saymeth thus much, *Send the desperate heathens, and the filthy foolish nations, that do love sinne, that they may see the lives of men.* And I will first bestow some *Meditation*. A Remaine shall I call you was from the times of *Jehoiakim*, hath left Witten, that the said Remaine had a Customs, when they behelde themselves in any great perill so voyd and promise solemnly, that they would immolate to *Iupiter*, all creatures that received life in the next Spring time, calling the Spring time Holy. In these vows, were comprized all the Infants liues that shold be born during this season. But at length, they converted this sacrificing of infants, by sending them into exile; which likewise seemed very cruell, to banish poore and innocent Infants.

For ought I knowe, there is not anie
people or Nation, that can say of them-
selves, they have flood cleare from these
horrible Sacrifices. For, in *Athor*, a *Creeti-*
an Island, they vied the same. In *Egypt*, in
Helipolis, where every day they slaue
three men, to offer them to the
Goddesse *Isis*, the *Lacedemonians* Sac-
rificed to God *Mars*, the *Thebians*
did as much to *Saturne*, when they were
vexed with Peſtilence, or persecuted
with great warres. *Hilbrow*, an ancient
Author, saith, that the *Cretes*, a peo-
ple of *Creete*, vied to appeale *Saturne*, by
offering young Infants in sacrifice vnto
him. In *Laodicea*, a Citie of *Caſo-ſy-*
ria, they did the like, to make the God-
desse *Fallax* placable. The *Trimes* do fluffi-
ly denie, that they do not immolate their
Infants to God *Moloch*. The *Thracians*,
Carthaginians, *Syrians*, and (wel-neere)
all the *Grecians*, did exercise such detest-
able Sacrifices. And it was common
euerie where, vntill the time of the Em-
perour *Cladius*, who made an Edicte to
the contrary. And yet at this day, tho-
row all the Great Prouinces of *India*, o-
therwise called the New-world, not on-
ly do they still sacrifice men, but also feed
on humane flesh.

If *Julius Cæſar* reputed the *Gauls* to be barbarous, becauſe (having promiſed & made vowes to their Gods) if they might win battailes againſt their enemies, they offered ſuch Sacrifices to them: I ſhould rather iudge it great Piety and Religion in them, towards their Gods and Country.

Varro's word concerning the Oracle.

Verie, cruell
vowes of the
Romaines.

Who have been
immolators of
human Sacrifices.

*Sybils Priests
called also Co-
rymbantes.

The Indian
Anthropophages

These offerings
reputed pious
and religion in
the *Gaules*.

Chap. 2.

they, because they made no spare of them
 selves, but Sacrificed all (with them) all
 that which they had conquered in warre,
 of what great value and estimation
 soever it were. For it is especially to be re-
 membered, that whereofsoever Religion & Justice
 is, there can be accounted no barba-
 rousness. Contrariwise, after victory ob-
 tained in some battaile, the *Romaines* sa-
 crificed common Creatures, and made
 particular profit of the very greatest
 Riches conquered by them: as of Cap-
 tives, Gold, Silver, Horfes, and such
 like, offering to their God *Jupiter Phae-
 retus*, moveables of small value; as
 some Armour, pricelesse Rings, and
 Garments. Moreover, such was the
 vertue and magnanimity of the *Gauls*,
 as to endure so many tribulations, which
 time could lay vpon them while they
 lived. But the *Romaines*, to free them-
 selves from all perils; would common-
 ly kill themselves; if they were detained
 in prison, or otherwise, which is the act
 of men downe-falne in hart.

If he hold them for barbarous, because they haue eaten humane flesh, as it is very true; he must vnderstand, that it happened vpon an extreme necessity; when himselfe came downe vpon them, with three hundred thousand *Cymbrians, Teutons, or Allemagnes* into *Gallia Sequana*, and besieged the City of *Sens*. For victuals failing them, by reason that all the Countrey was spoiled about them, and the Enemy kept a long and strict sidge vpon them: this poore distressed people (vnable to defend the City otherwise) consisting of aged persons, women and children, voyaged yeare in yeares; did voluntarily exprofe their liues, to feede their bowels that defended their Countrey, and for preservation of the *Gauls* Commonwealth. But this was not ordinarily done, nor vpon any wanton or licentious appetite; likewise, neuer was it cuer eated to bee done; neither before that time, or after. Contrariwise, much more barbarously, and without any necessity at all; the *Komaine* made it a Louial vfe, to feed on mens flesh in their feasts and banquetts, as *Galen* assures vs, that himselfe hath scene, in the time of the *Emperour Commodus*. Some *Spaniards* (euery other times) haue done as much in the Indies, for hauing no other victuals:

they would eat their own companions, and *Indians*, that died on diseases, or famine.

Julius Caesar also makes a mockery, be-
 cause there were certain people, train-
 ed and waged or mercenary Soldiers, a-
 mong the *Gauls*, who made a free gift
 of themselves to people of wealth, to
 do all such services as they would im-
 ploy them in, receiving their whole
 nourishment and maintenance (from
 them) while they lived. But looke of
 what death fouer their Maisters dyed
 they would gladly and willingly follow
 them therein, to keepe them company,
 and do service to their Lords foules, in
 another world, because this was an Ar-
 ticle of their Religion. But the *Romans*
 had an inuoliable law, which was, that
 if a Maister had few or many slaves, and
 he hapned to be slaine (albeit that some
 other had killd their Maister) yet all the
 Slaves must be slaine. Nay, they had
 worse customes, for if a Captaine were
 offended with his Soldiers, or some idle
 roye tooke him in the head: hee would
 haue euery tenth man in his Army cut
 out, and cause them to be hewen in pie-
 ces before him, by the other Soldiers
 of the same company. More, the great
 number of *Gladiatores* or Fencers, that
 they caused to kill one another (either
 in their open Theaters, or other pub-
 lique places strewed with Sand) with
 very keene edged and sharpe pointed
 Swords, before all the people, with-
 out any pity or compassion, say-
 ing: Thus did the *Romaine* people, and
 more cruelly in war. Nor might these
 Fencers giue over the fight, what hurrs
 or wounds fouer they had receiued;
 except the people were so pleased. They
 would make their Captiues also fight
 with cruell Beastes; as Lyons, Beares,
 Tygers, and others, not in any small
 number; but by thousandes at a time;
 only for a pastime to the people, and to
 win themselves credit, that when they
 fought after any office, they might bee
 assured of their voyces.

Perhaps he called them barbarous; because that the *Gauls* (in his time) had no other food for their ordinary provision, but Swines Flesh. I answer him, that it is one of the best and wholesomest meate, which can be used for any nourishment: for it verie

Oblations of
the spoyles of
the *Gauls* &
Romaines com-
pared toge-
ther.

The *Gardes* never flew themselves but in aduerty.

Once (tho-
rough extream
necessitie) the
Gates did
feed on hu-
maine flesh.

Lib. de
lt. de At-
st. and
niards
e fed on
nam flesh.

Ofhyred &
mercinarie
Sculdiours

Souldiours
of *Gaul* wher
to they were
obliged.

Decimation of the *Remain*. Soldiers.

Gladiatores
and Slaues
laine, or de-
moured by
ruefull beaſts.

Swines Flesh
familiar food
among the
natives.

The Romains
full of Glut-
tony and Lu-
xury.

Cornelius Cel-
sus in V. H. Rom.

The Gaules
(at all times)
used to lie vp
on the harde
ground.

The Gaules
used to weare
short garmets

Cæsar termed
the Gaules to
be a light-
brained people

easily conuerteth into the substance of man, as being almost of the same temperature. The *Athletes* and *Wrestlers* of *Greece*, to make them selfe sturdy, strong, and of the best habitude, would feed on no other Victuals, but bread and Porke. But the *Romaines* of *Cæsar*'s time, enriched and made fat with the spoils of the world; were become Gourmandes, dissolute, and prodigall, as the like could not be found in any other Nation. One may serue for an example of the rest, who termed himselfe a great friend vnto *Cæsar*, named *Lucullus*, that spent vpon one meale, twentie thousand Crownes. But by this kinde of badde life, multitude and varietie of Disshes, and extreame Gluttonie vsed amongst them: the *Romaines* grew to be verie vnhealthfull, according as *Cornelius Celsus* writeth. And no man is so ignoraunt, but knoweth verie well, that leading such a life, doth rather truly fauour of Beasts liues and barbarisme, then of the least part or iotte of Ciuilitie.

Hee should not call them barbarous, because when they were at rest in their houses, they slept not vpon soft featherbeddes, but ordinarily vpon the harde ground; which the *Romaines* (in those times) could not doe. Most certaine it is, that it is rather a Vertue to sleepe in such manner, then otherwise, for more easie support of such discommodities, as commonly doe attend on men of warre: who (as it should seeme) are sent of heauen, for defence of their Country, to subdue inciuill people for their sinnes. Nor, for wearing of short Garmentes, could he call them barbarous, because it is the nature of a Warlike people, rather to be clad in Garments which are short, then such as belong and trouble some.

Besides the Title of Barbarous, he accounts them to be a light-headed people, verie mutable in opinion and counsell. Hee speaketh these things, as a sworne enemy vnto them. For, when he had sowne diuisions and Quarrelles among them, hee would feigne to bee on one side, and quite against the other. But they perceiving his subtilty, disclaymed from his kindnesse, and brake the agreements which they hadde made with him.

He neither summoued or went be-

yond them in open and false warre, for indeed he could not: but only by trecheries, because his intent was, to possesse himselfe of *Gaulle*, and be King thereof, if he had vanquished *Pompey*. Now, because they discerned his deuises, & knew the Dominion of the *Romans* to be more insupportable, then that of the *Allemaignes*, whom the *Gaules* of *Sequana* had called to their aide, against them of *Autunni*, and so leagued them selves together very gladly: therefore he calls them light and inconstant. I leaue to further consideration, whether hee had sufficient subiect to hold them for such.

If he conceited them (then) not to be Lettered, hee was much deceived; for from all antiquity, the *Gaules* had knowledge in that part of Physolophy, which we terme Naturall, and of the *Ethique* or Morall too, instructing policie and good manners, which ought to support a Common-wealth. Nor went they among the *Greekes* to seeke instruction, as manie haue imagined. For, whereas *Cæsar* saith in his Commentaries, That they vsed Greek Characters in their writings; hee meaneth not, that they spake the *Greek* Language. But three hundred years (or thereabout) before that *Rome* was taken and sacked by the *Gaules*, it was (as their owne Historians haue recorded) both without Law and Iustice. True it is, that they were good Warriors, and that tenne men were sent from them into *Greece*, to seeke lawes, whereby to pollicie their Common-Wealth. The *Gaules* on the contrarie, would neuer vse the Lawes of any other; but contented themselves with those, which they hadde receiued from eldest antiquity; as manie people vsed by their example; yea, euen the *Romaines* themselves, imitated them in Articles (enow) of their Religion, hauing withdrawne some of their Physolophers and Priestes, who could not followe those other *Gaules*, when as they departed from *Italy* to goe into *Greece*, by reason of the Dearth of Victualles.

The Reader, by conferring both manners and fashions in behavior of the one and other; will finde as much, or rather more Barbarisme in the *Romaines*, then in the *Gaules*. And although they haue changed their Name, for that braue nation of Warriors in *Franconia*, who are mingled

Cæsar's ambition
on apparant-
ly noted.

In what Phy-
losophie the
Gaules were
skillfull.

The first Ro-
maines beg
their Lawes
in Greece.

The Reader
to be an indi-
ferent Judge
in this Con-
troversie.

CHAP. III.

How long time it is, since the Switzers were Cantoned: and vpon what occasion their Country was called, the Land of Leagues.

BEFORE we speake anie thing of the Switzers, I should describe the situation, Groundplot, and constitution of the country,

which was giuen them; to bee Mountainous and strong (the only benefit of getting Liberty) to the end that the Reader may the better comprehend the History, purposely intended for his instruction, in knowing, why the people were Cantoned. To shew yee then, what the Country is, which is called of the *Switzers*, or the Lande of *Cantons*; or of *Leagues*; ye must vnderstand, it is that which was called by the *Romaines*, *Heluetia*; It beginneth in the verie highest Alpes, and endeth (on the East-side) at *Rh. me*, descending towards the North, so farre as *Waldrut* and *Lausimbourg*; and from thence it turneth towards the West, as in a direct trade, by the Mountaine *Jura*, euen to the Lake of *Geneua*: and afterwards, remounteth vpon the Alpes againe.

The Country seemeth to be straight and narrow; as appearing, that the verie largest place, should not extend it selfe above forty Leagues, and (in some places) much lesse: the length also to consist of about an hundred and ten Leagues. It is verie Mountainy, populous, and yet more then other Countries, cannot nourish or maintaine men. They are a warlike people, able to endure all traualles in warre. Manie of them (at this day) doe liue vpon such Wages, as they receiue of strange Princes that will employ them: not that they take part with such as will giue them most Wages (as some think) but in willingness to serue whom most they loue.

In this Country; there are manie goodly Citties and Townes, as also verie great Villages, and very well pollicied & D d 2 where.

A long continu-
ed vice in
the Ro. maines.

Scaliger in Lib. 4
civ. Carlan.

An aduancem-
ent to the
Reader.

The length &
breadth of
the Countrey of
Leagues.

A briefe De-
scription of
the Countrey.

Switzers take
wages, not in
regard of the
mony.

The reason & cause of Cantoning the Country. *ibid.* lib. 9.

Execution by the Romans upon the Switzers.

Of the Government of three Vales, concerning three yoke of Oxen.

Cruell tyrannies and oppressions in the Gouvernors.

whereof we meane to speake hereafter.

The occasion then, wherefore this Country was and is reduced into Cantons, and to become leagued, against those that oppressed them was thus, according as *Blondus* maketh faithfull relation thereof. About the year 1305, the Emperours and Kings of the *Romains*, during the Schismes of the Empire, did place Gouvernours good store in the *Switzers* Countrey, as to recompence such as had taken part with them, perhauling where-withall (otherwise) to reward them. They gave them leave to do what (seuer seemed good) in their owne opinion, being as many of them there, as there were Cities, Townes, and Villages, or few wanting: who molested the people with subsidies and borrowings, extorting all things else what (seuer from them, according as it came into their fantasie. And yet notwithstanding, a great many of the Cities, Townes, and Comminalties, had long continued their immunity & franchise; yether by especiall grace of the Emperours, or by buying such priviledges for their Money, for which they had good & sufficient Patents to shew. Neuerthelss, these *Harpie* Gouvernours, by perswasion of some Noblemen of the Countrey, did manifold wrongs and injuries to this people.

It happened, that the Gouvernour of three Vales, wherein are three great Townes, to wit, *Vri*, *Sauntz*, and *Vnderwalden* (that were free of long time) sent sundry of his Catch-poles or Sergeants to demand three couple of Oxen, which belonged to a man of *Vnderwalden*, & to bring them away perforce: vising no other reason, but: that Country men should labour with their hands, and not with the help of stauled Oxen. The Sonne to the man, from whom the Oxen were taken, impatient at his Fathers oppression; laying hand on his Sword, chanced to cut off a Finger of one of the Sergeants. The poore youth was afterward apprehended, and the Tyrant (being extremely enraged) commaunded his eyes to bee pulled out.

Another Gouvernour of the said *Vnderwalden*, sent for an honest Woman, that should prepare a bath for him in his owne Houle; which she did accor-

dingly, as not daring to disobey the Tyrant. No sooner had she made ready his Bath, and disposing of part thence againe: but the Villaine razed her, for which shee was slaine by her Husband, with the helpe of his Friends.

There was another Gouvernour of *Vri*, who, beside his exacting on many meanes of the people, entred into such folly and presumption, that he erected (in a faire spacious place of the saide *Vri*) an high perch or poule; on the top whereof was fastned a Hat or Bonnet, which he himselfe had sometime worne, commaunding the like to be done in the Villidge of *Sauntz*. Afterward, hee gave charge, that the Country people should performe as much reuerence to the Bonnet, as if himselfe were there in person. There was a man of very generous Spirit, and borne in that Countrey, named *Guillaume Tell*, who refused to doe this frivolous reuerence. Whereupon hee was apprehended, brought before this proud and insupportable Gouvernour, and sentenced with death: except hee could shew his disobedience, by taking a young Sonne of his owne (about five yeares old) and standing fifty paces off from the Childe; cleave an Apple vpon his bare head, with an Arrow delivered from a Crosse-bow, without any harme done to the Childe. The man was both famed, and knowne to bee an expert Crosse-bow-man, and being heere to thus rigorously constrained: he performed the deede, without any hurt to his Child; but it was more by the grace of God, then his owne industry.

The Gouvernour being offended that the man had sped so well, and perceiving that hee had another Arrow left vnder his Girdle; demanded, for what purpose hee had that other Arrow, when he was enioyned to shoote but one? *Guillaume Tell* answered. If I had slaine my Son; this other Arrow should haue had thy life. In regard of these words, he was taken, bound fast with Cords, and put into a Boate, to be conveyed to prison. Now, it befell, that they were to passe a Lake in rowing thither, vpon which Lake hee escaped very strangely from them. For, hauing (by mere strength) broken

A notorious idle toly in a Gouvernour.

Reuerence of the Hat or Bonnet.

A cruel imposition vpon a Father.

A further prosecution of the poore man by the gouvernour.

The cruell Gouvernour slaine.

Poore Switzers enforced to eate their owne eates.

The rich Abbot of the hermits, plaineth an interest in Switz.

The first victorie of the Switzers, against the Duke and Abbot.

ken his bonds, he threw himselfe suddenly into the Lake, and recovering certayne Mountaines not farre off, lyned there yettely softly, and awayting for the Gouvernour (one day) in a verie narrow passage; there slew him with the fore said Arrow.

Another Gouvernour, caused the eates of foure Countrey-men of *Switz* to be cut off; then commaunding them to bee roasted, he compelled them to eat them. The people of the Countrey, being not a little moued with these extreame injuries, and manie other outrages in the Gouvernours: expelled them quite out of those three Vales, & from thenceforward entering into Confederacies, beganne to Cantone or quarter themselves, swearing a solemn League, with absolute promise to succor one another, if they should hereafter be molested by any who better.

Within short time after, a rich Abbot, entitled of the Hermits, saide: That hee had right and Title, to haue some Prouision of Corne, and of Moiny also, vpon the Village of *Switz*; and summoned them to make payment thereof. They answered, that they neuer heard before of any thing due vnto the sayde Abbot, nor did anie such right (to their knowledge) appertaine vnto him: and therefore, they would pay him nothing. Hee growing verie angrie at this answer, and being defended of a Great and Noble hoste: leauied an Armie, accompanied with *Leopold*, the Duke of *Austriche*, who had great Landes both within, and vpon the Frontiers of the *Switzers*. Besides manie Barons, and other Gentlemen of the Countrey, came vnto him (Voluntarily) from all partes, hauing already gone on, and used those places wher they were to passe, more then Hostily.

The Armie of the three Vales, which could not amount vnto thirteene hundred men, charged with humble heads, (yet vnto conquerable spirits and assurance) the Armie of the Duke and Abbot; and hauing put them to flight; slew verie manie of them, and a great number likewise were taken Prisoners; besides, the Dukes best fatherie of his life, was speedie flight. This Victorie of these simple, but verie Warlike people, encouraged them to attempt and put in

pra life much greater matters, and to stand vpon their best defence, in all ensuing occasions.

These leagued Vales, within little while after, to wit; vpon the fiftenth day of Nouember, according as *Mattier* declareth, in the year one thousand three hundred and fiftene; ouercame another Army of twentie thousand men, which the Emperour *Fredrick* of *Austriche*, and Duke *Leopold* his Brothers had prepared, to ruiuate those three Villages; because they would not take the Oath of allegiance to the saide Emperour, at his newe creation; and yet they had formerly donee it to *Leues* of *Bourrie*, who called himselfe also Emperour, and lawfully elected.

Ouer and aboue this reason, he was urged on, and thereto vehemently perswaded, by a great number of Noblemen and potent Lordes, who had made great spoyle both of Castles & Townes, But, the Confederated Switzers, being aduertised of *Fredricks* intention, closely ambushed themselves (to the number of fiftene hundred men) vpon these ragged and Mountaines, and narrow passages, full of great Rockes and Quarries of stone; wherof they chose the biggest, & rowled them downe vpon the Armie, as it came vppe from the Mountaines footes, and went along the strait waies.

For, from the bottome of the Mountaine, the one side of the Rocks fell like an vpright Wall on the one sides, and on the other, were greates Lakes of Deepe Water, not easie to bee waded; and the huge stones tumbling downe so fast vpon them; drowned no meane number of them in those Lakes, or did beate out their braines, and the rest, being disfronted, Duke *Leopold* was glad and faine to shift for his life the second time.

Notwithstanding these two sustained spoyle and losses, Duke *Leopold* lost not a jotte of his Courage and Valour; but made againe, vpon them with fresh Forcers; perswading himselfe, that hee should get the Maithy of these Boores, Peazants, and Shepherds; for so hee teamed these Confederates. Calling the Men of *Strasbourg* vnto his ayde and assistance, with diuers other Townes, that took parte with the Duke.

The second victory of the Switzers, vpon the Emperor & Duke.

The occasion of this second warre.

A politike stratagem, of the Leagued Switzers.

Duke Leopold, saue his life the second time.

The dignitie of Duke Leopold, vpon the Switzers.

The third victory of the Switzers.

Emperour *Fredericke*; and manie other great Princes: he entered againe into the Confederates Country, by the Valley of *Vnderwalden* among the Mountains. Now was he the third time well beaten and repulsed, by eight or nine hundred people, & yet his army consisted of about 1200. men.

The Switzers successe, upon the obtained victory.

Some Write, that the Duke himself, was not there in person; but the Count of *Hapsburg*, who went as his Lieutenant. From this time forwards, these three Cantons took hart and boldnesse of spirit vpon them, seizing (by waie of Warre) the Castles, Townes, Forts, and Signeuries, of such Gentlemen as had assisted the Duke, quite ruining the faide Forts and Castles, or appropriating them to their owne reuennues. For, before these fortunate successes, they had not any thing in proper, but onely their Townes and Villages: but now adayes, they have reduced those lands into Bayliwicks, whereunto they depute Gouernors, which either they change yearly, or continue to further time; according as it is aduised by the Senate, belonging to each Village of the confederates, and some others, that haue (since then) Cantoned themselves, and entered into alliance with them.

The death of the Emperour, and Duke Leopold.

Duke *Leopold*, and the Emperour his Brother, died within fewe yeares after these losses, without any Children, and their succeeding heires suffered these confederates to liue peaceably till the yeare, 1396. Neuerthelesse, they were molested by other great Lordes, whom still they manfully withstood, and til got the better hand of all in their attempts. At last, there came one, named *Leopold* also, descended of the same family of *Austrie*, an audacious Prince, ouerlight in beleefe, and fearfully aged xx. yeares. He was provoked by those Noble and Gentlemen, who either were expelled from their houses, or else had voluntarily forsaken them, and albeit there hadde past some transaction and truce between them yet now they would breake their faith and promise made to these Confederates. All the pretence that this young Prince had for warre, was, because *Lucerna*, which was a goodly Towne, had leagued and cantoned it selfe with the fore-named Villages, and many subiects of Duke *Leopoldes*, in regard of his often

Young Leopold maketh pretence of warre against Cantoned Lucerna.

molestationes, were now (by this means) become Bourgeses, and quietly enjoyed the benefits of their Country. These matters, intermeddled with the Princes rash furie, made him so violent in spleen against them: that so manie as hee could cause to be taken of *Lucerna*, or those of other subiects that had the office of Bourgeses, they were forthwith hanged and strangled in the open fields.

The leagued Inhabitants, not a little displeased at these cruelties, brought their armed troups into the fields, and (by a sudden assault made vpon this young Duke *Leopold*) took the strong Castle of *Pfeffers*, and put vnto death all that were found therein. At the very same time also, they took two Townes of Duke *Leopold*, to wit; *Delibouch* and *Sampach*, that gladly yielded themselves into the protection of the Confederates, and Bourgeship of *Lucerna*. The Duke being highly heere with displeased, hauing an Arme readie of ten thousand men, entered into the Countrey of the Cantones. But notwithstanding all his heate and haist, by the aduise of some: peace was made between them, vnder certain conditions, so that no batell was fought, or Towne taken.

The young Duke being returned home to his Court, with intent to sport and recreate himselfe, was perswaded by many Noblemen, that he had greatly dishonored himselfe in making anie contract of peace with his subiects, and that all Lordes were dispensed withall, for anie oath taken in that nature. Moreouer, they objected, that this might proue a principall cause, to hinder him from succession in the Empire, whereto his predecessours had formerly attained. Being ouercome by their foolish persuasions, he employed a great part of the Empires forces; and most of the Nobilitie, being numbered twentie thousand men, both horse and foote, all verie expert and wel tried Soldiers, the greater part Noblemen, pretending interest in the cause, and accompanied with manie Princes of power.

This came they vnto the field, with all kinds of munition, to besidge *Sampach*: where the Arme also of the confederates met them, who were (in all) but a thousand and six hundred men. But they being possessed of the most aduantageable place in the field, and where the Horsemen

Violence done to the Confederates.

The Switzers honourably reuenged, vpon young Duke Leopold.

A peace made of small continuance.

Enill counsell easily giuen.

A fourth preparation to fight the confederates.

The Switzers fourth victory.

men could do no good for themselves, or preiudice to the *Switzers*: the Noblemen were seigie so diuident, and battails being giuen, the most of the daies remained to the Cantons. It was such an extreme holiday, that the Noblemen were not able to endure any part of the paines (which the poore *Rutshike* were not so much vexed with, but could ably withstand farrel greater toyle) but were glad to lye. Albeit, young *Leopold* stood firm, and courageous, until he was slaine with manie other worthy men; as *Otho*, Marquess of *Boh*, *John*, Earle of *Faintenberg*, and diuers others: for very few escaped, but they were eyther taken Prisoners, or slaine. Twa yeares after, some of the Gentle-men, which had then escaped, returned thither againe with sixe thousand fighting men: but two hundred men of *Glaronne* stood against this, and slew two thousand and foure hundred of them, compelling the rest to saue their liues by flight, according as I finde it recorded in the Books of *Cronicles* and *Manifester*.

Now, these Noblemen and Gouernors, did not onely molest these three Vallies and *Lucerna*, but likewise all them inhabiting about *Bearne*, pillaging all the goods in the fields of *Bearne*. Yet notwithstanding, by continuall waging War with them, the Cantons defeated all their purposes, ruined their Castles, and appropriated all vnto their owne Dominions; except it were of such, as contracted amity and alliance with them. I forbear here to set downe, the pore war which they had against the Abbot of *S. Gall*, especially those of *Appenzell*, because they vrged a right vnto their come and other fruites: but they could get nothing of them but blowes, albeit, their Armies were verie great. *Gla*, in short while after, being troubled by the Noblemen and cruell Gouernours, which they of *Austrie* had set over them, entered into league with the men of *Bearne*, and other of the foure Cantons.

Zurich, a great and worthy City, seated vpon the Riuier of *Indmat*, had bene vexed about fiftie yeares by the Nobility, and a puissant Prince, who was the valiant Counte of *Hapsburg*, and extraxt in hatred to them, because

he was taken in *Zurich* (being entered therein in the night time) by means of the treacherous Inhabitants, with foure hundred men, he being made Prisoner, and all his men slaine. Yet, with in some fewe yeares, he was let at liberty, at the solicitation made by his son *Albert*, the Emperours, and thence forward, *Zurich* came into the number of the league, Confederates. This City called it selfe *Tigurnum*, and is the most rich and powerfull Cantone, above all the rest, next vnto *Bearne*, and holdeth precedence beyond all the other; because all Ambassadors resort thither, and the assemblies are most of all there made. Whereby plainly appeareth, that the Cantons doe not hold place of precedence, according as they were received into the league; and I confesse mine owne ignorance, not knowing how these degrees haue passed among them.

It is presupposed, that because there was (then) no iustice for the people, but that all the Noblemen (almost) in these quarters of the *Helvetians*, were (as we vlt to say) cut out of one cloath, thax is to say; had (worne the rime of the third estate: Therefore, *Zug*, *Basle*, *Fribourg*, *Soleure*, and *Shaffhouse*, (by laps of time) confederated themselves with the leauen before named. All which together, being in number threene, had many warres against the Emperours, and other great Lordes, and were euermore Conquerours. It is therefore to be presumed, that they got not their libertie, nor the goodly lands which the more part of the do now possesse, in a day; but before they could haue peace with their Neighbors, they passed over (well nere) sixtie yeares.

This Countrey of the Leagues or Cantones, neither knew how to gaue their freedome, or conquer so many Countries as they haue done; if the Emperours had not bene busied in ciuill warres; whereof the Popes (for the most part) were the sole occasion, or *Germany* had bene united, as sometime it was. But the Nobilitie being become insolent by Ciuill wars, acknowledging no Superiours nor Gouernours, that knew well enough how to fish in troubled Waters, opposed (by their tyranny) the people of the *Helvetians*.

Zurich Cantoned, and upon what cause.

Almost all the Nobility of the Switzers were badly minded.

Ciuill wars the cause of rebellions.

to shake off the yoke of their superiors also, and to expell them thence. At this present, and since the time of King *Frances* the first, they haue made confederation with the Crowne of *France*, receiuing both presents and pensions.

The Authors purpose in this breefe relation of the *Switzers*.

Myne intent was not (in this breefe discourse) to shew my selfe any Historian, neither to set downe all the gestes and warres, which this warlike Nation haue made, since they began to steeke their liberty; for, to performe that labour, it would require three or foure great volumes. Beside, I haue spoken but of three or foure, the most notable and chiefe in the Countrey, thereby to let the Reader vnderstand; wherefore the Region of the *Switzers*, is called the Countrey of Leagues, or of the Cantons. Wherein I haue followed the best Writers; as *Blondus*, *Crantzius* and *Munster*. By this discourse, I would gladly giue aduise to Princes and Noble men, to deale better with their subjects, then these Lords did in the *Switzers* Countrey; least (by successe of time) Heauen frowne vpon them, and they be throwne into the like disaster.

CHAP. III.

Of the excellency and deserved commendation of Trauaile; And what great dangers are begotten, and doe arise of idleness.



WE are enioied by the law and commandment of God, that wee must trauaile and labour in this world: For the very first Man that euer was, hauing broken Gods commandment, was throwne out of Terrestrial Paradise, and the Earth was giuen him to enioy; but yet with this condition, to labour therein with continuall Trauaile, without any limitation of time, but euen so long as he liued. And yet this was not imposed vpon the first man onely, but it came as an intinction also, to all his posteritie. Now, notwithstanding holy Scripture tels vs; that Trauaile was laid on Man

Trauaile first commanded by God.

as a matter of propenance; yet it appeareth likewise, to be a proper medicine, whereby to recouer and helpe some pasted evils. For a man arraigned by Trauaile, to regaine that which he hath by feeding. And though it came as a castigation, yet God commaundeth nothing, but what is good inat selfe; hath (in this nature) giuen man time to enioy his land by labour, according as *Iob* saith; *Iohn is borne to trauaile*. (Job. 1. 12)

Trauaile is a Phisicall medicine for pasted offences.

Job. 1. 12

The life of our blessed Saviour.

Looke vpon our Saviour and Redeemer *Iesus Christ*, our Soueraigne Maister, who, as an example to vs all; trauailed continually in painefull exercises, euen till his death: And beside, in his parables, he blamed and reproofed the sleepey Virgins, that were neglect and slothfull; euen more fauouring and commending such as trauailed, saying, in an especiall place of note; *Come vnto me all ye that Trauaile and are heauy laden, and I will ease ye*. If we would sit downe to read, we should finde, that the ancient Saints, employed all their time in continuall exercises and labours. Moreover, Trauaile is not onely healthfull for the Soule, but it is likewise as beneficiall to the body; for it causeth agility, strength, and quick disposition; it cheareth and encreaseth good Spirits, and consumeth all bad and offensive humors. And concerning the Soule, it cleanseth it from all occasions of euill doing; and conuerteth bad thoughts into better endeouours. Most certaine is it, that (without paine and trauaile) neuer did matter of any great consequence sort to good effect; but the paines seemed the sweeter, because no slothfull ease was interposed in the action. He that trauailes and takes paines, takes quiet repose and rest also, because to a weary man, all things are sauour to him, sleepe easie, and all pleasures are to him in truest contentment.

But returning to the benefits of the body, trauaile maketh a man discrete, vigilant, well aduised, wise, & all goodnesse else proceedeth thence. It is trauaile that appareth and beautifieth a Man: it maketh lodgings for him to rest in; waies to walke in; Ships to saile in; Armes to defend him; in breefe, innumerable are the blessings thereby abounding. By trauaile, barren Landes

Painefull men doe best take their rest.

The benefits ensuing to the body by trauaile.

The commendation of paine and trauaile.

Trauaile is a help to nature.

The way to Heauen is paine and trauaile.

Manner of especiall obseruation in this case.

Plato, Aristotle, Pythagoras, &c.

Hercules Trauaile.

Alexander and Iulius Cesar.

are made fresh, teeming, and fruitful: to such as are dry, it giueth water, by opening the earths Wombe, to let forth her owne moysture. It exalteth humble Vallies, where neede requireth, and throwes downe high Mountaines, whose steepe passage offendeth: It turneth forth-right Flouds and Riueres, to take their more needfull course by dry landes, without waters, helping (thereby) to a dome and polliu Nature, compelling her sometimes, to engender such things; as in her own proper will the world nor it tameth the wildest beasts; and maketh them familiar. It maketh mens Spirits prompt and subtile, hauing the like power in all the other senses of man; and he that makes due tryall; findes the vnto valuable riches which is got by Trauaile.

God would not haue his owne choosen Vessels to come to Heauen, but by the rugged pathies of paine and trauaile. If sumptuous buildings, goodly Pallaces, and populous Cities doe seeme mightie things; then know, that all those were performed by the labour, sweate, and trauaile of thy Predecessors. If likewise, Arts and Sciences doe highly content thee: why then remember, that they were the spirituall Trauaile of learned Men in times past. If thou looke vpon faire fields, beautiful Gardens, and pleituous yeelding Vines: say to thy selfe, all these proceeded from the workes of Trauaile; because idleness dooth not any thing, but rather destroyeth whatsoever is already done: By Trauaile, men attained to very great and famous renowne.

It was that which made wise *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Pythagoras*, and the rest of those learned men, neuer cease to trauaile their bodies and studious Spirits; both in writing, instructing, & disputing, without any care at all for sleepe, feeding, or cloathing their bodies: and yet, at such times as Nature compeld them to these necessities; they seemed much more sweete and pleasing to them, then they can doe to idle and slothfull Gluttons.

What was it that made *Hercules* so famous and faire honoured; but onelie his twelve labourous Trauailes? What was it that gaue such splendour to the Names of *Alexander* the Great, *Iulius Cesar*, with all those excellent Kings and Captaines; but painefull exercise, and industrious Trauaile? What was on the

contrary, *Sardanapalus*, and other such like idle and lasciuious Princes, both ruined and oppressed their Countreies, and themselves dyed very shamefull deaths. Whereby may easily be gathered, that if the World were deprived of Trauaile; all would come to nothing: Offices in humanity, would fall into Decadence; Mechanicall Artes; Letters, Studies, Goods; Remembrances, Iustice, Lawes and Peace; no one of all these could continue without Trauaile. All the vertues are supported, only by the neede thereof; without it they could no way be exercised; because, he that will minister Iustice, ought to trauaile and to be paine. To conclude, no vertue can bee set on worke, without Trauaile; and therefore *Hesiodus* said; *By sweate and paine, all Trauaile, vertue is to be giuen*.

If wee would well and exactly contemplate all the things which God hath created, we shall finde, that by how much the more they are perfected in a certaine means, by so much the more may we truly say, that hee hath giuen to them great Trauaile. Let vs behold his superiour handiworkes; the Sunne in the month if selfe continually; the Moone neuer standeth still; the Heauens and the Planets haue beene, are, and shall be daily in continuall motion. The fire cannot continue it selfe, without some operation; the Ayre goes alwaies to some place or other. In the inferior bodies, the Water, fountaines and Riueres flow incessantly, and the Sea moueth without cessation. For the Earth it selfe, albeit it were immoveable (for it ought so to be, & vpon necessity, both that men may Trauaile whether they would or no, and afterward take their rest) yet notwithstanding, it neuer enioyeth any repose; but continually bringeth forth Hearbs, Trees, and Plants, euen like a diligent and painefull Mother, that counts herselfe obliged, to maintaine and nourish both men and Beasts. And therefore if we would bring all these things to due consideration, we should then finde, that Nature is intencue to no other thing; but onely to continuall labour and trauaile: in creating, forming, making, vnmaking, producing, corrupting, altering, or gazing and toiling, without the least respite of rest or repose, in any kind whatsoever.

That this which I haue said, is most needed

Sardanapalus.

The injuries ensuing by lacke of Trauaile.

The vertues in that good by Trauaile.

Contemplation on the workes of God, & how they labour and enioy in their respective kindes.

Nature continually; trauaile for men and Beasts.

The labour
and trauaile
the body.
Virgil.

Horace.
Lucretius.

Democritus.

Hermion.

Pythagoras.

Salomon.

The onely
menner that
made any
man famous.

The fruits of
Idleness and
sloth.

Ouid con-
cerning idleness

Examples al-
leged by the
Author, for
denfence of la-
bour and tra-
uaile.

Of the Fire.

needes be true, the wife Philosophers
(in times past) signified by their daily
labours, that they were neuer weary in
commending the trauaile & exercife of
the body. *Virgil* faith, *That continuall
labour furmounteth all things.* *Horace*, the
Lyricke and Satirical Poet, faith in his
works: *That God gaue nothing to Man,
but with paine and labour.* *Empyrides* faith:
*Trauaile is the Father of Fame: God help-
eth him that trauaileth: without Trauaile,
there is no true renowne, praise, nor happie
aduenture.* The Poet *Demander* wrote ve-
ry wisely, *a healthful man idle, is in worse
condition then he that hath an ague.* The
saying of *Democritus* pleaseth me high-
ly, where he faith: *Paines taken voluntar-
ily, are neuer distastefull when they be
enforced.* When *Hermion* was de-
manded, of whom he learned those
deepe Sciences which he professed; he
answered: *Of Trauaile and Experience.*
It was the saying of great *Pythagoras*:
*That a Man ought to make choise of a good
life, and to let it appeare, by paine and Tra-
uaile, which brings it to a sweete and easie
cuiusme.* *Salomon* faith: *The slothfull man
should learne example of the Ant.*

I should neuer end, if I were to name
heere, the plenty of testimonies to bee
alleged in this kinde. It shall suffice
then, for me to say, that neuer was any
man famous for Armes, Learning, ex-
ample of good life, or any of the Arts;
without great Trauaile. And, to speak
truly, neuer were any idle people great,
or knowne, but if it happened that a
Man being borne great, liued negligently
or idle: most certaine it is, that (by
slothfulness) his estate was ruined, or
else hee lost his renowne, quiet or life,
the losse being the true fruit of sloathes
Tree, whereby all vices are multiplied,
as the wife man wel witnesseth, *Lying;
Idleness enfruteth many mischiefs.* *Ouid*
could asseme, that, *Without Idleness, Cu-
pid hath no power, and hee spake truly:*
For in idleness, wickedness is dreamp-
on, treasons inuented, and foule sinnes
acted. *Ezechiel* numbeth idleness a-
mong those sins, which were the cause
that *Sodom* was destroyed.

To speake mine owne iudgement
in this case, I neuer knew any thing,
wherein idleness got entrance, but it
came to vtter ruine. We see the fire, if
it be not maintained, it quickly quench-

eth of it selfe. The Aire likewise, it must
be continually moouing; for if it bee
with-held and restrained, it will breake
forth of it selfe. Water, compelled
to any limited place, and where it may
not haue his course and free passage, it
putrifieth, corrupteth, and stincketh.
If the earth be not opened and labour-
ed; it will produce nothing but Bram-
bles, Bryers, Thistles, and other vnpro-
fitable Herbs. It is euident to our eyes,
that Gold, if it be not much laboured
and purified, it will neuer appeare in
his perfect beauty. Iron likewise, and
other Mettals, will merely rust and
canker of themselves; except they bee
wrought to some kinde of seruice. Pro-
uinces and Countreies, if they be not in-
habited and laboured, they will prove
barren & subiect to pestilence. Houses
and dwellings, let them stand voyd and
empty; they forthwith fall to ruine and
decay. Common high-waies, let them
not be trauailed and frequented; they
will shut vp themselves into impossibi-
lity of passage, so that all knowledge
of them will be vtterly lost. All things
whatsoever, if they be not employed,
and made vse of by labor; they perish,
impair of themselves. Yea, euen the
very vitall Spirits of Men or Women,
if they be not quickened and viuiified
daily exercises; they will become lazy
and slothfull; so that the hart and soule
will consume themselves, the powers
of the body be so wasted and weakened,
that no vse or motion can be made with
them.

I haue already (in this Chapter) told
ye, that trauaile makes a man agile, and
chearefully disposed: and now (on the
contrary) I am also to informe ye, that
sloth and idleness spoyleth the com-
plexion, corrupteth all good humours
in mans body, and giues Dominion to
them that are bad and naught. *Galen*
faith: *It is impossible for a man, to keepe
himselfe healthfull, except he trauaile and
labour.* And *Auicenna* is of the same
mind, with *Cornelius Celsus*, and other
very excellent Physicians. Horses, and
such kind of Beasts, if they be kept idle;
they become vnprofitable. Ships rot
and seemely vgly, if they be kept still in
Ports and Hauens: but when they saile
abroad, they are both beautifull and be-
neficall, and keepe themselves from
bale

Of the Ayre.

Of the water.

Of the Earth.

Of Gold and
other Mettals

Of Lands and
Countreies.

Of dwelling
houses.

Of common
rode-waies.

All things
whatsoever.

The vitall spi-
rits, Hart and
Soule.

Idleness is
the corruptor
of all good
humours in
man.

The saying of
Galen, *Auicen-
na*, and *Corneli-
us Celsus*.

Of Horses.

Of Ships.

Of Souldiers.

Hanniball idlen-
esse at *Capua*.

The slothfull
mans Lesson.

Example of
the Archer.

Of instru-
ments and
voyces.

Of Wines.

Of precious
stones.

Of Iron.

Of brute
beasts.

Plato, in *Lib. 7
de Legib.*

The saying of
Plato, *Aristotle*,
condemning
idleness, doe
highly exalt
the Art that
was called
Gymnastia,
whereby, all
necessary
occasions and
matters for
war were
enfructed.

Of the Empe-
ror *Adrian* &
Turbo.

bale corrupting. Souldiers, and men
inured to Armes; they grow out of
heart, in the times of rest and peace. Be-
side, I finde it faithfully recorded, that
Hanniball idleness at *Capua*, was the
onely cause of the *Romans* victorie a-
gainst him. The slothfull man hath
no other Lesson; but that all employ-
ment is painefull to him. He that marcheth
best in Warre, fights alwaies in
greatest security: but hee that abideth
still in one place, is apt to all inconue-
niences, and the Sunne burnes him with
the more aduantage. The Archer here-
in serues as a Schoole-master to vs,
who neuer drawes his Arrow at a Bird
flying; but when he findes her slothfully
sitting.

We do ordinarily behold, and finde
it true in common experience, that
both voyces and instruments, not being
imploied; they lose their vertue, sound
hoarily and discordant: whereas on the
contrary, vse refineth, concordeth, and
makes them most pleasing. There are
some kindes of Wines, that must bee
rackt and roughly managged, to pre-
serue them in yeilding the better relish.
Pretious stones, if they be not polli-
shed and purely cleafed, they cannot
appeare in their perfect lustre: but by
painefull labour and trauaile, they are
discerned in their highest excellencie.
Rude Iron it selfe, the more it is vied,
the clearer it shineth. Among brute
beasts, they that take the greatest pains,
are most esteemed of men. To support
this cause, I could alleadge so many au-
thorities of Philosophers and Poets, al
blaming and rebuking idleness: as
would serue to compleat whatsoeuer
is wanting, for full confirmation of this
needfull discourse. Saints haue cursed
it; Philosophers condemned it; *Ouid*,
Plato, *Horace*, *Claudian*, *Virgil*, and all
other Poets haue sung against it. All
Histories are full of the euils deriued
from it. *Plato* and *Aristotle*, condem-
ning idleness, doe highly exalt the Art
that was called *Gymnastia*, whereby,
all necessary occasions and matters for
war were enfructed.

The Emperor *Adrian* had long time
educated, fauoured, and (at last) exalted
a man, named *Turbo*, who was a most
diligent and labourious follower of his
affaires, and the Emperor, noting him

one day, that (in his opinion) hee was
too earnest in his businesse, he said vn-
to him, *Turbo, doe not kill thy selfe, but be
more carefull of thy health: whereunto Tur-
bo replied, My Lord, the Man that hath
bene nourished, fauoured and aduanced by
an Emperour, as I haue bene, ought to dye
in Trauaile at his foote.* *Quintus Curtius*
declareth, that the diseases of idleness
should be cured by Trauaile. The *Ro-
mans* had a custome, to begin the day
at midnight, to the end, that at the ri-
sing and apparition of the Sunne; they
might all fall to labour together: for
they were perswaded, that (already) a
moity of the day was past, and yet no
good Act performed by them. A *Roman*
sought to perswade the Senate, that
Carthage could not be destroyed; least
the *Romans* boasting of security, by want
of employment there, should become
idle. Vpon which occasion, *Scipio Nasica*,
perceiving that some held come to
be in safety, after that *Carthage* was
made desolate, and *Greece* wasted; gaue
them this answer. *I am of a contrary opi-
nion, and doe thinke our selues now to be in
much greater perill, because we now stand
in feare of nobody.* Whereby this worthy
man inferred, that idleness was the
cause of more dreadfull danger, then
either warre or neighbouring enemies;
because feare yeeldes more aduantage
of safety; then when we stand free
from all doubtfull consideration. And
therefore the *French* haue a pretty Pro-
uerbe: *Make Holidays when the times
gine leysure.*

Apuleius faith, that nothing seemed
more commendable to him, then Fen-
cers, who had idleness in such abho-
mination; that the Masters would ne-
uer suffer their Schollers to eat, till
they had first performed some act of
vertue and man-hood. *Cicero* declareth
(to the same effect;) *That Men were
erely borne to good deedes and aduentures;
whereof our Soule is a sufficient arguement,
for it is neuer idle, or at rest.* *Draco*, the fa-
mous Law-maker of *Athen*, among
the most notable Lawes which hee de-
vised, he had one concerning the chiefest
praise of all; which was: That such
men were sentenced with death, as
should be found idle, or walking at their
pleasure or pastimes, when others were
seriously and honestly busied. I deter-
meth.

Quint. Curtius

When the *Ro-
mans* began
the day.

A *Romane*
persuasion to
the Senate.

The words of
Scipio Nasica.

Idleness cau-
seth more
danger then
warre can do.

Apuleius con-
cerning Fen-
cers.

The saying of
Cicero.

The Law of
Draco against
idleness.

Three Idols
in great
esteem a-
mong the
Gentiles.

The holy
Scripture
kindeth vs to
trauaile.

Proverbs. 10. 5.

1 Thof. 3. 9.

1 Thof. 3. 8. 9.
10.

2 Corin. 5. 7.

In what man-
ner traualle
is comman-
ded.

Cicero concern-
ing the say-
ing of Scipio.

The saying
of Seneca.

ueth some consideration, to note in what account trauaile was among the Gentiles; in regard, that they had three Idols: the first was named *Strenna*, that is; dexterity, or agility: the second, *Agenoria*, which signified virility, or manlines: and the third, *Stimula*, which is as much to say, as a spur and pricke to honour and vertue; and trauaile was (with them) in such precious reckoning, that they erected these *Idoles* to eternitie.

But not to stay our selues (ouer long) on the Gentiles opinion, let vs come to the sacred Scriptures; where we are no lesse bound to trauaile, then restrained and prohibited from prophane things. *Salomon* in his Proverbs, among those other places, where he do deeply condemneth idleness, saith: *That the sluggard or slouthfull person, which forbeareth to worke in Winter, shall be a Beggar.* Saint *Paule*, the Doctor of the Gentiles, taketh glory in nothing more, then in not being idle, commending labour and trauaile above all things. And writing to the *Thesalonians*, hee tels them, that they knew wel enough how to imitate him, for he was neuer idle among them, but it was foode to him both night and day, in that he had gained them; not by any indirect meanes or charge to them, but in giuing them good example. Saying moreover, that hee that would not labour, ought not to eat. The like did he to the *Corinthians*, recounting his Trauailes taken for their example; and so in many other places beside. Let vs then (hence-forward) imploy our time in good and honest exercises, shunning sloth and idleness, that neuer can performe any act of estimation.

And yet wee are not commanded, to follow labour and trauaile, with such extremity or rigour; as to leaue our meate, drinke, sleep, or honestly taking our rest and quiet: for decent recreations, and honest repose is sometimes lawfull. In which regard, *Cicero* exalted and commanded *Scipio*, who said: *I that he was neuer lesse at rest, then when he was at rest.* Which *Cicero* maintaineth to be a notable saying: Because (quoth he) he declared thereby, that in his idleness, he thought on his businesse, and so in solitude, he could take counsell with himselfe. Moral *Seneca* alleaged; *That idle time, without*

Letters or study, is death and buriall to a Man, and onely they that are exercised in knowledge, know best what sloth and idleness is. *Plutarch* would haue a man to make some dispensation of his time, in exercising the difference between knowledge and experience. O that men (then) would but duely consider, how their time is to be employed; which glides away so swiftly, and remember withall, that they must render an account for euery word spoken vainly & idly. *Cato*, although he was a Pagan, yet he could say: *That great and worthy Men did stand as much bound to yeilde an account, for their time lost or neglected; as they that could best deliuer reason for their honest employment.*

To conclude, we should make such good expence of our time, in honest, lawdable, and blamelesse exercises: that the fruites thereof may be aduantageable to vs, and we esteemed as hired Seruants for heauen; which is provided for none, but such, as are called to trauaile in the Lords Vine-yard, and shall haue their Wages according to their worke. And Saint *John* the Diuine saith: *The dead which dye in the Lord, are fully blessed, for they rest from their labours, and their workes and trauailes follow them.* This authority doth well approue, that trauaile is the merchandise of this World; heere bought and sold, but rewarded in Heauen. For so Saint *Paule* testifieth, saying: *Euery one shall receive his wages and payment, according as he hath trauailed here beneath.*

CHAP. V.

The reason, why the Palme was giuen as an attribute to Conquerours; and Laurell observed as a signe of victory.



Of certaine is it, that (in elder times) the Romans gaue the Palme to Conquerours, in signe of Triumph; and it is so true, that by writing in Latine the word *Palma*, it is merely vnderstood for victory. *Plutarch* also affirmeth, that for each kind of victory, there was a severall Crowne

Plutarch in his Morallies.

The graue saying of Cato.

The Authors conclusion concerning labour and trauaile.

Reuel. 14. 13.

Plutarch in Traill de Conquerours.

Seuerall Crowns vied among the Romans for Conquerours.

Plin Lib. 6. Arth. in Prodr. Theophrastus lib. 2. Plutar. in Simp.

The words of Plutarch and Anlus Gellius.

The Palme was consecrated to Phœbus, before the Laurell.

Palme-trees that are both male and female.

Chap. 5.

Of the Palme and Laurell.

Crowne designed, where-with their heads were circled, that had obtained such honor in field. One was made of Olive branches; another of Laurell; a third of Oaken Leauces; and others, of other trees: but among them all; the Palme was the general signe of victory. Those ancients do likewise say, that the cause why this signification (more then any other) was attributed to them: proceeded from an admirable propriety in the Tree it selfe, which (without any other prooffe to confirme it) is allowed to be most certaine, by authority of the that haue written thereon; as *Pliny*, *Aristotle*, *Theophrastus*, *Anlus Gellius*, and *Plutarch*. All which learned Writers do maintain, that the more the Palme-tree (of one of his branches) is charged with any heavy weight or burden; the more it resisteth and withstandeth the oppression. And whereas all other Trees doe yeelde vnder such lading, and are surmounted by the burden: the Palme only resisteth, and cannot be ouer-awed; because the greater the weight is, the more doth it still our stand it. In this respect, both *Plutarch* and *Anlus Gellius* say: *That he which goes with an intent to Conquer another, must not suffer himselfe to be surmounted by feare of the perill, nor waxe weake in the attempt: but rather trauaile on with height of courage, and (with resolute resistance) pursue victorie, as being a man, meete to carry comparison with that Tree, which hath the same naturall quality, both in resisting and ouercomming any weighty oppression, and therefore it is giuen as a signe of victory.*

Others say, that this honour was practised by the Gentiles, because the Palme was consecrated to *Phœbus*, long before the Laurell was, and was held to be a most ancient signe of victory. *Pliny* and *Theophrastus*, doe write of many other properties in this Tree, whereof we neede not speake, to auoide expence of time. And yet notwithstanding, I am very loath, to conceale that which is affirmed by so many; to wit, that as the Palme hath contrary effects to all other Trees: so is there of them both Male and Female, and the Females are they which bring forth dates; the Males onely flourish, and when they happen to yeelde any fruit, they

are verie small, without good taist, and no profit is made of them. It is also to be obserued, that in what place flourish the Females grow, if the Males be not neere vnto them, they will not beare any fruit: but if it chance, that the Male-tree be cut or disbranched; the Female (like a Widdow) thence-forward, will neuer yeelde any more fruit.

But ceasing further speech of the Palme, we are heere to remember, that in the Triumphs at *Rome*, the Triumphers vied to be Crowned with Laurell, and the Captaine that triumphed, carried a branch thereof in his hand. So is the Triumpher described of *Scipio Africanus*, by *Appianus Alexandrinus*, and many others, whereof *Pliny* yeeldeth some reason, and saith: *The Laurell was consecrated to Apollo or Phœbus, because that on the Mount of Parnassus, there grew great store of them; And hee beleueth, that for this reason, the Triumphers Crowned themselves with Laurell.*

He deliuereth another reason, concerning a wonderfull propertie in the Laurell, to wit; that (naturally) it is an enemy to Fire, and Thunder; and Lightning (be it neuer so violent) hath not the power to touch it. Heereupon was it, that so often as the Emperour *Tiberius* heard any Thunder, and beheld the lightning flashes; hee tooke a Lease of Laurell or Bayes, and laid it on his bare head, judging himselfe (by that meanes) to be free from the Thunder and Lightnings danger. The Priestes of Diuination in *Rome*, vied also to Crowne themselves with Laurell, and afterward burning them; would diuine (by the noise it made) of that which was to ensue: and therefore *Claudian* called this Tree, *The Diuiner of things to come.*

Pliny and *Suetonius*, in the beginning of the Emperour *Gelbas* life, doe declare a matter very strange, saying; that *Enia Drusilla* (who afterward was named *Augusta*, because she was married to *Octavianus Augustus*); going from *Rome*, to a place out of the Citie, called *Patrians*; the chance to find downe vnder a Laurell Tree, and verie soone after, an Eagle flying ouer her

Wreathes or Crowns of Laurell worn in the Roman Triumphs.

Plin. Lib. 6.

A strange property of the Laurell.

The Emperour Tiberius.

The Diuinitors wore Laurell Crowns.

Plin lib. 7. Sueton. in vit. Galb.

Of Enia Drusilla, wife to Octavianus Augustus.

her head in the Ayre (through the branches of the Bay-tree) did let fall into her lap, a Hen as white as Snow, that carried a branch of Greene Bayes fast in her Bill. *Livia* being somewhat amazed thereat, caused the Henne to bee well kept, and of it came many more besides, wherefore, the name of the Graundge where shee kept the Henne, was euer after called *Gallina*. She commaunded also, that the branch (found in the Hennes Bill) should be planted, which grew so faire, and prospered in such plenty; as it was wonderfull to behold, what abundance of Trees came of that one Plant. So that, from that time forward, both *Octavianus* and his Successours, (in a kinde of Custome, or superstitious Religion) when they triumphed: would cut branches of those Baytrees, and beare them in their handes; but when the Triumphe was ended, they would plant them againe by those Trees, from whence they had bene cut, and they prospered as well as the other did. This History is (in this manner) related by these two credible Authors. *Suetonius*, whose authority is of great reputation, addeth yet another matter, whereat I doe not a little maruaile. He saith, that at such times as any Emperour dyed; the Plant of Laurell likewise withered, and all the branches cut from those boughs, which had bin planted at the time of his triumph. And when *Nero* died, who was the last of the *Cæsars* Linage, all the Bay-trees dyed vp and withered, that had grown cheerefully before, and came of that one branch, which the Hen brought in her beake, and had bin planted by *Livia*. Beside, all the thriving store of the white Hennes brood, dyed, not one remaining, and in the Imperiall Pallace fell such Lightning and Thunder: as smote off the heads of the Emperours statues, erected there in their remembrance, and the Scepter which *Augustus Cæsar* helde in his hand, was also smitten downe to the ground. Continually they placed Crownes of Laurell vpon every Cornish of the Emperours houses. *Ouid*, among many other things in his Metamorphosis, saith; That the Romaines repured the Laurell, to bee a very sacred Tree, and would make no vse thereof, about things that were vile,

vileane, or prophane: but euer accounted it as a signe of peace, and therefore retained it the *Peacefull Laurell*. *Pliny* saith, that the Laurell hath a vertuous property against the Pestilence, & against all venomous Serpents. *Ouid* declareth, that the faire & chaste Nymph *Daphne*, was conuerted into this Tree, and in regard thereof, it was consecrated to *Phœbus*, who (among other vanities) was adored by the ancient Romaines as a God.

CHAP. VI.

Of the abominable and most detested vice of Cruelty; How horrid it is to humane Nature: With many excellent examples depending on this Argument.

AMong all vicious pollutions, which are most repugnant, even to common humanity, and make men to become abominable; me thinks, that cruelty is the supreme and Soueraign of all other. For, man is a most Noble Creature, made in the Image and similitude of God; yea, borne to exercise nothing but mildnesse: but being feruile to cruelty; he becommeth a brute Beast, terrible, furious, wicked, and an vtter enemy to God, who is the Prince of clemency, and would not haue one man to be bitter, or tyrannous to another. *Aristotle* saith, that fiercenesse, cruelty, and inhumanity, belongeth only to wild and furious beasts. *Seneca*, in his second Book of Clemency, termeth it Fellony against the Soule, and from thence concludeth; that it is opposite and contrary to the vertue of Clemency. Cruelty is the greatest enemy to Iustice and reason, and is a more detestable sin then Pride or Anger. For it seemeth, that anger proceedeth from some conceited displeasure, to behold any euill offered to another: but in a cruell disposition, there is found far other malevolent matter, because in smiles (and without any disdain, but only in mere malice) mercilesse torments are inflicted on men; yea, euen to the deprivation of life. Therefore it is capital enemy to Iustice, which honorably defendeth, and will permit no man to receive any damage or harme; without some fault com-

Plin, lib. 9.

Man made a Noble Creature.

Arist, in Ethic.

Seneca, in lib. 2. de Clemenc.

Anger compared with cruelty.

Cruelty the chiefest enemy to Iustice.

The carrying of Laurell branches in triumphes.

Another History ascribed by Suetonius.

Nero the last Emperor of the Cæsars race

The Romaines estimation of the Laurell.

Seneca, in lib. 2. de Morib.

Herod King of the Iewes, at the birth of our Sauour.

The cruelty of Herod at his death, against the chiefeest men in Ierusalem.

Herods reason for his bloody intent.

The cruelties of Abimelech, the Sonne of Geon, vpon his owne Brethren, and the Sublimites.

committed, and yet taketh order also, that offenders shal haue milde and temperate correction. *Seneca*, in his Booke of manners, saith; *If we call them Hangmen, that vse no measure in the correction of vices: what then may wee learne of them, that cruelly oppress and murder Innocents?*

Examples of cruell men are infinite, among whom was *Herod*, King of the *Iewes*, who reigned at the time, as our Lord & Sauour Iesus Christ was born. For, after the slaughter of so many Innocents (purposely performed, in hope to haue slaine him among them, that came into the world for our Redemption) he would yet make further shew of his cruelty, not only while he liued, but euen at the instant of his death. And because he well perceived his end approaching, he called all the chiefe persons of *Ierusalem*, who being come before him: he caused them to be seized on, and fast lockt vp in a place neere to himselfe, giuing strict charge to his Sister, that at the point of his Soules surrender, shee should see them euery one put to death; wherein she failed, in regard that God appointed the contrary. And what was his reason for his bloody intent? Only this, as himselfe confessed a little before his death. He knew very well, that all the people of *Ierusalem* would be very ioyfull for his departure, because other matters had happened to the people, then they expected; and therefore (moued only by cruelty) to make this the saddest day that euer they endured, he concluded this bloody slaughter and horrible murder. The cruelties of *Abimelech*, the Son to great *Gedon*, were as wonderfull, for, that himselfe might enioy the Kingdome alone, he put to death three scores of his owne Brethren: one onely escaping, named *Iemathus*, who fled (by the will of God) that the Traytor might liue in continuall suspicion. Now, I know not whether this cruelty, or the other following, may be counted the greater, acted by the same man, against the *Sichemites*, and in reuenge, because they had expelled him out of their City. But he getting entrance againe by power, and in the night time: slew all that were therein, Men, Women; Children, great and small. And because some were fled into the Temples; hee caused them to bee round engirt with

wood, & putting fire thereto; the heat and smok was so great, that there they were all smothered. Then destroying the City, he caused the ground to bee ploughed, and gaug commaund, that it should be sown with Salt.

Very great also, was the cruelty of the *Carthaginians*, executed on *Attillus Regulus*, who being taken Prisoner by the, they sent him (vpon his owne word) to the *Romaines*, to worke the means of peace by the permutation of Prisoners and Captiues. But he, not regarding his owne life, but preferring the honour of his Country before all other respects: returned againe to *Carthage*, where (for conseration of his faith) he willingly yielded himselfe. They in extremity of cruelty, made him vp fast in a Tun of wood, which was stuck thick with sharp pointed Nails of Iron, nor affording the least place, where any member of him might be free from torture; and so, rowling him vp and downe their streetes, did put him to death in that miserable manner.

All Tyrants haue a custome, to be cruell by nature, but about all thereof, the execrable and bloody Tyrant *Phalaris* of *Sicily*, carrieth the chiefeest place of eminence. He slew infinite men, without any offence committed against him, and (if it were well considered) he was much more cruell in affection, then in action. For he had a Bull of Brasie, which *Perillus* (a cunning workman) had made for him, wherein the party was enclosed, whom he would haue to be put to death. Then kindling an hot Fire round about it, the voyce of the poore patient (suffering this torture within) seemed to the Tyrant, as if it had bin the bellowing of a true Bull. And this he did, to the end, that the cries of an humane voyce, in such extremity, might not moue him to the least iot of compassion. Yet one thing is much commended in him; that *Perillus*, the inventor and maker of this terrible punishment; was the first (by the Tyrants commaund) that made prooffe thereof.

Nor can I well aduise my selfe, with what kinde of cruelty, to compare that of *Tullia*, daughter to *Tarquine*, king of *Rome*; who caused her father to be slaine, because he might inherit the kingdome; which himselfe had willingly giuen her;

E c 2 if the

Of Attillus Regulus, the famous Romaine Captaine against the Carthaginians.

Of cruel Phalaris, the bloody Tyrant of Sicily, and his Bull of Brasie made by Perillus.

Justice executed by a Tyrant.

Tullia slew her owne Father, to enioy his Kingdome.

Rome set on fire, and not to be quenched.

New murdered his own Mother.

New exceeded all other in wickedness and tyranny.

The cruelty of Dioclesian against the Christians

Christians dragged at Horseyes.

The limbs of Christians bound to the tops of Trees.

of Rome to be set on fire, with expresse prohibition not to quench it, or any man to make safety of his owne goods. So the fire continued seauen daies, and seauen nights, burning the Cittie; and hee being on a high Tower some small distance off, clapped his hands, and joyed to behold this dismal spectacle, so far exceeding all humanity. He slew his owne Mother, and put to death the Husbands of *Octavia* and *Sabina*, which Ladies he married, and soone after deprived them of life also. Indeed this man attained to the verie height of all cruelty, for he was the first that persecuted the Christians; and in his time was the first & verie greatest persecution of the Church. And wel did he declare, that hee surpassed all the other in wickednesse, and was the Prince of all furious brutality: for he would often repeat a Greeke Verse, to this effect.

After my death, let heaven and earth confound themselves together. Or I could rather wish (quoth he) that such a general dissolution might happen in my daies. For I had rather deriue mine examples from barbarous people, then anie touch of our precedent *Romain* Emperors. But the succedours to these men, who imitated them in all vilenesse: barres my further proceeding, because they were such in tyranny, as no where else are they to be followed. And therefore I will leaue the liues of *Domitian*, *Vitellius*, *Commodus*, *Maximus*, and such others: but the cruelties of *Dioclesian* against the Christians, and wherof *Eusebius* maketh declaration in his Ecclesiastical History, I cannot well let passe, without some breefe note, to the end, that Blasphemers and bad people now liuing, may see what the Christians endured in the Primitive Church, because they would not denie the name of Christ.

This wicked Tyrant, caused men to be dragd throw the streets, at the tails of Horsses, and their bodies beeing thus fore bruised and broken, they were sent backe to prison againe, where they had no other beds to repose on, but broken Potshards, and such like vn-casie matter, whereon they were sure to tast no rest. He would also cause the lofty branches of trees, to be gently haled downe without breaking; and then binding the limbs of Christians vnto them, command their sudden exaltation, that for their bodies

might be torn and rent in pieces. In the City of *Sunderland*, he commanded many to be tied to the walls, their eares nooses, lippes, handes, and feete one off, leaving them their eyes, that they might behold each others wofull extremities: & caused sharp splinters of wood to be made, and thrust into their naked bodies, betwene the flesh and bones, and likewise vnder the Nails of their Fingers and toes. Molten Lead and Brasse, in extremity of the greatest heat, he would haue throwne vpon their naked bodies, and vnto their Secrets: making Women also to haue burning Irons bound to their Breasts, and all violence else that could be deuised. By all which cruelties inflicted on their weak bodies, hee sent infinite constant soules to God, who made this Tyrant and his Tormenters, Instruments (thus) to aduance his glorie, and his seruants afflictions to shine more clearly. All these Cruelties are written by faithfull Authours; for, besides those recorded in Sacred Scripture, the rest are recited by *Iosephus* in his Antiquities of the Iewish Warres; by *Suetonius* *Tranquillus*, *Plutarch*, *Titus Livius*, *Iustine*, *Valerius Maximus*, *Eusebius*, *Panlus Orosius*, *Iulius Capitolinus*, &c. others of no lesse authority.

CHAP. VII.

How that oftentimes wicked Kings and Tyrants are Gods Ministers, and yet nevertheless, they haue continually bad and euill ends, in open view of the world.



Such as haue beene, & yet are subiects to wicked Tyrants, ought to consider (for their consolation) that though they are oppressed by such oppressours, they are (notwithstanding) the Ministers of God. In many places of the Holy Scriptures, they are named the seruants of God, because (by them) God punisheth the wicked, & perfecteth them that are good. The Hebrewes haue beene gouerned by Iudges and Priests, *Samuel* growne into old yeares, and sinne and contempt of God encreasing among the people; Kings were giuen

God maketh vie of Tyrants to be his Ministers of vengeance.

Saul was a good King at his beginning.

Idolaters named Gods Ministers.

Idolaters named Gods Ministers.

Egyp. 13. 3.

Egyp. 16. 7.

Egyp. 16. 7.

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Egyp. 16. 7.

giuen vnto them; and the people themselves required the chastisement, which they worthily deserved, attacking a King to be giuen them. This King was *Saul*, a good man at his beginning; but after wards a cruell Tyrant: for he spoke from them their goodes and liberties; and although he was sainted with many wicked doers, yet we cannot deny, but that hee was called the Lords anointed, by many wherof, God kept them all in safe and terror.

But let vs set aside, both him & deuers others, who liued vnder the law of God, and knewe him; and come to Idolaters, who likewise are named by the holy scriptures, Ministers of God; for so saith the Lord by the mouth of *Elay*, *Let the Captiues enter by the Port of Babylon; I haue commanded my sanctified, and called the mightie to my wrath, to the end that they may glorifie themselves in my glory.* The Prophet spake these words on the behalfe of King *Cyrus*, and King *Darius*. Behold, how hee called the *Medes* and *Persians* his sanctified, who (nevertheless) were neither holy nor iust, but only executioners of the will of God, for the punishment of *Babylon*. In another place, by *Ezechiel* he saith, *I will bring my seruants Nabuchodonosor, and because he hath serued me well, I will giue him Egypt also.* And yet for all this, these men were no Seruants of God, because they neither knew him, serued him, nor beleened in him: nevertheless, they were executioners of his iustice, and (in this vnderstanding) were named his seruants.

Cruell *Tetyla*, King of the *Goths*, was named the thrething Flaile of God, and iustly reputed so to be. Great *Tamberlaine*, who liued in the time of our Grand fathers, a most powerfull and cruel Captain, subduing and vanquishing numberles Prouinces; when he was demanded wherfore he was so cruell and inhumane to men by him vanquished, answered in great Choller, *Thinke ye that I am any other then the wrath of God?* Hence therefore may we well conclude, that (very often) cruell and wicked men are Instruments, whereby God punisheth the sinfull, and approueth the vertuous. And yet notwithstanding, he doth not therefore by cleare these men from being wicked: still, and worthy of greater chastisement, euen for these actions of theirs: *Because*

(according to our Senators words) *it is not necessary that should be giuen to be do therein, who so acteth therein, when God is his a good most certain that God intendeth to punish them vpon this world.* *Dioclesian* the Tyrant of *Syria*, died miserably in the Britan *Isle*, which hadde become the death of many of his subiects, and was like *Muske* then to himselfe, as he had taken delight in heare. *Dioclesian* the *Emperour* declared, that *Syria* was miserable, euen while hee; and by no possible meanes could get any remedie. Beside, *Pliny* vs vs, that hee did bite & tearing his flesh with his own teeth. *Marius* his Capital enemy, and quier way as cruell, inhumane, and wicked as hee, was brought into such desperate condition: that trying to hide himselfe, he was glad to yeelde into the hands of *Pompey* the *Emperour*, and entreated him to cut off his head.

The *Emperour* *Tiberius*, was murdered by his owne people, being conspired to death with pillows: and yet *Suetonius* affirmeth, that his death was wrought by poison. *Caligula* hauing receiued 30 wounds by the hands of *Cherulus*, *Corbelenus*, *Sabinus*, and many others sworne in the same Conspiracy, there ended his daies among them.

Cruell *Nero*, before hee died, saw himselfe deprived of his Empire, & iudged a deadly enemy to *Rome*; by which means, beeing enforced to hide himselfe in holloiw Vaultes, which were wholly infected with humane excrements, hee would needs kill himselfe. But wanting power to execute his owne will, and calling others to helpe him in the action: three Villaines came and murdered him, mocking him extremely all the while, which they delayed so long as they could, for his greater torment, according as *Suetonius* reporteth.

Dioclesian his euile, hauing lost the empire, died by poison, which hee had secretely prepared for himselfe. *Domitian* also died, hauing receiued seuen wounds by *Stephanus*, *Saturinus*, *Maximus*, and others. *Tullia*, of whom we spake before, that vied her owne Father so cruellie, being

The death of the Tyrant *Dioclesian*.

The death of *Syria*.

The death of *Dioclesian*.

The death of the *Emperour* *Tiberius*.

The death of *Caligula*.

The death of *Dioclesian*.

The death of *Dioclesian*.

The death of *Dioclesian*.

The death of *Dioclesian*.

The death of *Dioclesian*.

The death of *Dioclesian*.

The death of
Cyrus.

ing banished from Rome, died poore and miserably. *Affias*, Grand-Father to *Cyrus*, whom he would haue murdered in his Infancie, by the aide of *Harpeus*, and whom he made to feede on the flesh of his owne Child; was deposed of his Kingdome by *Cyrus*, and died wretchedly. *Harod* likewise, and many other wicked Tyrants, of whom to speake, would aske a tedious relation, died all the like infamous deaths. Let such then, as how do command & beare sway in the world, shun vitielties, and embrace clearencie, that they may the better beloued of their subiects. For the verie greatest and firmit safety of a King, consisteth in the amitie and affection of his people.

CHAP. VIII.

The strange fortune, which happened to the Sonne of *Crasus*, King of *Lydia*, and likewise to the Sonne of another King. In regard whereof, it is discoursed whether speech bee a thing natural to man or no; and whether man only speaketh, or no creature else.

Herodotus and
Aulus Gellius.



HERODOTUS writeth, a meruelous accident, happening to the sonne of *Crasus*, King of *Lydia*; and in the same maner, it is reported by *Aulus Gellius*. This *Crasus* was a Rich King, and the same that was vanquished by *Cyrus*; as many good Historiographers haue declared. During the time that this King liued prosperously in his Countrey, he had by one of his Lawfull Wiues, a goodly Sonne, healthfull and compleate in all his parts and vnderstanding. The Child hauing attained conuenient yeares, to forme speech, & make vie thereof, was notwithstanding by the meanes of some vnknoone fting, or other hindrance in the tongue, debarred from speaking for long time after. Yet grew he to good stature, and aptly disposed to diuers enterprizes, which caused him to bee much pitied, & this restraint of his speech, made euerie one to repute him dumbe, albeit hee had good knowledge, and heard verie perfectly; which is against the order of Nature, for neuer

Dumbe men
are also deafe
by Nature.

was any creature borne to bee Naturallie dumbe; but he was deafe likewise. It fortuned, that *Crasus* was vanquished, and the City wherein hee was, taken by the enemies, so that the forwarke Soldiers pressed on to the Pallace wherein the King and his dumbe Sonne were hidden together. But being found by a Soldier, who had perfect knowledge of them both, and lifting up his sword with full intent to kill *Crasus*, his Son was so affrighted at the bloody proffer, and passion had such a powerful working in him, that he strooke for speech extraordinarily. And pressing the extreme Dominion, which the soule hath of the body, immediately the corporall Organes yielded to the strong determination of the will; and breaking the strings that had so long restrained his liberty of speech, he spake out aloud, saying; *Oh do not kil him, consider that hee is King Crasus, and my father.* When the Soldier heard these words, he with-held his stroke, and would not finite the King; so he escaped death, and from thence-forward his sonne continued in perfect speaking, euen as if hee had spoken all his life time till then. Surely, this was a matter verie manuellous, and I cannot imagine, what naturall reason may be sufficiently giuen for it.

Aristotle saith, that men are born commonly dumbe and deafe, because they are not formed with such disposition of these two apprehensions; neither in such perfection as is required. Afterwards, in further growing on, they dispose them selues, and strue first of all, to begin with hearing; and after they haue hearde (for many daies together) then they labour how to speake. *Pliny* saith also, hee that is borne and continueth deafe, is compell likewise to bee dumbe. For, most certaine it is, that if a deafe man hearde, he would easily learne to speake, and speech is impossible to be taught him that is entirely deafe.

Aristotle also saith: It may well happen, that a Child may pronounce some words before ordinary time, and yet notwithstanding, he will begin to lose those words againe, vntill such time as Nature allowed houre (for Infants to speake) be come; and when (by her appointment) they commonly vie to speake. To this purpose, *Pliny* speaketh of this sonne to King *Crasus* (whose History we haue in briefe

The strange
curse of a
son, seeing his
Father ready
to be slaine.

A wonderful
recourie of
speech.

The Allegori-
on of *Aristotle*
concerning
men borne
dumbe & deaf.

The saying of
Pliny, Lib. 4.

Aristotle in *Phys.*
Lib. 2.

Pliny, Lib. 4.

Another Hi-
storie of the
like nature.

The strange
words of a
young Infante.

The opinion
of astrologers

Whether
speech be na-
tural to man,
or no.

Speech not
natural, ap-
proved how.

Pliny, Lib. 6.

briefe related) and saith; That at the age of fine moneths, hee pronounced some words, which were reputed as Prognosticators of his Fathers ruine: and so it seemed, that such effect proceeded from that fore-telling, for he neuer spake afterwards, vntill the memorable accident which we haue already declared.

I call to minde another aduenture in the like case, recited by *Halibon Ragel*, in his *Iudicure*, wher he speaketh, as an eiewitnesse; and being present in a Kinges Court, who had a Son borne, that within foure and twenty hours after his birth, began to speake perfectly, and stirred his hands, wher at all the Beholders maruelled not a little, for with a strong voice, he deliuered these words; *I am borne vnbaptized, because I come to fore-tel that the King my Father shal lose his Scepter, & that his Kingdome must be destroyed.* At the ending of which words, the Childes life ended also. This accident (vndoubtedly) was verie dreadfull; and yet it seemeth to mee, rather as an Aduertisement sent from God, then any wonderfull woork of Nature. Astrologers do tell vs, that the Child whose birth shal happen when Mercury is Lord of the Ascendant and Oriental; hee will speake much sooner then anie other, who speake not, but according vnto the ordinary course of Nature.

I remember likewise another matter, conformable to the case now in hand, to wit; that some haue helde opinion, That speech is not a thing naturall to man, but is learned and gotten, as other Artes and Sciences are. Others hold directly, that our speaking Naturallie, is not a matter proper and peculiar to man only. The first, who are of the minde, that speech is not a thing naturall, do labour to proue it, in saying: That that strength, which is naturallie conuenient to one kind, should be, and is as meet to all of the same kind. As we may perceiue by barking in all Dogges, by Lowing or bellowing in all Bulles, Oxen, &c. and so (in like case) to all other kinds of Beasts, And yet notwithstanding, we behold in men, that some speake in one manner, and others quite contrary, so that they do not vnderstand themselves naturallie; and therefore it seemeth, that speech proceedeth rather from Art, then Nature.

Again, according to *Pliny*, there are

some people that speake not all, but their speaking appeareth to be rather a kinde or forme of bellowing, then anie sealed speech; which neuer could so happen, if all men did speake by the gift of nature, for, if it were so, then all men would speak in one and the same manner.

Now, as concerning the other opinion, in such as say, that speech is not pecticularly proper to man, they ground their iudgement on the words of *Lactantius Firmianus*, who tels vs: That wee haue some parts, which seeme to vs, proper to men onely; and yet neuertheless, the verie same are found to bee in other Creatures, as diueritie of voice in Birds, by the severall tunes wee heere discern in one another; whereby we plainly perceiue, that they do vnderstand each other, so that it can bee no otherwise, but as a meere forme of Language amongst them. Moreover, they maintaine their argument vpon this ground, in that manie Parrats, Pies, Poppingeyes, and such like Birds, are heard to speake plainly.

But the truth of this matter is (albeit their opinions haue some apparence of veritie) that speech is the gift of GOD only to man, not that he purchaseth it by Art; but is proper and peculiar to him, and not to any other creature. True it is, that other Creatures haue voice, and yet notwithstanding, they haue no Speech: and such is the opinion of *Quintilian*, & likewise of *Aristotle*.

In like manner, wee haue good answers to these contrary reasons: As, to the first Argument we may well answer, That a thing may be Natural vniuersally, but in particular, it may be exercised according to the will. It is naturallie euill done, and he deserueth punishment for it, that killeth another man, or robbeth him of any of his goodes; and yet neuertheless, to inflict one kind of correction or other (vpon him) for the offence, proceedeth from the will of the Judge. Therefore, although that men do speake diuers tongues, yet is it not to bee said, that this their speaking commeth from Nature. And so much the stronger is the Argument, that such diueritie and confusion of tongues, was for the punishment of their pride, that laboured to buld the Tower of *Babel*: for, as we haue already said, there was then but one language in the world, which could be said to be natural.

That speech
is not proper
to man onely.

Birds do natu-
rally vnder-
stand one an-
other.

Speech, the
gift of God,
only to man.

Quintilian,
Aristotle.

Answers to
the former
arguments.

Speech is not
caused by na-
ture.

The language
of the Trog-
lojtes.

Of Birds that
speak, & Par-
rats that could
speake all the
Creed.

The diversitie
of Voyces a-
mongest all
creatures.

Observations
among beasts
and birds.

Man onely
hath the be-
nefit of spee-
king.

And as for the *Troglojtes*, who are
are said not to speake at all, it is reputed,
that their infirmity proceedeth, by reason
that their tongue is quiermuch barbarous
and imperfect, and they feele nothing as
it were, of humanity; and yet notwithstanding,
it is a kind of Language among
them, whereby they seeme to vnderstand
one another. And whereas it is further
said, that there be diuers Birds that speake,
as the Parrat, whereof *Lodowicus Calius*
maketh mention, that belonged to Car-
dinall *Afcanus*, which Parrat (in his pro-
fence) pronounced (word by worde) all
the Creed in Latine, without saying in
any one fillable: We may lawfully an-
swere, that this is no speaking, for they
knowe not what they say; but it is a cer-
taine custom taught them for many daies
together, whereby to forme such a
voyses; but a true worde is conceyued
in the soule, before it is pronounced,
whereof Birds haue no such Capacitie.

And to that Argument, which imply-
eth, that wee knowe all creatures by the
diuersitie of their Voyces, that they vnder-
stand each other, and call one ano-
ther amongst themselves: wee may not
hereby inferre, that such a Voyce is a
word formed. For, as *Aristotle* faith, the
Voyce loofeth it selfe, and so can wee,
(without any formed word) signifie and
giue to be vnderstood, either ioy or dis-
content, and all vniuersall passions: as
wee see by the Voice, when it thus ex-
presseth it selfe in laughter, & with plea-
sure, or by sighes and lamentations, in deepe
sorrow and anguish.

And for the respect of brute beastes,
that haue difference either in their song
or voice, and may be knowne when they
are displeased or contented: and the like
in Birds, either by motion of their win-
ges, lofite flying, or some such other sign
according to the effect: these are mat-
ters not incident to the case in question.
For to speake and vter wordes, whereby
may particularly be expressed, profit, ne-
cessitie, harme, Mallice, Iustice, Iniu-
stice, honestie, goodnesse, and whereby
also passed actions are deliuered, and for-
sight of them to come, by solide reasons
and words, in declaring themselves, and
other things are done, answerable to the
benefit ensuing by speech: this is a blef-
sing bestowed onely vpon man, euen as

Hereditarie to him by Nature, & where-
of no other Creature whatsoever, can
any way be saide to stand in neede, or is
so meete to merite so gracious a bene-
fite.

CHAP. IX.

Of a Woman that was married manie times,
And of a Man that had manie Wives,
and hapned as length to ioyne in mari-
age with that woman.



Haue many times noted
that the honor of Wid-
dowes, vnderwent com-
mon and publicke taxa-
tion, if they had bene
married three or foure
times. Now, albeit it seemeth exteri-
ourly, that men had good reason for this
detecion; yer notwithstanding, no man
ought to iudge of another bodies secret
Confience.

Marriage, was first instituted in Para-
dise, and is allowed by the Church to be
Sacred and Lawfull; in which respect no
man should or ought vfe any reprehensi-
on against it. And yet wee must not de-
nie, but that a Chast life, without subie-
ction to marriage, is the more perfect e-
state, and is to bee elected as the better.
Neuerthelesse, the bounty of heaven di-
miniseth not ioy of eithers goodnes; but
both estates are godly and commendable.
If then a Widdow do marie, she of-
fendeth not God therein; and besides, as
concerning the World, it may very well
be answered, that it is the finallest faulte
she can commit. And because I would
no way be mistaken by the Reader, I will
produce (vnto this purpose) what I haue
read concerning a Widdow, and it is re-
corded by *Saint Hierome*: of whose Au-
thoritie (I thinke) no one will make scruple,
in regard of his Religion and great
holinesse.

He faith, that in the time of *Damasus*,
he both saw and knew in *Rome* a woman,
that had lawfully bene married to two
and twenty seuerall men, and remaining
a Widdow, after the decease of the
two and twentieth Husbände: there was
a man came thither, that likewise hadde
bene

Widdowes of
ten married,
subiect to tax-
ation.

A chaste life
is most comen-
dable.

A Widdow in
Rome that had
bin married to
22. men.

A man that
had bin mar-
ried to twen-
ty Wives.

A Victorie of
so many mo-
ment.

Another Hi-
story repor-
ted by *S. Ierom*

Affrance hind-
er of conceiuing
with child.

The two wo-
men compar-
ed together.

bin married to twenty Wives; and was
then a Widdow of the last, and both
of them at freedome and libertie: which
being vnderstood to either, no difference
in their degrees, but both of equal mean
condition: they contracted Marriage to-
gether, which was a thing verie notable;
and raised a generall desire in the people
of *Rome*, to see which of this strange ma-
ried couple should first die.

It fortuned that the Woman first de-
ceased, to whose obsequies, all the *Roman*
people mainly flocked, to congratulate
the Husbonds happinesse, as beeing victo-
rious in no simple Conquest: setting a
Crowne of *Lawrell* vpon his heade, and
placing him first in following the bodye
of his Wife, bearing a branch of *Palme*
in his hand, in signe of his victorie, and
numberlesse people accompanying him
in his triumph.

The same holy Father, recoineth an-
other matter very notable, which he set-
teth downe for truth, because it was deli-
uered to him by such as deferred credit.
The case concerneth a woman also, who
to shewe her selfe some-what charitable,
tooke a young Boy from verie poore pa-
rents, that had no releef but fro the Hos-
pittall, intending to nourish the childe as
if it were hir owne, feeding it at hir owne
Table, and nightly lodging it in her bed.
When the childe had attained to x. yeares
of age, the woman grew to be so in-
continent, that she would needes haue car-
full knowledge of the Ladde, and that in
such manner, as at the terme of fixe mo-
neths, she became quicke with Childe by
him, contrary to the rule and order of na-
ture, which neuer doth permit any such
conception at ten yeares of age. But, it
rather seemeth that this happened by the
permission of God, to the end, that such
turpitude and dishonesty in a Woman,
(vailed vnder pretence of charity) should
be apparently discovered to the worlde.
So that, although the other woman had
married three and twenty seuerall times,
yet are not we to iudge or conceite, that
therein she sinned. For, I am perswa-
ded, that in being so oftentimes lawfully
married, in publicke confirmation of the
Church, and without any iust cause of
contradiction: she did much better then
this other lustfull lewd Woman, in com-
mitting such a foule and inordinat sinne;
for which, no colour or excuse can anse

way be made; whereas, on the other side
the saying of blessed *Saint Paule* standeth
in force: *That it is better to marrie then to
burne.*

CHAP. X.

The strange fortune which hapned to two
Princes of Castile.



HE power of sodain con-
ceite, or immediate apprehension of some inward di-
llike; is knowne to bee of
such strong imprefic; that

it is able to be the death of man or Wo-
man, and vnto this purpose tendeth our
present discourse. *Don Alphonso*, Ca-
uenth of that name, who was Father to
Don Peter, having finished his raigne in
Castile, left his Sonne *Don Peter*; a verie
young King: In which regard, the king-
dome was gouerned by two Princes of
the Countrey (who were Vnckles to the
King, the one named *Don Peter*, and the
other *Don Iohn*) and likewise by *Queene
Mary*, that was his Grand-mother.

In the yeare one thousand three hun-
dred and sixteen, these two Princes, who
were Vnckle and Nephew, hauing manie
times (like valiant and worthy men) made
warre vpon the Moores, for exaltation
of the Christian Faith, and returned with
famous Victories, as well approved and
vndaunted Captaines: concluded toge-
ther to make Warre on the kingdom of
Granado; with purposed spoyle & da-
mages on the Countreyes belonging to
the Moores; hauing ioynd with the *Al-
cantaro* and *Galarraga*, Great Maisters of
Saint James in *Galicia*, and the Arch-
shop of *Toledo*.

The businesse being growne to full
effect, and great numbers both of horfie
and foot assembled, they began to invade
the Countrey, and sped so well in the ad-
uenture: that (with very successfull for-
tune) they came before *Granado*, where
they fought valiantly, and surprized di-
uers Castles, among which, was that na-
med *Ahora*.

When fitting time for retirement cam,
they returned backe againe by the Chri-
stians Countrey, and marching in good
order,

Sudden con-
ceite is very
powerfull on
the life of man.

Don Peter, and
Don Iohn, Vn-
ckles to the
young King.

Warre made
vpon the
Kingdome of
Granado a-
gainst the
Moores.

Don Peter, and Don John, were sharply afflicted by the Moores, in their returning backs.

Don Peters fol-
diers wouder-
fully daunted.

The strange
and sodaine
death of Don
Peter.

The violent
apprehension
in Prince John
of this Ne-
phews death.

order, Don Peter was in the Vant-garde, and the Lord Don John in the Rereward, where he was suddenly charged by a huge multitude of Moores, that had assailed themselves from all parts, and their assault was so furious, as he was constrained to send to Don Peter, to leaue his leading, & to come to his assistance in the Arriere. Don Peter verie gladly yielded thereto, and marching back with admirable courage: founde his men to bee so daunted and weakened with dismay, as by no meanes possible, could he cause them to returne with him. By meanes whereof, he entered into such a sudden alteration and conceited displeasure, that albeit he contended worthily to essay a fresh march vpon the enemy, inciting both his horse and foot thereto, and by no reason could preuaile; hee drew forth his sword, and smote some, thereby to terrifie the rest, and that terror might make them become obedient. But all prouing in vaine, his trouble in minde was so excessive, that perceiving he could no way helpe his Vnkle, he was no longer able to manage his sword, but speech presently forsooke him, & vnderstanding likewise, so that he fell downe from his horse dead to the ground, without either sitting or speaking one word.

This wofull accident, was (by some) too speedily reported vnto Prince John, who fought manfully against the Moores, and had (in a manner) quite vanquished them. When he vnderstood the occasion of his Nephews sudden death, as suddenly likewise entred he into an extreame passion, and gaue outward testimony of such a violent inward alteration, that he fell also from his horse, losing the strength and vigor of all his members, and neuer after could vter one word, so that he was raken vp by his people, and kept (in that strange manner) from midday to the Evening. In which time, the Moores being ignorant of these feruall mishaps, were put to flight by the Christians: who marching onward in forme of battaile, at the instant, as the body of Don Peter was laid vpon an horse, Prince John gaue vp his last gaspe. These accidents were verie remarkable, and the like very feldome heard of: whereby plainly appeareth, that sudden conceit may cause the death of a man.

CHAP. XI.

The strange and variable complexions of two Phylosophers: the one of them weeping, and the other laughing, at the government & condition of the world.



IN the recital made by Diogenes Laertius, concerning the liues & diuersity of Philosphers: he speaketh particularly of two; the one being named Heraclitus, and the other Democritus, because each of them was in Nature and Complexion verie strange.

Heraclitus obserued (as a common Custome) that alwayes as hee walked along the streetes and publicke passages, hee would weepe and shedde abundance of teares, in regard of the compassion hee had on humane Nature. For, hee was absolutely perswaded, that all our life time, consisted in nothing but miserie, & that all the traualles, labours, and endeauiuers of men; seemed worthy both of pittie and compassion, both in their paines and afflictions, as also for the sins by the daily committed. This is much better, and more amply described, in a letter sent by this Phylosopher to King Darius, according as our fore-named Diogenes Laertius reporteth, and in these very words.

All men that walke vpon the earth, are vnder a farre off from iustice: for they serue Auarice and Vaine-glory, with too much affliction and losse of time. As for my selfe, I neuer thought any euill thing; and to the end that I might knowe the paine, which I feele by beholding and knowing these skingges: I haue euermore bene desirous, that I might containe my selfe in some such place, where I might neuer looke on men, because I can sufficiently content my selfe with that which is enely necessary for me. We read of this Philosopher, that (in all things) he was conformable to this persification. For he liued the very greatest part of his time in solitude, and in the fields, contenting himselfe with hearbs and food of slender substance: All the while he was yong, he said he knew nothing; and when hee attained to greater growth, he saide, hee knew all things, and that nothing els had bin

Diog. Laert. lib. vii. Philof.

The Naturall Disposition of Heraclitus.

The Letter Heraclitus wrote to King Darius.

The manner how Heraclitus liued.

been his enstricker, but contemplation onely.

The Complexion of Democritus was no lesse strange then this mans. For, although he would leaue his lodging, and frequent mens companies, yet would he laugh immeasurably at all the actions and behaviours of men, teaming the life of man to bee vanity and folly, and that all appetites and desires, were foolish, true subiects to such Masters, and meere matter of laughter. And such was the imagination of this Phylosopher, that it was only enough for him, to go laughing along the streets, as the other went weeping: and considering the paines and traualles of men, it seemeth that each of them had reason sufficient to do as they did.

Seneca in his Booke of the Tranquillity of life, speaketh of these two Philosphers, approuing rather the Opinion of laughing Democritus, and aduising to imitate his merrie humour, rather then that of weeping Heraclitus. And it appeareth, that Iuvenal was of the same mind, when speaking of them both, hee sayeth, That he was amazed, whence and how Heraclitus could receiue so great quantitie of moisture, as satisfied his liberal expence of teares. And to speake truly of both these follies (for I hold these two complexions to be no otherwise) that of Democritus is allowed for the better, because wee read that he was a man taking no dislike at any thing whatsoever, and liued an 100. yeares. I find of him, that he vsed verie often to feed on Honey, and beeing on a time, demanded whither it were good to preserve the health of man, or no, he answered; These are only fittes for mans Health, Honey taken inwardly, and Oyle outwardly, giuing thereby to vnderstand, that Honey was good for feeding, and Oyle for anointing.

Laertius reporteth many thinges of him, whereby is evidently discerned, how great his knowledge was in naturall thinges. He saith, that one day among others, a messe of milke was brought him, & after he had looked on the Milke, he saide; This Milke is of a Goat that hath had young ones; & this is the first time of her Kidning; and indeed it was so. Another time, hee met a yong maid vpon the way, and with doing reuerence to hir, he saide, God blesse ye Maid. Meeting her againe on the next day following, he made no reuerence to

hir, but said; Farewell Woman. Such as had heard these feuerall salutations, greatly meruailed thereat, and gathered there by, that hee had companied that Night with a man, which Democritus knewe to be true, onely by the Womens countenance. Tertullian likewise telleth vs, that this Democritus did put out both his eyes, because he would not bee tempted with carnall concupiscences, which ordinarily are occasioned by the sight of women. But Anus Gellius saith, that he did it only the better to addit himselfe to the contemplation of naturall thinges, for which, this Phylosopher was very highly commended by the learned.

Cicero writeth the like of him, so doth Pliny, and many others. Pliny reporteth in diuers places, that hee was a great Astrologer, and a Magician, and that to learne al the Arts, and practise them among the skillfull; he traualled through all Asia, Arabia, Egypt, and many other Prouinces. And Solinus maketh mention of his Disputations against Magicians. Concerning mine owne opinion of this man; I will conclude further speech of him, with a matter meruaillous, and not to be omitted, to wit; that by the means of naturall light only, he fought for and beleued the immortality of the soule, and the resurrection of all the dead, in which contemplation, and many other of like quality, he spent the length of life before remembredd.

But as for Heraclitus, by his wretched Complexion, and feeding on nothing but hearbs, and such like Viands, which continually kept him hungrie: Hee dyed continuingly, and full of Gowtinesse, being wrapt in an Oxe-hide; wherein hee had put himselfe, in hope to bee cured. And some do say, that being thus hidden in an Oxe-hide, hee was deuoured by Dogges, that knew him not to be a man. Neuerthelesse, he wrote Books of great Learning, but so difficult and obscure, as few attained truly to vnderstande them: which is a fault wherein many great persons haue inned, only thorow presumption and arrogancy.

CHAP.

Tertul. in Apol. Cap. xlii. Julius Gellius.

Cicero lib. 5. de Tractatu. lib. 24.

Int Solinus in Polyb.

A rare vnderstanding by Nature only.

The Authors judgement concerning Heraclitus.

CHAP. XII.

Of some perticular notable occasions; which haue happened in one and the same manner, and rather in one place more then in another.



Extremitie in both kinds.

Hofe things whereof wee haue spoken in our precedent Chapter, may well caufe great meruaile in the consideration of men, whose Conditions and Opinions haue beene so extremely estraunged from one another; that the verie fame thing, which hath made one man to weepe incessantly, hath caused another to Laugh without any intermission. It is likewise a matter well worthy of Contemplation, to obserue, that in such rarities of humane occasions: and amongst so many of diuers difference, som are found that do seeme as if they were meely constrained, and that it ought vpon necessity, that (in some places) aduentures should perticularly happen, as we shall discerne by our ensuing discourse.

Concerning the City of Constantinople.

First of all, it was a matter very admirable (as we haue already saide) concerning the Citie of Constantinople, to witte; That the first Emperour which builded it, and made his abiding there, should bee named *Constantine*, and his Mother *Helena*. In like manner afterwards, that the last Emperour there reigning, and during whose time the Citie was lost, should bee called *Constantine*, and his Mother also named *Helena*.

Of Sampson and Hercules.

It deserueth likewise due consideration, that there should be two such most Valiant men, as were *Hercules* & *Sampson*, and that both of them began their great deedes of Armes, with each mans encountering of a Lyon, and both of them decayed and vndoone by Woe-men, euen as if the one were obliged to the others Fortune. It is yet a matter more notable, that in *Arabia*, fur-named *Happie*, *Cham* the Sonne of *Noah*, and his Successours, should forsake the A-

Of Cham and Mahomet.

doration of the true GOD, to vndergo the Idolatrie of Men. And that in the same Prouince also, after so great and long reuolutions of yeares, should bee bred and borne *Mahomet*, the persecuter of the true Faith and Doctrine giuen by our Sauour Iesus Christ, God and Man.

The Citie of Carthage, a most powerfull Common-Wealth, had so many seuerall forces in Armes, that no King or Captaine could resist against it. And yet notwithstanding, it was two seuerall times vanquished by two Romaine Capitaines, both bearing one name, and called *Scipios*; so that it seemed, in that verie name consisted the power of Conquest.

Of the Citie of Carthage.

It is likewise verie remarkable, in the Historie of the Bythops of Rome, that all the Popes which bare the name of *Alexander*, were all Anti-popes, and that (in their times) grew the Scismes in the Church, as in the time of *Alexander* the second, third, fift, sixt, &c. Another meruitous matter was noted in *Spain*, that commonly all the Kings which were named *Ferdinands* or *Alphonssus*, were very good and excellent Kings. *Cesar* and *Pompey* were two Captains of Rome, very famous and most puissant, great enemies and competitors one against another; yet it happened, that they both died on their very Birth-dayes, yea violent kindes of death, and by weapons. As worthy warriors likewise were *Hannibal* of Carthage, King *Phillip*, Father to *Alexander*, King *Antigonus*, Father to *Demetrius*, *Sertorius* the Romaine, *Viriatus* the Spaniard, and in our time, *Fredericke* Duke of *Vrbine*, and diuers others beside, resembling one another in behaviour and Regiment of Warre; but in one thing, they were all truly equal, to wit, they halted euerie one vpon one and the same leg, and each man lost his left eye by misfortune. The Emperour *Charles* the fift, was borne on the day of *S. Mathias* the Apostle, on which day also (in course of his life) was King *Frances* taken by him in battaile, and the victory likewise woonne at *Bicoque*: Hee was also elected and Crowned Emperour on the same day, and many other great Fortunes befell him still vpon that day.

Of the Popes of Rome named Alexanders.

Of the King of Spain.

Of Cesar and Pompey.

Of other famous warriors, equal in their fortunes.

Of Charles the fift Emperour.

Yet I cannot choofe but reprove such men, as in their woorkes and especiall actions,

Chap. 13. Of Men resembling one another.

Of obseruation of perticular dayes, for vnderstanding of our affaires as dayes of good or euill fortune.

actions, do obserue perticular dayes and names, wherein to beginne or vndertake their purposed businesse: neugherlesse, seeing that such things haue formerly bin considered and read of, I make the lesse account of their humour. It hath beene noted, that not onely the French, but from others Nations beside, do holde diuerse dayes to be vnforsunate, and that no respect in the world whatsoever, can cause them then to vndertake any fight or combat, because vpon those daies commonly some great mis-fortunes haue befallen them. And yet they esteeme some other dayes, to haue a kinde of happinesse attending on them, because that on them no losse or euill mischaunce hath happened to them. All these things, may venge amazeament, in regard that the causes are vnknowne to vs, albeit neuer so good a rule or reason may therto induce vs: such secretts are only knowne to God, and such hath bene, and is his appointment. Of Accidents that haue hapned, and actions of notable successe (ensuing by one and the same meanes) both vnto the Romaines and Gracians, *Plutarch* hath written a Treatise, called his Parallele, wherein hee alledgeth manie excellent examples, which the curious Searchers of Nouelities, may there reade more at large.

Secrett causes are only knowne to God.

CHAP. XIII.

That diuers men haue bene so really alike, both in shape and countenance, that they haue many times taken one for another.



A wonderfull secret in Nature.

Ceasur doth heere freely offer it selfe, to make mention of some perticular persons, that haue (in figure & gesture) bene alike and sembable each to other. And indeed, it is one of the greatest secrets and wonders in Nature, to behold such an infinit number of men, the varietie of their gestures, and all hauing one kind of forme: yet notwithstanding, it seemeth a matter of much more meruaile, when (in

such a variable multitude) scarcely but two men can be culd out that do really resemble in all parts each other. Of which two seuerall matters, wee will relate the causes natural, after we haue first produced example of some, that haue held true and perfect resemblance, vnto apparent judgement.

First of all then, we will speake of one named *Arthemius*, who liued in the court of *Antiochus* King of *Syria*, being according to *Pliny* and *Solinus*, but of strange conditions, albeit *Valerius Maximus* affirmeth, that hee was kinde man vnto the King, and resembled him so truely, that the Queen (having murdered *Antiochus*) concealed her wicked Act by the appearance of this *Arthemius*, whom shee had acquainted with his purpose, diuerse dayes before: *Arthemius* was laid in the Kings bed, as if he had bene the Queens sickly Husband, for so they then called him, and so he was he reputed to bee, being visited by all the Princes of the kingdom, euen as if it had bene the King himselfe. Thus vnder shew and supposition of the King, hee made a Murther, and came as heire to the Kingdom, which in one as the Queen had determined: wherein hee was obeyed, for euerie one tooke him to be the true King, indeed, which was a verie strange and admirable deceit, but (to this purpose) the aduenture of Queen *Semiramis* is much more notorious, of whom so many commendable Authors haue written memorable actions. *Justin*, *Justinus*, and diuers others say, that his sonne *Ninus* resembled her so perfectly, both in speech, gesture, and disposition of body, that after the death of the King her husband, she clothed her selfe in the habite of a man, and representing the person of her Sonne, held and gouerned the kingdom for the space of forty yeares, with absolute beleefe generally, that shee was her sonne *Ninus*, whom shee so neere resembled, that in this manner was the State abused. In the time of *Pompey*, there were two men in Rome, the one named *Bibulus*, and the other *Publius*, who were both so like to *Pompey*, as if there had bin no other difference, then in the plain figure, it was very difficult (as *Pliny* reporteth) to know which of them was *Pompey* or no, and euerie man supposed, that this resemblance came from the father to the son by succession. In the time of *Pompeys* father, there

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was

The History of Arthemius.

Of the great Queen Semiramis, according to Justin, lib. 2.

Of Bibulus and Publius, that were like to Pompey.

Childe, and forming it answerable to the imagined subject. And because it many times hapneth, that Fathers haue diuers imaginations; they do likewise engender diuersitie and difference of gestures, so that the Infant will resemble diuers persons. And this matter is reputed of such importance, that *Empedocles* saith, *Some Women haue bene noted, that they haue conceived, and bene deliuered of Children, that haue resembled Statues, Figures, and Pictures, that hung in the chambers, at the time of their conception.* That this hath hapned in Beastes, is sufficiently probable in the History of *Iacob*, who layed the pilled rods (being White and Blacke) in those places where the flockes conceyued, by meanes whereof, partie coloured Lambes were also engendered. And it is further to bee obserued, that not only this imagination hath power on the Corporall Members; but likewise on the Soules of Children. In regarde whereof, Naturall Philosophers haue aduised, that when a man is angry, or Melancholy, or Drunke, he shoulde not companie with his Wife: Because (commonly) Children are of the same Complexion, wherein the Father was, at the generative action. And yet, it hath oftentimes come to passe, that a merrie-hearted Father, and deliberate of Nature, hath gotten a Melancholly Childe.

To this purpose, *Alexander Aphrodisius* declareth a verie notable thing; that (manie times) Bastard Children, begotten in Adulterie, are wicked and vicious, in regard of the bad imagination, and fearefull terror, wherein their Fathers were at the time of their begetting. From the verie same reason, may an answer be framed to the case following. For, if it bee demanded, whence cometh it, that among men only, there is so great diuersitie in figure? *Aristotle* replyeth, it is, because that Beastes haue no Cares, Thoughtes, or Imaginations, but onely in their present Action: whereas (on the contrarie) men haue their thoughts in many places, and on diuersitie of things; whereby enueth, that manie children are borne, which neither resemble the father or mother.

Aristotle giueth (almost) the same answer vnto the Question propounded: Wherefore are foolish Children begot-

ten by Wife Fathers? Hee saith, That men which know little (as wee haue formerly spoken of Beastes) are very intente in the generative acte: by meanes whereof, the matter being disposed, and without any alteration, children are then borne perfect, because nature (in the verie same instant) was busied about no other occasions. But in wife and learned men, it doth not alwayes so fall out: because they (commonly) haue their spirits more subtile and penetratiue, haue also their thoughts otherwise busied most part of the time, which is a great hinderance, when the power is not wholly employed in the action: From whence it proceedeth, that the matter being not perfectly disposed, Nature could not perfectly performe her Workmanship.

The third reason, rendered for answer to this doubt, is from Astrologie, caused by influence of the Stars, according vnto the opinion deliuered by *Ptolemy*. For, by the disposition of heauen, and the signe or Image ascendant, & the Aspects which the Planets haue, both in the Conception and Birth of man: the manners and Naturall disposition are infused, rendering themselves semblable or different to the Father, according to the proportion and conformitie of the Father, or of the Childe, at the time of Generation. Wee might heere rehearse the Influences of these Planets, by their severall proprieties, but it would require too long a time: Besides, *Ptolemy* hath spoken thereof sufficiently; so hath *Iulius Firmicus*, *Haly ben Rasel*, *Guy*, *Bonatus*, and others: And the reason is so strong, as it cannot bee denied: Considering and perceyuing the Infuxion and power, which the Superiour Bodies haue ouer the Inferiour, with their Effects.

Now, in regard that this enueth by motion or agitation, which is the cause of generation and corruption, and is that which first disposeth the matter, and afterwards formeth it: it followeth, that as the motion of time dooth neuer cease, and that there are diuers times, and diuers Motions. And besides (as wee haue already sayde, that they haue diuers Natures; euen so, the matter disposeth it selfe diuersly: and causeth variable actions and dispositions in the creatures, some-

Aristotle answer why wife Fathers doe begett foolish Children.

The 3 reason deriued from Astrologie.

Ptolemy in *Geographia*.

Ptolemy in *Geographia*.

The cause of generation & corruption.

Empedocles videtur per Petrarca in lib de placitis 16, 20, 18 de anim.

Gen. 30, 40.

Adulter of naturall Philosophers.

Alexander Aphrodisius concerning Bastard children.

Aristotle answer concerning diuersity in figure.

These three causes concurring together

Goodly children proceeding from virginitie fathers

sometimes resembling one another, according to the conformity that was in Heauen, and in the one time, and in the other. Likewise, sometimes these causes and occasions are occurrent all together. Sometimes, one, or two: And (very often) the one proueth contrary to the other; from whence enueth such diuers effects, which daily offer themselves to our view: By the verie same occasions, wee may easily discern, whence it cometh, that goodly Children are begotten by deformed and vgly Fathers, and likewise the contrary: wherein there can nothing else bee alledged, but the good or bad disposition of the matter, and the imagination of the parties agent and sufrage, with the Celestiall influence at the instant, all which we haue deliuered to be doubtfull, according as other things are of the like nature.

CHAP. XIII.

Of a very strange and memorable fortune, which happened in one kinde, though at sundry times; to two Knights of Rome.

The chief conspirators of the death



He chief men in the conspiracy for the death of *Julius Caesar* (according as *Plutarch* and others haue declared) were *Brutus* and *Cassius*, who afterward (with their Adherents) were persecuted, and proclaimed open Enemies to the people of Rome, by *Octavius*, *Lepidus*, and *Marke Anthony*, that had gotten possession of the City. Among the complices of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, *Marcus Varro* was a principall man, who (being present in the battaile, which *Octavius* and *Marke Anthony* had against the conspirators, and when *Octavius* was the Conquerour) for safeguard of his life, and escape of apprehension, changed his habite with a poore Souldier, and appearing as one of the common Prisoners, was ranked among them, and sold (in confused manner) as the rest were. It was his happe to be bought by a *Romaine* Knight, named *Barbula*, who (within some while after) seeing his faire de-

Marcus Varro a chiefe man in the conspiracy

Marcus Varro sold as a slave

meanor, and honest carriage of life, began to suspect, that he was a *Romaine* borne; albeit, he coniectured the same by no other relation. To be resolu'd in this doubt, heooke him (one daie) aside, and instantly entreated him, to tell him of whence, and what he was, promising him wealth, to pursue his pardon to *Octavius* and *Marke Anthony*. But *Marcus Varro*, dissembling still his aduerse fortune, by no meanes would disclose himselfe: so that *Barbula* altered his former opinion, and perswaded himselfe, that he was no *Romaine*, according as his iudgement had before imagined. Soone after, *Octavius* and *Marke Anthony* returned to Rome, and *Barbula* also with his Slave, who (perhaps) was a better man then himselfe.

It fortun'd afterward, that *Marke Varro* being at the Senate-doores, attending for his Maister, that stayed within vpon some vrgent busines: was known by a *Romaine*, that presently aduertised *Barbula* thereof. *Barbula*, not seeming to know any such matter, and vying no further speech thereof, so labored with *Octavius* (who gouerned then in Rome) that he obtained his pardon; by means whereof, *Varro* enioyed his liberty, and being brought to *Octavius*, hee was honourable entertained, and thenceforward respected in the number of his friends.

Within a while after, *Octavius* and *Marke Anthony* fell at discord and variance, & *Barbula* taking part with *Marke Anthony* (who was vanquished in the trial of fight) grew to bee doubtful of *Octavius*, and made his recourse to the same remedy, as formerly *Marcus Varro* was forced to vndergoe, by changing his habite, and feigning himselfe to bee another. *Marcus Varro* not knowing him; by some length of time since last he saw him, but especially by the poverty of his habite; bought him in like manner as himselfe had been. But coming afterward to knowledge of him, he wrought to with *Octavius*, that his offence was pardoned, and hee set at liberty. So that, in satisfying what he stood bound to doe, and repaying the kindness which he had formerly received: hee left a liuely example to vs, of the inconstancy of our liues best condition, with a rule and instruction to all men,

Marcus Varro not to be discouraged.

Marcus Varro discovered by a *Romaine*, and set at liberty.

Barbula is the like himselfe as was *Marcus Varro*, aduertised, the same fortune.

Courtesie equally requited.

men, that in what prosperous estate ouer a man is, he should not forget to feare a fall; and in the greatest distresse likewise that can happen, not to dispaire of helpe.

CHAP. XV.

The Ages of Man generally distinguished, according the instructions of Astrologers.



Y common deuision of Astrologers, Arabians, Chaldeans, Greeks, and Latines, and particularly by *Proclus*, a Greek Authour, *Ptoleme* and *Hayben Razell*; the life time of man is diuided into seauen Ages, ouer each one of which Ages, one of the seauen Planets is said to rule and gouerne. The first Age is called Infancy, containing the space of foure yeares, during which time, the nearest Planet to the Earth hath Dominion, that is the Moone, because the qualities of Infancy hath vrged men to say; that the influence of this Planet is wholelie conformable to this Age, wherein the body is humide, tender, weak, mouable, and altogether like vnto the Moone. For the very least matter causeth alteration, his members (by the smallest Trauaille) is weakened, and the body (in little time) encrease, euen plainly to be discerned by the eye. These things doe happen generally in all persons, by reason of the Moones government, neuertheless, more in some then in others, that other particular qualities, which hold no subsistence of the Moone, doe receive their originall, in manner as the Childe cometh into the World, according to the estate and disposition of other Planets.

The second Age continueth tenne yeares, vntill hee attaine to the yeares of fouretteene: this Age is called by the Latines *Pueritia*, or Child-hood, which giueth a cessation to Infancy, and proceedeth on toward adoloscencie. In this Age reigneth another Planet, named

Mercury, seated in the second Heauen. This is a Celestiall body, apt and easie to change, being good with the good, and bad by the aspect of euill. During this time, nature composeth it selfe, according to the quality of this Planet. For then doe young Children declare some principles, whereby to make relation of their Spirits: bee it in reading, writing, or singing, then are they docible and tractable, and yet notwithstanding, light in their speeches, inconstant and mutable.

The third Age, consisteth of eyght yeares, being named by our Auncients *Adoloscencie*, or Youth-hood, and it lasteth from fouretteene, till two and twenty yeares be fully compleate: during which time, the third Planet, called *Venus* ruleth. For a man then beginneth to be prompt by Nature, powerfull, and able for procreation: as enclining to loue, to Women, and addicted to Musicke, sports, pleasures, bankets, and other worldly delights. This is to be vnderstood, of natural prouocations in Man to any of these; for, hauing lost the benefit of his own free will and election, hee leaneeth or taketh such inclinations by influences. And yet wee are to know, that neither the force of the Planets, nor power of the Starres, hath priuilege on the liberty of the Soule; although they incline the sensitiue appetite, the members and Organs in the body of man.

The fourth Age paceth on; vntill a Man haue accomplished two and fortie yeares, & is tearmed young man-hood, the course whereof continueth nineteene yeares; and hath *Jupiter* the Sunne for Gouernour and Commandeur, which is in the fourth Heauen, called by most ancient Astrologians, the fountain of light, the principall eye of the whole World, King of the Planets, and hart of the wide vniuers. In like manner, this Age is Prince of all other, and the floure of life, during which time, the faculties and powers of the body & of the Spirit, doe acquire and attaine to their strength, and man beeing then apprehensiue, bold, and hardy, knoweth how to order and dispose of his owne affaires. He then desireth and purchaseth Treasures, he coueteth to be excellent, and well famed, and is thus enclined

Mercury gouerneth the second Age.

The third age is called youth-hood.

Venus gouerneth the third Age.

Natural prouocations in man.

The fourth age is young Man hood.

Sol gouerneth the fourth age.

The Prince of the Ages, and floure of life.

enclined to well doing. Briefely, in all things generally, he delareth apparently, that the Sunne reigneth ouer him.

The fifth Age, named Mature Manhood, hath (according to the said Authours) fifteene yeares of continuance, and therefore makes his Progreasse so farre as six and fifty yeares, being subiect to the Planet *Mars*, which (of it selfe) is euill, dangerous, and hot, enclining men to Auarice, and making them chollickie, sickly; yet temperate in eating and drinking, and constant in their actions.

Afterward, in adding twelue to fiftie sixe, you shall make vp sixty eight yeares, which reach to the end of the sixt Age, and is called Old Age, whereof *Jupiter* is the great Gouernour: This is a Noble Planet, the signifier of Equity, Religion, Pietie, Temperance, and Chastitie; prouoking men to finish al pains and hazzards, and seek quiet repose. In this time, men additt themselves to holy works, affecting Temperance and Charitie, desiring honour, accompanied with due praise; they are honest, fearefull of shame, disgrace, and reproach.

The seauenth and last of these seuen Ages, is limited from sixty eight yeares, so farre as fourescore and eight, and few there are that attaine thereto. It giueth a time and apt name to it selfe, being called, weak, declining, and decrepitate Age, in regard whereof, *Saturn* commaundeth ouer it, as the most tardy, and yet the very highest Planet, and which enuironeth all the other before named. His Complexion is cold, dry, and melancholly, wearisome, and troublesome. By this meanes, he cloatheth aged men with follitude, chollier, meagrenesse, disdain, and anger. He enfeebeth their memory and their strength, then doth he ouercharge their bodies with griefes, long tedious, languishing diseases, euell thoughtes, and with an earnest desire to encrease secret & concealed matters; and which is more, they will be alwaies Maisters, Superiours, and wholly obeyed. If any man chance to goe beyond this Age, which is more admired, then noted in many: you shall evidently perceiue, that hee will returne to his first condi-

tion of infancy againe, and haue a part of the Moone to bee his Gouernour, which was his first Planet (as I haue already declared) in his first Age of all. In regard whereof, they are then vsually dealt withall, euen as we doe to young Infants, according to their conditions and daily inclinations.

The deuision of these seuerall Ages, in manner as formerly hath beene discoursed, was the inuention of Astrologers, whereto euery man may giue credit, as himselfe best pleaseth. Let vs now come to the deuision made by Philosophers, Physicians, and Poets, who were of diuers opinions; yet because in this Argument there are some notable things, we will enter into some part of their report, that young Spirits may exercise themselves a little. The great Philosopher *Pythagoras*, how long heeuer the life of man was; made but foure partes thereof, comparing it to the foure seasons or quarters of the yeare. He said, Infancy is the Spring-time, when al things are in their floure, beginning to encrease and augment themselves. Youth-hood, he compared to Summer, by the Ardour and strength that men haue in that Age. Manly Age is Autumne; because in this time, a man hath experience, is ripe and apt for good counsell, with certaine knowledge of all things. Old Age he figured in winter, being a fruitlesse time, dimberstonie, and hauing no benefit of any blessings, but what haue proceeded from the former seasons.

Marcus Varro, a learned man among the *Romaines*, diuided the life of man into fise partes, attributing the space of fifteene yeares to each one of them. The first fifteene he named *Pueritia*, Child-hood, as being but an entrance into further growing. The second was *Adoloscencia*, the springall or stripling estate of a youth, which hee tearmed the encreasing time, for then the body goeth on by encreasing. The third fifteene yeares, mounting vp to forty five yeares, hee called *Iuuentus*, as coming of the Latine word *Iuare*, to signifie the time of helping; because men doe then scue as helpers to their Countrey, eyther in warlike occasions, or other affaires fit for the Common-wealth, and this Age is held for the stability or firmnesse of life.

Old men become childre againe.

The Astrologians deuision of Ages.

The deuision made by Philosophers, Physicians, and Poets.

The deuision made by *Pythagoras*.

Spring-time.

Summer.

Autumne.

Winter.

The deuision made by *Marcus Varro*, *Pueritia*, *Adoloscencia*.

Iuuentus.

Man's life time diuided into seauen Ages. Infancy the first Age.

The Moone gouerneth the first Age or Infancy.

The second Age, is called Child-hood.

Matutinis.

Senilis.

Hippocrates, in Lib. de Diet. Nat. And his deuision.

The deuision made by Selen.

Ibid. lib. 1.1. de Diet. And his deuision.

Horace in Art. Poet. And his deuision.

life. After forty five, even to threecore, the Age of man is called *Matutinis*, maturity, full of ripeness, because (in Latine) such men are named *Seniores*, that is to say; Ancient men, or graue aged men, in respect of the precedent conditions. Also, in these times men doe begin to decline, and walke on toward Old Age, which accompanieth the last fifteene yeares, after threecore, and containeth the rest of mans life time. Behold how *Varro* deuided the life of man, according as *Censorinus* hath declared.

Hippocrates the Philosopher, he deuided it also into seauen Ages, the two first (seuens, rising to foureteene; The third, ascending from foureteene, to eight and twenty. The seauen that make up the fourth and fift, doe rise to forty two: The sixth, from forty two, to fifty six; And the rest of mans life, he attributeth to the seauenth Age. *Selen* the Philosopher, as the same *Censorinus* relateth, brought the seauen parts into fixe, deuiding the third, the sixth and the seauenth in the midst, so that each of the fixe parts should last seuen yeares; And the like description is made by the other Philosophers. But *Isidore* hath distinguished it into fixe Ages, agreeing in the two first with *Hippocrates*, making every one seauen; naming the first Infancy; the second childhood. Afterward, from foureteene to eight and twenty, he termeth *Adolescentie*, or the encreasing age. From twenty eight, to forty, he nameth it *Iuuentus*, or the helping time, which is the 4. in order. The fift, which he calleth declination, or the beginning of Old-age he maketh to consist of 20. yeares, and amount (in all) to sixty. The remainder of life, he attributeth to Old Age, and nameth it the sixt Age.

Horace, the excellent Poet, hath likewise made deuision of mans Ages; but it is into foure partes onely, according as *Pythagoras* did, to wit; Childhood, Youth-hood, Man-hood, and Old age; all which he hath elegantly described in his Art of Poesie, with those conditions belonging to men, in all those feuerall times. Neuertheless, according to the rule of naturall Philosophy, the life time of man should not be deuided, but into three Ages: The first, the en-

creasing Age; The second, the continuing Age, or, while a man remaineth in one estate; And the third, the Age of Diminution: For, according to *Aristotle*; *All things that doe procreate or engender, haue augmentation, retention, of Essence, and diminution*; so, in like manner, three Ages ought to be assigned to Man. The Philitions of *Arasie* haue beene of the same opinion, and yet notwithstanding, *Auicenne*, a very learned man, distinguisheth our life into foure Ages, or principall partes. The first, which lasteth thirty yeares, hee calleth *Adolescentie*, because, during this time, all things go on by encreasing. The second, from thirty, so farre as forty five, hee calleth the stayed and settled Age, or of beauty and comeliness; for at this time, a man is in his best perfection. From thence onward, and so farre as to threecore yeares; he termeth, secret diminution, and the way to Old Age. The rest that a man liueth afterward, as being his fourth and last estate, he nameth it, clearly discouered Old Age, or falling, and downe-drooping Age. Now, notwithstanding this opinion of his, it is to be noted, that albeit he haue made this principall deuision; yet hee forgetteth not, to deuide the first of these foure (which containeth thirte yeares) and maketh three parts thereof. Whereby wee may well say, that hee consenteth with such, as deuided it into fixe.

Now, after wee haue considered all these variable opinions, I cannot tell to which I should betake my selfe, as becoming the truest; and to speake vprightly, no man knoweth how to giue an assured rule, or any certaine ayme; as well in regard of the diuers complexions & dispositions of men, as also their dwelling in sundry Landes and Prouinces, and their nourishing by good or bad foods, by means whereof, men arrive sooner or later at the state of Old Age. For which cause, *Galen* would haue no man to giue any limited times to our ages; which being well considered, it maketh all these discordances of so many Authoers, need no matter of strange mutuaile, considering that each man had a feuerall consideration. According as *Seruius Tullius*, King of *Rome* had, who (according to *Aulus Gellius*) had

Deuision into three Ages onely.

Arist. in lib. 3. Anima.

Arist. in part. 1. de Cap. 1. de Complex. And he's deuision into four ages.

The first age deuided by Auicenne into three parts.

Doubt, how to be resolved in this case.

The deuision of Galen Lib. 6. de Regim. Sali.

Seruius Tullius his deuision of the life of man.

had no respect but to common benefit, when he deuided the people of *Rome* into fixe estates. And yet he distinguished the life of men, but into three parts, calling the first age (which he assigned to be seauenteen yeares) Childhood. From that estate to forty five, he declared them to be men, able for the Warres, and so caused them to be set downe in writing. Lastly, from forty five onward, he called them, ripe and mellow men, fit for graue employment and counsell.

This deuision doth not contrary any of the other, because it is vniuersall, and includeth the meane particulars in it, and it seemeth, that he grew conformable to the common deuisions, when it was usually obserued, to separate (in diuers kinds) the Greene Age, Ripe-age, and Old-age. The Greene-age, from the time of our birth, euen to the ending of our youth, which goeth so farre as forty five yeares, little more, or little lesse; according as *Virgil* saith, *Viridisque iuuentus*, that is to say, *Green-youth*. The Ripe and Mellow Age, proceedeth on to threecore yeares, which time was attributed by *Seruius Tullius*, to men of Wisedome, meete for graue counsels and consultations. The rest is teamed to be decrepitate Old-age. These three parts, may likewise be deuided into other proportions; and (by that meanes) be answerable to the varietie, which appeareth to haue beene (by diuersitie of coniecture) among so many good Writers.

CHAP. XVI.

That there be certaine yeares in the life of Man, which our Ancients haue iudged to be more dangerous, then any other; And for what cause.



Yeares called climactericall, dangerous to mans life.

Ancient Philosophers & Aströlogers haue obserued, that there are certaine yeares in our course of life, of much more perill and danger, then others be; which they named *Climactericall*, by reason of the

Greeke word *Clima*, that is to say, Ladder or forme of degrees, signifying thereby, that such yeares are limited, in the fashion of degrees and steps, but hard to passe, during the rest of this mortall life. For, like as they maptaine in daies, that the seauenth, ninth, and fourteenth, are dangerous during mens sicknesses and infirmities; In like case, they haue especial respect, that such a number limitation, take place also in the course and yeares of our fraile life; in regard of the members strength; whereof, great account hath beene made by *Pythagoras*, *Themistocles*, *Narcissus*, *Auerroes*, and many others. Also, in regard of the influences and domination of euill Planets; as *Imajaleage* of *Saturne*, who reigneth indifferently of seasons; and sundry Ages. Whereby they gather iudicially (according as *Marshall Ficinus*, *Censorinus*, & *Aulus Gellius* doe testifie) that all the Septenary yeares, or those comprised of seauens; doe portend great alterations, changes; & impossible (as it were) that such tearmes can be passed; without mighty hazzard, alteration of life, estate, health, or complexion. Upon this occasion, the yeare seauenth, fourteenth, twenty one, twenty eight, thirty five, forty two, forty nine, and so for every seauenth yeare, is to be feared.

And because they defend the number Tenarie, or of three, to be likewise of great efficacy; they say, that three times seauen (which maketh one and twenty) is of maine importance. The like speech doe they make of the yeare forty nine, because it is composed of seauen times seuen. But the yeare (most of all other) to be feared, is that of sixty three. For, like as the number of one and twenty, ariseth out of three times seauen; so, likewise the number of sixty three, begetteth it selfe of three times one and twenty; or of nine times seauen, or of seauen times nine; which compleateth the number celebrat & recommended by the very wisest. When a man therefore cometh to the age, of entering into the year threescore and three; he ought to be careful of his health and life, waiting (daie by day) for some change therein; or what sooner else may happen vnto him; according

Pythagoras.

Themistocles.

Narcissus.

Auerroes.

Marshall Ficinus.

Censorinus.

The dangerous yeares of threescore and three.

Julius Firmicus
in lib. Astrolog.The Letter of
Oſianus to
Caſius.The death of
Ariſtotele.The death of
Dionisie Plato,
&c.The Authors
denſe for
this argumentMan ſubiect
to the will of
God.

cording as *Julius Firmicus* affirmeth in his Bookes of Astrology.

To this purpose, *Aulus Gellius* maketh mention of the Emperor *Oſianus* his Letter, whereby he signified to his Nephew *Caſius* (having escaped this year of so much danger) how carefull he ought to be of the year sixty foure, because he had prevented the year sixty three; so that he declared a good intention, to celebrate his second Nativity. For these reasons, our Elders made doubt of this year three score and three, perceiving many worthy men to die, even at the arrival thereof in the same year dyed *Aristotele*, and divers other notable personages. And, as I have formerly said, the number of nine was also feared, because they said, that he which escaped the year sixtie three, could not passe the boundes of foure score and one; in regard that this age was composed of nine times nine: at which aged dyed *Plato*, the great Geographer *Eratosthenes*, *Zenocrates*, the Platonicall Prince of the ancient *Academie*, *Diogenes the Cynick*, and other famous persons.

Gentlemen, I was willing to make some observation of these matters, more for curiositie and exercise, then for any credence given to them: albeit they are not vterly impertinent, nor void of naturall reason. For, as we may behold, that some sicknesses and humours doe end in a man, and, that in other Creatures, the change of teeth, encrease of Beard, the voyce augmenting, and nature worketh other effects and notable changings, on such complexions as are knowne by the tearmes of years: wherefore should not wee credite, that (by the same meanes) limited times doe make other alterations and impressions? Why should we not beleue, that our humane body hath communication with the Celestiall influences, as with humours; by some especiall meanes; which is hidden from vs? Because, man is subiect to the will and government of God. And God, although he hath formed all things miraculously; and super-naturally: yet notwithstanding, he will have his works to be naturall; onely such excepted, as were created by him against the Lawes of Nature, and according to his owne

secret and inscrutable iudgement.

CHAP. XVII.

That Orpheus, Homer, Pythagoras, Plato, and other of the ancient Philosophers and Poets, did read the Books of Moyſes, and haue taken many particular points out of them.



It is not to bee found, that any man (before *Moyſes*) hath left any thing written; except it were *Abraham* and *Enoch*, whose learning, *Moyſes* (as their lawfull Inheritor) hath comprehended in his Bookes, adding thereunto, those things which he heard from the mouth of the living God, by Oracles daily received from him. At such time as *Pythagoras* and *Plato* learned the Sciences in *Egypt*; they would (first of all) study the Doctrine of *Moyſes*, whose name (in those times) was in great admiration through all *Egypt*, & out of his Bookes they conceived the reason of God; to wit, of the first cause. After whom, *Numenius the Pythagorian*, wrote down in his Bookes, many things concerning Moysaicall Doctrine, as *Basilie* the great witnesseth; and the same *Numenius* saith, that *Plato* was no other then *Moyſes*, speaking in the Greeke Language. *Clement Alexandrianus*, and *Enschius*, doe both say, that the Gentiles received their very greatest Mysteries from the *Jewes*, wrapping & enfoldng them in their Fables. That of *Denealion*, was taken from the Historie of the Deluge: The fixation of *Phaeton*, from the retrogradation and going back of the Sunne, which was in the time of *Ezechias*.

They that would behold the building of the Tower of *Babel*, which *Nimrod* and his perakers undertooke, meaning (by Ladders) to climb vp into Heaven, and see what was done there: shall find it under certain Allegories, amply described in *Homer*, under the Fable of the Gyants *Oetus* and *Ephialtes*, Sonnes to *Iphimedia*, where hee describeth their height

Whether any
man wrote be
fore *Moyſes*.*Pythagoras*
and *Plato*.*Numenius the*
Pythagorian.*Clement Alex-*
andrianus and
Enschius.The Tower
of *Babel*.The Gyants
Oetus and
Ephialtes.
Homer Odſſ.
lib. 11.*Ouid, Homer,*
Hesiodus, Li-
*nius.**Saturnus* golden
Age.*From, Georgin*
lib. de Herodo
de Munda.

height and wonderfull greatnesse, and how they would lay the Mountaine of *ſa*, upon that of *Olympus*, and *Pelion* upon *Offa*. The Poet *Ouid*, borne in *Salmo*, tooke that which hee singeth, of the beginning and Creation of the World (like as *Homer, Hesiodus*, and *Linus*, borrowed their Songs, of sanctifying the seauenth day) from none else but *Moyſes*. Many haue sung the golden Age and raigne of *Saturne*, having gathered it from the most happy estate, wherein *Adam* was before hee sinned. Many more before them; as *Orpheus*, who learned diuers things from the doctrine of *Moyſes*, especially in the Book which he made of the sacred word; he confesseth, that he took out of the Moysaicall Tables, that which hee singeth concerning God, knowne to the onely *Chaldean Moyſes*, by these Verses, which *Frances George*, in his Hermony of the world, hath reduced into Latine.

Primus perfectus Deus est, qui caecula creatit
Caecula fuerit, atque ipse fuit super omnia in se:
Qui caput mentis totum, qui mente videtur:
Qui nullum se nullum mortalium impio conuenit:
Quem preter non est alius: tu caecula videtur:
Hic ipsum in terris melius quo cernere possit.
Hic etenim video: ipsum vestigia fortis:
Hicque manum video: verum ipsum cernere, quis ſa,
Nisi quoniam uisus, non uidetur: infelix alio.
Nemo illum nisi Chaldaei de sanguine quidam
Progeniti uiderit: quem caelum caeca fides
Soluit, ipsum tenet: cuius se doctores tendit
Oculi ad fines: quoniam de radicibus imis
Conspicere tremant montes: nec pendere quamuis
Immensi sunt, ferre quous: qui ualidos caeli
Alta colunt: terris manupum tamen ille fit altiss.
Ipsi est principium, medium quoque, et exitus idem,
Præteritum non habet decurrit omnia uoce:
Quæ tunc tabulis Deus olim tradidit illis.

Some haue been of opinion, that *Orpheus* meant by this *Chaldean, Noah*, others, *Enoch*, and the *Platonists* tooke him for *Zoroastres*, who was the Sonne of *Cham*: but to none of them were the Tables of the Commandements giuen, but to *Moyſes* onely.

CHAP. XVIII.

A Mysticall signification, concerning the body of Elifeus, and of the dead man raised to life in the Prophets Graue.



It is written in the second Booke of the Kinges, and the thirteenth Chapter, that as they were burying a Man, they espied the Souldiours of the *Moabites*: wherefore, they threw the dead man into the Graue of *Elifeus*, and the man being downe, and hauing touched the bones of *Elifeus*, hee reuiued, and stood vpon on his feete. This History containeth in it, the figure of our Lord Iesus Christ, and vnder the superficies thereof, is hidden a very great Myserie. Dead *Elifeus*, is mysticallie vnderstood to be Iesus Christ, who died for vs, and the Souldiours or Heeres of *Maab*, doe represent wicked spirits, and the finnes of the world.

The Men that espied the *Moabites*, and threw the dead bodie into the Graue of *Elifeus*; doe signifie the Apostles, who provided for the peoples sauing health, against the mallice of wicked Demons, and against the burthen of finnes: and therefore plunged mankind (being dead) into the Sepulcher of Christ, that is to say, into the Water of Baptisme, because the Water of Baptisme is Christs Graue or Sepulcher, wherein wee are sanctified three times in the name of the blessed Trinitie, in regard that Iesus Christ continued three dayes and nights in the Sepulcher. Whereupon, *Saint Paule* saide to the *Romaines*: *We are buried with him in his death by Baptisme*. Concerning the dead man, that hauing touched the bones of *Elifeus*, reuiued, and rose vpon his feete: read but the same Apostle, in his second Chapter to the *Colossians*; and there you shall finde him perfectly described.

It is the fourth Booke, in the vulgar edition.

The mysticall application of this History.

Rom. 7. 9.

CHAP. XIX.

The Interpretation, of the Dreame of the great King Nabuchodonosor.

Nabuchodonosor, or otherwise called *Nabuchodonosor*, King of *Babylon*, beheld

Dan. 1.

Nabuchodonosors Image.

beheld (in a Dreame) a very great Image or statue, the glory whereof was high, and it had a terrible regard. His head was of fine Gold; his Breast and armes of Siluer, his belley and Thighes of Brasse; his Legges of Iron; and his Feet were partly of Iron, and partlie of Earth. He saw afterward, that a little stone (came of it selfe) out of a Mountaine, and descended from such an height; as by the very blow of his fall, the Image was broken in all parts, and beaten into Powder. *Daniell* interpreted this statue, and gaue the signification thereof in the Kinges presence, as is contained in the second Chapter of his Booke: but heere it is more amply interpreted, and in a larger manner.

The signification of the Image, which Nabuchodonosors saw in his Dreame.

The Image or Statue, denoted the Monarchies of the World; the head of Gold was the Kingdom of the *Assyrians*; the Breast and Armes of Siluer, the Empire of the *Persians*; the Belly & Thighes of Brasse, the Monarchy of the *Greeks*; the rest remaining (consisting of Iron and Earth) the State and Dominion of the *Romaines*. The stone is Iesus Christ, who descending from the Celestiall Mountaine, hath humbled all these Kingdoms, & brought them to nothing. By this it appeareth, that we are in the last age; and that final time of passing hence remaineth: because, this world must be ouerthrowne and ruined, all the Kingdomes hauing already passed, and all Prophecies fullie accomplished. All which, if we were not able to coniecture; yet might wee easily comprehend by good reasons.

Good reasons to persuade that we live in the latest age.

In the first place, wee cannot deny, but that vertue is at her chiefeist height, and all Vices at their pitch of extremitie. In the second place, who euer beheld Diuinity and Learning more exalted, then it is at this day? Philosophy, Musike, Armes, Caruing, Painting, and Eloquence more common, then now they are? very children neuer grew so soone to be perfect. We daily behold, that men do not now reach to the yeares of an hundred, or if they do, it is very sildome; as in former times they did. And we may perceiue withal, that at the age of 18. yeares, a young Sprigall shewes himselfe of as good shape, and provided of as able strength; as a

Exaltation of the Arts and Sciences.

Shortnesse of life.

Forwardnesse in growth.

young man at the age of thirty in elder daies. I cannot deliuer any reason, why men doe lue in this World so short a while; except it be thorough their bad government, and that dissolutions and vices are the maine cause thereof; or rather, that God being willing to hasten the end of the World, would haue all these predictions, to be as warning pieces of his neere approach. We can deliuer another Allegory, or Exposition of King *Nabuchodonosors* Dreame.

Reasons for the breuitie of life.

Another exposition of this Dreame.

Gold. Siluer. Brasse.

Earth & Iron

The little stone.

CHAP. XX.

When the ending of the world shall come, by the coniectures of diuers learned Doctors, and other great personages.

Some haue deliuered their opinion, that the Worlde is to endure fixe thou-

The world to continue 6000. yeares.

General in Church.

The coniectures deliuered by *Nicholas*.The coniectures of *Nicholas de Cusa*, Cardinall.

The translation of our Saviour in this world.

Math. 7. 9.

Math. 25. 40.

The Church is the mystical body of Christ.

thousand yeares, to wit; two thousand without the Law; two thousand with the Law; and another two thousand after the first comming of the Sonne of God. This was not the Prophecie of *Helie* the *Thesbite*, but rather the inuention of another *Helie*, a *Rabbie* of the Iewes, vpon the *Talmuds*; in the tract *Senedrim*, Chapter *Helie*; in the tract of Idolatry, Chapter *Litne*; and in the Tract of the Sabbath. The coniectures of whom, are reported by *Rabbi Isaac*, vpon the first Chapter of *Genesis*, the principall whereof are these that follow.

The first Versicle of *Genesis*, containeth the Summary of the workes of God, expressing six times the Letter *N*. Now, *Alpha* significeth a thousand. Moreover, God perfected the World in fixe daies, the seauenth hee ceased from his workes, and sanctified the Sabbath: And, a thousand yeares are with God, euen as yesterday which is past, so saith the Psalmist. Finally, the fixe first Fathers, *Adam*, *Seth*, *Enos*, *Caynan*, *Maleleth*, *Jared*, are dead; the seauenth; to wit, *Enoch*, was transported a liue vp into Heauen. After fixe thousand yeares then, during which time, traualles and death will be in their vigour: shal begin the seauenth thousand of repose, and of the life immortal.

Nicholas de Cusa, a very wise Cardinall, gaue many other coniectures of the last times, which I wil relate here at large. If wee desire (saith he) to haue knowledge of the time (how little founer it be) concerning the ending of the world, and the last daies: wee haue iust cause then to meditate on the traualles, which our Saviour Iesus Christ endured in this World. For, as himselfe hath taught vs, if we will liue as Christians; we ought to follow, and learne of him. Learne of me (saith he) for I am humble & meek of heart. In like manner, himselfe hath giuen vs example; to doe as hee did, if we desire to bee his followers. Moreover, hee assurcth vs, that all the faithfull are his members, when hee saith; that which is done to the least of his, he reputeth it as done to himselfe. And thee, in her totall perigrination in this World; imitateth her head Iesus Christ, who opened Heauen by his as-

cenion. He hath gone before; as his rule and example; his Church followeth after, as his Image and resemblance. *Moses* behelde the truth, as the flaming Mountaine *Sinay*, by visions of the verity, and after the *Milton* was vanished, hee did according to the example which he had seene. Iesus Christ entered into this World, in the forme of a young Infant, hee increased in age, and in wisdom, became a man, teaching the truth, and walking in it, vntill such time, as (to bee a Testimonie thereof) he was taken from this world, by the mallice of the Iewes, who made him to suffer death vpon the Crosse. Neuertheless, hee hath leith his seede, which is his Church, in whom he abideth, as *Adam* in *Eue*; his Wife formed of his Flesh, and brought forth of his side: to the ende, that his Spouse the Church (full of his Seede), should afterward be nourished in the House of his heavenly Father, by her glorious assumption vp into Heauen. The Church was regenerated from her Infancy, such like an Infant, shee hath increased in yeares and in wise dome, and (by little and little) shee shall accomplish and finish the time of her Trauailes in this World.

Christ his entrance into this world.

The Church the Spouse of Christ.

The time of Christs being on earth, signified by the militant Church.

The yeare of Iubilee.

This Parable is not set downe in *Nicholas de Cusa*.

Now, if we would haue a lively example, we may lay by coniecture, that the time which Iesus Christ liued vpon the Earth; is represented and declared, by his Militant Church. We know, that hee is called the Sonne of Man; and the Lord of the Sabbath. Likewise, in him was accomplished, that which was prophesied by *Esaie*, to wit; The yeare of the Lord, which yeare of the Lord, is the yeare of Iubilee, which yeare of the Lord, is as much to say, as the fiftieth yeare, at which time of Iubily in *Israell*, euery seller might (by right) recover againe the things which he had sold, without restoring the price received. All this time is reuolued by the septenary number, to wit; from seauen daies; from seauen yeares; and from seauen times seauen yeares, which are fortie nine yeares. After which, the fiftieth yeare following this laborious reuolution, is the yeare Iubilee, free and full of liberty, in which all seruitude ceasing, liberty returneth freely againe. And it is to be

be noted, that fifty yeares of common account by the Catholique Church, do make one yeare of Iubily of the Lord our God. And the Church, who (as his owne Image) followeth her Lord and Patron, doth both demonstrate and explicate by the number of fiftie; onely one of the yeares of Iubily of her Spouse. So that, the revolution of one yeare of the Lord, made in peregrination of his Church, is answerable to one sunny revolution of Iesus Christ, the true Sun of righteousness. By which reasons, wee make coniecture, that the Church cannot traualle in this World, about fifty Iubilies, which are 2500. whereof already we haue had 29. which are past; considering, that since the ascension of our Saviour, even to this present, 1452. yeares haue runne their course. This is the allotted space, and very greatest continuance of the Church, after her Bridegroom, whereof there is much to be abridgd.

Now if we will consider further, the things which our Lord & Saviour hath done, and those which he suffered after the twenty ninth year of his age, vntill the day that he arose, triumphing our Sin, Death, and Hell, and then, if we extend those yeares into Iubilies: wee may (by coniectures) foretell what shal happen to the Church. So that, in the foure and thirtieth Iubily, after the resurrection of the Redeemer of all mankind; she may well hope (by the goodnesse of God) to be raised vp into the glorie, to the ruine of Antichrist. And this is thought, that it will happen, after the birth of our Lord Iesus Christ into the World, 1700. and before the yeare 1734. And as in the time of Noah, the consummation of sin came by the Deluge, the 34. Iubily after the first Adam, according as wise *Philo the Jew* hath written: we may also fore-tell by coniectures, that in the 34. Iubily after the second Adam, both sin and the World shall be consumed by the fire of the holy spirit. And then shall the Church be transferred out of this corruptible world, into the glory of the liuing, by the comming of her Spouse to Iudgement. And yet the houre of his second comming will be vncertaine, for come he will, & when least doubt is made of him; like as a Thiefe commeth in the

night, and as the deluge came vpon the earth. *Philo the Jew* declareth, that *Moses* (at the houre of his death) desired God to reueale vnto him; how much of the time was passed, and how much (as then) remained: whereunto God answered, that two had already passed, & two were as yet to come. And so *Moses* being full of vnderstanding, yielded vp his Soule. Heerein then (saith he) God reuealed four times to *Moses*, two past, and two to come: of which, from Adam to the Deluge or Floud, passed the first time. The second, after the floud, vntil *Moses*. The third, from *Moses* to Iesus Christ. And the fourth, from Iesus Christ, to the end and consummation of the world. Now, the last time took beginning at the Resurrection of the Son of God, and continueth to the ending of the world, vpon which good reason, the Saints (oftentimes) called them the latter daies, and the ends of the world.

Now, notwithstanding that these supputations of yeares are very diuers, according to the truth of the *Jewes*, according to the 70. *Greeke* Interpreters, as also according to *Iosephus* & *Philo*: I am of the minde (neuertheless) it is much more true, that there hath passed so many Iubilies from the death of *Moses* to Iesus Christ; as from Adam to the time of Noah, and as many from the floud vnder Noah, vnto the death of *Moses*. In like manner, as many Iubilies haue and shall run their course, from the resurrection of our Saviour, to the end of the last times, and of 34. Iubilies. *Moses* died (according to that diuine reuelation) in the midst of these 4. times, whereof two were finished, & two were then to come. There are many other coniectures of the latter daies, which are found written; and yet are so diuers, as no one agreeth with another. And to speak truly, the ending of the world, and the general iudgement is vncertaine to any creature: for it is onely in the hand and power of God, whose secrets are concealed to himselfe, and he being God referred them to his owne peculiar knowledge. So that, if those ancient men would needs vnder take to write thereof some particularities; yet they al deceiued themselves by abusing coniectures, far off from all verity. We then of these daies, who haue much lesse learning & iudgement

Philo the Jew, of a reuelation made to Moses, concerning the times,

Concerning the supputations of these yeares.

* All hitherto the oute of the world only known to God.

The ending of the world only known to God.

Actes 1, 7.

Math. 24, 36.

Deut. 32, 22.

Sophocles related by John de Maumont.

1 Pet. 3, 12.

August. in Lib. 1. de Ciuit. Dei.

iudgement then they had, without any comparison, and enioy not a sparke of the like sanctity; ought to cease and desist, fro ouer-curious search into things to come, especially daies, houres, and moments, which God hath so restrained to his owne power, that the Angels in heauen do not know them. For so himselfe saith; Of that day and houre, no man knoweth, neither the Angels of Heauen, but my Father onely. But sure and certain are we, that the world shall perish by an vniuersall flame, and shall bee renewed: which the Spirit of God deliuered by *Moses*, in his Song in *Deuteronomy*. Fire is kindled in my wrath, and shal burne vnto the bottom of Hell, and shal consume the earth with her increase, and set on fire the foundations of the Mountaine.

Sophocles the Pagan Poet, seemed to touch with his finger (as it were) the ending of the World, in diuers verses, translated by *John de Maumont*, the meaning whereof briefly folowes thus. The Age shall come that will bring vs riches from the high Heauens, when they shall be filled, and round enuirt with fire. All places on the earth the flames shall enclose, and burne all things, as well in the water, as in the Ayre. Not anything in this world, vnder earth, or in the deepest Sea, shall scape from burning. When then, by so cruell a flames fury, all things shall be consumed: the Springs of all waters shall be without course, like a bottomlesse gulfe. No fields shal produce any more fruits, nor the earth be inhabited: No ships shall float vpon the Sea: No birds fly in the Ayre. But a cruell tempest of fire, with thunder, shall hurle Heauen and Earth into eternall ruines, burning the Earth and all things into Cinders. Then shall her great backe resume no other effluence, or yeelde any nourishment, for all is brought into putrefaction.

Saint Peter writeth; That Heauen and Earth which is at this instant, are reserved for Fire at the day of Iudgement, and the Elements shall reuelue themselves into fire. Saint Augustine answered a demand which might he made, as thus. When after the Iudgement is ended, this World shall bee burnt, before (instead thereof) a new Heauen be created, and a new Earth: in what place shall the Saints be, when this burning is performed? Considering, it followeth necessarily, that they should be in some corporall place, because they all haue bo-

dies. They shall be (saith he) in high places, where into the flames can neuer mount, as likewise the Waters of the Deluge could not. For they shall then haue fish bodies, as they may bee where they will be, without fearing the Fire of burning, being made immortal and incorruptible: as the corruptible and Mortall bodies of the three Men, *Sidrach, Misack, and Abednego* lived, without being offended in the fiery furnace.

Now, if we will be Christians, wee ought to beleue, that the Resurrection of the dead, is in Flesh, and that it will be done in a moment, or in the twinkling of an eye, saith the Apostle: but our Faith herein is not vnprofitable, although our vnderstanding doe not perfectly comprehend, howe, and in what manner it shal be done. Let vs leave then to God, the causes and reasons whereby this is to bee done, and let not vs enquire (ouer busily) after his admirable secrets. I could continue on this discourse, with diuers other Chapters, and handle in them this Resurrection, setting downe the solution and answers of Doctors in Diuinity, touching those high questions and demands, which may be made in this matter. But I will saile no further in so high a Sea, nor enter into an *Eurytus* of reasons, where the Billowes may cause the sinking of my poore Spirit ship; therefore here shall be my Heauen and landing.

CHAP. XXI.

The Conquest of the Kingdome of Naples, by Charles the eight, King of France.



Philip de Comines, a worthy learned Gentleman, who was Counsellour to King Charles, and serued him in the action; giueth notable testimony thereof, and therefore I think it not amisse, to vse his own words, in regard of his grauity and authority. He relateth first, the cruelty & tyranny of *Ferdinando*, King of Naples; and of his Son *Alphonso*, in causing 24. Noble

Dan. 3, 24.

1 Cor. 13, 13.

* A narrow sea betweene the hautes de la Garde and Estor, which ebbereth and floweth seven times a day, and so violently, that it carryeth (with it) ships with full saile against the winde.

Philip de Comines in Carolo

* This is out of *Cassiodorus*, who liued & spake this, in the yeare 454. made Cardinal vnder Pope *Pius* the second. So that, in perfect account, the instant yeare, is the 21. Iubily, since Iesus Christ.

This is onely conceiued in opinion.

A comparison between the first and second Adam.

1. Pet. 3, 10.

The Iudgement of *Philip de Comines*, of the Conquest of Naples, for the finnes of the Kings thereof

The tyranny, crueltie, and vicious life of the Kings of Naples.

Bithoppicks and Abbais sold for money

Noble-men (their Subjects) to be most cruelly murdered in Prison: then, discouering of their vices and wickednes, he afterward speaketh of Gods iudgements vpon them, proceeding in this manner.

No man (saith hee) was euer more cruel, more wicked, more vicious, nor a greater Glutton, then *Alphonso*, though his Father *Ferdinando* was more dangerous then he: for, in making men faire weather (as we terme it) and good cheare; he commonly betrayed them. As he dealt by Count *Jaques*, whom he murdered villainously, though hee were Ambassadors with him for *Frances Sforza*, Duke of *Milaine*, and so he dealt likewise with many other, neuer vsing mercy to any, no, not so much as to his owne Kinsman. Besides, he neuer had any pity or compassion on his poore people, for hee made a very merchandize of his Kingdom, insumch; that hee forced his Subjects to feede and fat his Hogges, and pay for them if they chanced to die. He bought vp all the Oyle and Graine in the Countrey, before it was ripe, and sold it afterward extremely deare, compelling them to take it at his price, and, while he sold, no man else might sell any. If any Noble-man or Gentleman were richer then the rest; hee forced him to lend him great summes of Money. He tooke from his Nobility their races of horses, or else made them keepe them for him, whereby he had many thousands of Horses, Mares, and Coltes. Both the Father and the Son tooke many Women by force. They neuer had reuerence or respect to the holy Church; but sold Bithoppicks, as for example, that of *Taranto*, which *Ferdinando* the Father sold for 12000. Ducates, to a few for his Son, who (he said) was a Christian. He gaue Abbais to Faulconers, with charge, to keepe him a certaine number of Haukes at their expences. *Alphonso* the Sonne neuer kept any Lent, nor made so much as any shew to keepe it. He neuer made conscience of any committed sinne, nor euer communicated: and, to conclude, it is not possible to doe worse, then they both did.

Thus saith this Authour, of the liues and manners of these two Kings, and

then hee further addeth, concerning Gods Iudgements vpon them. It may (saith he) seeme to the Readers, that I haue spoken this on some particular passion, or hatred towards them. But (in good faith) I haue not said it to any other end, then to continue the course of my History, and that it may appeare, that this voyage to King *Charles* to Naples, proceeded onely of the will of Almighty GOD, who ordained, that so young a King, destitute of Councell, Money, and all sufficient meanes for such an enterprize: should be his Comissary (as it were) to chastise these Kings, who were wise, potent, and rich, and had many wise Counsellours and graue personages about them; yea, many Subjects, friends, and allies, abroad in Italy, whom it imported to conferre and defend that Kingdom. And yet neuertheless, though they fore-saw the storm long before: they could not find meanes to auoid it, nor make resistance any where. For, excepting onely the Castle of *Naples*, there was not any place, Town, or Fort, that stayd King *Charles* at one whole day. Insumch, that Pope *Alexander* said very wel; *That the French-men came with Chalke in their hands, like Harbingers, to make and take up their lodgings where they pleased*: For they had not occasion, so much as to put on their Armour, in all the Voyage.

Therefore I conclude, according to the opinion of very many good and religious men, and other sorts of people (So the voyce of the people is the voyce of God) that GOD did punish these Kings visibly, and in such euident manner; that it might serue for an example and admonition to all Kings, to liue well, according to the commandement of God. For these Kings whereof I haue spoken, lost their Honours and Realme, great riches, and mooueables of all sorts; yea, and their owne persons in the ende, three of them in the space of one year, or little more. And, as I haue understood of some (that were verynere there) they found (in pulling downe an olde Chappell) a Booke, whereof the Title was; *The Truth, with her secret counsell*; in which Booke, was contained all that had happened after vnto them: And when they three (onely) had read it, they burnt it.

Thus

Philip de Comines lib.

Charles the 8. King of France the Comissary of God to chastise the Kings of Naples

The admirable facility of God vpon the Kings of Naples.

The euident punishment of God vpon the Kings of Naples.

A Prophecie of the Conquest of Naples.

Guic. lib. 1. lib.

King *Ferdinand* the King of Naples, died for sorrow.

The idle bragging of King *Alphonso*.

Guic. lib. 1. lib.

The spirit of King *Ferdinand* appeared after his death.

The Kings of Naples deputed out their Kingdoms.

Guic. lib. 1. lib. The torments of a guiltie Conscience.

Thus much I thought good to set down in the words of this wise and graue Authour, to the end, that not only the bad liues of these Kings, but also his iudgement may appeare concerning Gods Iustice shewed vpon them and their whole Kingdome for the same. And this may also be confirmed by other periculers, which *Guicardine* recounteth of them, and of the successe of that warre, signifying, that *Ferdinando* the Father being verie wise, and vnderstanding of that intention of King *Charles*, to come and inuade his Kingdom; he feared so greatly the successe (in respect of his owne bad life and his sonnes) that hee laboured by all meanes possible, by Ambassadors and Friends to diuert him from his purpose, offering to pay him yearly Tribute, of 50000. Ducates, and to holde his Kingdom of him, by fealty and homage. And when hee saw that nothing would preuaile, hee fell sicke with sorrow, and died before King *Charles* entred into Italy.

And *Alphonso* his Sonne (who then succeeded him in the Kingdom) though he bragd long before that he would go so farre as to the Mountaines, to meete King *Charles* if he came forwards (which he said, he would neuer beleue he durst do yet afterward, when the French were in Italy, and came so farre as Rome, hee tooke such a fright, that hee cried out euery night, he heard the French-men coming, and that the verie trees and stones cried France. And, as *Guicardine* affirmeth (who was not a man either easily to beleue, or rashly to vrite Fables) it was credibly and constantly reported, that the spirit of *Ferdinand*, his father, appeared to one that had bene his Physician, and bad him tell his sonne *Alphonso* from him, that he should not bee able to resist the Frenchmen. For God hadde ordained, that his progeny should (after many great afflictions) bee deputed of their Kingdoms, for the multitude and great enormity of their finnes. And especially, for that which he had done (by the perswasion of *Alphonso*) himselfe, in the Church of *S. Leander*, in *Chata* neere to *Naples*, whereof hee told not the particulars.

Furthermore, the same Authour signifieth, that *Alphonso* was exagitated with suspitions and feares, whiles he was waking, and in his sleepe, with the present

ration of the Noblemen, whom hee had caused to be secretly murdered in prison; (as I haue declared before) and that being in this miserable perplexitie, hee resigned his Crowne vnto his sonne (that was called *Ferdinando* after his grand-fathers name) and ranne away into *Sicily*, in such haile, that his Mother in law (with whom only he communicated his intention) being deuorant to flie with him, could not perswade him to stay for her so much as three dayes, which hee earnestly desired, to the end, the might haue that comfort at least, to be Queen of *Naples* a full year. But hee told her, that if he would not go presently with him, hee would leaue her: protesting (as *Philipp de Comines* testifieth) that if any sought to stay him by force, hee would cut himselfe out at the Windows. Asking her further, if she heard not euery one crye *France, France*. Thus being tormented with the horrour of his owne Conscience, and the terror of Gods Iudgements alreadye false vpon him: hee fled into *Sicily*, taking with him diuers sortes of delicate wares, (which hee had alwayes loued ouerwell) and some Garden seeds to sowe, and a few Jewels, and a little money, without taking any order in the World, for his goodes and Moueables, which he left in great quantitie and abundance, in the Castle of *Naples*.

But being arrived in *Sicily*, and touched with Gods grace, hee fell into the account of his bad life past, and of Gods Iustice executed vpon him, hee became penitent, gaue great almes, and entered into Religion, in which estate, hee dyed some after of the stone, with the extremest torments that could be imagined, as some of the Religious; with whom hee liued, tolde after to *Philipp de Comines*; as himselfe writeth. And to conclude the Tragical History of the Kings, his sonne *Ferdinand* to whom hee resigned his Crowne, being assembled all his forces, durst make no resistance any where vnto the French, but fledde before them from place to place, vntill at length, almost all his Subjects forsooke him, and rebelled against him; whereupon, hee fled also into *Sicily*, and within awhile dyed thereof. Loee heere the miserable calamity which (for the finnes of these Kings) fell not onely vpon them, but also vpon their whole Kingdom, seruing for many yeares af-

Philip de Comines in *Caues* 8.

K. Alphonso being strangely tormented with the horrour of his own conscience, fled into *Sicily*.

King *Alphonso* died in *Sicily*, very repentant.

lib. Cap. 19.

K. Ferdinand, forsaken of his Subjects, fled into *Sicily* and died there.

ter, for a prey and spoile to forraign Nations, vntill at length it inuayed the re-
pose, which now it hath vnder the K. of
Spaine.

CHAP. XXII.

Of a Courtier, And what manner of man he
ought to be.



He reason inducing mee to
write of a Courtier, is to
take away a false per-
uasion, imprinted in common
and popular Iudgement,
in thinking; that a Courtier is none o-
ther, then an affrontor of Merchants, a Dis-
sembler, a Flatterer, Inciuit, a Lier, a rus-
sian, a Swaggerer, a troublesome fellow:
In briefe, a man made vp of all Vices, be-
cause that in the Kings times, the Sonnes
to late King *Henry* the second, raising
in young yeares, many then were such,
which being well obserued by that wor-
thie and great man, the Lord de *Pyrack*,
in his Poetrie of *Quatraines*, hee sung
thus:

Go not to Rouelles, if thou loue no dancing,
Nor venter on the Sea, if thou feare danger:
Go not to Bankets if thou canst not eate,
Nor to the Court, if thou speake what thou thinkest.

Now at this present, liuing in such a
time, when wee haue a King of a consti-
stant age, of a ripe vnderstanding, and
Princes and Princesses, that will haue
hone in their Courts, but people of ver-
ue; I purpose to propound, what man-
ner of man a Courtier ought to be, and
his ends. To qualify this error of the
people, wherein they haue bene led full
manie yeares. Moreover, such as would
or else pretend themselves to be Courtiers,
by what meanes, and with what great faci-
lity they shall attaine thereto.

First of all, he that desireth to followe
the Courts of Emperors, Kings, Queens,
Dukes, Dutcheffes, Marquesses, and
Earles, or other illustrious persons, ought
to be a Gentleman by birth, and of a no-
ble house of Antiquity: because it is lesse
reproachfull for a Yeoman, to fall in the

exercise of Vertuous actions; then for
him that is Noble borne; who er-
ring from these steppes which his predeces-
sors walkt in, soyleth the name & honor
of his house and race. Before hee go to
Court, he must be past the age of Ado-
lescence, which is about twentie or fize
and twenty yeares of his age: for being
much older; he will not finde it to his li-
king. Hee must be well featured and
formed, both of his bodye and counte-
nance, least he be misprized and scorned.
He must be of an indifferent stature, to
wit; neither extremely high nor low: for
men of such sort, are lookt on like things
of monstrous ouer. Beside, men of so
great stature,ouer and aboue their com-
mon addition, to dull vnderstanding
are verie vnapt to all exercises of agility,
matters verie commendable in a Courtier.

He must be expert in all kind of armes,
to helpe himselfe, as neede shall require,
both at all times, and in all places. He
must be a good Horseman, and active in
managing him; that he may be knowne
(among others) to be hardie and valiant.
He must be loyall and faithfull vnto him
whom he serueth, and addicted to accord
quarrels and contentions, his own honor
safely kept, and his for whom hee maketh
the agreement. Besides, as hee ought
to be skilfull in Wrestling, Leaping, dan-
cing, and playing on some or manie In-
struments of Musicke; so should hee like-
wise readily sing any Poet or Historian.
He must be exquisite in speaking diuers
Languages: if he be French, English, or
what else, he ought to speake Latine, Ita-
lian, Spanish, yea the Germaine tongue
also, if it be possible. And for his
better attaining thereto, before hee pra-
ctise any of them, he must haue visited the
Countries where the Languages are na-
turally spoken. For, to learne them by
Bookes, he shall neuer pronounce them
truly. I meane the like of other Na-
tions, in regard that the *Frenchmen*, *Ita-
lians*, *Spaniards*, and *Germaines*, do ordina-
rily conuerse together.

He must not vie any foolish presump-
tion, nor be a reporter of wearisome
Nouelties, or so vnadvised, as to speake
Offensiuie speeches, in steade of such as
may better please. Hee must not be
Opiniuie, or Contentious, as some doe
seeme to haue no other delight, then in
being

Of what yeares.

Of what fortin

Of what stature.

Of skill in armes.

A good horseman.

A loyall Seruant.
A Peace-maker.

Actiue in exercises.
A good Musitian.

A ready speaker of manie Languages, by visiting Countries.

No learning of Languages by Bookes.

Concerning his good pastime

Popular opinion concerning a Courtier.

Le Sieur de Pyrack in his Quatraine.

The Authors determinate Proposition.

A Courtier ought to be Noble by race

No trouble-
some person.

Bad and vn-
decent quali-
ties.

Fame pur-
sueth Vertue.

No vantage or
iuster.

Lesse comen-
ded for wit &
reading.

The Historie
of a Mason of
Lymosine.

Habit often-
times makes
the man.

The Spanishe
pieces of fine
pence Value.

A kind of dea-
ling scarce
commendable.

being crosse and troublesome, like Flies
or Waspes, and make it their profession,
to gainay euery man despitfully, with-
out any respect at all. He must be no
prater, Vaine, glorious Boaster, Lier,
Flatterer, or Knatt; but moderate and
peaceable, vying euermore (especially in
publicke) reuerence and respect towards
his Lorde, which is most commendable
in a seruant. Fame and renowne do fol-
low all good parts; if they appeare in ac-
tion, both in due time and place, and he
cannot faile in these things, but to his own
great dishonor. He must make no vants
of himselfe, except he be truly valiant, &
haue adde some great enterprizes, or
done some memorable Stratagems, Nei-
ther must he vie any iests, that may offend
his Prince, or others: except hee order
his iests, and so satir them, as the Prince
may speake their worth for wit and di-
cretion, and not reprove them with want
of Iudgement; but instead of displeasure,
thinke them to deserue both respect and
recompence.

To this purpose, wee may alledge the
Historie of a Marshall of *France*, teamed
of *S. Andrew*, who knowing that King
Henry, second of that name, could hardly
finde an Architect to his liking, to forme
him a model for two bodies of lodgings,
which he purposed to build at *Fontaine-
bleau*, brought him a man of *Lymosine*, a
Mason by his trade, yet ignorant. But
hauing fitted him with sufficient habite,
he made the King beleue, that hee was
a great Architect, verie deeply experi-
enced in that Art, & that it was the same
man, who had projected al the buildings
which *Charles* the first, Emperour and king
of *Spaine*, had caused to be made. And
indeed, this poore man had bin in *Spaine*,
in his younger yeares, to gaine some know-
ledge by Trauaile, for his best practise
could not maintain him in his own coun-
trei. And hauing gotten in *Spaine* (in the
compass of fixe or seauen yeares) some
fittie Reals of siluer, thinking himselfe to
be the richest man in his Country, hee
returned home againe. Hauing spent a
good part of his Money, he had married
another Wife; for al *Lymosine*, or peo-
ple of those parts, vying Mechanical pro-
fessions, when (for lucre sake) they tra-
uaile into *Spaine*: they marrie there (for
the most part) to women that doo but
lend themselves (as it were) for that time,

and coming into their owne Country,
there they are at libertie againe to take
other Wives.

This poore Mason came to dwell at
Orleans, hauing spent well-nere all his
Reals, and eaten vp his Wifes Dowrie
beside, which might amount to twentie
pounds; he heard there of some other Ma-
sons, that earned daily fiftie or eight
sols, or sours, and in his Countrey, they
had no more but two sols, or fix blanks.
The Lorde Marshall meeting with this
Mason by chance, as hee walked one day
abroad in the fields, to passe awaie the
time pleasantly: hee fell into Conference
with him, and found that he had a verie
proude and ouer-weening presumption
of his owne sufficiency. So much the ra-
ther, because hee was a workman at the
building of the new Conueit of *Nostre
Dame de Monferat*. Vn hereindeed hee
hope to supply the Masons with Mor-
ter, which made him of opinion, that he
was the verie best Architect of his time:
Albeit hee vnderstood litle or nothing,
scarcely knowing howe to order or lay a
stone in a wall in his right place.

The King crediting the Lord Marshals
wordes, spake a long time together in
good French to the Mason, and yet vn-
derstood nothing backe againe from him:
for hee stode with his Hat on, without vi-
sing any reuerence to the King, or respec-
ting him any more, then if he had bene
his daily companion. Sometime, hee
called his maistie *Monsieur*, or my Lord
the King, speaking one while *Lymosine*,
then againe thrusting forth a word or two
of *spanish*: the King perceiving nothing
all this while, but continued his speeches
earnestly to the Mason, that hee might at
full vnderstand his mind.

At length, the King beholding that
all the standers by smiled, and aboue all,
the Lord Marshall, desired to knowe the
reason of their Laughter; which being
disclosed to him, himselfe fell into a verie
mirthfull humour, and laughed heartily,
because he had no better noted the Lan-
guage, the Crispe countenance and ig-
norance of the poore Mason. Nor did
the King any way take the iest offensiu-
ly; but contrarywise, was well pleased, &
much commended the Lorde Marshall
for it. The like manner of iesting, inu-
ented by a quicke and apprehensiu spirit,
with obscuration of time and place, may
bee

* The French
sipping, ten
whereof doe
make one
English.
* Hee is a sol
is a Blanke.

Presumption
never wanted
fully.

The foolish
impudence of
the Mason.

The King se-
dously speak-
ing, discerned
not the iest.

An aduerse-
ment into a
Courtier.

Of mocks,
girds, & tantsof the Princes
Chamber.Of Speeches
to the Prince.

Of Requests.

Of Princes
fauours.Of vndeceit
seruices, if
they be vrgedOf reprehens-
ions.A Courtiers
aime and end

Of Garments

Election of
friends.Companie
keeping, and
behaviour.

be permitted in a Courtier, not offending his Prince, but vsed with such discretion, as may rather procure recompence, then any disgrace.

In these pleasant behauiours, he must vse no bitter or vnflattering mocks, girds, or tants, neither towards poore or Rich, and especially not to women, who (in regard of their imbecility) are to be respected. He must forbear entrance into the Princes Chamber, except he be called, or commaunded thither. If the Prince haue retired himselfe, to recreate his spirit, beware of vsing any speeches to him, that may fauour of irkelomnes, but rather of Delectation. Let him not request any thing for himself, that formerly hath bene moued by another, and may be to his aduantage, euermore shunning importunity in such proceedings. Let him attend the fauours of his Prince, and not demand them; auoiding solicitude either he be thought vain glorious, or weake spirited.

By foule and vnfitting actions, neuer seeke to compass fauour, as seruing in murderous or Bawdy employments; but if such occasions be offered, let a dissembled defenseless excuse it, or some other private matter, cause present retirement, which may returne answer, without any other reply. For a Courtier that falls into such employments for his Prince, vpon ouer-much pressing, may well declare the case to be dishonest; and if hee still persist, let wisdom giue direction to withdraw from his Court. For, reprehensions may not bee giuen to Princes publicly, but private and apart, albeit he exceed his Prince in yeares. For, a Courtiers aime only should be, to teach his Prince. A Courtiers Garmentes ought to be of blacke colour, or of such darke decencie, as may rather expresse grauity, then giddinesse or glory. Except it be in Armes, Maskes, or Triumphes, where gay and goodly colours are more fitting, and Imbroderies, Iewelles, and Magnificent pompe.

Let him entertaine one only Vertuous friend, and not two (for two will carrie themselves better together then three) conformable to himselfe in life and manners. Neuertheless, hee must loue, honor, and respect all other friends, according to their worth and merit. He must also endeavour daily, to comfort himselfe

with men of esteeme, Noble by Nature and birth, and such as are truly knowne to be men of Honor and Honesty, rather then Villaines, or people of no credite. His care likewise must be, to be beloved and honoured of them, which he cannot faile of, if he be courteous, humane, liberal, affable, and kind in company, ready to pleasure any, diligent in seruice, & carefull of his friends honor, either absent or present, supporting their naturall

and tollerable defects, without breach of amity betwene them, for small matters, correcting such errors in himself, as shall be lovingly shewne him, without esteeming himselfe aboue others, or affecting the highest and most honourable places. And he must not imitate some humours, that seeme to despise the world, & strue (by a kinde of trouble some aueritic) to prescribe Lawes or directions to others: so that, besides their mollesious and quarrelling condition, euery for the least Trifles in the world; they will reape where they should not, and seeke all occasions to complaine of their verie best Friends, which is an odious and bad behauiour.

If it happen that he bee called or challenged to the *Duells* or single fight (as oftentimes it falls out in the courts of Princes) and by indiscretion or rashnesse, he must not ouer-violently and vnadvisedly present himselfe thereto, but with a cool and temperate carriage, euery as compelled or enforced to his answer. And if the businesse can fall out no otherwise, but he must needs proceede to the acte; for safety of his honor, he may boldly vndergo it.

It is also absurde and vnlightie in a Courtier, to carry himselfe extreamelie or enraged in any sport or recreation: for then hee resembleth rather a furious Madman, then one of ciuill and ferled condition. His conuersation must be sober, and (about all things) hee must auoid drunkennesse, and beware of those trickes, which are too ordinarily vsed in Courtes, in striuing who shall soonest make a man drunke, onely to shame and disgrace him. In being a map of such behauiour, euery one will bee iure to note and scorne him; and the Prince himselfe will stande doubtfull of his honestie: or, how he should trust him with any case of Consequence, for Drunkardes are vnapt per-

Nect too much
esteem of him
selfe, or Villi-
pending o-
thers.Austere life
vndeceitOf the Duells
or single com-
bats.Of sports and
Pastimes.Violence in
sports.Of Drunken-
nesse.Playing with
the Prince.Too much de-
light in play
or sport.Extremities
to be auoidedHow to cover
his ignorance
and imperfec-
tion of bodie.Ferrand King
of Naples.Maintenance
of credit.Report of no-
uelties & lies.

persons for State affaires.

If he bee invited by his Prince to anie play or pastime, he may safely yield therto, not in hope to make gaine of him; but only to yield him contentment. And let him be careful, that he be not too opiniue in any accident against him: but giue way to him in all, and by al meanes, in regard of fo great inconueniences, that thereby do daily happen.

Likewise, let him not immitate some, who will spare no time (either daie or night) from playing, but thereby do lose many faire occasions, of performing some good Offices vnto their Prince, whence might be deriued great merit and fauors. Some haue bene noted so assidue and earnest, that they would play away lands, houses, Garments, yea, their verie Horfes and Armour: and afterwards, borrow (by importunitie of their Friendes) without any re-payment, whereupon, haue ensued Contempts, Quarrels, and Blood.

Let him not speak of any thing which he vnderstandeth not, wherein hee shall expresse more Wisedome to bee silent: for it is an honest shadow and cloake to his ignorance. Likewise, if he haue anie imperfection in some part of his bodie, let him hide and conceale it by all possible meanes. As did *Ferrand King of Naples*, who would neuer plucke off his Gloues, because his hands were not white. *Iulius Cesar* also did daily weare a Chaplet of Bayes, because he was bald.

He must keepe his credite with Merchants and others, not following the dealing of many, who are beholding to such as lend them: yet must be daily importuned to make repayment, euery vnto his goodnes, as their goodnes and landes must be seized on, yea, sometimes their bodies confined to prison. Thiese behauiours, do rather relish of a man vterly lost and forsaken, then of a Vertuous Courtier.

In his talke and discoursing, hee must report no Myracles, that is to say, things that are not likely, nor neuer were. They that make profession of relating such nouelties, are euermore held for Lyes; and euery man that is a liar, will carry the like credit of beleefe, when he speaketh truth. Laughter likewise, except it light vpon good ground, is no vray commendable: For any man, that is subiect vnto long

laughter, and without some sounde subiect, deliues no better vnderstanding of himselfe, then of a meere Poole.

Now, because no Court appeareth to be compleat, except it be accompanied with Ladies, let vs admit the case, that our instant described Courtier, bee in such a Court so worthily furnished, & where he may bee become an amorous seruant to some beauty, and to an honest end for (otherwise) he will find his own perill. He must not immediatly make knowne his passions by parlance, with furious gestures and oblationes, as many vnadvised Courtiers haue done. But the best bewayer of his affections, are continence, a sigh, respect, fear, & humble meekenesse, which auails more then a thousand fond words can do; and hee may fo order his carriage, that his eyes may serue as his best messengers, & beare the true Emballie of his heart, to his dearest esteemed.

Afterward, by equal degrees, he may attaine to speak with his Goddesse, when a touch, or kisse of the hand, and such like honest fauours, may cilly be deriued from any Ladie of respect, honourable affected. Wherefore, hee that hath not lost the restraint of reason, will gouerne himselfe wisely, observe fit times and place; and (when neede requirith) will containe due regard verie diligently, although it bee in neuer so sweete a posture, because publick and apparant loue, is a matter of great difficulty to order.

The ends then of a perfect Courtier, such an one as I cannot heere sufficiently describe; is (in mine Opinion) to win by the meanes of those qualities which I haue set downe to him, the fauour and affection of his Prince in such sort: that his seruice may bee alwaies commendable, and to tell him the truth in all things that are conuenient for him; to wit, without feare or danger of displeasing him; & so to order himselfe, that when he knowes his mind inclined to matters inconuenient for him, to bee so hardie as to gainsay them. Seruing him in gentle manner, and gaining fauour by the good parts in him; to the end, that he may preuent all bad intentions in him, and conduct him the pathes of Vertue. And so, our Courtier hauing nothing but goodness in him; accompanied with promptitude of spirit, chearefulness, prouidence, wife-

Behauiour in
case of Ladies
and loue.The best Or-
naments in an
amorous
Courtier.The respect
of good Go-
uernment.The end and
aime of a perfect
Courtier
is to make his
Prince Vertu-
ous.The qualities
of a compleat
Courtier.

wisdom, knowledge, in learnings, and all other virtuous qualities: hee shall (in all occasions) worthily make appaunt to his Prince, what profite and honour cometh to him and his, by means of Iustice, Liberality, Magnanimity, Affability, Familiarity, and all other Vertues which are conuenable for a good Prince. And contrariwise, what infamy and losse proceedeth from those Vices, which are some enemies to these Vertues. And for a full conclusion, 'as manie times it happeneth, that a Vertuous Courtier maketh the Prince good; so a vicious Courtier maketh his Prince wicked and detestable. Of this mind were all such, as haue medled in Writing of a Courtier; and among others, *Balthazar the Castellannus*.

CHAP. XXIII.

How a man may giue praise and commendation to himselfe, without impeache or prejudice to others.



Cicero, in the third Booke of his Oratour saith; *That no man can honestly commend himselfe, but others will conuenie enuie thereat, and reprove him for it.* Concerning this saying, albeit it hath beene allowed by many; yet it is not generally receyued and warranted. For, a man may lawfullie commend himselfe, without attraction of enuie vpon him: especially, if hee be a worthy Soldier, or a man of such merit, as can speake of generous actions, or valiant employments, if they be performed by him, and their Character apparant. *Iulius Cæsar* may serue for an example, who hath spoken great matters of himselfe, and yet (for al that) no way discommendable therein. His Commentaries which discourse of nothing, but his braue and generous exploits in the *Gaulish* Warres, were scene and read of all men in his time, yet no way blamed or despised, so farre as we know: but on the

contrarie, were highly praised, both in regard of his eloquence, as also his singular expeditions.

But, if he had attributed to himselfe, or made vaunt of more then was performed by him: hee could not haue floode cleare from mallice, yea, in great men, who durst and would haue boldly tolde him, that hee lyed. And all such persons as doe make vaunt of small matters, or of any thing done by the meanes and helpe of others, attributing such actions soly to themselves: they cannot doe it, but with great shame and infamy.

In men of good and worthy respect, it hath bene, and is permitted (euen for the benefit of others) to speake deferuently of themselves, and to their owne advantage. As, if in procuring to be credited, we render a reason of an honest integritie, by some effects of our owne past before; to the end, that hauing the meanes to continue our Vertuous actions, for the profit of manie: we may embrace their praise, in despite of their owne spleene (as we teame it) and constrain them to receiue both profite and pleasure from vs, euen such as would else shun all like occasions.

This was it, which made *Themistocles* vse these wordes in the Councille of the *Athenians*, euen when he sawe them fully glutted with his good deedes. *O poore people* (quoth hee) *why doe you suffer your selues to receiue so manie benefits from one and the same person?* At another time hee vsed these Words to them. *In time of Raine and Tempestes, you make your recourse to me, as vnder the spreading armes of a Tree. And when faire weather comes againe, you seare downe each branch as you passe by.*

Homer maketh *Nestor* to speake his owne Valiant deedes, to encourage *Patruels*, and nine other Knights, in attempting the Combate (bodie to bodie) against *Hector*. In like maner, the words of exhortation, action of the hande, and example with the Spurre of emulation; is liuely, and pierceth meruailously; yea, it bringeth (with courage and affection) hope to attaine vnto the height of anie thing, which otherwise woulde appeare impossible.

A man may also commend himselfe before an ingratefull person, to shewe him

Shame gotten in Courtier praise.

Of persons permitted to praise and commend themselves.

Themistocles to the Athenians in his owne halfe.

Homer of Nestor.

The Vertue of words well deliuered.

Against ingratitude.

A stranger may commend himselfe, and the reason for it.

him his fault, in forgetting former benefits receiued: A stranger, to gaine the good opinion of Inhabitantes, amongst whom he is newly arrived may attribute some honourable Title vnto his present condition, and speake well of himselfe. As it is to be noted in *Virgil*, that *Eneas* did, after the Destruction of *Troy* his native Countrey, wandering by Sea and Lande, to seek a new dwelling, vsing these Wordes (when *Enquire* was made of him) *Sum pius Eneas*, that is to say, I am *Eneas* the *Trojan*, full of Pietie and Religion, flouing the Goddess his aged feble Father, and his verie young sonne, whom (with great perill) he had saved from the ruine and destruction of his Countrey; and this was not vnfiting in him.

I haue many times bene amazed at *Cicero*, who Writes (as I haue sayde in the beginning of this Chapter) that a man in praising himselfe, dooth but attract Malice and Enuie on his owne head: And yet notwithstanding, there is an Epistle of his owne, which (in verie vehement affection) he wrote to an Historiographer; wherein hee entreats him, not to be vniuersall of inferring in his Histories of memorable actions, what hee hadde written perticulerlie of himselfe. In mine opinion, there was neither manners nor Modesty, but excessie beyond al reason.

There is nothing more vaine, or further off from equity, then for men to pursue the Quest of their owne praise & renowne. *Chrysippus* and *Diongenes* were the first Authors, and firmest of al other, in the contempt of glory; for they saide,

That among al desires, there is none more dangerous, or with greater care to be avoided, then that which cometh to vs from the approbation of others. And all the glorie of the world, is of no such merit; as that a man of valour standing, should so much as stretch forth his finger, only to gaine it. There are manie men in these dayes, that will neuer adventure in the perilles of Warre, or where their duty most commandeth them: if they thought that they should not be scene, or it should not be publickly reported, that they haue performed some perticuler deed of praise, beyonde the honour they pretended to enioy, only because they are couetous of glory and reputation.

If this might be allowed for good, then men neede not to be vertuous, but in publicke; and the operations of the soule (where is the true seat of Vertue) should serue vs to no other end, but to vie them as a rule and order, without any endeavour to attain the knowledge of them in other persons: Vertue then should bee a vertue vaine and fruitles thing, if these deuised her commendation from Glorie. For, what is more casuall and accidental then reputation? To cause that our Actions should be scene and knowne, belongeth to the Hande-worke of Fortune. Oftentimes, the reputation of an action well performed, continueth (it may bee) but three or foure dayes? Other-whiles, so long as hee and his liueth; and yet some after, no more memorie remaineth of either.

Some there are, that will rashlie and willingly fall into daunger, to purchase false Honor; and doing so, he is neuer after so much as talk of: whereby, both he and his renowne dooth periish together. It hath bene mere hazard, that is reported of some Captaines; *Cæcilius*, *Romaines*, *Persians*, *French*, *Germanes*, and others; as also of an hundred thousand men, that are dead, in execution of worthy enterprizes, or hindring of them, yet none spoken of, because all depetted on Fortune. Wee reade, that *Cæsar* was neuer wounded; yet was he present in more then fiftie battalies, and at infinite Citties surprizing. Whereas others, vpon much lesse occasions, haue bene maimed and slaine: and what can be faid of *Cæsar* here, but that it was his good Fortune?

It hath bene, and yet is an ordinary Vice, that we are more desirous of great then of good Reputation: And it appeareth to be sufficient, that our names run thorow other mens mouths, as receyving there both life and lasting, and must bee there kept out of our owne possession. But Wise men do propole vnto themselves a more iust and certain end, in any important enterprizes, to wit; actions of Vertues, which are so Noble of themselves; as there needs no other praise or recompence to be sought for, but eue their owne worth & value; and Namely, not to seeke for their esteeme, in the vaine of humane iudgements. And yet notwithstanding, this false opinion fer

The powerfull operation of the soule.

Not to be neglected, it is to be continually.

False honour soune gotten.

Fortune crucieth vnto such in purchasing commendation.

The common vice of these times.

The duty sheweth endeaour on a vertuous man.

A Vertuous Courtier maketh a good Prince.

The saying of Cicero in lib. 3. de Orat.

An excepted against the saying of Cicero.

Of Cæsar's Commentaries.

Men should not court their owne praise.

Chrysippus and Diongenes.

The vanity of such as seeke after praise.

For women of
what degree
fouler.

Of Lysander
the famous
Lacedemonian
Soldier.

Of Alcibiades
the Athenian.

Of Erethron
the Sophister.

The praises
of bad & wicked
persons,
are worth no
thing.

ueth to containe men in their deuoure,
that it may bee executed with a certaine
caution and modesty. In this manner,
Women of what degree fouler, may be
aduerfified, when they are sought after by
lasciuious men; not to make refusal, by
saying, they holde their Honour in ac-
count: but rather to tell them, that it is
their dutie to gouerne themselves chast-
ly.

Lysander, the great *Lacedemonian* cap-
taine, answered a certaine odde Fellow,
who told him; That he would commend
him euery where, and counter-checke
all his Dispraisers. *I haue two Oxen* (quoth
he) *in the fildes that cannot speake, and yet*
neverthelesse, I know that which is good for
labour, from the other that is not. Heereby
he gaue to vnderstand, that vertue stood
in no neede of mens Commendations,
considering thee carrieth with her selfe
good renoune and honor; but such men
as do not performe any Vertuous acte,
they (indeed) haue need of popular prai-
ses.

Alcibiades the *Athenian*, made a moc-
kerie of such, as by sumptuous buildings,
Statues, Trophies, and composition of
Books, promised vnto themselves an im-
mortal reputation: for he taught them,
that the true and only means of compas-
sing praise, was to liue iustly and Religi-
ously. It was also one day told him, that
certaine scelerous and bad persons com-
mended him: whereto he replied, *If such*
men praise me, I feare that I haue commis-
sed some foule offence: perswading him-
selfe, that such kind of people can neuer
giue any good reputation.

Erethron the Sophister, hearing that
he was ordinarily commended by *Alexi-
nus*, answered; *That is a great meruail, for*
I do nothing but detract and speake evil of
him in all places where I come. Declaring
by this answer, that he would not haue
his renoune to be wronged and baffled
by such an one as was worthy of nothing
but reprehension. And to speake the
truth, this *Alexinus* was a man of no rec-
koning, or desirous to haue anie good
speeches vsed of him. For, vpon a time,
as hee was verie vehemently depraui-
ng *Stilpo* the *Megarian*, reputed in those
times for a great Philosopher, one fode-
denly told him, that it was not long since
that *Stilpo* had spoken verie well of him,
and with great respect, giuing him extra-

ordinarie Commendations: By *Isotier*
(answered *Alexinus*) *I say as this present,*
that Stilpo is a very braue & excellent man.
Thus yee may discern, what vanity and
inconstancy was (in an instant) appar-
antly discovered in *Alexinus*.

The Reader may gather by this Dis-
course, that hee should neuer giue anie
praise of himselfe, except hee haue done
something that commendeth it selfe, and
may thereby incite others to Vertue, al-
though thorough want of Modestie, he
shall otherwise bee blameable. In like
manner, not to deferre or keepe himselfe
from dooing well and Vertuously, when
any occasion shall aptly offer it selfe, and
where his owne periculer dutie both
bindeth and commandeth him, albeit no
Witnesses, Beholders, or Scruieners
stand by, to Register or set downe his ac-
tions in Writing. So banishing from
vs all such vanity, wee shall well content
our selues with that recompence, which
Vertue draweth after her continually;
because it is immortal, and subiect vnto
no perishing, as that Renoune is,
which dependeth wholly on mens iudge-
ments.

CHAP. XXIII.

By what varietie of meanes, *Frances Sfor-
za*, and *Nicholas Pichinine* wonne the
renoune, of being the most skilful men
in the Art Military, that liued in their
dayes.



It appeareth, according
to Naturall Reason, that
he who hath attained to
any degree, in anie Art
or Facultie whatsoever
it bee, ought wholie to
accomodate himselfe thereto, following
his beginning, thereby to purchase his
Fame and Reputation. Neuerthelesse,
wee daily see, that (by diuers meanes)
men reach to one & the same end; wher-
of we haue infinite examples: Among
which, it likes me to nominate *Frances
Sforza*, who afterward was Duke of *Mil-*
laine.

The Authors
Conclusion
on this Argu-
ment.

Pursue of
Fame and re-
putation.

The time
when they
liued.

long conten-
tion conclu-
ded at last.

The reason
of Pichinine
name.

The descrip-
tion of Pich-
nine.

His martiall
courage and
disposition.

His manner of
seruice.

His fortune
& successe
in warre.

Laine, and *Nicholas Pichinine* the *Italian*,
men verie singuler and expert in Armes:
who were in the time of King *Alphonso*,
of *Arragon* and *Naples*, and of *Lewes Ma-
ria*, Duke of *Milaine*. These two Cap-
taines were very contrarie and eniuous
against each other, because they feuerall-
ly pretended, to beare chiefe honour in
Armes about his competitor. In which
respect, they both declared such courage
and dexterity of spirit; as for a long while
it was vehemently doubted, whether of
them merited most to be preferred. This
equall contention so long continued, till
after expece of many yeares, and sun-
dry well fought batailles on both sides;
Pichinine was Conquered: by meanes
whereof, *Sforza* hauing the right appar-
antly on his part, got the glorie, was
made Duke of *Milaine*, and was the sole
Maister, or (at least) the more fortunate
man.

These two Contenders, attained (by
diuers meanes) to great esteeme and re-
putation. *Nicholas Pichinine*, was so lit-
tle of bodie, as for that cause only he was
called *Pichinine*. But albeit he was of so
little stature, he was contrarie thereto, in
greatnesse of heart, and vndantable resolu-
tion. He was a man of few Words,
and them he vttered but badly too; yet he
comprehended in them many great mat-
ters. With his Soldiers he was of a chear-
full and recreatiue spirit; and bountifull to
his friends; but sharpe and furious to his
enemies. In warre, he was euermore de-
sireous to come to the point, and alwayes
(as occasion gaue way) hee would giue
present bataille, wherein he wanted nei-
ther wit or counsell, and was prouident
in exposing himselfe to perils: euermore
hoping ease, and of such a prompt dispo-
sition, as many times he would take his
enemies vnprouided. Hee much deligh-
ted in Watch-Towers, Beacons, and
Ambuscadoes, affecting more to vie the
seruice of Horle, rather then Foote, in
warre; coupling still to haue his follow-
ers Valiant, sharpe of Naure, & dread-
full. This Captaine was of so great spi-
rit, that he could no way be daunted, or
declare any signe of feare, albeit his en-
emies were neuer so many in number. He
had a singuler grace and dexteritie, in
causing his men to march faire, and suc-
ceeding them safely: and to conclude, hee
won so many excellent Victories in di-

uers parts of *Italy*, that he was renowned
for a singuler good Captaine.

Now, as concerning his Competitor,
Frances Sforza, his qualities and disposi-
tions were quite contrary to those of *Pi-
chinine*. He was bigge of body, well pro-
portioned, and strongly limbed, of gentle
countenance, a quick stirring eye, bald-
headed, a good presence, copious in dis-
course, and well ordered, a lively spirit,
and well aduised, desirous to reach high
enterprises, and patient in aduersities. He
alwayes auoided the meanes of breaking
warre, labouring more to vanquish by
besieging, or temporizing, then present
fight. He would neuer giue bataille, ex-
cept hee were enforced thereto, or that he
saw himselfe vpon a great aduenture. He
would haue his men march in good Or-
der; and by the best meanes to be valiant,
and yet gracious: making more account
of his Infanterie, then his Compleatell
Horsemenn, continually preferring them
to the greatest stratagems, because hee
placed best trust in them. He was firme
and constant in all his enterprizes, quick
and wise in beguiling his enemy, and dis-
couering his Fallacies in all Brandaues
made vpon him. In Nouell intentions,
he would stand vpon his guard; be-
ing a man of ready counsell, and a prest
spirit in all occasions.

By which Rules and Obseruations (al-
though they were so different from those
in the other) he was esteemed as a woorthy
Soldier, attaining (by diuers meanes
and deuises) to the Dukedom of *Milaine*,
and to be one of the cheefest men in the
world. Of these two men, so deferuently
famous, manie Moderne Historians
haue largely written: especiallie *Aeneas
Sylvius*, Pope, in his Cosmography, and
Antonius Sobellius, in his *Euader*, wher
such Readers, as are desirous to bee fur-
ther informed, concerning these men,
may read more amply their liues and ac-
tions; for in this place (according to our
method in all obseruations; which barres
vs from full report, and binde vs to breui-
tie) we are perswaded, that we haue spo-
ken well and sufficiently.

Of Francis
Sforza quite
contrarie in
manie
respects to
Pichinine.

His warre
feruice, and
marshalling
his men.

His minde &
resolution.

Historians
th at haue
written of
these two
worthy men.

Hh4 CAP.

CHAP. XXV.

*That the Lyon naturally feareth the Cocke:
with many other notable matters con-
cerning the Lyon.*



Nothing in
this World of
allurance.

OD hath not made any creature in this Worlde so strong and powerfull, but there abideth in him some cause of feare or terror, and something is ordained to offend him. In like manner, there is nothing in this world firme and assured, for one thing is destroyed by another; and the same also afterward, ruined by some other thing: so that we know not what may bee warranted, or which thing can bee kept from corrupting.

Naturall loue
or hatred a-
mongst crea-
tures.

Hence it ensueth, that oftentimes we shunne such things as are likely to hurt vs, and fall (some other way) into perils, which we least suspect or imagine. Moreover, among Beastes and other things created, there is a kind of naturall Loue, or Hatred, by a secret and concealed propriety; by meanes whereof, some seeke and pursue, and others shun and auoyde each other. What Beast is more strong then the Lyon, the Prince of Beasts? Not any, and therefore beares he that name, because (according to som Iudgements) the worde Lyon in *Greece*, signifyeth a (King): Or, according to others (*Sight*) & that in regard of his perfection in seeing, he is so named. But bee it howeuer, this powerfull Beast which euerie one feareth, so soon as he espieth a Cocke, he fearfully gets him gone: and that by a secret propriety in Nature, euen as the Hare shuns the Hound: and not onelic doth the sight of the Cocke cause this auoydance, but the verie smell, if he feele it far off; or hearing him Crow, it makes him maruailously afraid. Nor doth he shun this creature only, but also the noise of a Chariot or Waggon running on the way: and by no meanes can hee bee compelled to stay, if he see a man bearing any light in his hand. Which seemeth to bee an incredible matter, that a Beast

The Lyon
dreadeth the
fight, smell, or
noise of a
Cocke, or any
light in a
mans hand.

so furious, should stand in awe or drede of so small a thing: and yet notwithstanding, it hath been noted by experience: Besides, that which is Written by *Platarch*, in his Booke of the difference betweene Hate and Enuie: *Pliny*, *Saint Ambrose*, and *Albertus Magnus*, who sayeth and maintaineth, that if the Cock be of a White Colour, hee maketh the

Lyon stande much more in feare of him. Nor can there any assured Reason bee yielded in this case, but euen (as I formerly saide) that it commeth by a secret propriety in Nature. And yet *Lucretius*, the Auncient Poet, sayth: That the Cocke and his Feathers haue a certaine propriety or quality, which the Lyon feeling, hee receiueith great terror thereby, and is not able by anie meanes to endure it.

Some others do attribute the cause of this feare, vnto the supream and celestiall Influences, and not vnto the Beastes Sight, Smell, or the matter it selfe. For, (say they) these two Creatures are subiect vnto the Sunne, the Vertue whereof toucheth the Cocke more then the Lyon: and thence it ensueth, that the Lionour and lesse Vertuous in this kinde (albeit the bigger and greater in strength) feareth and obeyeth his superiour. And they say moreover, that in regarde the Cocke is of the Sunnes Nature, hee reioyced and singeth in the morning at the comming and rising of the Sunne. But be it howeuer, we know that the Lyon is more strong, and of greater spirit then all other Beasts; also, extreme in fury & crueltie, against all other of the like Nature. Neuerthelesse, wee haue infinite plain and manifest examples, of his great Mildenesse and Clemencie, whereof it shall not bee amisse to alledge some, according as I finde them credible recorded.

Apion the *Greece* writeth (according as *Aul. Gellius* declareth) of a matter seen by himself, & the same is likewise affirmed by *Elianus* in his Book of Beasts) that in certaine castles, solemnly obserued in the Citie of *Rome*, it was vled as a custome in the great Theater (where diuers kinds of Salvage and cruell beastes were kept, as Lyons, Leopards, and others) men condemned to death were brought and put in to the end that either they might be denoured of them, or to deserue life by valiant

*Plat. in lib. de
differe. Indid.
de Plin. lib. 8.
& Ambros. lib. 9.
de Examer.
Aul. Mag. in lib.
Animal.*

*Lucretius the
old Poet.*

The opinion
of others in
this case, con-
cerning the
Celestiall in-
fluences.

why the cock
singeth at the
Sunnes rising

*Elianus in lib. A.
nimid.*

Men exposed
to wild beas-
ts in the Thea-
ter of Rome.

The history
of *Androdes* &
his Lyon.

A wonderfull
venue in a
Lyon to a man
in misery.

Androdes com-
meth to take
knowledge of
the Lyon.

The Emperour
sends for
Androdes, and
vnderstand-
eth by him
his former
knowledge of
the Lyon.

liant defence of themselves, a Spectacle (indeede) verie cruell and inhumaine. It happened vpon a day, that among other offenders thus brought thither, a man named *Androdes*, seruant to a Romaine Senator, was to take his Fortune, and amongst the other Beasts in the Theater, there was a Lyon of insigne power and greatnesse, as also verie cruel, which had bin brought lately out of *Affrica*, and the eyes of all the Beholders were fixed on this Lyon. The Beast walking Maiestically about the place, beganne to looke aduisedly vpon *Androdes*; and seeming to consider, or take some acknowledgement of him; went steppe by step toward him verie gently, albeit, in opinion of all the By-standers, to rent and teare him in peeces. But their expectation was deceiued, for the Lyon bowing downe his head, came curiously to *Androdes*, who (trembling) awaited nothing else but immediat death; and walking along very lovingly by him, stroked his bodie on the legges and thighes of *Androdes*, kissing and licking his hands and feete, Leaping familiarly & gently on him, euen as yong Whelpes, and other waiting Dogs are wont to doe, when they haue not seene their Maisters in a long time.

Androdes perceiuing the particular affability of the Lyon vnto himselfe, without any shew of the least kind to any of the other condemned persons: cheered his dismayed Spirits, and made much of the Lyon, smooched his head & hayre with his hand, and looking aduisedly on him, came to former knowledge of him, deliuering manifest signes of ioy and gladness, conceiued by this notice taken. Whereat the people were not a little amazed, & stricken with great astonishment, giuing forth straunge and variable speeches, according as each fancies made coniecture. By meanes whereof, the Emperour caused *Androdes* to be sent for thence, and being brought instantly before him, desired to vnderstand some reason for this private and familiar acquaintance, and where hee had formerly seene that Lyon. Whereunto he answered, that hauing bene in *Affrica*, at such time as his Lord was Lieutenant Generall, and great Governour there and of that Province in regard of some wrongs & outrages done to him by his saide Lord, hee was enforced to become a fugitive, and

hauing no other place of shelter or safetie, went secretly into a great Forrest, where he tooke vp his lodging in a Cauer or Den. Not long had he staid there, but this Lyon entered in vpon him, and not only abstained from doing any harm but lying downe before him, shewed him one of his pawes, which was wounded and bleeding, euen as if hee would haue desired helpe and remedie of him for his griefe. *Androdes* dreading no danger by this milde behaviour, tooke vp the Lyons legges, and looking vpon the bleeding wound, found a great sharpe Thorn sticking in the foot, which plucking forth so gently as possibly he could, hee stetched the blood, so that the paine appeared to be indifferently appeased. This beeing done, the Lyon laying his head in the lap of *Androdes*, slept verie foundly; & from thence-forwards, the Lyon walking abroad daily, would bring the best preyes he could get (by his hunting) to *Androdes*, who drest his food in the Mid-dayes Sun, because hee had no other fire, and was well contented with such provision.

After hee had liued thus continually with the Lyon, for more then the space of three yeares, he grew to bee wearie of this kind of life. Wherefore vpon a day, when the Lyon was gone abroad about his wonted game; *Androdes* departed thence, to take such fortune as might befall him. Not farre had he trauielled from the Forrest, but he was met by some, that knew him to be a fugitive seruant: and therefore brought him home to *Rome* to his Maister, who iudging him worthe of death, as others in the like case were vicially sentenced, sent him with the other offenders, to the publike Theater, there to be torne in peeces by the wilde Beasts, and there the Lyon tooke knowledge of him, as formerly hath bin related. Wherein the Emperour had heard this admyrable History, in his owne gracious Nature, & at the peoples importunity: *Androdes* was deliuered and set at liberty, so was the Lyon likewise, because hee had extended such fauor to him. Thenceforward, and a long time after, the Lyon daily walked thorow the trees of *Rome*, in the company of *Androdes* onely without doing harme to any body, which was the cause, that manie Romaine Citizens affected *Androdes* greatly, and bestowed diuers liberall giftes on him, rearing him the

The first meet-
ing of *Androdes*
and the
Lyon, and the
cruelly done
by him to the
Lyon.

Androdes liued
with the Lyon
more then 3.
yeares.

Androdes is
brought to his
Maister, and
sent to death.

Androdes and
his Lyon, are
both set at li-
berty.

H h 3 Lyons

The Lyon wounded, comes to man for remedie.

Plin. lib. 8. Of *Mutor* the Syracusan, that holp another wounded Lyon.

Lions Physicion, and the Lyon the host to *Androsius*. Thus the Lyons misfortune, to bee wounded in the foote by a Thorne: instant of Nature taught him, to make his recourfe to man for helpe. And this appeareth to be verie true, because we haue manie more examples to the same effect, alledged by Authors worthy of credit.

Pliny, in his Booke fore-named, speaketh of a *Syracusan* named *Mutor*, who being in *Syria*, mette with a Lyon, that presented himselfe gently before him, & couching downe on the grounde, made signes (as it were of entreaties) to him; but the *Syracusan* being fearful of his life, fled away from him, with all the hast he could vie. The Lyon still followed, and got againe before him, fawning on him, and licking him verie kindly, till at length the *Syracusan* perceived the Lyon to bee wounded in the foote: which the Lyon lifting vp vnto him, euen as if hee desired to be caled; *Mutor* tooke forth a sharpe splinter of Woodde, which (by treading thereon) was runne farre into the Flesh, and so the Lyon was released. This Historie, being painted in a goodly Table by the same *Mutor* in *Syracusa*, continued there long after, as a true Testimonie thereof.

Plin. lib. 9. *Elpis* of Samos, who cured another Lion wounded.

The same Authour speaketh also of another man, named *Elpis*, borne in *Samos*, who being disimbarqued in *Affrica*; espied somewhat neere vnto the Hauens, a Lyon roaring, making towards him, moaning, and complaining verie grievously. The man being fearful, for safetie of his life got vnto a Tree, at the foote whereof, lay the Lyon flat vpon his backe, deliuering manie cries and moanes, lifting vp and shewing his paw all bloody, euen as to moue the man to commiseration.

Elpis looking more aduisedly, with better courage descended from the Tree, and drew a great Thorne out of the Lyons foote. In acknowledgement of which good turne done vnto him, so long as the Shippe remained in that Hauens, the Lyon brought him and his men dayly, great store of Flesh, which hee hadde kild in hunting, in a neere neighbouring Forrest, wherewith they were long time relected.

These Histories, are the better to be credited, by that which (in like manner)

happened vnto Saint *Hierome*, who healed a Lyon, that hadde received the like hurt; in recompence whereof, the Lyon kept companie with Saint *Hieromes* Assie, that was Laden with Wood, euen till hee brought him home vnto his Hermitage.

Wee read moreover, that *Godfrey* of *Ballen*, after hee had Conquered the Holy Land, rode vpon a day on hunting in *Iudea*, where hee found a Lyon fighting with a Serpent: which Serpent had lo writhed and knit his taile and body about the Lyon, that he was in verie great danger of death. But the Serpent being slaine by *Godfrey*, the Lyon in remuneration of this benefite, followed and accompanied him daily, without departing from his guard: and euer when he went on Hunting, the Lyon serued in stead of his Grey-hound.

It chaunced afterwards, that *Godfrey* sayling vpon the Sea; the Lyon was leste behinde him, and his Maister returned not, to take him with him in the Shippe: yet such was the Loue of the Lyon vnto his Maister, that he would needes swim after him in the Water, and was drowned before hee could be succored. Concerning those Lyons of *Babylon*, that did no harme vnto the Prophet *Daniel*, and diuers other besides, that (in the times of *Dioctesian* and *Numerian*, Emperours of *Rome*) not so much as touched those Christians, which were nakedly throwne vnto them, for foode and sustenance: I set not them downe as examples of the Naturall loue or qualitie in Lyons, because God had a working power in so high a businesse; and those blessed Patrons proceeded only from his appointment.

Amongest other notable things of Nobleness in this Beast, one Writeth; That he will neuer doe anie hurt to man, except hee be thereto constrained through great necessitie and Hunger. If hee then chaunce to meete a man and a Woman together, hee addresseth himselfe rather vnto the Man, then vnto the Woman; and neuer (or verie seldom) doth hee anie hurt to Children. It appeareth, that the Lyon (in imitation of man) hath some Audacitie in things that concerne honour, with a kinde of feare to derogate from it. For, if hee finde himselfe to bee pursued, and knowe

S. Hierom cured another wounded Lyon.

The Historie of *Godfrey* of *Ballen*, and a Lyon succoured by him.

The strange loue of a Lion to his Maister

Of nobleness in the Lyon.

The Lyon in some imitation with man regarding his not.

knowes that he is seene: he goes with a slow and tardy pace, to declare no want of courage in his flight. But if he know himselfe to bee in the thickest Woodes, and where no eye can catch hold of him: his flight is then to his vttermost power. It is further saide, that when hee flyeth in this manner, he neuer looketh behinde him, to declare thereby, how much hee contemnieth them that follow.

The Lyon, by meere instinct or motion of nature, is of such great and perfect knowledge, that if any man wound him with a Lance, or any other kind of a capon: let him bee in the company of neuer so many men, yet length of time is no hindrance to him, but hee will selekt him out among them all, and be reuenged on him, if he can. To this purpose, *Attianus* declareth the History of a young Infante, nourished and brought vp by *Iuba*, King of *Mauritania*, who growing further in years, and rising on hunting with the King; wounded a Lyon with his Launce. But the Lyon, recouering his hurt, within some long while after, the King passed by the same Mountaine where the Lyon was wounded, accompanied with the same young Gentleman that did the deeде, and a great many more in the same assembly. The Lyon knowing him that formerly had hurt him, came with great fury and animosity, and entering into the thickest of them, vsed his sight and sauer in such sort, as, if the young Gallant had not bene stronglie defended, the Lyon had torne him ther in pieces.

The same Authour, and sundry others beside doe assure vs, of matter (in my mind) very maruallous, to wit; that if a Lyonelle haue companied with another Lyon: her Male doth take knowledge of it by her smell, and then will beate and punish her very grievously. Likewise, when the Lyon waxeth to old, as he can fight no longer, neyther chafe any other Beastes: his young Lyons, that are more strong and able, doe helpe to provide for him, and killing their feuerall preyes, they bring it to him where he is, to feede thereon. The Authours to approve al these things, are *Pliny*, *Aristotle*, *Albertus Magnus*, and *Iulius Solinus*; who doe write many

other matters, which now I speake not off. Onely I thought it good to set downe these examples, for to confound cruell and vnthankfull men; in shewing them, that among brute and sauage Beasts; clemency is not only found, but also acknowledgement of good turnes receiued.

CHAP. XXVI.

Who was the first Man that tamed the Lyon; And of *Lysimachus*, a Captaine to great *Alexander*; what hapned between him and a Lyon.



He powerfull Beast, whereof we haue discoursed in our precedent Chapter, although he is so cruell & furious; yet notwithstanding, he hath bene tamed and made gentle, by diligence and dexterity in Man. The first that euer vndertook that labour, was a *Carthaginian* by birth, and named *Hanno*; but the reward he receiued therefore, was banishment from his Countrey. For they said, that this act of taming the Lyon, was a prefiguring of such a Spirit in him; that hee would make himselfe Lord of the countrey. But *Plinie* saith, that the reason why the *Carthaginians* banished *Hanno*, was; because he hauing thus qualified the fierce Lyon; he might the more easily perswade the Citizens, and worke with them what himselfe pleased. He maketh report also of *Marke Antonie*, Cozin to *Octauian*; who caused Lyons in such sort to be tamed, and brought to gentleness: as liec would put their neckes into yokes; and make them draw his Chariot where soeuer he rode. We finde that the like was done by *Helio-gabalus*, of whose prodigalities and lubricities, we shall finde fitter place to discourse. King *Iohn* of *Castile*, second of that name; had a Lyon so domesticke and familiar; that at all times when he sat in his Siate, the Lyon would lye downe close at his teete. *Meffire* *Leques* de *Deffa*, Arch Bishop of *Seuille*, had the like. *Lodouicus* *Calvus* writeth, that hee read in a good and approved Authour,

Hanno of Carthage first tamed the Lyon

Plin. in Lib. 16

Marke Anthony caused Lyons to be made milde.

Helio-gabalus.

King Iohn of Castile.

Lod. Calvus in 7. lib. de Ant. Leis.

Wonderfull knowledge in the Lyon by instinct of nature.

Att. mus in lib. de animal.

A strange story of a wounded Lyon.

Of a Lion and his Lyonelle

Plin. in Lib. 8. *Attianus* in lib. 8. *Attianus* in lib. 22. *de animal.* *Solinus* in 2. lib. de lib.

The History
of *Lyfymachus*,
and *Calisthenes*
the Philoso-
pher.

Calisthenes cast
among Dogs.

Lyfymachus ex-
posed to the
Iury of a Lion

The admira-
ble courage
of *Lyfymachus*.

Lyfymachus kil-
led the Lyon.

Juliane in lib-
er. *Plutar.* in vit.
Demetri.

of an Ewe, which conceived and eaned a Lyon, a matter very monstrous in Nature. We likewise read of men, that with their hands haue slaine Lyons, as *Samphon*, *Dauid*, *Hercules*, and others.

I remember also, I haue read that *Lyfymachus*, one of the Capitaines to *Alexander* the great, slew a Lyon in this manner following. *Alexander* had then in his company *Calisthenes* the Philosopher, who was a man free, learned, and wise; and (according to the true quality of such a man) would oftentimes giue him good enstruitions, and reprehensions also, when hee did not as became a King. Whereupon, *Alexander* growing into displeasure against him, caused him to bee put into a Cage among his Dogs. This was such a shame and ignominy, as so free and vertuous a Spirit as *Calisthenes* had, was no way able to endure: but rather would voluntarily haue embraced death, and wherein he was holpen by his Scholler *Lyfymachus*, who grieved not a little, to see his Maister so dishonorably dealt withall. When *Alexander* was aduertised thereof, in a great rage, he caused him to be throwne before a Lyon, that the Beast furiously might deuour him. But *Lyfymachus*, being a Man of excellent courage, secretly armed his right arme and hand, afterward, when hee was exposed to the Lyon, and saw him come running (greedily gaping) to deuoure him with a bold and vndaunted Spirit: hee thrust his Arme into his throat, and held him by the root of the tongue so strongly, that albeit the Lyon did him much harm with his pawes, (whereof he was afterward in danger of death) yet would hee not let goe his hold, vntill the Lyon seemed as quite choaked and strangled, by keeping his Arme so long in his throat. *Alexander* hauing intelligence thereof, desisted from all further anger and rage against him, and commaunded him to be carefully recovered: holding him (thenceforward) for one of his very chiefeft fauourites, yea, and in such account, as (after the death of *Alexander*) hee was one in the number of his Successors, & a most powerfull King. The Authours that doe aouche the truth hereof, are *Juliane*, and *Plutar.* in the life of *Demetrius*.

CHAP. XXVII.

That the most and greatest part of people in the world, spake at the first but one language onely, which was giuen them by the will of God: And after the destruction of Babel, then it was changed.



Orphyrus, *Julian* the Apostat Emperour, and other enemies to sacred letters, do confesse with the learned, that from the beginning of the Worldes Creation, as there was but one Man and one Woman: euen so there was likewise but one Language onely, which continued to all the people on Earth, vntill the Deluge; yea, till the destruction of *Babel*, for seruice of the people which made their abiding thereabout, and (by presumption) had made a Tower, or rather a high mounted caufey, to warrant and defend themselves from another flood, if to be there should any other happen. But me-thinks, that the people of those times were very grossly conceited, in seeking to fortifie themselves by such cunning: because it had bene much better to hinder, then to whet on the anger of God.

There was neuer any man found, or heard of, how great an enemy soeuer he was to the holy Scriptures, that could euer render any reason of the variety of Languages, which are spoken in so many Nations: but onely that which *Moses* alleadged; to wit, that it was done by the will of God, to the end, that the Earth might be wholly inhabited, as it was before the flood, and the great race of *Noah* (finding themselves dissemblable in tongues) might therefore disperse themselves abroad. For men desired not the tongues, but the deuotion of tongues deuoted Men, neither was it any intention of men, vsed then sufficiently by necessary knowledge of Nature, and by the inuention of Artes and Sciences; but a punishment of God inflicted on mankind. It is a case very cleare and euident, that Languages are not profitable, but in their diuersity, and

One language
proceeding
from one man
and one woman.

Grossness
in men of the
first Age.

Variety of
languages the
work of God.

The deuotion
of tongues
deuoted men.

Conquerours
do giue lan-
guage to the
conquered.

and if there were but one onely vied in the World, it would bee meere vanity to know many: for all the first tongues had diuers originals, and depending (in any thing) one vpon another.

Neuerthelesse, after that *Warres* began to be moued through the world, the people that were brought into subiection, receiued the Language of the Conquerours. And it is a true marke of Soueraignty, to constrain the subdued to change their Language; which the *Romains* much better executed, then any Prince or people whatsoeuer: whereby they seeme (as yet) to command in the most part of Europe. Likewise, the last King of the *Hetrurians*, being vanquished, did all that the *Romains* pleased, but yet he would neuer receiue the Latine toong. And by the like reasons, the *Gauls*, who spake as the *Helvetians* (as *Glareanus* and many other Authours thinke) in the time of *Cesar*, as by coniecture may bee gathered in the Commentaries of the saide *Cesar*: did afterward learne the Latine Tongue, because they were conquered by the *Romains*. After that againe, they spake the language of the *Francians*, a people of *Allemagne*, who were mingled among them, by their victories gotten ouer the *Romains*. In following time, the *Goths*, *Vandals*, *Hunnes*, and other people, that ranged thorow the world, left them also their tongues. In briefe, of all these severall languages, the *Gauls* (at this instant called the *French*) builded and framed one perculer tongue, euen that which to this day they enioy. So that all the fore-said tongues, haue had their variant changes, in lesse then fiftene hundred yeares, very neere three times each severall tongue: for at this day, and so henceforward, it will bee impossible to vnderstand the language, that hath bene spoken for the space of foure hundred yeares in *France*.

This hath happened in the very same manner at *Rome*, and in *Italy*, since the time of *Cicero* and before, for he saith; that no man can vnderstand those Hymnes, which the Priests called *Sally*, or *Saleni* sung in their processions, which were composed in Latine; that Language being then there spoken; and very soone after the foundation of *Rome*: As also the *Sibyls* Verbes, and ma-

ny other ancient bookes of those times, that contained very sacred things. But being fearefull to offend the Gods, or to induce any nouelty in Religion, a matter which draweth after it daily too many calamities: the Senate would haue no other Hymnes to be made, nor that any one should mingle other matter among them, or comment or correct those Bookes of the *Sibyls*.

It is generally knowne, that the ancient Language which *Rome* vsed first of all, was pure, delicate, and most eloquent Latine: and now at this day, there is hardly any one word thereof truly retained. The *Italian* tongue now spoken, declareth in plaine apparence, to haue taken originall and encreasing from Strangers, vpon the Empires declination; especially from such as did most harme to *Italy* it selfe; to wit, the *Gauls*, *Prouincials*, *Goths*, *Hunnes*, *Vandals*, and other barbarous people, all voyde of humanity; who instead of Trophies, haue left them nothing but words and names, euen the most excellent that they had. It is not vnknowne to vs also, that the *Arabians* had planted their Language throughout *Asia* and *Africa*; and yet within few yeares, *Philip King of Spaine*, hath constrained the *Moors of Granada*, to change both their habite and Language. *Pers*, commonly tearmed the golden *Castile*; a very great Prouince, now speaketh no more her naturall Language: for the *Spaniard* hauing conquered it, hath there planted his Language, although it bee distance thence the space of a thousand and fise hundred leagues; euen as hee hath done the like, in all his other conquered Countries, in those Prouinces tearmed the new World.

In the Isle of *Mallta*, they were wont to speake the *Punick* tongue, to wit, that vsed by the *Carthaginians*, when they would needes hold superiority ouer the *Romains*: and now at this day, the *Greek* tongue is spoken there, but very corruptly, mingled also with *Scythian*. That they had no other Language but the *Punick*; is easie to be proued, because it is not aboue thirty yeares, since there was found engrauen in olde Marble, this which followeth, written in *Greek* Letters, and yet nor withstanding, the Language seemeth for to bee Hebrew.

E L O I.

By what people
the Latine
tongue
became to be
chaiged.

The new con-
quered *Indi-
an* haue chan-
ged their lan-
guage.

Of the life of
Malta.

Antiquities
found in the
Isle of Malta,
vpon graue
stones.

Arabs and
Iews best vn-
derstanders
of tongues.

The language
of Egypt
changed.

The Arabian
tongue a per-
fect language

Stellio vs. de
vlt. lib.
The sequent
of Mercurius
Trismegistus

ELOI EFFETHA CYMI,
and many other ancient Epitaphes.
Also, as the Foundation of Castle An-
thela was laying, there was found vpon
an olde Stone of Marble-lapser, these
words engrauen; IEHIEY IEPH-
DAIA, and others, which (by the in-
jury of time) were quite defaced. And
these latter wordes, were written (for
the more part) in Hebrew Letters, and
hardly was there found any one, were
he *Arabe* or *Iew* (who doe surpass all
other Nations in the vnderstanding of
Languages) that could deliuer the in-
terpretation thereof.

Egypt, from the time of *Mercurius
Trismegistus* (Author of that worthy
booke titled *Pimander*) that was be-
fore *Abraham* and *Moset*, had a pecu-
liar Language: a thing yet to this
day to be seene, by Bookes written in
the Egyptian hand, and in many pla-
ces of *Palestine*, in the tongue vied
in those dayes, which (I say) was in the
time of the first Kinges that were na-
med *Pharaohs*, wherein nothing is to be
comprehended, neither read, albeit
the Letters are very visible, and not de-
faced.

Neuerthelesse, at this day they doe
not speake that Language, but the *Ara-
bian* Tongue, without retaining any
one word of her ancient tongue:
which is saide to bee graue, briefe, ac-
companied with goodly tearmes, and
proper to comprehend all Sciences, as
all the Easterne partes (well neere) are,
and apto discourse of Diuine matters;
much more then the Greeke, full of
ostentation and vanity. Which be-
ing well perceived by that worthy *Ec-
clesiasticus*, the fore-named *Trismegistus*:
he desired of GOD and the King, that
his Bookes and Writings might not
passe through the *Grecians* hands, nei-
ther bee translated or commented by
them.

Here we are to note, that if (at this
day) we haue any Bookes of the an-
cient Egyptians, they came from the
Greekes and *Iews*, who traduced them
into their Language, when they kept
their Schooles, where they taught all
Sciences: witnesseth *Socrates*, *Plato*, *De-
mocritus*, *Xenophon*, *Philistratus*, *Ambli-
chus*, *Apollonius*, and diuers other great
personages, who went purposely thi-

ther, to be enstructed in good Sciences,
whereof great account was made in
those times. And let vs not forget *Mo-
ses*, the great Law-giuer, who was
learned in all the wisdom of the *Eg-
yptians*: as we may gather by the
words of *Saint Stephen*, in the tenth
Chapter of the *Actes* of the *Apostles*.

In *Palestine*, and in *Ierusalem*, they
were wont to speake the *Syriack* tooing
now a dayes they speake the *Arabian*.
Belonius, in his second booke of Singu-
larities, hath noted, that at this day
there are spoken twelue feuerall tooings
in *Ierusalem*; and yet notwithstanding,
as I haue formerly saide, the *Arabian*
tongue is the most common. *Greece*
hath lost her ancient Language, for in
the Cities and Townes, the Primitive
tongue is now not spoken: but a new
kinde of Language, which the *Turkes*
(since they began to bee Gouvernours
there) brought thither with them.
And yet neuerthelesse, in some pecu-
liar places, they speake *Greeke* verie
vsuallie. But by little and little, as the
naturall borne *Greekes*, by reason of
their Princes tyranny, became Vaga-
bonds, and went to seeke out other
Countries: euen so they (for the more
part) hoping there to meet with better
entertainment, made themselves Ma-
humetists, that is to say, they forsooke
Christian Religion, and (by the same
meanes also) left their Mother tongue,
enclining wholly to the *Turkish* and *A-
rabian*; and therefore, before an hundred
years can be expired, they wil not speake
any more *Greeke*.

In the Kingdome of *Tremissem*, other-
wise called *Telesio*, seated on the Coast
of *Barbarie*, in the *Mediterranean* Sea,
they were wont to speake the *Phoeni-
cian* tongue: now adays they doe not
retaine any one word thereof, but
speake the *Morisio* Language, because
they had beene formerly subdued by
the great King *Mansor*. The cause
why this people spake the *Phoenician*
tongue (although they were distant
from the Countrey of *Phoenicia*, verie
neere foure hundred Leagues) I wil
briefely declare, according as *Prosopius*
setteeth it downe in the Historie of
the *Vandales*, leauing a verie notable
marke thereof, in these wordes. *All this
Countrey* (saith he) *which reacheth from
Siden*,

Mist was
learned in the
Egyptians
Languages. A.D.
721.

Palestine and
Ierusalem haue
changed their
language.
Belon. in lib. 2.
Singular. cap.
84.

The alteration
of Greeke, and
vpon what oc-
casion.

The reason
why the king-
dome of *Te-
lesio* changed
her language.

Prosopius in
lib. 1. Vandal.
The Countrey
of Phoenicia.

The ancient
Irong Citie
of Tingiana
in Numidia.

The Con-
quests of Eng-
land.

Venerable
Beke, and Sir
Thomas Moore

Great nations
speake the Il-
lyrian tongue.

Siden, so farre as *Egypt*, was heretofore
called *Phenicia*, and such as haue written the
History of the *Phenicians*, doe declare, that
sometime one King onely reigned there.
In these Countries dwell the *Gergesites*,
Iebusites, and others, who when they be held
Ioshuhs great Army coming against
them: they passed into *Egypt*, but soone af-
ter, that Countrey being not able to support
the they went hence into *Africa*, where they
builded many Townes and Villages, and
peopled the Countrey, euen so farre as the
Pillars of *Hercules*, and their language was
Phenician. In *Numidia* likewise they build-
ed, and (among other Cities) that most
strong and firmly fortified City of *Tingia-
na*, where two Collobnes of white stone are
to be seene, neere the great Fontaine,
whereon (in the *Phoenician* tongue) are en-
grauen these wordes. We are they, who were
before that great Brigande *Ioshuhs*, the Son
of *Nun*. Such (saith he) was the ori-
ginal of these people, who are (at this day)
called *Mau:usians*, or *Mauritanians*.
Their Languages then became wholly
changed, by the coming in of other
people.

England was wont to haue a particu-
lar Language by her selfe, according as
Cesar testifieth: but being afterward
conquered by the *Saxons*, a people of
Germany, they long time kept the *Saxon*
tongue. In following time also, grow-
ing frequent with the *French*, hoping to
ouer rule them: they well neere quite
changed the *Saxon* tongue, begetting
one Language, consisting partly of
French, *Danish*, *Saxon*, and *Pictish*. So
that out of all these tongues, they for-
ge one intirely new, and that little a-
bout three hundred years since. Which
hath beene well obserued by venerable
Beke, a great Diuine, and *Sir Thomas
Moore*, sometime Lord Chancellour,
and a very learned Gentleman, and
both these Men of the English Nation.

The *Polanders*, *Vandales*, *Bulgarians*,
Seruians, *Dalmatians*, *Croatiens*, *Bosni-
ans*, *Rustians*, *Valachians*, *Bohemians*, *Li-
thuanians*, *Moscovites*, &c. spake the *Cir-
maine* or *Tentonicke* tongue: but at this
day, they speake the *Sclauonian* language,
that is to say, *Illyrian*, witnesseth *Ladslaus*
King of *Lithuania*, who about theyere
1399. hauing espoused a Virgine, na-
med *Anne*, the Heire of *Poland*, that
could speake no other Language but the

Allemaigne, as then in those times it was
spoken in *Poland*: would neere leaue
her company, vntill he had learned the
Lithuanian tongue, which hee easily at-
tained vnto in eight months space. The
Allemaignes also say, that the language
which by them is now vied, is not their
ancient tongue, but is very diuers, and
hath borrowed great store of wordes,
from people by whom they haue hi-
therto beene foyled, or ranaged, or by
being employed in Warres, as among
the *Gaulles* in *Italy*, *Spain*, *Greece*, and the
Easterne Countries. Neuer should I
growe to any conclusion, if I were to
set downe those feuerall people, that
haue changed their Language since the
Deluge: or prouue, that there is not a-
ny Nation at this day, which speaketh
the Language of our first Father *Adam*
and *Nob*. All haue changed, and yet
wil change, so long as the World en-
dureth; for such is the Nature of vicis-
situde, in things of this world.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of Caruing or Caruing, and of Painting:
which of them is most ancient and excel-
lent.

IN these times I haue heard
of very many different opi-
nions, concerning these two
Arts of Statuary of Stone-
cutting, and Painting; to wit, which of
them is most commendable; and best
worthy of praise. Very pertinent rea-
sons are alledged both for the one and
other, for in the Statue or Sculpture,
there is discerned an artificiall imitation
of Nature, representing therein the
members wholly round, well formed,
and fully measured, euen as if Nature
herselfe had shaped them, and much
better imitated then in a Table, where
we but behold the superficies and col-
ours, which beguile the eye. For the
substance is much neerer to truth, then
the resemblances. Beside, Sculpture or
engraving, is more difficult, because if
a fault be therein committed, very hard-
lie

The Allemaignes
language
changed.

The Authors
conclusion.

Variety of o-
pinions in
Caruing and
Painting.

The commen-
dation of Car-
uing.

ly can bee amended: in regard, that the Marble or other matter is not to bee pieced or patched, but another figure must of necessity be made. Which falleth not out in painting, for it may be altered a thousand times, adding thereto, or diminishing, by daily amending. Statues were (in elder times, & yet are to this day) esteemed sacred things, to beautifie Temples or publike places, for the commemoration of famous persons; and such actions of theirs as were heroicall: especially such as we see in the Porches of Temples, and diuers within; which are placed to no other end, but for a remembrance of holy Men or women, that performed many pious deedes, and stood for plantation of the Faith. And for the great respect then made of them, it was permitted (by Emperiall, Edictes) to Offenders, and Slaves badly vsed by their Maisters; to haue their enfranchisement, and ease from further persecutions, by holding fast vpon some of those Statues, till audience might bee graunted to their oppressions.

Such as hold Painting to be more excellent, make their allegations; that thereby is imitated much more truly, the very Nature of the thing so represented; then it can be by the Statue. And that it must needs be so, they produce (for example) that which is written by *Plinie*, concerning one *Zenxis*, a Painter of *Heraclia*, who presented a Table, wherein hee had painted bunches of Grapes so naturally: that Sparrowes flying by it, strowed to rest on them, and pecked at them, as taking them to be true Grapes indeede, so that his workmanship was reputed to be both famous and singular. At another time, the same *Zenxis* painted a young Man in a Table, carrying like bunches of Raisine Grapes in a Dish, which were so liuely made: as the Birds were thereby againe deceived, the Birds likewise descending from the ayre, to peck at them as if they had beene very Raisins, without any feare at all of the young man.

They say moreover, that *Parbhastus*, a Painter likewise, and an emulator of the forsaide *Zenxis*, painting a Partridge vpon a Colonne in *Rhodes*, drew it so naturally according to life: that (in the iudgment of euery beholder) it seemed

to be aloue indeed. Nay more, the perfection of painting this *Boile* was such, and so complete, that bringing other Partridges before it (such as now adaires are kept in Cages:) they would call vnto it, flutter their Wings before it, and vse their kinde of singing, taking it for a liuely Bird indeede. They yet goe further, saying, that *Apelles* painted a Horse according to life, and other Painters making prooue in their skill of the like; would needes vse tryall of the most ablest workmanship. Wherevpon, it was thought fit to bring liuing Horses before him, for better approbation of the experiment, and being brought before those figures painted by the other Painters; they stood still, without any shew of account or motion. But when that which *Apelles* drew was presented before them; they began to stirre, tread, and winnow, which they did not at the sight of any of the other: whereby, the greatest honour and advantage in Art, was adiu'dged to *Apelles*, and he reputed to bee the most excellent Painter.

Now to speake mine opinion here-in, I say, that (for all these Fables, lesse seeming true, then *Pliny* writes them) Painting cannot be accounted to be the more excellent Art: For all Creatures that fly in the Ayre, or feede on the earth, or liue in the Water, do nourish themselves, and are more moued by the sense of smelling, then by sight. To approoue the truth hereof: let any man paint a Rat, and draw it neuer so artificially according to life: then let it bee presented before a Cat, to try if she wil stirre, or offer to take it. Let any man also set a Table before Fowles, with painted Capons, Hennes, Cockes, Pigeons, or such like; let there be likewise painted in the Table, Barly, Oates, or any other Corne fit for them to feede on; and try if they moue or cometo touch it. Let any Painter portraite a Ginne or Snare, with either a Goose, Lambe, or any other prey surprised in the Snare, counterfeited by Art most naturally; and then make triall, if a Wolfe or Foxe wil offer to lay holde on it, which indeede they would doe, if they had life.

In like manner; let there be painted in a Table a goodly Mare, formed with all

Apelles a famous Painter of the life too

The Authors refutation of the former Histories,

Similitudes cannot peruerter or alter nature in liuing Creatures.

all features nearest to life, then bring a Stallion before it, and try if he wil offer to couer her. Let there be also in the same Table a goodly heide, with diuers Horses feeding at pasture; and try if he wil beare them company. Shew to any Horse painted Proudere, and try if he wil whinnow to haue it: which naturally he wil do, if he be in his Stable, although there be none at all offered to his sight. By these Allegations I would plainly shew, that Creatures (of these kinds) do not so much moue themselves by sight, as by sense of smelling; and that all which *Pliny* hath saide of these Paintings, are meere fables, for these Creatures haue no knowledge of Paintings.

If serueth to no purpose, to say, that the Painters of these daies, are not so sufficient, neither do make such exquisite workes, as those in former times did. I answer, that there are men as excellent euery way, & that wil not giue ground in any iot, to the very best before them. For, there are yet to be seene in these daies, both Paintings and Statues of ancient *Grecians*, *Romaines*, *Egyptians*, and other *Leuantines*; which come nothing nere (by much) in perfection, to things done by Painters and Statuaries of our time. I dare make them my Iudges, who, being curious in the sight of such things, and trauielling thorow lower *Germany*; haue visited the Chambers and cabinets of many famous houses, as also in *France* and *Italy*, and what else is to be seene in Churches.

There is another History alleadged, borrowed likewise out of the same *Plinies* shop, that *Parbhastus* deceived *Zenxis* by a Table, whereon nothing else was painted but a Curtaine, and it being presented to *Zenxis*, to yeeld his iudgement of the workmanship; he offered to draw the Curtaine, to behold what was figured vnder it. I answer, that this History, how true soeuer it be, & whether it so hapned or no, may make painting to bee much more commendable, then all the other Fables formerly deliuered from *Pliny*. For as man is the least of all creatures, in exquisite perfection of sense, and that often deceiveth himselfe, in the senses of sight, touching, tast, and smell; yea, euen in iudgement, especially when he is detained by a pre-

ception, or passion of Spirit; and then apprehendeth one thing, when hee seeth another: might it then fall out with *Zenxis*, in regard of the thing, to beare to *Parbhastus*.

Haueing considered these fables alleadged by *Pliny*, which serue only for the praise of Painting; I will now shew down some reasons of vniuersall, whereby I wil approue Painting, beyond Caruing or Grauing. In Statues or Carued Figures, there are many things defective, which cannot faile in Painting, and principally day-light and shadow; because both yeildeth a different light, from that which Marble or Stone affordeth, and that the Painter imitatively, with clearest or obscurely, more or lesse, according as the thing requireth, which the Image-maker cannot performe. And yet notwithstanding, though painting doth not make the Figure round: yet it sheweth the muscles and members in rounded shape, so that they are discerned, as ioyned to those parts which cannot be seene, & by such apt meanes; as it is easily knowne, that the Painter vnderstands and perfectly knowes them. And herein is required another artifice more great, in forming the members that lengthen or shorten, according to the proportion of sight, by reason of perspective; which by the power of lines and measure of colours, day-light and shadowes, doe shew in their superfluous on a plainewall, nere or farre off, more or lesse, as himselfe pleaseth.

Nor is the true imitation of naturall colours, a matter of such small moment as some do imagine; in counterfeiting flesh, shape of Garments, and all other things requiring colours. And yet the Caruer cannot doe this; much lesse expresse and represent the gracious sight of the eye, black, green, or otherwise, with the splendour of amorous beames, or in Colour full of reuenge. The Caruer also knowes not how to discover the beames of the Sunnes, Lightning, Thunders, and other such like things; as faire Lockes of Haire, nor the goodly troopes of armed forces, nor a darksome night; nor a tempest on the Sea; nor a flash of Lightning, nor stormie Windes, nor the be-fiedging of a City; nor the Sunns rising

The Authors reasons, why Painting pre-cedeeth Caruing.

For forming due true proportion of the members.

Of the use & handling of colours in their true Nature.

Admirable imitations in Painting.

in the morning; or *Aurora* her selfe, (bringing bright day) in her colours like *Roses*, dis-¹⁰sparkled with radiances of gold and purple. Briefely, he cannot represent Heauen, Earth, Seas, Mountaines, Fortresses, Fields, Gardens, Rivers, Cities, or Houses, all which the Painter can perfectly shew. It is also well known, that if a Painter apply his colours vpon a carded Statue, whatsoeuer it be; it will appeare so much the more commendable. In this respect, me thinks that painting is a more Noble Science, and of much greater artifice, then Caruing or Grauing, and I think that our ancients held it in great reputation, & as highly as other things: albeit, both these Arts do seeme to issue out of one & the same fountaine, because that in both the one and other; Geometry is very requisite, for the vnderstanding of perspective. This Science appeares to me, not to be mechanicall, because it is very conue-²⁰nable, & may well be vied by any Gentleman. I remember I haue read, that our ancient predecessours, especially throughout all *Greece*, would haue Noble mens children enstruckt in schools in the art of painting, as a Science most honest, and very necessary. It was admitted in the first degree of the liberal Arts, and soone after defended by publicke Edict, that it should not be taught to Slaues or Seruants.

Among the *Romaines*, Painting was held in great honor, and thence it deriued a most Noble fir-name, euen from the House of the *Fabij*; for the first *Fabius* was fir-named the Painter, because he was (indeede) a very excellent Painter. And so much was he addicted to painting, that hauing painted the wals of *Templum Salutis*; he placed there his owne name; as thinking, that although he was deriued of a noble house, honored with many Titles, Consulships, triumphes, and other dignities; albeit he was learned, well read in the lawes, & numbred amongst the best Orators; yet he was of the mind, that hereby he might (neuertheless) increase his renowne, by such an especiall splendour and ornament, and lefit it to memory, that he was a Painter.

Moreouer, many other are recorded of noble houses, that haue bin famous in this art, in which, beside the Nobility

& Dignity thereof, many commodities are thence deriued. Especially in the time of wars, for designing and portraing Countries, situations of Riues, Bridges, Castles, Fortes, and such like things: which thus may be described to others, euen as if they were exactlie imprinted in memory, which otherwise were a difficult thing to do. I conclude then by this discourse, that the Art of sculpture or caruing, is much inferiour to painting: yea, and it will be of much longer continuance, if it bee kept in a dry place, and wel sheltered from winds and raine, and the longer it lasteth, so much the more pleasing it is to behold.

CHAP. XXIX.

Against such aged persons as think nothing to be well done, but what was performed by themselves in their youth; blaming extremely the present times, and what is now done, in respect of the former; And what is the cause thereof.

³⁰ **H**Auing many times considered, (and not without great admiration) whence such an error ensueth, which verily may be beleueed, to be proper and naturall to aged people; because it is commonly noted in them, that they doe wholly (as it were) commend times past, condemning the present, and blaming our maners, actions, & whatsoever else they themselves did not in their younger daies; Affirming also, that all good customes, behavior of life, all vertue, and all things grow worke and worke: Truly, it seemeth to me a matter farre off from reason; nay more, very matuious, that mature and ripe age should wander so strangely. For long experience begetteth custome, & (in sollemne allowance) presumeth to iudge perfectly of men. And yet herein their iudgments were so much corrupted, as they neuer perceived, how the world began daily to impair, and that the Fathers were better then their children; a very long time remaining, to arise at the vttermost degree of wickednes, times still declining from better to worke. And yet notwithstanding all this, we behold it daily, a vice proper and

Aged people do oftentimes loose both reason and iudgement.

Our fore-fathers were more happy then their children

A reason for the inconueniencies before alledged.

The cause of our generall instant discontentment.

and peculiar to age, euen as it hath bin in former daies; so to continue still among vs liuing. Which hath bene knowne and made manifest by the writings of many very ancient Authours, and especially by the Comicks, who (much better then any other) expressed the true Image of humane life. Therefore I conceiue, that aged people hold this false opinion, because our yeares poasting away so swiftly, as they carry hence many other commodities; so (among others) they rob vs of our blood, and a great part of our vitall Spirits. In regard wherof, our complexion changeth it selfe, and the bodies Organes become feeble, that should exercise the vertues of the Soule.

And this is the cause, that in these our instant daies, the delicate and sweet floures of contentment doe fall from our heartes, as Leaues doe from the Trees in Autumne, and, in stead of clear and free thoughts; obscure, troubled, melancholly, and sad conceits get entrance, accompanied with a thousand calamities. So that, not only the Body, but the Spirit also becometh sick, which retaineth not any iot of our passed Spirits, except a long remembrance, and Image of that acceptable time of youth: which wee perswading our selues to finde againe, it appeareth then to vs, that Heauen, Earth, and all things else are glad thereof, and do smile at them (verily) in our sight; resolving our thoughts, that in them (as in a faire and goodly Garden) the sweet Spring time of ioyfulness still flourisheth. In which respect, perhaps it would proue profitable, when (already) in a cold and backward season, the Sunne of our life beginneth to decline to wardes the West, in despoiling vs of our pleasures: that we would also (there-with) loose the remembrance of them, and finde (as *Themistocles* said) *A Science en-⁴⁰franchising how to forget them.* Because the senses of our body are so fallacious; that oftentimes themselves do beguile the iudgement of the Spirit.

And therefore it seemeth to me, that aged people are of their condition, who setting forth from any Port or Haue, doe still fixe their eyes vpon the Land: whereby they conceit, that the Shippe moueth not, but that the land & houles

are in motion, which neuertheless is quite contrary. For the Haue, as all the times, and former or present pleasures, continue still in their wonted estate, and we (with the Ship of mortality) saile away; we poail on one alter another, throw this impetuous Sea, that deuoureth all things. Nor are we euer permitted to take landing againe; but being continually tossed by contrary winds, our vessell runs and breaks it selfe againe: it one Rocke or other.

The Spirit (then) of a man waxing old, a subiect contrary to all kind of pleasures; it cannot apprehend any taste of them. And, as all sorts of Wines, although they be neuer so good, seeme bitter to such as are troubled with a Fetter, in regard that the taste is changed, only by the meanes of corrupted humors: euen so in aged people, by reason of their indisposition (albeit there is no defect in desire) all pleasures seeme vn-⁵⁰sauiory, cold, and far differing from such as they remember once to haue effiaed, and yet those pleasures (in themselves) are the very same which they were wont to be. And because they finde themselves to be depriv'd of those pleasures; they complaine and blame the prettime, as if it were naught, neuer considering, that this mutation proceedeth from themselves, and not from the time.

On the contrary, when they sit down, & call to memory their passed delights; they then likewise remember the time wherein they enioyed them; and (in that respect) repue them to be good, because it appeared then, and so do they, that they brought a sweeter relish with them, which they (yet) remember to haue felt when they had them. For, in effect, our thoughts doe harshly condemne all things, that haue bin companions with our displeasures; and loue at them that haue suted with their likings. In which regard, it happens sometime, that wee see an ambitious Fellow, take great delight to behold a Window, although it be shut against him: yet hee conceiue a liking thereof, because (in former time) he had the fauour there to gaze on his Lady, or loues Mistress. In like manner, to see a Jewell, a Letter, a Garden, or any other thing whatsoever; that seemeth (as yet) to be a testimony, to former effected pleasures: where.

The Spirit growing aged, hath such pleasures.

Another excellent comparison.

No defect in the time, but in our selues.

Pleasures appere to be good, according as we taste them.

Comparisons not vnituing the present punishment.

whereas on the contrary, a goodly, faire, and rich adorned Chamber, will appeare hauefull to him, that hath been imprisoned therein, or that there hath suffered any dislike.

I haue knowne some, who (by no means) would drinke in a Cup that resembled some other Cup, wherein (being sick) they receiued a medicine. For, as the window, or the Ring, or the Letter, representeth to the one party, a sweete remembrance, which to him is the more acceptable, by how much it appeareth still a pertaker of his former enioied pleasure: euen such is the other parties conceit, that the Chamber, or the Cup, are still fresh Ensignes of his imprisonment, or sicknesse. I think, that for the very same reason men (in years) are moued to commend passed times, and throw blamefull aspersions on the present. By means whereof, in speaking of Varres, Courts of Iustice, or those belonging to Princes, & such like, they asseme: that those in their time, and wherof they do yet bear remembrance; were much more excellent, and filled with more singuler men, than they are which at this instant they daily behold.

So soone as such cases doe come in question, they presently begin to exalt infinitely, the people that liued in their former times, and declare, that (in those elder daies) it could not bee found, but very rarely, that a man committed a murder; that then were any combats or fights, ambushes or treacheries: but an assured honesty and faithfulness, an amiable and loyall iustnesse among al Men. That in Courts (in those times) reigned so many good manners, & such a perfect honesty: that all Courtiers were then religious, and Saintes; that they would not take part with any man, who had offered a bad word to another, or had vsed any signe of dishonour to a Woman of Honour.

On the contrary, they say, that now in these daies, they behold all things to bee quite opposite to the former, and that not onely among Courtiers, men of warre, and young people, brotherly affection is lost, and all laudable manner of living: but also in Courts and Cities, now raigneth nothing but enuies, euill will, wicked manners, and a life most dissolute, abounding in all kinds

of vices. That Women are lasciuious, haue lost all shame, and men (for the more part) are become effeminate. Moreover, they blazon their garments to be dishonest, and ouer pompous. In breefe, they reprehend a number of things, among which (truely) there are some that wel deserue reprehension, because it cannot be denied; but that there are (among vs) many bad and wicked men, by whose means, this present world must needs be fuller of errors, then that which these good people so highly commend.

It appeareth to me, that they doe ill discern the cause of this difference, and declare themselves to be meere fooles: in that they would now haue the world to be wholly good, without any euill remaining in it, which is a matter vtterly impossible. For, euill being contrarie to goodnesse, and goodnesse to euill: it appeareth euen necessary (as it were) that by a certaine kinde of repugnance and contrariety; yea, by a manner of counterpoise; the one should sustaine and strengthen the other. In such sort, that the one failing, or encreasing; the other likewise should encrease, or run to ruine, because there is no contrarie, without another.

Who doth not know, that no Iustice could be found in the world, if there were not grieuances, iniuries, & oppressions? No magnanimity, if there were not pusillanimity? No continence, if there were not incontinency? No health, if sicknesse had not his course? No truth, if there were not lying & falshood? Nor any felicity or happinesse, if there were not fals and misfortunes? For this cause Socrates said well with Plato, *He maintained very much, that Elope had not made a fable, feigning therein, why God did not vniue pleasure and griefe together, tying them to such extremities, as the beginning of the one might be the ending of the other.* For we doe euidentlie behold, that no pleasure would at any time be acceptable, if sorrow had not gone before it.

What is he that could discern, how precious quiet rest and repose is, if first he haue not felt the pain of traualle and wearinesse? Who could tell, what the benefit is of eating, drinking, and sleeping, if first he had not endured hunger, thirst, and watchings? Let mee tell yee then,

Some faults that merite reprehension.

An answer made to these complaints.

No contrary, but it hath another.

A reason for the present annoyances.

The saying of Socrates and Plato.

The goodnes of all things is approoued by the harme of their contraries.

then, that passions and diseases are giuen to men by nature, not principally to make them subiect thereto, for it would seeme very inconuenient, that the who is the Mother of all, should (by her counsell and wisdom) send vs many harms: But nature hauing made health, pleasure, and other good things: sends after them sicknesse, displeasure, and other annoyances. For all vertues being first graunted to the world, by the free gift and fauour of Nature: afterward immediately, all vices, by a contrary concatenation or combination, follow as their companions or attendants. So that the one encreasing, or decaying; she is compelled to grant (in this manner) that the other also shall encrease, or grow to decay lance.

Wherefore, when old men doe extol the passed times, affirming, that no men were then so vicious, as now they are in these daies: they may also alledge their ignorance, whether then such virtuous men were to be found, as many are well approoued to bee at this day. Nor is there any matter of maruaile heerein, because there is no euill so great; as that which springeth from the seede of corrupted goodnes. And for this cause, Nature producing now great store of Spirits, of much better temper then before they were, as such who of themselves haue turned to goodnesse: hath performed a better workmanship, then in those times (hee did) wherof they talke so much, euen as they that turne to euill, doe so much the worse. We may not then say, that such as cease to doe euill (because they know it not) do in this case deserue any praise: for although they haue sildome committed any harme, yet (notwithstanding) they would haue done much more if they could.

Now, that the Spirits of those precedent times in general, were much inferior to them lately or now liuing: may sufficiently be knowne, by all matters obserued of them: as well in learning, as in Painting, Statues, Buildings, and in all other things. And yet Men of yeares, doe reprove and blame many things in vs, which are not (of themselves) eyther good or euill, onely because that they (in those daies) did them not. They say, it is not fit for a

young man, to ride on his Foot-cloth Naggethorow the Citie, but especially not on a Mule; or to wear any skinnies of Fures in Winter; or a long Gown in the Spring time; or any bonnet; vnlesse the Man haue attained to the age of eighteen years. And other such like things, wherein (truely) they greatly discontent themselves, because that such Customes (beside the commodity and benefit they afford) haue been brought in by vs, and are as pleasing now to euery one, as then men delighted to goe in Cascookes, or Jackets, with open shoes; and close Breeches. And for a man to shew himselfe Gallant, he must carry a Hawke on his fist all day to no purpose; daunce, without holding his Mistress by the hand, and vse many other fashions, which were then much esteemed; but now doe appeare to bee grosse and vnbesitting. These are most of their foundest reasons, why the customes of these times should not bee obserued; but remaine still to the cunnies of aged folke, extolling themselves, by saying: Twenty yeares and more were past with mee, and yet I slept with my Mother and Sisters, and knew not (in long time after) what a Woman was. But now, Boyes, almost as soone as they be borne, know more naughtinesse, then the tawlest Men could reach vnto in those daies. When they vtter these speeches, they doe not perceiue, how strongly they confirme, that the very Children of our time, haue much more spirit, then aged Men had in those daies. And that was well noted by Horace the Poet, in his time, speaking of our ancients, to this effect: *They commend what soeuer themselves did in their youth; And will haue young people to forme their liues by their Age.* But I purpose to shew more particularly in the following Chapter, the grossenesse of people in those former times, and the subtilty of braue Spirits in young men of these daies.

The inuolucres of aged people against young.

Ancient treachery in a Gallant.

Objections vnto the aged.

The saying of Horace.

CHAP. XXX:

A comparison betwene the Buildings, Feasles, Garments of Men and Women, Armes, and manner of making warre, in the daies of our fore-fathers, and those that are used in these our times.

Our predecess-
ors forme of
building, very
groffe & rude



We will begin, without v-
sing any other preamble,
with those Buildings,
which were made in the
daies of our fore-fathers;
consisting of nothing but very chicke
walls, bad Windows, continually bea-
ten with winds and stormes; chambers
subiected one to another; the vaults or
houfes of Office, euer more in the most
eminent places, of the House, which
ought to bemuch further off, both from
the nose & eyes; imitating nature, who
hath placed those partes in our bodies,
through which our vncleanness is to
be auoyded, farre enough off from the
eyes and Nose. Of this fashion, and in
such manner of building, it is no long
time since, that the more part of Ma-
sons and Worke-men shapd Castles,
being places of pleasure, and Country
houfes of pleasure, in no other kinde of
constructure. But within an hundred
yeres, or there about, a great part of
them are demolished: and (in stead of
them) others erected; after our Mo-
desne manner, much more commodi-
ous, and of lesse cost, in regard of the
time.

The Feasts &
Banquets of
our elders.

The first fer-
uice.

The second
seruice.

Some what let vs say, concerning
their Feasts and Banquets, and obserue
in what manner they were ordered. The
meate serued into the Table, was al-
wayes in great Chargers, filled with
Pease and Bacon; Gammons of Bacon;
huge Neats tongues salted; great pieces
of Beefe, boyled Poultry, with portage
about them; boyled Mutton, Veale, &
other grosse food, common (almost) in
eury ordinary family; and they gorged
in these Victuals, so long as they could
crum any more into their bellies. After-
ward, they brought in other meats, an-
swerable to the former, but roasted and
larded (oftentimes) with vnfaury lard,

but it would serue for Pigs and Hares.
After this second seruice had stood as
while on the Table, well-neere to no
effect: then came in more dainy meats
of Fowles; as Mallards, wilde Duckes,
Ringdowes, young Pigeons, Partridges,
woodcocks, Quales, Pheasants, wood-
hennes, Plouers, Turtles, and others of
like kinde: which are carried away (like
the second seruice) almost neuertoucht,
for they (good men) had filled their
stomackes with the first course meates,
feeding hungrily on them, and drinking
sower wines, such as Summer marreth,
so they left the best and daintiest meats
indeede, for their Varlets and bafe Ser-
uants to feede on. Was not this a verie
lourdery and blockishnesse, to vfe their
meates in this grosse manner? The
Masters eate nothing but the very hea-
uieft meates of all, and their Knaues did
feede on the lightest, most exquisite,
and best for digestion. Let it then be
helde no matter of maruaile, if those
men had grosse and heauy Spirits, be-
cause, according to the opinion of Pla-
to: *Our manners do follow the temperature
and quality of the Chylus, or white iuyce,
of the digested meates which we vse to eate.*

But in these daies, this manner of fur-
nishing the Table at Feasles and mee-
tings, is no more vfed: for in well go-
uerned houfes, they serue in both boyld
and roasted meates, grosse and delicate
together, that each man may eat accord-
ing to his appetite, or what he best li-
keth vpon the boord. For (vnder submis-
sion to better iudgement) I thinke it no
way fitting, that the seruant should feed
on the finest, and his Maister on the
coarsest; the Knaue serued like a Lord,
and his commander like a Buffone.

Proceed we now to mens garments.
First, the head, hauing bush naturall (as
they terme it) a huge deale of haire on
it; must haue as big a Bonnet to couer
it, which (in those daies) were cald *Span-
nish* Bonnets, hauing a turning vp be-
hind, double fringed with red, and this
turning vp contained halfe an Elle of
woollen-cloth. I haue seene one of the
in Paris, that weighed foure pound and
sixe ounces. Another fashion they had,
more honest and lighter, teamed the
Crosse-Bow-Cap; yet with seauen or
eight Elles of Riband about it: This
ponderous wearing (in my minde) did
nothing

The third and
best seruice
comes last of
all, and serueth
for none but
bale groomes
to keele on.

The saying of
Plato.

Peasants vfed
now adays.

Bonnets vfed
in ancient
times, of very
heauy weight

nothing els but dull the braine.

Their Doublets (I meane for the bet-
ter sort of men) were of leather or coultre
Linnen Cloath behind; and before, of
Woold, or Serge of Arras, which ser-
ued halfe the Breast, and so on the armes
likewise; yet some (from the Elbowe to
the Wrists) vfed to weare Velvet or Satin.
This kinde of Doublet, the French-
men teamed *Nichil-au-dos, Nothing Be-
hinde*, and it was cut according vnto the
fashion of Weomens Gownes nowe a-
dayes, that shewes their Breast naked.
The Weomen also in those dayes, had
their plaited Collors, wrought with silk,
either Blacke or Red, and they were fa-
stened behinde the necke and Shoulders
with Silke-Laces: so that they hidde and
kept close that which was fairest, & wold
haue made them most gracefull. Mens
Hose or Breeches, answered in length to
their short skirted Doublets, being made
close to their limbes, wherein they had
no meanes for Pockets. But in stead
thereof, they hadde a large and ample
God-piece, which came vpp with two
wings, and so were fastned to eyther side
with two Pointes. In this wide room,
they had Linnen bagges, tied with like
Pointes to the inside, betwene the shirt
and God-piece. This serued as the re-
ceipt for Purse, Hand-kerchers, Apples,
Plummes, Peares, Orenge, and other
fruits. But did it not seeme verie inci-
uill, that sitting at the Table, hee should
make a present of such, preferud for som-
time: in so sweet a Coffer, euen as now
adaies, some (as mannerly) vfe the like
out of their Pockets? As for papers, Let-
ters, and such like, which they ordinarie
receiued, they were to put them in their
Hat-bandes, or weare them at their Gir-
des, like Gloues: wher hung also a great
Pouch, made fast with a Ring and Locke
of iron, weighing three or foure pound
waight, and oftentimes no money at all
in it. Surely, in my poore opinion, the
fashion of Pockets made in the Doublet
Sleeue, or in the hose, is much more ho-
nest and commendable.

Leauing their high and vnhandfom
Shooes, let vs speake a litle of weomens
habits then vfed wherein I meane not to
be tedious. The Attire on the Head,
was of great broad Wollen Cloath, of
Red or Violet colour, set out with stickes
of VV oode, and made in the forme of a

Suger-loafe. Her Gowne was verie large
and plaited; and the Sleeues thereof so
wide, that a Lambe might easilie leape
into them. A Traiue also was fastned to
this Gowne, which commonly containd
six pages in length. At assemblies and
meetings of VVomen, as the rest, so did
these let fall her Traiue, dragging it after
her in Halles, Churches, perhaps ouer
Dunghills, and other vnfaury filthines.
Preparing to Daunce, or some other de-
light, it was taken vpp againe, though it ser-
ued to no purpose; and then made fast
behind; either with a Trach-hooke of Sil-
uer, or a Button of Golde, or of Iuorie.
This Garment was not made without
great charge, and was verie painfull also
to her that did weare it. For I haue heard
aged Women (of very honorable hou-
ses, that liued in those times; and vfed the
same habite) credibly report; that they
haue knowne and seene some weomen,
who were meeterly afflicted vnder such long
traind Gownes.

Moreouer, were it Winter or Sum-
mer, in regard of honour, they also were
furred with Ermins, Martines, or Sables.
I forbear to speake of their heauie Vard-
digalles, worn vnder those long & wa-
gthy Gownes; the Fore-part whereof,
was couered with Silke, or Cloth of gold
or Silver, & all the rest was coultre
Ram or Canvas. At Night, when they
haue gone to bed, their bellies and thighs
haue beene greuously chafed and staid,
by reason of so heauie a waight; and ex-
tremity of heate.

As for the defencive Armes then v-
fed, which was Harnesse; were they not
(beyond comparison) more masie and
heauie, then those that now adayes wee
warre withall? Neuertheless, they were
commonly pierced with Arrows, Darts,
and Quarries of Crosse-bowes, which in
those times were their best weapons. But
in these daies, they are so well made and
yet not (by three partes) so waigthy; that
they will resist a Musket shotte. The
like is to be vnderstood of their Swords,
and other Weapons of Defence: for in
one word of their vse, there was more
stiffe, then now we haue in three; & yet
they will performe as much, nay more,
then their then did.

It hapned manie times, that in their
Sword-fight, the one man stepping aside
for aduantage, the other smiting at him; the

Long traind
Gownes.

A painfull
pride.

Furred Gar-
ments worn
at all times.

Great Vard-
digalles.

The Armour
then vfed
Harnesse and
Cuirasses.

Swordes and
weapon of
defence.

The harme
ensuing by a
heavy weapon

Their time
when they
warred.

Winter is the
fittest time
for warre, and
some reasons
therefore al-
leged.

A fault to be-
fore the eni-
my to the
fight, such
was the opi-
nion of our
fore-fathers.

The custome
of battailes in
old time.

the verie waight of the Swords fall, hath
snot it into the ground, so that he could
not easily recover it, but stoode vnto the
mercy of his enemy. If we traueleye tho-
row some partes, in auncient Castles or
Fortresses, or Armories of long continu-
ed Cities; some of these vnwealdie
weapons are daily to be seene.

They neuer made Warre but foure
months in the year; or fixe at the most:
after which time, both the one side and
other withdrew themselves till Winter
was past and gone. This course is quite
contrarie vnto that which is to be done
in the time of Warre: For, in Winter is
the fittest season, and then doe our best
warlike spirits performe the best exploits
of Warre. Then are surprisals ap-
pete, in regard of long Nights, when Ri-
uers and Ditches (being filled with Wa-
ters) are strongly frozen. Then dooth a
good Capitaine take occasion, to make
his attempt vpon some place, either to
surprize it by scaling, or otherwise. For,
then the Spies, Sentinelles, and Watch,
are more subiect to sleepe, then at other
times. And so much the rather, because
(usually) that mens Bellies are better fed
in this season; then other-whiles they
are, in regard of the plentie of Victuals,
which makes the bodie sleepeie and sloth-
full. Likewise, by the fauour of Long
Nights, a great deale of Ground is easi-
ly ridden, and the Enemy set vpon,
when himselfe least surmizeth it, with-
out much effusion of bloode, with lesse
Companie of Men, and weakest Char-
ges.

In those Elder dayes, they thought it
a great offence and dishonor, to surprize
an Enemy vnprouided: but he must haue
a day assigned him, when hee pleased to
accept the Battaille: and this was the rea-
son, why war was continued so long a time.
But we see quite contrarie, that Warre
now commeth sooner to an end, by com-
pelling the Enemy to come to fight, and
providing politticke Ambuscadoes for
him: in imitation of Hunters & Wood-
men, when they chase wilde and vnruely
Beasts, that will neuer yeild, except they
be enforced thereto. For if they escape,
they will continually retume to their first
bad Nature.

It was a Custome helde in those for-
mer Battailles, and verie often obserued,
that when men were wearie with Figh-

ting (being oppressed with the heauie
load of troublesome Harneisse, Goates
of Maile and Brigandines; where-with
their bodies were covered, besides their
maise and waightie Swords) they should
go repose themselves to take breath, yea,
(many times) to eate and drink, and then
retume to the fight again. As the French
men did on the day of battell, before the
City of Alexandria, about the year one
thousand three hundred ninety one, whi-
che day they then lost, with Count John
John d'Armignac their chiefe.

In those times, battails continued the
space of a day; and if they were not then
concluded, they went to it againe the next
morning, to know who then should be
Superior. This was more for honor ma-
ny times, then any profit ensuing thereby,
and to haue Songs afterwards made of
their sloth and negligence. But in these
dayes, within two or three houres (com-
monly) the battell is won or lost, as I my
self haue obserued in five fought battels,
where I stood not as an ydle spectator: &
thelike haue I heard in other places, per-
formed by the best and most approued
Captaines of these times.

What shall wee say of their Duello,
Combate, or single fight, betweene man
and man? It was commonly performed
with Swords, tearmed two-hand swor-
des, without standing vpon anie war-
rable Guard; but both parts meeting
resoluedly on foote; the one receyuing a
stroke, while his Enemy stood waiting
for another, without any counterte. For,
euen like two Smiths beating vpon an
Anuile, euen such was their behaviour,
smiting alternatiuely, vsing then nothing
but cut and slash, without any foine or
thrust.

In our daies, this kinde of fight endu-
reth but a moment of time, for nothing
is vsed but Estocadoes: so that within
three or foure thrusts, the deadly comba-
t is concluded. For Breuities sake, I o-
mit many other remarkable thinges: as
that they would eat no kind of flesh, ex-
cept it had some strange fauor, like Veni-
son and wilde beasts. Now albeit these vi-
cades were dangerous to health, yet I re-
fer it to all mens iudgments, for it is most
certaine, that vse of such foode infecteth
the heart, and is the cause of differencie.
Wherefore such as intend to haue and
keep an honest table, and to cloth or arm them-

Long con-
suming in fight
no way bene-
ficiall.

Ancient sin-
gle fight or
combate be-
tweene man
and man.

Eating of
strange flesh
ling flesh.

themselves respectiue: must Learne
much better directions, and imitate the
worthy inuentions of these daies, leauing
those grosse absurdities (for the most part
vnprofitable) of our Elders, which them-
selves approued and esteemed, but verie
slenderly to any purpose.

CHAP. XXXI.

Of the Antiquity of Fraternities, Brother-
hoods, Fellowshipes, Societies, or Com-
panies: And to what end they were at
first instituted.



HE first Princes and Law
makers, that had not as yet
discovered the difficulties,
how to maintain their sub-
jects by iustice; permitted
fraternities, Colledges, & Communities,
the end, that the partes and members of
one body (in a Common-wealth) being at
Vnity, the whole Common-wealth it
selfe might be the more easily gouerned.
As wee may perceiue Numa did, a King
and Law-maker amongst the first, who e-
stablished Fraternities and Colledges, of
all Trades and Occupations, and to each
Brother-hood, he appointed certain Pa-
trons, Priests, and perticular Sacrifices,
after the Sabines name was abolished;
that deuicd it selfe somewhat from the
Romaines.

Lycorgus also, not only gaue the same
permission, but likewise strictly com-
manded the good entertainment of such Co-
mmunities, as well generally as perticular, &
that all the Subjects should take their re-
fection in those Colledges, from fifteene
dayes, to fifteene dayes; and he cald such
Assemblies in Greek, *παιδία* or *φιλανθρωπία*
a *Parishonia*, that is to say, of lining Fri-
gally, in regard of the amity they hadde
sworne one to another, as also in all the
Cities of Greece.

There were likewise of the like Frater-
nities, which were called *παιδία*. As
in Italy, the selfsame Colledges were cal-
led *Sodalitas*, for Vnion, Frequentation,
and Amity, which they helde together,
eating and drinking (in one Assembly)

the most part of their time: and having
no other Iudges but themselves. It there
grew any difference amongst these Com-
panions in Society, they knew that amity
was the sole foundation of all Societies,
and to be much more requisite amongst
men, then Iustice. For, Iustice who is
neuer pitifull, but holdes on her direct
course: oftentimes maketh friends & ene-
mies, and Amity giuing way to her Se-
uerity, establisheth true naturall Iustice.
Considering, that the sole aime of all la-
wes Diuine and Humaine, is to maintain
loue amongst men, and the loue of men
towards GOD, which could neuer be
compassed, but by frequent and sociable
Conuersation, and ordinary vinity.

The verie same wee may see in the law
of God, the Feast of Easter to be recom-
mended in the company of ten, to reuerse
persons; beside the Feast of Tabernacles,
and ordinary bankets of sacrifices, which
God commanded to be solemnized with
all ioy and gladnesse, which were enter-
tained in the Primitive Church of Chris-
tians, who oftentimes made such Feasts,
which they called *αγάπαι*, for the Kisses
of Piety and Charitable embracements,
which one gaue vnto another: besides
the fraction, and ordinarie Communica-
ting.

This Order is yet better kept in Swe-
dia, then in any place of the world: For,
in all Cities and Townes, Fraternities
and Occupations haue their Common
Houses, where they keepe their Feastles
and Banquets; and there is no Village so
little, but it hath a Common house only
for this purpose, wher (continually) suits,
Quarrels; and Contentions, are lovingly
concluded; and the sentence is Written
downe with White Chalk, vpon the
Table where they haue Banketted, in to-
ken of a white & pure ending of all strifes
whatsoeuer. It were very necessary, that
such an honest Custome should be euery
where vsed: for it would preuent great
expences and charges, belloved in triu-
ous and idle pleadings, whereby infinite
persons are vtterly vndone.

And euen in like manner as at Rome,
according to the Institution of Numa, ar-
tificers, Merchants, Priests, hythops, &
all sorts of men had their Fraternities, and
certaine Gods for their Patrons (as Mer-
cury was assigned to the Merchants, A-
pollo to Priests, and the like to others, ac-
ter

Amity is
much more
worth then
Iustice.

Con-frater-
nal Feasts
commended
in the law of
God.

Brother-hoods
in the primi-
tue Church.

Kind Brother-
hoods kept a-
mongst the
Swedes.

An honest de-
ference
furtherance.

At Rome, and
in Greece, euery
company of
Artezans, haue their
brother-hood.

Fellowships
and Brother-
hoods of Phi-
losophers.Brotherhoods
of whippers.

Carnal Taciturn.

Pleasure in Love, &c.

The Luper-
cal Fraternity of
Shepherds.The yearly
celebration
of this Bro-
ther-hood.The idle opi-
nion of Wo-
men.

Tertullian.

Marke An-
thonys Luper-
cal Brother.

ter the example of *Solon*, who ordained by his Lawe, that all Communities and Brotherhoods should be permitted, with power to make such Statutes as they pleased, Even so in like manner, Philosophers had Fraternities among them, especially the *Pythagorians* who assembled together ordinarily, and lived (for the most part) in common.

Herodotus (who lived before *Rome* was builded) writeth, that there were certain Societies of men in Egypt, who would beate and whip themselves so long as the Sacrifice endured, when they immolated a Cow to their God *Apis*. *Romulus* having entered into alliance with *Tatius*, King of the *Sabines*, instituted a number of Priests, which were called the *Tatian* Fraternity. The said *Romulus* made himselfe one of a Brother-hood, which was called *Amalx*, that is to say, belonging unto the *Filde*, whereof hee was the Twelfth man.

About the time of *Romes* first foundation, because many *VVolves* lived then thereabout, which destroyed the Cattle, so that great losses were daily received: the *Romaines*, who were onely but sillie warlike Shepherds, instituted a fraternity, and associated many men together, electing God *Pan* to be the chief Patron, to the end, that unanimously, and with one consent (when occasion required) they might oppose themselves against the *VVolves*; this was their first foundation. Nor long after, nere unto Mount *Palatine*, they founde a Litter of yonge *VVolves*, which having destroyed: they afterward builded there a field Temple, dedicated to their God and Patron *Pan*, according as then their power and ability served them. This Fraternity kept their Celebration annually, and the Brothers went naked, running thorow the Citie, holding long strappes of Goates skines in their handes, wherewith they vied to lath their bodies. The women among them, such as were barren, would (in like manner) strike themselves on the palmes of their handes, and verily beleened, that these superstitious Ceremonies would cause them to become fruitful. As may be noted in *Juvenell*, thus mocking a woman:

Nec prodest agilis palmas præbere lupo.
*VV*hich is as much to say, as, *it serves thee to no purpose, to present thy handes*

thus to the Luper-
cal Brother-hood, to be made fruitful. Marke *Anthony* the Emperor, he was one of this fraternity in the year, 700. after it was instituted, & ran stark naked through the City, as the other did. *Julius Cæsar* likewise, that many Brotherhoods were made at *Rome*, after the decease of Emperors, whom the Senate (in a manner) deified. As, in regard of *Augustus*, the Fraternities were called *Augustales*, and *Flavianes*, after the Family of the *Flavians*. *Aurelians* and *Antonians*, in respect of *Aurelius* and *Antonius*, Emperors.

Tertullian, Byshop of *Carthage*, in the time of great persecutions and of Paganisme, beholding certain Brother-hoods to be made among the Pagans, carrying meats into the Temples, performing of Sacrifices, eating together, and giving to the poore: hee admonished the Christians to doe the like, but not to meddle with any reverence to the Gentiles gods, only they should continue firme in the Christian Faith. And it is verie like, that Popes, Byshoppes, and other holy men, have perwaded the Christians to imitate those Assemblies and Fellowships: for continuance of prayer to God, and censuring and separating one from another, when it should truly be known, that some one among them, had done an acte vnbecoming the name of a Christian. Also, to conferre amiably amongst themselves, if any strifes or contentions had happened in the Company: then to accord such differences by their Pietie and Love, rather then to plead those distastfull matters before Iudges; keeping purposely an Informer among them, onely to accuse such delinquents. They would conclude amongst themselves, to redeem prisoners for debts, and pursue the delivrance of prisoners for their Faith; leuying a Collection of such sums of money, as should easily compasse this businesse. Also to give aide and assistance to Christians, being in persecution, and forced from place to place: contributing for reliefe of the poore, comforting helplese *VViddawes* and *Orphanes*, giving them food, cloathing, and maintenance. To marry and lend helpe to poore maids, in some competent and reasonable dowries providing for the Funerals of needy people, dying in necessity, or being martyred, not having any thing left to burie

Plot in vit, de
Cæsar.Tertul in Apol.
cap. 39.Good examples
are worthy
imitation.Holy and Reli-
gious care
in our Ance-
stors, for a-
voiding of
bad and sen-
sualus incon-
veniences.Christians
learned of Pa-
gans to whip
themselves.Where the
first Frater-
nity of Christi-
ans was made

Acts 1, 9.

The factions
of the Guelphs
and Ghiblins.The Lanes in
Germany and
France.Vnlawfull frater-
nities pro-
hibited & re-
counted as no
members of the
Common-
wealth.

burie them withall, but onely referred to their care and mercy.

Some Brother-hoods learned of those faide Pagan *Egyptians*, to whippe themselves, and do practise yet to this day, yea even to effusion of blood, to subdue their bodies (as they say) enclined to voluptuousnesse; and this they do twice or thrice weekly: Others more rarely, according to their Deuotion. These Fraternities haue filled themselves *Ninivites*, because they finde in the Sacred Scripture, that the Inhabitants of *Ninivy*, being warned by the Prophet *Ionas*, that they should be destroyed for their sinnes: heereon they became verie penitent, put on sackcloth and ashes, and chastised their bodies, to appease the wrath of God.

The first Society or Fraternitie made among Christians (so farre as my iudgement reacheth) was in *Ierusalem*, where the cuer-blessed Virgin *Merie*, the Mother of Iesus, all the Apostles, and many other, as well women as men, Disciples of Iesus Christ, met together, and were in number about fixe score, after he was exalted vp into Heauen, where they receyued the Holy-Ghost, and afterwards, remaiend long time in their Brotherhood and assembly.

I will not say, that both Holy and vertuous assemblies haue not bene abused, vnder pretence of Pietie and religion, because it is long since, that it hath bin too well noted in *Italy*, when the factions of the *Guelphs* and *Ghiblins* were vnder full saile, labouring with one consent (vnder the pretence of fraternity) quite to exterminat one another. As much is found to be done in *Germany*, especially in the Diocesses of *Treuts*, *Cologne*, *Lirge*, *Meyence* and elsewhere, during the troubles of their Countreies.

This miserie also made way into *France*; gathering vp Monopolies, in sted of congregating like louing Brethren; yea, bandying and eleuating themselves against their King, and against the Catholike Church, which succeeded to nothing else, but multiplicity of seditions, only to support the part they had taken. But such vnlawfull assemblies are reprooued by the Church, and no such Fraternities should be permitted in Communion of the Sacrament, prophaning holy things, & the peace of the Church. For, they ought not to intrude into such matters as apper-

taine only to the Prince, vnder colour of reforming, but they should be taken as seditious, factious, and scelerates; yea, to be quite cut off from the bodie of the militant Church.

Thus you see, what I thought good to discourse, concerning the Antiquity and Vtility of Fraternities or Brother-hoods. And that they were not instituted by the first Christians, for Sporting, Dancing, and Drinking, as many ignorant and debauching persons haue thought, and so laboured to perwade the simple people.

CHAP. XXXII.

Of *Polybius* the *Romaine* Ambassador, and his opinion of the Iewish Commonwealth, when hee was at *Alexandria* in *Egypt*.



Obisius the great Historian, a most elegant orator, and learned Philosopher, School-maister, or (as some will haue it) companion vnto *Senecca* the *Affrican*, being sent by a Senat on Embasie, to *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, hauing heard of the ciuill warres that then were in *Indea*, made a mockery of the Iewes, and such as held opinion that the church and Doctrine of God, should be constituted by the Iewish people. For then, all that Nation was full of troubles and intestine broiles, the great sacrificing Priest being violently dispossessed of his estate by another, and this man slain or murdered by another. Euen as *Iason* did, who expelled his Brother *Admetius*; & then, his Fellow afterwarde caused his Brother *Omas* to be murdered. In briefe, by Ambition of the Sacrificers, who raised ciuill warres; they prophaned the blood of their Fellow-Citizens, the Dead bodies of their elders were scattered in the streets, yea, hurled into the Porch of the Temple.

During which time, *Antiochus* King of *Syria*, called thither by one of the factious, exercised cruell thecutes in eue-

Sedition in
Ierusalem, who
should be the
Sacrificer.Antiochus
knew how to
fill in trouble
the hearts of the
Iewes.

Crucities v-
ted towards
women, and
their Chil-
dren.

Three contra-
ry Sects in is-
rael.

Happineffe of
the Romans.

The Church
of God can
never lose his
faile.

Gods church
always per-
manent in
this life.

ry City. He placed his Garrison in the Temple, celebrated the Feast of *Bacchus* in the City, in which City only, stode the Temple of the true God. Circumcision was interdicted, and because two Women had caused their Children to be circumcised, they were led naked thorough the City, bearing their strangled Infants at their Breasts; and (at length) themselves were throwne over the wals. Another, who had seauen Children, was stoned, dismembred, and fried in a burning Caldron, because shee would not eate Swines flesh, contrary to the Ordinance of the Law.

Beside this, during these Calamities, there were risen three different Sects, of the *Essenes*, *Saducees*, and *Pharisees*; who more tormented the Church, and her true Doctrine, then all the massacres committed by the Lewes. In the end, *Polybius* to behold this so much deformed estate, thought then, that the *Romain* Senate (where there was a *Scipio*, a *Laelius*, a *Scandus*, a *Cato*, a *Fannius*, and others, that governed in the World wisely) was the place where God delighted most to be; & that he fauoured the *Romans* most. For, they prospered more in all their conquests, then all other Princes or people of the world did: and hee iudged the affaires and condition of the world, according as hee saw people in their good or bad estate.

Now, albeit it was verie strange to see the Church in such a disposition and deformity, yet notwithstanding, there were (euē then) some good members that cleaued fast to her: Such were *Simon*, *Zachary*, and many others, both Maisters and Disciples in her Diuine School; and after them, the *Almones* or *Machabees*. I alledge these things for many Reasons: First, to the end, that we should hold this Consolation, that God hath euermore his Church truly permanent, especially in this mortall life: to the end, that alwayes some part of mankind should truly know God, call vpon him, and celebrate his name, and that part need not doubt, but that they are preserved, counter-gar- ded, and heard of God.

If *Polybius* had seen some hundreds of yeares afterward, when the Popes were expelled out of *Rome*, and persecuted, he would haue said as much of the Catho- licke Church. As we read of *Pope Alex-*

ander, third of that name, molested so many wayes by the most potent Empe- ror *Frederick Barbarossa*, finding no place in all Christendome for safety of his life: that (in the end) hee was constrained to retire himselfe to *Venice*, in the habite of a poor Priest, hiding himselfe in the church of *La Charita*, where he was received as a poore Chaplaine, and relieved for the loue of God. But at length, being known for the man he was indeed, hee found as- sistance, and was re-seated in his place. *Pope Clement* fift of that name, in regard of the factions in *Italy*, durst not abide at *Rome*, but was compelled to hold his See at *Avignon*, where (after him) it was con- tinued by his successors, the space of threescore yeares and more. Likewise, there have happened about three and twenty Schismes in the Church, some whereof, lasted seauentene yeares and more: sometimes three Popes were elected at one time, who made most cruell Warre one vpon another; One, defend- ing Emperors; Others, for other Prin- ces. I cannot expresse the Cruelties, In- solencies, Disorders, and Wickednesses, which (during these troubles) were com- mitted in the Church. And yet neuer- thelesse, in these hot times of Molesta- tions, there were many good people, full of Piety, as well women as men, among whom Gods true Church was still pre- served and manifested.

For proofe whereof, while these three Popes were thus in contention, to wit; *Symmachus*, *Laurentius*, and *Petrus Altinus*; there flourished great store of wor- thy personages, that were of Holie and vertuous life, of whom I wil name some. *Fulgentius* Byshop of *Hispalis*, a Monke; *Theodoret* a Gracian Priest; *Isidore*, By- shop of *Auuergne*; *Eusebius* of *Carthage*; *Dionysius* the Abbot, *Aulus Prudentius*, *Senerius*, Bishop of *Treues*; *Egippus* the Diuine; *S. Patrick* of *Ireland*; *Pomerius* and *Honoratus*; *Cassiodorus*, the Monke; *Fridolin* of *Basile*, and many others. If an hundred yeares after *Polybius* liued, he could haue seene the *Romain* Common- wealth wholly disspaired by the factions of *Pompey*, of *Cesar*; then of the *Trium- uiri*, all the World being filled with Ci- uill Wars; to attribute that which those famous *Romans* (in his time) had con- quered, by so great prouidence and dif- creet preservation, hee would then haue said,

Pope Alexan-
der the third
banished out
of Rome.

Pope Clement
the fift forced
to flee Rom.

Three Popes
elected at
one time.

A number of
holy persons
in the time of
the Schismes.

The Com-
mon-wealth
of Rome dis-
figured.

Polybius knew
not God, but
was a Pagan.

His Country
and place of
birth.

Polybius his
Books lost &
burned.

Titus Livius
beholding to
Polybius.

Polybius was a
true Histori-
an, not sub-
ject to the
folly of some
other writers

said, that God did not respect *Rome* more then he did any other nation. He should also then haue well noted the Pagans, among whom, Vertue, true Doctrine, and Honesty, was daily persecuted and de- spised: for then, if a man did but faigne to haue the truth, he was sure his Throat should be cut.

But *Polybius* is excusable, for he had no knowledge of God, but was a Pagan. He could not comprehend, that the pas- sage to the Kingdom of heaven, is thro- row infinite Tribulations. He beleued, that there was no other Paradise, but on- ly to liue happily in this world. Hee was an *Arcadian*, borne in the Citie of *Me- galopolis*, a great Philosopher and His- toriographer, verie well skilled in militari- Discipline. He wrote fortie Bookes in the Greeke tongue, containing the gests and policies of the *Romains*. Of all which Bookes, at this day, hardly is any more to be found; then five: the rest were lost and burnt by his Maid-servant, being ignorant what they were. But a young man, that sometime attended on him, know- ing the merit of his writings, hindred the Maids follie, and preferred those which wee haue, from hurling them into the fire.

Titus Livius hath bene much behol- ding to him, for it plainly appeared, that he followed him (word by word) in ma- ny of his passages, without altering any thing: and yet it was the space of an hun- dred years, or thereabout, between him and the saide *Titus Livius*. He was not so superstitious as some other Historiogra- phers, who mingled false miracles of their Gods among their woorkes: as ap- paritions of Gods, Goddesses speaking with Captaines; or heads of stinies; that they rained downe Blood, Milk, Stones, and such like; that Beasts did speake, Ri- uers conuert their Naturall colour into Blood, and other things meereley incre- dible. Nor did he write the Orations of Ambassadors, Captaines, and Kinges, wholly at large; without forgetting any iot, as many other Historians (both be- fore and after him) haue done, laboring to perwade their Readers, that those at- taires whereof they discourse, passed ac- cording as they are set downe; which is not easily to be credited.

Now, as concerning the cause why he went into *Egypt*; it was not to see

there what God was, or any of his wor- kes: as did *Plato*, *Democritus*, *Chrysippus*, *Anaxagoras*; and others; for he had read what those Philosphers had written, and many more beside. But the *Romaine* Senat well knowing him, although a stran- ger, and that he had done very much ser- uice to *Scipio*, in giuing him good aduise and Counsell, for his conduct in the wars of *Africa*, and of *Carthage*, depused him their Ambassador, to negotiate and ac- cord some matter of peace, between *Pto- lomy Euergetes*, King of *Egypt*; and *Antio- chus*, King of *Syria*, and of many other great Prouinces, who formerly had ran- ged ouer the Egyptian Territories, and *Polybius* accorded them verie worshiplie: Having ended his Legation, he returned to *Rome*, where (it is said) he died, deeply charged with yeares.

He taught and instructed that Noble *Scipio*, in many Vertues, and among o- ther precepts which he left him: that he should neuer remoue out of the place, whereto occasion called him, 'till hee had won himselfe a friend there. In brief, euery man of good iudgement, will not iudge rashly, of good or euill persons, by outward apparence, beholding them to be fortunate, rich, or poore, nor seeing them afflicted; but rather, by their good actions, vprightnes of life, and purenesse of Doctrine.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Of a strange conceit or opinion, in the Wo- men of *Moscovia*, to wit; That if they be not beaten by their Husbands, they thinke that they are not loued of them.



Imagined (for a long time) that that which is reported of the Women of *Mos- couia*, should be a meere Fable, to wit; that if they were not very often beaten by their husbands, they presently supposed that they did not Loue them; although it is vied as a common Prouerbe: *See that loveth*

The cause of
Polybius his
Embassie in-
to *Egypt*.

The death of
Polybius.

Few women
(I thinke) of
this kinde.

KK most

Women in
our countries
hold this to
be erroneous.

most, correcteth most. But such as are sub-
ject to Discipline, Correction, and Cha-
stisement, as are Slaves, Seruants, and
Children of a Family, being under the
power of Masters, Tutors, or Parents,
they will hardly confesse themselves, to
be beloued more than any other, because
they are beaten more then other. Neuer-
theless, the VVomen of *Moscouia* doo
hold this opinion quite contrary vnto all
other else-where, that if they be not bea-
ten, they are despised, and no way esteem-
ed.

I am well assured, that no man can
perfwade this for allowable, to the wo-
men of *France, Italy, Spaine, England*, no
nor to the *German* women, or that they
would accept, and let it passe for currant
Doctrine: although, if it happen that
they should bee beaten, euen when they
haue verie iustly deserved it; yet notwith-
standing, they will strive to cry first, yea,
and to beate their Husbands too, if they
could; or otherwise iniurie and abuse
them. And VVomen-Neighbours to
impeach the entrance of a bad Cu-
stome, would helpe such women as com-
plained, both in their maledictions and
imprecations, against such as (deserued-
ly) do strike their VVives, alceding Saint
Pauls saying: *That no man should bate his
owne flesh.* The VVomen of *Moscouia*,
do neuer go out of their owne Houses,
not so much as to the Churches, and do
nothing else but spin. And to giue as-
surance of what I haue already said, I will
declare three Histories, which very good
Authors haue left Written, and which
I my selfe haue heard credibly auouched
by men of worth, that haue bin in those
parts.

Laurent Surin
Lib. re. Rub.
Mem. sent. Ro-
m. quia Secu-
lar.

Laurentius Surinus, a Religious Char-
treux of *Cologne* in *Germany*, VVrites in
his Booke of memorable matters, as well
Ecclesiasticall as Secular: how it hap-
pened (in his time) that a *Germane* trauai-
led into those parts, and married with a
VVoman of that Countrey, and his wife
made a great complaint to him, that hee
did not loue her, neither bare her anie
kinde of affection, because he did not at
any time beate her. The *Germane* hear-
ing this, made answer; that hee loued
her entirely; and perfwaded himselfe,
that blowes could be no true signes of
Loue. Afterward, he vsed to beate her
fo extremely, and so often, that he found

(by good prooffe) his Wife did loue him
much better then he did before. But his
beating was such, and so immeasurably,
as (at length) the Hangman brake both
his legs and necke.

I was verie familiar with a *Germane*
of *Lunenburg*, whose father was Amba-
sador for *Ferdinando*, Emperour, first of
that Name, not long since deceased, de-
puted to *Basilins*, Duke and King of *Mos-
couia*; and hee assured me, that this Opi-
nion was a Custome, and still in vse with
the VVomen of that Countrey, & heard
his Father faithfully report it. For he be-
ing lodged in the house of an honorable
Burgesse in the City *Moscouia*, about the
business then referred to his trust, sawe
his hoste oftentimes beate his wife vpon
no occasion, and yet notwithstanding,
shee left not to loue him, and they spake
still kindly each to other, without the ve-
rie least shew of discontent; and yet the
said woman was very often beaten, some-
times with his dagger, or a staffe, or kickt
with his fecte. He said moreover, that
there was a Gold-Smith in the same Ci-
tie, with who this Ambassador often fre-
quented, because he knew him before in
the Towne of *Lunenburg*. This Woman
sent word by one of her young Children

to her husband, that hee had not beaten
his mother (so much as once) at that weeke
time: but if he would not beate her, she
would neuer loue him, neither would she
provide any more diet for him. The
Goldsmith being verie busily employed
about his worke, regarded not his fonnies
words, neither remembered his custome
so generally in vse; as those (Naturally
borne in the Countrey) had great respect
vnto it for their owne quiet. For hee was
a man humane enough (as a *Germane*)
and allowed not this barbarous bebauiour,
to smite his dearest friend and wife,
or so much as to shew her any vnkind
countenance: yet afterward, vpon her
importunity, and to discharge his dutie,
hee gaue her halfe a dozen blowes with a
Cudgell on the backe and shoulders, &
puld off her Head-attire, wherewith she
was well contented, and called him pre-
sently to an excellent prepared Dinner.
Otherwise, if a whole weeke should passe,
and he not beate her, there could be no
quiennesse in the house, nor should he get
one good looke of her. This is an ordina-
ry custome among the VVomen in the
great

Another Hi-
story for fur-
ther confir-
mation of this
custome.

Another Hi-
story of a
Gold-Smith &
his wife.

Whence this
Barbarous
custome grew

great Prouince of *Moscouia*.

In brieft, this manner and custome of
men beating their VVives, could not a-
rise but out of Sathans shoppe; for the
Christian Church hath euermore con-
demned it. There are none in these parts,
but Knaues, Fooles, lealous Coxcombs,
Drunkards, or men void of vnderstand-
ing, that will exercise such Barbarous
behauiour on their VVives: yet let mee
not be mistaken, for I do not excuse some
VVomen, that deserve to bee beaten for
their vices and badnesse, and will giue ex-
traordinary occasion to be sharply hand-
led by their Husbands. But my meaning
is, of vertuous, discret, and well aduised
women, whose merits are not mealy to
be cherished, but highly respected by
their Husbands.

Some women
do deserve
beating.

CHAP. XXXIII.

That those things, which some Authors
haue left written, concerning the De-
struction and ruine of great Troy, per-
formed by the Greekes, are true.



Cannot choöe but meruel
very much, at the wilful
tinacity of some men, who
rathly haue esteemed, that
those things written by ma-
ny good Authors, deseruing credite and
faithfull opinion of the warre and ruine
of *Troy* in *Phrygia*, should be meer Fables,
and ydle vanities. This error happened,
because they haue not read some
Bookes, VVritten by parties present at
the VVarre on either side, as well *Greekes*
as *Trojans*: as *Dionysius Cretes*, and *Dares
Phrygius*, and others, who collected also
their VVritings out of sound Authority,
liuing not long after the time when those
things happened. As *Herodotus* and o-
thers, that heard them reported by Cap-
taines & Commanders, who had charge
in the said VVares: among whom, was
Phyllos the *Greece*, and some others be-
side, that selected them out of verie au-
thent Authors. As namely, *Quintus Sep-
timius the Romain*; *Danaësius Sigeus*; *Emilius
Macer* the Poet; *Enclides* the

Authors that
haue written
of the war of
Troy.

Magistrum *Phyllostiphan*, and *Homer*, who
was about eight score years after.

Many Monarques, Kings, and other
Princes, took the paines, coming from
farre Countries, to see the City of *Troy*:
as *Alexander* the Great, that found it ru-
ined by the *Perfians*, who likewise deströ-
ed all that part of *Asia*, wherein it was
seated. But *Euthymus*, Nephew to *Alex-
memnon*, builded it againe, after that the
Greekes had sacked it: raigning there, &
his successors (as is affirmed) vntill such
time as the *Perfians* ouerthrew it. *Alex-
ander* the Great, then hauing read manie
Heroicall actions, performed at the be-
sieging of this Citie, and finding it had
desert, caused it to be re-edified, & gaue
great immunities and Priuiledges to the
inhabitants, whom hee exempted from
ordinary tributes; instituting there Free-
Payre, Martes, and Markets, for all such
as would dwell there, or Negotiate with
them: in regard whereof, it was named
Alexandria. *M. Antichus*, *Dioctian*, &
Claudius, Romaine Emperours, potent
and mighty, tooke paines to trauell the-
ther from home, not without much cost
and labour. And to leaue a memorie
to posterity, of their being there, they
caused a goodly Columbe to be erected,
(which is yet (at this day) to be seene) of
white Marble, very great, and placed in
it being called *Troy*: but in regard of the
great Antiquity thereof, it standeth not
directly vpright, but leaneth some-what
towards the sea; and thereon is engra-
uen these words following:

*Imperator Caesar, M. Antoninus pi-
us, Felix, P. M. Maximus, Trib. Pl. p. p. XV. Consul. III. Provinciarum Asiaticarum, & fluminis, pontibus Julius a-*

And on the other side of the said Pi-
ler, was likewise written:

*Imperator Caesar Augustus, Dioctia-
no, P. Col. II. regnante Tribunicia vice
postulante, M. F. T. et Claudius, C. VIII.
P. R.*

In the time of the Warre which the
*Romain*s had against *Antiochus*, this Ci-
ty was againe destroyed to the verie foun-
dation by a *Romain* Captain, named *Flam-
inius*, because *Antiochus* was possessed
thereof, and had planted there his Gar-
rison, which did much harme to the *Roi-
maines*. Yet it was new builded againe.
K k 2 (but

Alexander and
other Romaine
Emperours
went to see
Troy.

The name of
Troy changed
and called *Alexandria*.

Imperator
upon a Pillar
at *Troy*.

Another de-
struction of
Troy.

Galen a Student
of the Troy.

Acts 10, 11.

Troy again de-
stroyed by the
Goths.The ruins of
Troy which
are at this day
to be seene.The greatnes
and circuit of
Troy.

Mion Castle.

(but I know not by whom) because in the time of *Marcus Aurelius* the Emperour; there was an excellent Vniuersitie in the same place, of all Sciences, and *Galen* the Physitian was then a Student there.

Likewise, Saint *Luke* testifieth, that Saint *Paul* passed thorough it, and that he raised vp there, a young man, named *Eutichus*, that fell downe dead out at a Window, from the third Loft of the house: Also, that he preached there, and celebrated the holy Communion, where there remained a great number of Iewes. Three hundred yeares after, or thereabout, this Citie was once again destroyed by the *Goths*.

I thinke it was yet againe re-built afterward, and that the Inhabitants were Christians, because (at this day) manie crosses may be seene Engrauen on stones, enclosed in the walles of diuers temples therein, that stand (as yet) most part of them, being not wholly destroyed.

At this present, no person dwelleth there, nor within a Leagues compasse round about it; I know not whence this diffinition should proceed. The neere Neighboring Inhabitants do say, that before the Turkes got their entrance into *Greece*, it was then to be seene in the same condition. The six ancient Gates, are yet there (almost) intire, with their Porternes. The Towers about the walles in many places are yet standing vpright; and the height of the VValles are (verie neere) firmly standing; against which, are erected strong Piles and Spures of two Fadomes breadth, to sustaine them vpright.

The wals were builded of Free-stone, blacke like Iet shârd, but spungy; asking a large time to goe about them: and the Ditches are not (as yet) filled vp. There are two Castelles, verie ancient, within the circuit of the Citie, builded vpon the pendant of a Mountaine: one of the which, being much higher then the Citie, as hauing command thereof, and was called *Ilion* Castle. The other being much lower, had command of the Sea; both of them being builded of bright Marble; and so excellent in their construction, as it is impossible for anie man in the world, wholly to demolish them.

Concerning matters within the Citie, there are yet to be discerned the marks

and traicts of such goodly buildinges, as exceed my capacity to expresse. There are yet to be seene strong Conduits and Cisternes, without any water belonging to them. The streets are verie confused, by reason of the houses ouerthrow which (for the most part) was flat forward. Of VVells or Fountaines, there is no more but one now to be seene, and that is neere to the Sea side. Natural Baths are there yet to be noted, holding their nature dry and hot, builded by excellent Art, and Artificially couered with fine Bricke. But be it howe soeuer, it must be much greater matter, then as yet I haue heard of, that shall or can cause mee to beleue those things for Fables, that are written and reported of the greatnesse, wealth, and power of this Citie.

There are yet many Sepulchres to be seene, both within and without the Citie, of Captains and Princes, as well *Troians* as *Greeks*, that were slaine during the warre, made (in Anticke manner) of Marble, all in one peece, after the fashion of a Chest, the couers whereof are whole & sound. Halfe a League or a mile from *Troy*, is the Isle of *Tenedos*, where are the most part of the *Greekes* Sepulchers. As that of *Achilles*, who was the terror of the *Troians*, yet slaine by *Paris*. He was so highly esteemed, that many of his blood were afterward carried thither, to lye by him in his Tombe, so much did they admire his memory.

This was the Tombe that *Alexander* went to visit, weeping ouer it, and much complaining, because he was not so happy, as to haue a man that could so well publish his praises, as *Homer* had doone those of *Achilles*; it remained yet entirely whole, with diuers *Greeke* Verses thereon engrauen. And about the yeare of Iesus Christ, 1379, when *Balarath* the son of *Selim* reigned ouer the Turkes, there was found in the said Isle of *Tenedos*, the Sepulcher of an *Amazon* Queen, named *Marpesia*, who after many booties, being richly laden with spoiles, made hir return to this Island, verie fore hurt and wounded, and there ended her dayes. This Tombe is yet to be seene, betweene two hilles of indifferent height; and a litle before one of them, there is a *Greeke* Epitaph on the couer of the Marble Chest, and there her name is comprized in faire Characters.

The marks
of goodly build-
ings in Troy.One onely
Well as yet
remaining.Natural Bath-
es yet to be
seene.Tombs and
Sepulchers
yet to be seeneThe Isle of
Tenedos.The Tombe
of *Achilles*, &
many more,
visited by *Alexander*.The Tombe
of *Marpesia*,
an *Amazon*
Queen.

At

The Tombe
of valiant
Ajax.The Spirit of
Homer said to
waile yet in
the Islands a-
bout *Tenedos*.The Rivers
of *Simois* and
Xanthus.The River
of *Simois* and
Xanthus.The River
of *Simois* and
Xanthus.The River
of *Simois* and
Xanthus.The River
of *Simois* and
Xanthus.The River
of *Simois* and
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of *Simois* and
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of *Simois* and
Xanthus.The River
of *Simois* and
Xanthus.The River
of *Simois* and
Xanthus.The River
of *Simois* and
Xanthus.The River
of *Simois* and
Xanthus.The River
of *Simois* and
Xanthus.The River
of *Simois* and
Xanthus.

At any time, with opening verie little ground, or passing not about a foote in depth, many other famous tombs might be easily discovered. As the Tombe of *Atax* was, in that quarter where *Achilles* encamped his men. About this Isle of *Tenedos*, there are many other little Islands, of as good ground as that of *Tenedos*, but vn-inhabited, except by some poore Fishermen, that make their retirement thither sometimes. And it hath beene imagined, to be haunted with spirits, which speake to men; in regard whereof, the men that resort thither, and abide there any time, do say, that the spirit of *Homer* wanders in those Islands, where he did (in former dayes) *Phyllophize*; and that he flew himself to certain Shepherds, as they passed that way to feed their Cattle. Thus you may heare the opinion of such as doo now dwell about *Troy*, and neere the Isle of *Tenedos*, touching visions and spirits that appeare in those Islands.

As for the Rivers of *Simois* and *Xanthus*, so much renowned by many Poets which watered the fields of *Troy*, we can now say no otherwise of them, but that they are small Brookes or Gullies, scarce able to nourish a Loach or Minnow: for they are dried vp in Summer, and in the deepe of Winter, a Duck cannot swim there. But our Poets have published so many Fables of these Rivers, as they should seeme to haue beene much greater, then now they are. Yet must we not (for all this) say, that the History is not true, because Painters and Poets are Licensed to embellish their woorkes with more then their instant subject requireth; and we must likewise vnderstand, that vnder Poetical fables, there is vniuall a morall sense conuayed.

As concerning the Scituation of this Citie, *Theuer* maketh a quite contrarie description thereof, and saith; That these two fore-named, are great Rivers: and that it is seated in a good soile. I would be loth to contradict such a person, but that which I write, I haue gathered from *Belonius* a Physitian of *Mans*; in the second Booke of his Obseruations: and I my selfe haue heard him often report, being at *Paris*, at *Zoll*, that foure yeares he frequented that Country. Afterward, a man of *Rohan*, named *Albert le bon*, declared that he had bin in those parts, and

remained there, a whole Winter, agreeing in all things which *Belonius* had written. I thinke verily, that *Theuer* was neuer there, but what he hath recorded, was onely by heare-say.

That which hath giuen occasion to some, not to credite the destruction of *Troy*, is (as I haue heard) the iudgement of *Paris*, concerning the beautie of the three Goddesses. *Dares Phrygius* writeth, that it was nothing but a Dreame which *Paris* had as he slept vnder a Tree, being wearied with Hunting in the Forrest of *Ida*; and Poets making vse of this dreame, haue aduised young Princes, not to imitate the folly of *Paris*. For he refused Riches, which *Iane* presented him; and wisdom and vnderstanding in all things, offered him by *Pallas*, if to cyther of them he would haue giuen the Golden Ball. But suffering himselfe to be swayd by voluptuous desires, hee chose rather to giue it to *Venus*, the Goddess of loose and mis-governed affections; that he might liue (alwaies after) in such licentious liberty. And, as an especiall note of his skillfull progression, hee made a Rape of faire *Helena*, wife to *Menelaus*, King of *Lacedemon*, that entertained him in his Court as a kind friend. A matter, which caused the ruine of all his family, and of all the *Troian* Kingdome beside.

Secondly, they alledge also as a fable, that *Priam* commanded his son *Paris* to be slaine, because *Hecla* (his Queen) being great with childe, had a dreame that she should be deliuered of a fire-brand. And hauing conferred with interpreters of dreames, the King was informed, that the infant then in hir womb, should be the cause of his ruine, and of the whole kingdome. This dreame might verie likely be dreamed by *Hecla*, in regard, that verie often, Princes and Princelices are (by especiall grace) forewarned of God, both in dreames and otherwise, concerning diuers things which are to happen, to the end, that they might prevent them. For accidents good or euil do not only touch them, but all the people likewise. In brief, *Paris* from his infancy was so vicious, as his father could neuer afford him a good looke. And when he was in his youthfull dayes, without any aduise of his Parents, he married a Nymph of the Fields, but yet free was verie faire and virtuous, Named *Oenone*; and afterwards fou-

Matters that
cause distrust
of *Paris*The iudgement
of *Paris*,
concerning
the three
Goddesses.A second rea-
son the destru-
ction of *Troy*.Princes haue
many ad-
uancements in
Dreames.Paris made a
clandestine
marriage.Kk 3
tooke

fooke her, when he had enioyed her virginity.

Thirdly, they affirme for a fable, that which *Dittys Grecians, Homer* and other Authours haue Written, of the Plague dispersed in the Campe of the Grecians, when they assembled to plant their siege before *Troy*, the Armie consisting then of no lesse, then twelve hundred thousand able men. Euery man knoweth, that contagious Diseases doo feldome cease from pursuing great Armies, because men liue there vnwholesomely, in regard of Corruptions by dead Bodies, and other annoyances amongst Men: Besides, Welles and Waters abused or corrupted; for men and beasts drinke all together, whereby the ayre becometh infected.

The people then perceyuing so great a Mortality, without finding any Remedy for it, had re-courfe to their Goddesses, and consulted with Oracles. The Priests being then verie subtle and crafty, made answer: That this Pestilence ensued by the anger of *Diana*, and this was the reason thereof. *Agamemnon*, Brother to *Menelaus*, elected Chief Leader of the Armie, had slaine a goodly Hinde, which was Priuate and Sacred, and was kept by the Sacrificing Priests (for pleasure) in some Fielde or Forrest, Dedicated to the saide Goddesse. They made them also beleue, that they had oftentimes seene *Diana*, to take great delight in sporting and playing with that Hinde. Wherefore, if they would haue the plague to cease, they must Sacrifice the Daughter of *Agamemnon*, King of *Mycenae*, who was the onely cause of all the euill.

Now, it is well knowne, that this ydle practise or Gallerie, was expressly prepared against *Agamemnon*, by some of the other Kings, who were malicious and enuious (esteeming themselves aboue him) because he was chosen chiefe Soueraigne, and commaunded ouer so great an Armie, wherein were no lesse then thirtie nine Kings. And this was deuised onely to discontent him, and giue him occasion for to depart home againe: yea, and the Oracle being entrusted to this Cooleage, returned that answer.

Being on the verie point of constraining him to deliuer his Daughter to bee

Sacrificed, *Achilles* and some other of his Friends, who had Credite sufficient with the other Kings, found the meanes to redresse this extremitie. For, they being assited by some of the Priests and Sacrificers, than re-consulted with the Oracle, hauing receyued a good summe of Money, returned a report, that *Diana* would be contented with the sacrifice of another Hinde, and of a Bull, which accordingly was performed.

Then the Græcian Armie entered into their prepared Shippes, which amounted to the number of cleauen hundred and fortie Saile, or thereabouts: and dislodging thence, chainged the Ayre. So, by Naturall Reason, that Contagious infection ceased: and thus should that part of the Historie bee vnderstood.

For the *Palladium*, which was an Image of *Woodde*, representing *Pallas* false from Heaven, with a mighty thunder, into a Temple newly made, which the *Trojans* had builded in the Citie; which being finished, and they not knowing to what God or Goddesse they should make their Vowes, or elect as their Patron, this happening in the Night time, the Gates of the saide Temple being fast shut.

This was nothing else, but onely a meere inuention of men, and principally of the Sacrificers, and Couetous Idolatrous Priests, who found the meanes (one Night) when there was great lightning, Thunder, and Raine, to bring the saide Image thither secretly. And commencing the next morning to open the temple Gates, in the presence of manie people; they made them beleue, that in this terrible time of night, the Image was descended from Heaven. Whereupon, the *Trojans* admiring this deceitfull wonder, sent some of their Noblest Citizens (with the Sacrificers) to *Delphos* (there to consult what was to be done with this statue descended from heauen. The Priests of *Delphos*, vnderstanding the drift of the subtle *Trojans*, conspired one with another, to answer by the Oracle (which was a Virgine closely concealed in the Vault, and well instructed in his answer) That the Image of *Pallas* had not bene sent from Heaven, but for the more assurance and preservation of the *Trojans* estate; and that so long as shee remained within the Temple, the Citie of

A remedie found against so great an inconvenience, by redrafting of the Oracle.

A fourth reason, the *Palladium* image of *Pallas* in *Troy*.

Simple people are foolishly deceiued, especially vnder the cloud of Holinesse.

Both sides abused by a false Oracle.

Troy could not be surprized by Warre. The *Trojan* peopleooke this Oracle for an Article of Faith, and so did the *Grecians* also: for it brought them into dispaire of euer taking the Citie, and gaue the other side vndoubted assurance, that they should neuer be surprized or vanquished; and the better to countenance their perswasion, the *Trojans* placed strong Guards (ordinarily well payed) about the *Palladium*.

Now, it fortuned, that by long delay of time, many rough battailes and skirmishes, and all places of entrance into the Citie so strongly besiedged; that *Troy* could no way bee supplied with victuals. But being thus seuerely beleagured, the more part of the best men of warre; yea, euen the most resolute and valiantest *Trojans*, dyed with hunger: and none remained, but tyred weak men, wearied with sustaining so long a siege, and voide of any hope of succour. Some Princes, and other men of marke, foreseeing that the *Palladium* could not bee preferred; without speaking to *Priam* their Kings, (who was then very old and feeble) or *Heuba* the Queene: conferred closelie with the *Grecians*, (who were as much weary and tyred as they, desiring nothing more, but to raise their siege, & returne hometo their owne Countrey) yet made an outward bold shew, of stil continuing the siege. When they met to capitulate, among others were *Antenor*, *Aeneas*, and some else, who promised, if they might haue their liues and goods saved, they would admit the Enemy benefit of entrance. Promises past on both sides by sollemne oath, in a place very secret and free for the purpose; the people (in meane while) supposing, that they treated of a truce among themselves, of the reddition of Prisoners, and retouery of worthy mens bodies, slaine in the skirmishes. But aboue all thinges else, the *Grecians* strictly held, that the *Palladium* should bee deliuered to them: for they were perswaded, that they should neuer get entrance into *Troy*, so long as the Image continued there, so farre did the deuill (then) preuaile with men. This fortif light beleefe, *S. Angustine* verie exceedingly wel mocked, when he said: The *Trojans* were keepers of the *Palladium*, but

not the *Palladium* of the *Trojans*. The Guards were wun with Money, and the *Priests* that were there desired; contrary to their Oath and Vow, suffered their *Palladium* to bee lost; and another Image put into the place, very neerelie resembling it, covered with the same ornaments and Jewels, whereof none was then mindfull.

The *Palladium* being now in the besiegeders power, they were highly contented, and sent great presents to the *Traytors*, with reiteration of their Oathes. Whereupon, in the dead time of night, the *Traytors* opened the Gate called *Seca*, whereon was embossed the head of a Horse, and by a flaming Torch, gaue signall to the *Grecians* for entering the Citie, which they did, hauing yet the *Traytors* Children in their hands as hostages. Thus was the Citie taken, King *Priam* slaine, his wife and Children led away Captiues, and such as remained of the Royall Issue, were murdered, and almost all the people massacred: Faith was kept with the betrayers, but yet with great difficulty: neuertheless, after the reddition, they were exempted from spoile. To wit,

Antichis, Father to *Aeneas*, *Antenor*, neere Kinsman to King *Priam*, *Polydamas*, *Volagen*, *Amphidamas*, *Dolon*, and diuers other; to whom Ships were giuen, for conueighing thence their wines, children, & whatsoever else they could carry away. After the sacke had continued the space of eight daies, the Citie was wholly burned, but they had great difficulty to destroy it: for the buildings were all of Marble, or of free Stone, strongly couered and tarassed. But the *Grecians* were very great in spleen against it, because the most part of them (in this long siege) had lost many of their Kinned and deere Friends, beside their owne hard sufferance in the warre.

There dyed in this besiedging, eight hundred, eighty and sixe thousand *Grecians*, vntill the reddition of the Citie; and sixe hundred, seauenty; sixe thousand, as well of the Citie, as such succours as was sent them, by Kings, Queenes, and their Allies abroad, without making any account of both Men and Women, that were led thence captiues.

As concerning the Horse of wood, which

The *Palladium* stolne, & how.

Troy betrayed, surprized, and deliuered

The betrayers of *Troy* saved, and their names.

The number that dyed in this warre.

A life reason,
the fables of
the Greekes
trafic of wood

which is said to be made by the *Greekes*, within whose belly men were hidden, and whereof they made an offering to *Pallas*, to compass the means of breaking the walls thereby, and so to overcome their enemies: these (truly) are Poetical Fables. But yet we were to observe, that the City was surprized at that gate, whereon there was the head of a Horse (very highly) embossed, and of blacke Marble, as before we have said, and it remaineth yet to be seene.

A life reason,
the fables of
the Amazons.

Next, for the *Amazons*, which are said to come to the succour of *Troy*, conducted by their Queene *Penthesilea*, this is a Fable too. But yet we must credit that this Woman was a Queen, and commaunded ouer many Countries; a Friend and neere Ally to King *Priam*, in whose aide she came: bringing with her eight or ten thousand men, and not Women, that were slaine in several fights; and the her selfe (at last) in a single combat with *Achilles*. For, there was neuer any Country, inhabited only by Women, nor is at this present, which I purpose else where to shew.

A somewhat
reason,
the ten years
siege of Troy.

It is also held for a Fable, that the *Greekes* should abide at the siege of *Troy*, the space of ten years: this is not altogether incredible, because as much hath beene done in our time. The siege which *Baisazeth* brought before *Constantinople*, lasted eight yeares and some months, in the year 1373, and yet (for all that) was not taken. That which I have written, concerning the subtilties of the Priestesses in those daies: I protest, I saw them in the hand of *Monsieur Pelicin*, a *Parisian*, Schoole-maister to the children of the late Lord *De l'Aubespine*, in a Booke being a Manuscript, & in the *Greek* tongue, which a man of the Church had given him, who was a follower of *Monsieur de Fumell*, Ambassadour in the East. This man had the Booke of a *Caluere*, or religious *Greek* at Mount *Athos*; and therein is the Interpretation of the Fables, which I have alleged in this Chapter, and many more beside. The Author thereof was one *Temison*, a *Smyrnan*, who (I thinke) was a Sacrificer, and afterward became a Christian.

There is a certaine Booke, intitled, *Troy not taken*, it is in the *Greek* tooing,

and translated likewise into *Latine*, which is said to be composed by one named *Dion* the Sophister, that lived in the time of *Traiane* the Emperour, and neuer vied any other Garment, then the skinn of a Lyon. But he al-leadgeth such poore reasons, to proue that *Troy* was neuer taken, nor besieged by the *Greekes*: that a Childe of tenne yeares olde would set downe better. Therefore, such as doe yet hold that error, and are perswaded, that what hath beene written by many oculary Authors, and others beside of good credit, concerning the *Trojan* History, is no way veritable: let them see (to their shame) the ruines of that famous Citie, which yet (to this day) doe make shew of themselves, as I have described them in this Chapter. The round neighbouring places, ports of the Sea, which doe (yet) retaine the very same names, that then they had. The Tombes of such famous men (with their inscriptions) that died as well on the one side, as the other; being all of Marble, with the countures whole, but no bones in them: for neuer was any thing put into them, but the ashes of the dead, because (in those times) the bodies were all burned.

CHAP. XXXV.

How a Man may easily know, what kinde of drinke will soonest make one drunke: As with Wine, Beere, Ale, Cider, Perry, and other drinckes.



It is not the only drinke that causeth drunkennes, when it is immeasurable taken, or when it is received by Men or Women, whose braines are weake and feeble. For, there are many other arteficiall Beuerages, made in those Regions, where no Wine hath encrease or growth; as in *Normandy*, *Bristaigne*, in the more part of *Piccadie*, the lower *Germany*, and other Northerly Countries. But they make vse of Cider, Perry, Beere, Ale, Rallis, and other drincks, which procure drunkennes more then Wine.

Dion the So-
phister de-
noted in his
writings.

Wine onlie
doth not pro-
cure drunken-
nesse.

Countries
that yeild no
Wine.

Turkey prohi-
bited from
drinking wine

The drinke of
the Caribes &
Anthrophages

A kinde of
drinke issuing
out of a tree.

Meibegim
made in Turkey

Artificiall
drinckes hurt
more then
wine.

Diversity of
actions and
behaviour in
drunkenesse

Wine doth. In *Turky* it is forbidden to such as are of the *Mohometane* Law, to drinke Wine vpon paine of life; and there are likewise Drinckes arteficiall made.

The *Caribes* and *Anthrophages*, people that feed on the flesh of Men, make a kinde of drinke, which they call *Canomim*: it is made of certaine roots called *Apie*, and grosse Miller, champed in the mouths of Women, and then boyled in some quantitie of Water. Of this drinke they make vse after their repast, for they drinke not at all in the time of their feeding, as wee doe in these partes: but rather imitate nature, as other Creatures do. This *Canomim* causeth drunkenesse, more then Wine doth here, if too much be taken thereof.

In the Kingdome of *Narsingua*, *Tavanganor*, *Calcut* and *Pern*, they drinke a kinde of liquor which cometh forth out of a Tree, that is therefore, purposefully cut in the Spring time, like unto the Palme; and it is called *drunkenesse* also. Many Countries in the *Asian* *Indies*, do make diuers drinckes of Rice and Spices, which will procure drunkennesse likewise. In *Turky* they make a certaine *Hydromell* or *Meibegim*, which troubleth the braine much more then Wine. In breefe, there is not any Nation that will content it selfe with drinking Water onely: but haue deuised one or other arteficiall beuierge to please the Palate, and delight their taste. My selfe having frequented those Countries, where no Wine at all is made, but other arteficiall drinckes devised, as hath before beene declared: I haue apparantly perceived, that such as receive their drunkenesse by wine, haue quite contrary behaviour to others, that are overcome with Beuerages as of Beere, Cider, Perry, and the rest.

And although those men that are drunke with Wine, do commit a thousand follies, and counterfeite diuers antick fopperies: yet it is most certaine, that none can declare the like foolishness, and velle more argument of ridiculous laughter (when wee behold their faces, eyes, and gesture,) then such as are drunke with those drinckes, and (among the rest) with Beere. For

they neither reele or stagger on any side; but onely backward; and fall downe flat on their backs: but such as are drunke with Wine, reele forward, and alwaies fall or lye vpon their face and nose; whereas the other do bruiſe their shoulders, and break their heads behind. As likewise may be discerned when they are overcome with sleepe in drinking, for they that are drunke with Beere, Ale, Cider, and other drinckes arteficiall; doe sleepe on their backs, with their bodies open. I haue beene credibly assured, that often such is their behaviour in *Turky*, the *Indies*, *America*, and other Regions, when they are in like case.

Where men doe become drunke with Wine, they sleepe vpon their faces, the Chinne declining into the bosome. The reason is, because the fumes and vapours proceeding from Wine, doe gaine possession in the head's foremost part, and the anterior parts of the body also. But those fumes which mount aloft by other drinckes, doe incline to the head behind, and the posterior parts also: which is a reason, that they are very obliuious, euermore sleepey, and no great praters or brablers.

The *French*, that (during the *Strages* *Warres* in the Lowe Countries) trauailed thither as Souldiers, would make their boasts, that they had familiarity with many Women there, when they found them to bee made drunke with Beere: for then they would fall downe backward, at which time, their pudicity might easilie be attempted, finding them in such vnwomanlike readinesse. Let them (therefore) that haue care of their Chastity, take heed how they become drunke. And as for men, ouer and beside, that many doe then disclose their owne secrets: they enter also (often times) into quarrels, destroying their health, and vndoing themselves. Our Lawes do hold them for infamous persons, that are addicted to drunkennesse.

CHAP.

The difference
in drinking
wine and o-
ther beuera-
ges.

Wine seizes
on the fore-
most part of
the braine.

French Souldi-
ers are apt at
all occasions.

Beere
seizes
on the
hind part
of the
braine.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Against the Axiome, which maintaineth, that all Repletion is naught, by what Suffenance sooner it be; But of Bread most pernicious.



Could neuer vnderstand the reason, although I haue enquired of many learned Philosophers, who (neuertheless) haue published the same also: that Repletion of bread, is more dangerous and pernicious, then all other nourishments beside. For not only it seemeth to me voyd of all reason; but it hath bene so accounted, by all them that I haue conferred with. All because all other foods, as the flesh of Oxen, Kine, Mutton, Veale, Goat, Hare, Hart, Hinde, Boare, Swine, of Fowles, and also of all Fishes which we vse, and any Fruit whatsoever; doe corrupt easily of themselves; if they remaine any while in the stomacke and be not digested: the like doth Egges, and all things prepared with Milke, except Cheese, which is saide to be (almost) indigestible. All such as vse these meates without Bread, haue neuer any good colour, but are much subiect to vsfauoury breath, and sometimes (of their owne bodies) a smell scant pleasing; neither are they so well nourished, nor so strong; as they that eate more Bread, then any other meat beside.

To proue that it must needs be so, we may behold, that the most of other Viandes, how acceptable they seeme to the tast, well prepared and seasoned with good Sauces: they doe yet (very often) bring a dislike and contempt of themselves. Bread only neuer distasteth, be it in health or in sickness; it is the last appetite lost, and the first recovered in sickness. In health, it is alwaies the first and last eaten, pleasing and most agreeable to nature, beyond all other kinds of repast. Again, it is most certaine, that Bread

(by a wonderfull blessing in Nature) is endued with all those fauours, which particularly doe incite and allure each meate to be fed on: pleasing some in their sweetness, others in their sharpnesse or tartnesse, some in their saltnesse, others in their fowrenesse, and all in their due apprehension. Bread containeth in it, whatsoever any Man can tast, or is acceptable in other meats. For, albeit other foodes haue neuer so good relish of themselves: yet can they not be sutable, or profitable to feede on for health, except they be accompanied with Bread. To speake all in a word, Bread, by his goodnesse correcteth the vices of other meates, and helpeth their vertues; whereon it is vsed as a common Prouerbe: *That all meats are good and beneficiall, when Bread is their companion.*

Some *Spagiricks, Alchymists*, and *Extractors of Quintessences*, haue told and assured me, that hauing put Bread into their Limbeckes or vessels of glasse, as meaning to deriue an Essence from him: they haue diuers times found the Bread conuerted into Flesh. We doe daily note (as already I haue said) that the most part of them, which doe eate their meate without Bread, be it Flesh or otherwise, they haue continuallie stinking breath. The *Athletes* or stout Wrestlers, (as I finde recorded in the Bookes of *Galen*) such as were esteemed the very best, and strongest in habitude among other men: had neuer any other nourishment but Bread, accompanied with a little Hogs Flesh.

When the *Scots* vsed to warre out of their owne limits, as in England and other places, if they thought to finde the Country ruined where they should passe: they arose with them a great number of Beasts for slaughter, and liued (by the way) vpon those Beastes. And because they had liued sometime by Flesh alone, their stomackes a long while would be sickly, by not hauing had the vse of any Bread. For remedie of which stomackall disease, each man particularly carried a Sackell of Meale, weighing about some pound & a halfe at the most, and a little Iron Plate, thin and slender. Then mingling a litle of the Meale, in a wooden dish with water, and dringing it into a Paste: they laid

Bread comprehendeth in it all kinds of taste.

Without Bread no food aualth.

A lye proceeding from the Extractors of Quintessences.

Athletes or Wrestlers their breeding.

An invention of the Scots, to make Bread in warre.

Imitation of our Water-Bakers.

An argument to approue the power of good Bread.

Anders and others becom Thieves for Bread.

Sauages doe highly esteem Bread.

Bread not well prepared, is indigestible.

Bread made of Pulses in Ireland.

it on the Plate ouer a small fire; and in this manner (immediatly) they made Bread. This doth in some manner resemble our Waterers making of Wafers. The *Scots* hauing eaten of this Bread, found their stomackes well refreshed, and their bodily strength sufficiently restored; after which, they would begin againe to vse flesh onlie, according to their wonted custome.

I alledge this History, to demonstrate, that if so little bad made Bread, neither leauened nor kneaded, could restore the languishing strength of men: what then is good Bread able to do, being kneaded and baked to full perfection? This benefit of baking Bread vpon a Plate of Iron, brought much commodity to that Nation: for they needed little search after Bakes or Mills, which commonly are beaten downe and destroyed (before all things else) that in the degates of warre, the enemy may haue no benefit by them.

The Lord of *Villamand* declareth, that being gon forth of his Ship, and likewise all those in his company, at the Port of *Ioffa*, and putting themselves on the way, to trauaile by Land to *Ierusalem*: the *Moors* and *Arabs* entered vpon their vessell lying at Anker, and robbed them of nothing else but Bread. Other Theues also, of the same sect and kinde of men, meeting with the same company the day following: tooke also nothing from them but Bread. All Nations haue not Bread, nor the vse thereof, and such as neuer had (as many Countries but lately discovered) when Christians giue it them to eate, although it be but a Bisket, and of the very coarsest: they make great account of it, they finde it so sauourie.

I am of the minde, that he which is full, fatierye and Repletion of Bread, is more dangerous then all other nourishments: his meaning is of such bread as is not salt kneaded, and well baked, or without Leauen, because it is the more hard to digest. As for my selfe, my meaning is of such Bread, as is made of good and pure graine, well cleansed, kneaded, raised, baked, and fresh. I speake not heere of Fish-bread, which is made in *Hirland*; among the people which dwell on the Lake of *Barrena*, and that in the Isles of *Imagla*, *Imbila*, and

and an infinite of Countries on the red Sea, and else-where. Nor also of that which is made of the bark of Trees, vsed in the Country of *Pendana*, which is called *Sagu*, and is saide to be very fauourie, being reduced into Meale, and afterward into Bread; As suite also of the same Tree is, in the Isles of *Moliquisles*. By the reasons fore-alleged, I would perswade all persons, not to forsake the vse of Bread, for fond or lickorish desire after other meats: if they couet to haue good strength, a chearefull complexion, and health.

Concerning the inuention of Bread, since what length of time it hath continued, and who was the first Inuenter thereof; there is not any thing found for certaine. In the East Countries; the vse of Bread is very ancient; for we finde, that it was vsed in the times of *Abraham*, and of *Iacob*, when his Sons descended into *Egypt*, onely to buy Corne, to make Bread: But neuer vsed, the vse thereof is not found so ancient; because the *Romans* vsed no kinde of Bread, but onely Corne boyled (as likewise the *Gauls* and *Germanes* did) till they brought it a perfect rising in sinder, and then they did eate it among their other *vianda*, euen as at this present we do our bread. This continued thus till the *Persian* warres, which was in the yeare (after the Cities foundation) 580. And then came Bread-makers, or Bakers of Bread, out of *Asia* to *Rome*; who gaue instruction, how to multure or grinde Corne, then to knead it with Leauen; and lastly, to bake it in Loaves.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Of the excellent and profitable properties of the Swallow; And the Nature of the Bird.

Because the Swallow neuer nesteth in Cities, nor on their Wallles; which are subiect to be taken and retaken by war; because by her coming and presence, she assureth those places where she is, not to be sub-

Bread made of the barke of Trees.

The vse of Bread very ancient in the East parts.

In Italy a long time after.

The Swallow
fore-telleth
many ex-
ceedings.

ject to the rigour of Winter, as also the
House or Wall where she buildeth her
nest, nor to be threatened by any neere
ruine: Because, that by her coming,
she resolvethe winter to be past, and the
Spring time beginning; because (like-
wise) she hath in her many especial pro-
perties, by diuers benefits and other
things arising to man, whereof we shal
discourse hereafter: it seemed meet (in
my judgement) that this Bird well de-
served to haue a particular Chapter
written of her, in her iust defence a-
gainst such as labour to deprave her.

The Swallow
knoweth the
Seasons and
temperature
of Climates.

The Swallow abideth ordinarily, in
Regions temperately hot, shunning the
extremity of heat, and of cold like-
wise. *Pliny* saith, that this Bird, feeling
the extreme heat of *Affricke* appoi-
ching; the fifth thence in the prime,
to delight her selfe in a temperate ayre:
And when she perceiueh Winter en-
suing, which is about the midle of Sep-
tember; she then returneth to the
Countries extremely hot, where winter
is in the same manner, as Summer is
here with vs. This Bird hath such an
absolute memory, that hauing re-pas-
sed the Sea, and many other Regions,
which are two thousand miles off, at
the least: yet shee well knoweth to re-
turne to the place of lodging, where
(in the precedent year) she made her
Nest, and where shee had young ones.
This I haue scene, and made prooffe of
by one Swallow, hauing tied a red Silk
twine about her Claw: and the sayled
not the year following, to returne and
build her nest, where she had done the
year before, bringing the Silke fast tyed
ar her foote. She neuer lodgeth
two years together, in one and the
same nest.

The Swallow
cleareth the
ayre of Flies.

She is not afraid of a man, and (wil-
lingly) buildeth not her nest in Houses.
It is saide, that God hath done this in
his great providence, to the ende, that
such Creatures, as haue no other feed-
ing but on Flies, which doe so much
molestation to men all Summer, and
in the beginning of Autumne; might
thus be deuoured. It is the onely Bird
which feedeth in the Ayre, and there
catcheth a prey, to carry to her young
ones. But some people, not knowing
what they do; will breake downe their
Nests, shut their windows and doores

of their Chambers, to the ende, they
may not enter in or out, to carry feed-
ing to their young. Nay they doe them
all the iniuries they can, breaking their
Egges; yea, sometimes they kill both
He and She. But if a man knew the
good and commoditie, which these
pretty Birdes doe bring vnto vs; they
would be more milde, and let them liue
in peace.

I know very wel, there are some who
will alleadge, that the Dung of these
Birds is so pernicious, as if it fall into a
Mans eyes (as it did to *Tobias*) it will
then, without all question, make him
blind. But they that haue alleaged this
Hillory, were not skilful in the congs;
albeit *Mathias*, a man learned, hath a-
ouched the same, following their opio-
nion. For the Iewish Theologian Doc-
tors, wel skild in the *Syrian* and *Hebrew*
Languages, say: that it was not Swal-
lows that dunged on the eyes of *Tobi-
as*, but Sparrowes, which is confirmed
by *Dioscorides*, when he saith, *Swallows*
being eaten, doe cleare the sight, like as the
Beetles, or Gnat-snappers. The Ashes of
them, as well of the great as small (for
their bodies being burned in an earthen pot,
and Hony applyed to them) doe take a-
way all impeachments that trouble the
sight. It may then well be discerned
here by that the dung of the Bird which
took away the sight of *Tobias*, was not
that of the Swallow, according to their
iudgement. And *Galen* is of the same
mind with *Dioscorides*: I refer it then to
better censure.

She hath instructed man, how hee
ought to builde, for with Straw and
Morter she buildeth her Nest, and with
such cunning; that hardly can any
Man make the like. When the desireth
propagation, the Male medleth with
the Female; but not in mounting, or
reading vpon her, but by ioyning both
their hinder parts together, for which
to yeilde a reason, *Alianus* saith, that
he neuer knew any rendered. They fly a-
broad in the fields, to seeke for Wooll,
which they plucke from the backs of
Sheepe with their claws, and carry in-
to their Nests, whereon they lay their
Egges, to preserve them from break-
ing, as also the enclosed young ones
from hurting.

The Male and Female, supplying the
place

The barba-
routinelle of
some people,
in abusing
this poor bird

By not unde-
standing the
Hebrew, this
fable was con-
firmed.

The learned
Iewes write in
their Booke,
that *Tobias*
became blind
not by Swal-
lows, but by
Sparrowes.

The Swallow
buildeth with
Mortar as
man doth, and
provideth for
her young.

The manner
of feeding
their young
Birds.

place of Father and Mother, giue feed-
ing to their little Birdes, beginning at
the first which is hatched, and first break-
ing forth of the shell. Then they seeke
another feeding, & giue to the second,
and so to the rest following, euen to the
fift and last: for they lay and sit no more
but giue Egges at each brood. Thus we
may see, how this Bird instructeth man,
how to carry himselfe in nourishing,
exalting and distribution of his goodes
to his Children, aduancing alwayes the
first borne or eldest. They daily cleane
their nests of al ordure and dung found
therein, and are very skilfull in defend-
ing themselves from vermines, which
are enemies to their Egges, and will
bite them: But nature hath endued
them with so much knowledge, as they
can well preferre their Egges from
harmefull vermine: for they looke but
the Hearbe called *Smalage*, in Latine
called *Spium*, and bring it into their
Nests, and by the strong sent of bitter-
nesse thereof, the vermine dyes.

Swallows
are hatched
blind like our
Whelpes.

The Swallow
is skilfull in
building, and
provideth for
her young.

The Swallow
cleareth the
ayre of Flies.

Their young Birdes doe resemble
whelpes, that continue for a time blind:
but the Male fieth abroad, and findeth
the Hearbe, by means whereof
their sight quickly commeth. Very
long and diligent inquisition hath been
made after this Hearbe; and the Birdes
very narrowly watche for it; yet could
it neuer bee knowne what Hearbe it is.
If a man open the eyes of the young
Birds, they recouer their sight without
any other help: but some do assure vs,
that (by meates of that Hearbe) their
sight is the clearer. Which being known
to men, the Plaine would serue to make
their sight more perfect: and therefore
(questing at the true Hearbe) they call it
Chelidonia, or *Hirundinaria*.
For so many benefits, which men ge-
nerate by means of this Bird, befit the
recited in the beginning of this Chap-
ter; enstructing how to build, keep our
Houses cleane, delighting vs by her
singing, preserving fight by that kinde
of Hearbe; and destroyng hurtfull ver-
mines; methinks no man should mol-
lest her, but rather peaceably converse
with her, as a guest or friend that com-
meth but to bebin. She catcheth natu-
rally thing of ayre, but shee feeds vs from
a multitude of Flies, as shee flyeth in the
Ayre; and she should be so entertained.

(as *Plinius* saith) chearfully, like a good
guest at her coming; and when she is
willing to depart, as to with-hold her.
The Ashes and Flesh of this Bird, as
we haue formerly said, doth not onelie
serue to cleare the sight, and recouer it
if it bee lost: but it is a remedy also for
many other sicknesses. For, if wee
take the Swallows first young ones,
in the Moones encreasing, and cleaue
them, we shal finde within little Bones
in their bellies, which if we were to be
taken, we should find them of many co-
lours, and of diuers kinds, but of one
colour only. These bones, wrapt in
the skin of a young Hart, or Heiler (be-
fore it haue toucht the ground) and dyed
with the decoction of *Scilla*, is a good
remedy for such sicknesses, as the falling
sickness, and maketh the in very chear-
ful. *Plinius* giueth assurance, that *Swal-
lows* fishes, which are caught with Hony,
doe helpe the Scuruillie, and all other
diseases of the stomacke, in the throat,
as also the *Albugines*, or *Opilae* or
Melan, as *Plinius* saith, and is a good
remedy for the same. There are three kinds
of Swallows; whereof, one buildeth
her Nest with Hony, the second, in
old ruined buildings, in holes and Ca-
uities of Rocks, and chinks of the Sea
side; and the third, buildeth in the
balkes of Riuers. In the Isle of *Samos*,
there are Swallows, naturally all
white: Behold what I haue gathered
out of good and approved Authors,
concerning the properties of this Bird,
in whose imitation we may well order
our Economy, or by the olden
ment, may imitate that which is
very much sufficiently to be desired at some
Men, who haue compared themselves
with Swallows; to be so faithful and
diligent in their duties; who are no
Enemies, but for so long as there are
meanes remaining to doe any con-
modious thing, they doe not they haile
imagined, that these Birdes doe liue
on the Seede, Graine, and Fruits of
the field; and thus so soon as they
are locked up, they fly away into some
other Country: But it is no more
most certaine; that these kinde Birdes
doe not liue vpon any kind of Graine
or Fruits, but on Flies; which (by
very great eagles) they take; in this
manner being very molestious to men;
and

The Ashes &
flesh of the
Swallow.

Stones found
in young
Swallows,
good against
the falling
sickness.

There are three
kinds of Swallows.

Three kinds
of Swallows.

Impudent
comparisons
made of Swal-
lows.

and our household creatures. And therefore many men are deceived, by the faillings of some fabulous Authors, slenderly experimented in naturall things.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

A Paradoxe in defence of Hard-Lodging, approving it to be more healthfull and commendable, then those great Palaces, and houses of pleasure.



Already we haue discoursed of poore and meane descent, now come we to speak of the humble cottage, the dwelling wherein I haue and will maintaine. The building of such honest houses of harbour, doe require little expences and charge, in lesse time they are erected, more easily furnished, and with far greater commodity kept and frequented, then stately Palaces, and houses of pleasure. The proportion of a handsome little house, carrieth good correspondency, and no outward wanton apparance. It is lesse subiect to the danger of Theeues, then is the large and spacious Pallace, compassed about with rare deckings, great & bafe Courts, Offices, Stables, Dog-kennels, Hearnies, Hauke-mewes, and other such superfluous delights.

The poore and simple house, is not easily toucht with lightning and tempests from Heauen; and a man may dwell there more quietly, then in the fairest, prospect Lordship; garnished with so many Gardens, Arbours, Turrets, Vaults, Mountaine-like walls, and other curiosities, which doe nothing else but tire and weary men. The poore house is sooner provided, with lesse cost then the greater. It excuseth the Maister from making Feasts, to such as commonly retorne but mockes when they are invited. The final house is free from the Harbingers make, or the Marshalls of Princes, Cardinallies, and Lords; that cannot be entertained but in pompous dwellings. Let vs but consider, where such States haue made but

the least sojourning; how many things haue need of new mending? And their passage that way, resembled a storme and tempest of raine, washing all good order for a long while after. See if your Seruaunts become the better entrusted thereby, your Household in any more ciuill manners, or your house furniture in such good sort as it ought to be. I had almost forgot, that (many times) they put their Host to the perill of borrowing, inciting great Lords to affect his Liuing. So that, if they can cunningly compass the meanes in recompence of their kinde entertainment: the Host is brought to the hazard of confiscation, for the very least word inconsiderately spoken, eyther against the Prince or Religion.

This is the reason, why I cannot sufficiently meruaile, at the great follie and poore iudgement of some Men, who couet huge Palaces, and sumptuous Houses for their abiding and lodging; being much grieved and offended, if they should take but one nights rest in a meane, poore, and popular house. As if our Soule (full of all excellent noblenesse, and endued with infinite priuiledges, which God hath thereto assigned;) should imagine the body too strait and narrow a roome, for hir to abide in. Or as if (in how short time God best knoweth, whether wee be willing or no) we should not render the bodie into a much lesse Lodging, to finde out one farre more excellent and magnificent for the Soule. Can a meane House, a hard Bed, or a narrow roome, bee any hindrance: but that our Spirit (freely, and at her owne ease) may make discourse thorow all Celestiall pleasures, much better delights then can bee wished for in this world? It need not (there) stand bound to so many inconueniences; as the dwellers in faire and Lordly places, are euermore subiect vnto.

When Warre had his beginning, and entred into consultation, to burne and destroy the Countrey on all sides, as it prouoed most to yeelde disaduantage: the Soldiours, and men appointed for spoyle, receiued no charge to meddle with little Hamlets, or poore Shepherdes Houses; but the most magnificent and beautifull habitations of

Great persons are the fittest guests in meane houses.

Meane houses are no harbours for great guests.

The spirit is at liberty in the least Cottage.

Soldiers can make but small booty of poore places, their aime is at greater benies.

of great Lordes and Princes. Beside, if neede required to make a Fieilde assembly, in what place soeuer it were: the fairest Castles & costliest buildings were sure to bee first taken vp and vted.

But let vs admit, that a poore mans Cottage suffers spoyle among the rest: yet the Man hath this comfort left him (a priuiledge beyond the large capacity of Castles) that his House will (well here) be as soone builded againe, as a Captaine can commaund and set his fieilde in order. But when a great Pallace becometh ruined, many years are required to erect it againe; besides, it serueth (a long while after) as a receptacle for Rascals and Field Run-awaies; or as a warren for Toads and Serpents; or as a Garden for Fresh-water Souldiers.

I cannot chuse, but take pity and compassion on such mens afflictions, that place their whole felicity on such things, whereby they can receiue no praise or honour. For it oftentimes cometh to passe, that the glorie of a goodly building, beareth not his name that caused it to be made; but of the new Purchaser, or the cunning Architect, who deservethly is styled Maister of the worke. But say, that the party himselfe, who was at the charge of the building, doe carry Name and Title thereof: what still glorie is it (but farre greater vanitie) to donee honour by being a Lord, ouer Stones, which are things fencelesse and void of life? To be Maister of a peece of Wood? Or when all is said, a Lord of Chalk and Dust? Were it not much more famous for him, to bee entitled a Lord of many faire Artes and Sciences? Or to win honour by some heroical, worthy, and vertuous actions.

That it ought to be so, ancient Princes and potent Lords, who more esteemed valour and vertue, then matters earthly & transitory, were neuer wont to set their affections on sumptuous buildings: but were altogether studious; and addicted to the excellencie of vertue and prowesse. Was not the house of great Alexander, little, meane, & poorely builded? And yet notwithstanding, the fame of the vertuous Maister thereof, made it esteemed of no lesse va-

lue, then other great & royall Palaces, and deferred to entertaine the famous & highly renowned *Alexander*. He was Caesar, neuer builded but a little house, because he would not be hindered from so many singular vertues, as brought him (although to gouern the great *Romaine* Empire, Mighty *Emper*, that conquered most Robbours *Africke*, had neuer any periculer Lodging: but aboad in one poore village, then in another, to make off wearinesse, and with draw himselfe from the molestacion of great affaires.

Diogenes, the graue Philosopher; that was of such an excellent Spirit, as euery man was in his time: made his dwelling in a poore Tnb; to defend himselfe from the raine, and heate of the Sunne? *Hillarius*, that good and deuout man, lay very hardly in the *Bactrian* Deserts, in a poore little Cell, which he had (as *Saint Hierome* reporteth) more truly made as a Sepulchre, then any House to dwell in. *Calisto* lodged in a House for his sake, and *Calisto* hid, & open about his many places, that being one day desired by a friend of his, to send him his Maister: he answered that hee could not spare it, because it seemed to counter-bait his poore lodging. This he spake, beholding a great hole in the roofoe ouer his head, which had been lately broken; and perceiving a darke cloud not farre off, that threatened a present shower of raine. *Julius Drusus Ponticus*, had (in like manner) a house so broken and thiered, as who soeuer was without, might easily discern and count the inuicables within, and behold what the good hap had in his house.

To speake truly, he thinks they haue a great portion of folly and ambition, that couet to dwell in goodly Palaces, holding little Cottages & meane Houses in contempt and scorn: as if those faire places, and built with litle beauty, were more defensible then the other; from meeting with the assaults of death, and infinite misshaps and distresses befall vs in the world. Such as are read in History, by contemne in the any pleasure, can say with me; that when *Thullius Hostilius* was smitten with thinder, he was then most merry in his Pallace: by all. *W. Henry* *King of France* was slain, he was in the most magnificent

The power of dwelling doth not disparage the vertue of the mind.

Great houses are no harbours for great guests.

A great Palace is no safe bulwarke against death or sickness, for the mightiest persons in the world.

The benefit of poore and homely buildings.

Heauen no enemy to humble dwellings.

Great houses are fittest for great persons.

Great houses ruined, aske long time to rebuild.

One man easily purchaseth another's honour.

The Titles of vertue are much famous.

Great persons are lodged in poore mans houses.

neither can they bee kept with rigour: but often it happeneth, that Captaines doe dispose the very greatestt affaires, which they cannot doe in a Monarchy, for the difference of advice and Will of a Prince, or the people, of one man, or thirty thousand.

¶ We read in the Greeke Histories, that one Heliodorus a *Macedonian*, made a banquer, in midst whereof, delivering demonstration, that his guests should not make spare of any thing: he commanded two of his Slaues to goe buy two Septiers of Wine, of a Man that sold wine neere to his house. The Slaues finding the Wine to be bad, went and bought else-where, such as was excellent good,

and liked all the company saying, they neuer dranke better. Whereon the Slaues said, that it was not of the wine which they had test themfor, for it beeing naught, they were faine to buy in another place. Whereat Heliodorus grew offended; because they brought not according to his command; although the wine was better, when the company was departed, he so tormented the poore Slaues that they dyed. Thus you see what ill fortune it is, to be in subiection to people ouer-seuere, and without any temperance: punishing such as they haue command ouer, rather for doing well, then ill.

The end of the fourth Booke.



Of Heliodorus the *Macedonian* and his banquet.



The Fift Booke.

CHAP. I.

Of the Emperour of Ethiopia, called Prete-lan, or Preter-lohn: Of his Originall, and Customs of his people.



He Great Emperour of Ethiopia, vnto whom we corruptlie giue the Name of Prete-biter-lan, is neither Priest or sacrificer, though he be (by some) called Prete-lan, and (by his owne people) named *Belaglan*, that is to say, *Joy of incomparable excellencie*, or of most value; and by others of them, he is also called *lan*, which (in their Language) signifieth *Mightie*. He commandeth ouer seauenty and two Kingdomes, which are all of different languages, hauing their diuersity of Customs, and the colour or complexion of their Faces, are much disfiguring. He is able to leuy in preparation for warre, a Million of fighting men; five hundreded Elephants with their Armour and Munition for encounter, with an infinite number of Horsses and Camels. His Knights or Warlike Soldiers, enter armed to the battell, each wearing a long Coat of Maile, stretching downe closely to their Thighes, a Sallet

or Head-piece on the head, a crooked Fauchion by their side, and a Lance with two Steele points of Pikes. Such as haue no Sallets or Head-pieces, doe wear thick quilled Caps on their heads, plaited after the manner of *Mameluke* Soldiers. The younger sort, carry Darts, Arrowes, and Slings, observing the same Discipline, & be as obedient or well-governed, in ranging their battaile, as we are. They vse Drummes of Brasse, and Trumpets also, to encourage their Soldiers to the fight, which is performed with great hardiment, appointing also, sundry honours, and respectiue rewards, to such as declare themselves to be of highest merit. They doo daily pay the families of their Warriors, and make the Children that are born of them, with a Crosse, which they imprint suddenly in the flesh with an hot Iron, so that the signe remaineth, as if it were natural vnto them.

The King himselfe (most commonly called *Prete-lan*) after he hath bestowed some houres about State-affaires, when he perceiueth that he is indifferently eased of them: he employeth almost all the remainder of his time, in the study of Holy Readings and Histories; which being done, he vieth a little exercise of the body; and then entering into his Bath, he taketh (afterward) his refection alone by himselfe (as most of our Kings yfe to do) vpon a little Table of Gold, without any cloath or Napkin; and it is set in such a place, as there are diuers degrees or steps in ascending to it. He is serued by Pages, who are of Noble birth; and they bring him his meate (ready cut and prepared) in little Baskets or Panniers, He drinketh

the Knights (belonging to Prete-lan) haue in fight.

Their Ceremony to their Children.

The exercise of the King Prete-lan,

The order of his table-service, his dyet and manner of lie.

Wine

Schyl. in tit. 8. de Suppl. *l. xviii.*

The power of Preter-lohn,

His Soldiers Armour for their defence, and such as

The error of some Cosmographers, in situation of his Kingdom.

The head or spring of the River Nilus.

The Father of Prester-Iohn, who is the father part of Africa beyond Egypt.

The effects of Prester-Iohn's Father.

The Patriarch of the Abyssinians, and his Authority.

Fathers, throw the Kingdoms; and by want of Males, one of the Kinred; being the most vertuous; doth next succeede. This *Prester-Iohn* gouerneth many Countreies, and boundlesse Seas.

They have greatly erred, in their Maps and Tables; have placed his seat in *Affia*; being ignorant that there is a double *India*; the one in *Affia*; and the other in *Ethiopia*. This Kingdom consisteth (on the Levant or East side) the Red and Barbarian Seas: And on the South, the Sea called *Indus*; and on this side, the Region goeth like a Promontorie towards the South, to the Cape called *De bona Speranza*. Almost at the end of *Prester-Iohn's* Land, in one of his Kingdoms called *Goyanica*, is the founte of *Ormus*, a River that runneth all *Ethiopia*; and having made a long course, trauelesing many Islands (whereof *Mauris* is the greatest) it passeth dwelling along *Egypt*. It consisteth on the North side *Egypt* & *Syria*; and on the West side the lower *Sybia*, and the *Mooren*. But the Father of *Prester-Iohn*, being a warlike man, and expert in Armes, amplified and enlarged his Empire; and among other difficulte and perillous Wars he vanquished the *Pergolians*, who vinted poisoned Arrows, he tooke (by the way) *Casana*, conquered in battell, and smote off his head, as an infamous and cruel Traitor. This man raygned also in that countrey which looketh plainely Southward to the Sea, called *Atumbarique*, and is faue to face with the great Ile of *Saint Laurence*. He ouercame likewise the King of *Atumbarique*, who afterward became a Christian; and *Thermoda* Prince of the Blacke people. He vanquished also King *Selan*, Lord of the *Adamanian Moors*, whose passage was along time out of *Arabia Felix*; by the founte of the Red Sea, into the firme Land; neighboring on *Ethiopia*.

This *Abyssinians* (for so they are called of all *Brutall* subiects) haue a Patriarch, whom they name *Abana*; that is to say, Father. hee hath the gouernment of spiritual things, and soveraigne Authority over the Priests, which are infinite in number; and distinguished by their churches and Monasteries. To persons badly complexioned in manners, education, and corrupted in the right rules of Discipline; hee exerciseth a severe discipline, and excommunication; for that hee

ing expelled and abandoned of all men, they wander and dye miserably starved. This Patriarch maketh residence (with his Senate) in the Citie of *Barrara*; situated in a Mountaine verie auerose and full of Woodes, enuironed with perpetual umbrages, for his better recreation; and there the branches of the broad-leaved Trees are so phiant, & twine themselves in manner of an Arch; that though the Countrey be in the midday Sun, little or no heate at all is there felt: for their continuall dawning with beauid full and liuely springes, compleateth the grace of their freshnes and verdure. This Patriarch receiveth a great leyle of tithes, as also the Rerennies of the King *Prester-Iohn*, who is greatly giuen and affected to Religion, as appeareth by his liberal policies and deuotion.

He distributeth these Treasures to the poore, and to Hospitals, maintaining infinite Monasteries of Friars of diuers orders of *Saint Anthony*, of *Saint Francis*, of *Saint Augustine*, of *Saint Dominick*, of the *Calcarians*; and of the *Stacharians*, many whereof the sendeth yearly to *Jerusalem*, to visit the Sepulchre of our Lord Iesus Christ.

When the Patriarch dyeth, such Riches of his as is found remaining remaineth to the Exchequer Royall; and then they proceed to new election of another, that shall be iudged to be the most vertuous. Hee liueth usually, although in bee lawfull son a Priest to take a Wife in Marriage; and yet he may haue none, but one. The only glories of *Prester-Iohn* and his *Ethiopian* are, that they do repute themselves to be the most ancient Nation among men; because they haue alwayes liued in their iurisdiction libertie; and were neuer conquered: either by *Scythians*, nor *Arabs*, nor *Indians*, nor by the *Romans*; but they themselves vanquished King *Cambyses*, and once they had put him to shame. It is reported they were once true and unitate glorie indeed; which is, that they were one of the first nations in receipt of the Christian Faith; yet neuer from the verie beginning thereof. By means of the Emperors, vnto the famous Queene *Candace*, who was baptized by *Saint Phillip*. And what since shew Conversion, they haue continually kept the same Religion to so many hundreds of years. A briefe history during this time they haue

The Patriarches place of abiding with his Senate.

The Patriarches maintenance and his beauid to the poore.

Order when the Patriarch deceaseth.

Marriage law full to Priests.

The glories of Prester-Iohn and his Nation.

King Cambyse conquered by this Nation.

A famous story of Antiquity.



A Letter sent from the most Mighty David, King of Aethiopia, to the most Holy Father, Pope Clement the seventh.



Of Happy and Holic Father, ordained of God to be the Consecrator of men, and to sit in the seat of Saint

Peter, to whom the Keyes of the Kingdom of Heauen was giuen, and whatsoever he bound or loosed on earth, the like should be done in Heauen, as Iesus Christ himselfe spake; and Saint Matthew hath written in his Gospel: The King to whose name Lyons doe reuerence, and by the grace of God named in Baptism, *Manastiel*, that is to say, inspired by the Virgin; but after I took the Royall Scepter, was named *David*, Beloued of God, a Pillar of the Faith of the Line of *Isa*; the sonne of *David*, the sonne of *Solomon*, sonne to the Pillar of *Isa*, sonne of the seed of *Isa*, sonne to the hands of *Mary*, by carnall succelsion, and son of *Nebuchadnezzar*, Emperor of high *Ethiopia*, of many great Kingdomes, Iurisdiccions, and Landes: King of *Arax*, of *Cassata*, of *Antigara*, of *Angara*, of *Barr*, of *Belengangans*, of *Adara*, of *Pangana*, of *Ganama*, whose subjects *Nilus*, of *Amara*, of *Burganadi*, of *Amber*, of *Tigremallion*, of *Sabina*, who reigned the Queen of *Saba*, of *Burganadi*, and Lord to farre as to *Egypt*. All these Landes are vnder my power, and mine others, great and small, which I neither number or expresse by their names, as induced hereto by any prider but only to the end, that the most fauourable God may be praised, who hath bestowed Christian Religion on so many great Kingdomes, and hath enlarged to me so great a grace, as continually I may do him service, having made me a Capitall enemy to the Mastris, and such as worship Idoles. I denie to knowe theist of your Holinesse, as other Christian Princes vnto doo, to whom I am not the meane both in po-

Ethiopia could neuer be conquered.

Whence the Ethiopians do deriue their antiquitie.

The Religion of this Nation.

Ambassadors sent to Prester-Iohn.

Letters sent from Prester-Iohn to the Pope.

haue beene generally (euen as yet they are at this day) mollesht, assaulted, and enuironed with *Moores*, *Saracens*, & the Idolatrous Worshippers of *Mahomet*. And yet, notwithstanding all those cruel Tempests (which heretofore destroyed the *Romaine* Empiro, and the very greatest part of Christendom, *Ethiopia* could neuer hitherto be joyled, either of their Dominion or Religion, albeit some Idolatrous mixture hath crept thereinto: which is the lesse to bee marvelled at, if we may credit their own saying, in alleging their constancie and Antiquity, because they deriue their Noble Original and continuance, from the royall Kings, *David* and *Solomon*; of whom, the blessed Virgin *Mary* (Mother to our Sauour, defended, and he himselfe, according to the flesh.)

The people of this Nation, doo hold our Lord God in great reuerence, & the Redeemer of the world; Next, the most Blessed Virgin, and Saint *Thomas* as the Apostle more then any other of the Saints, *Pope Eugene* the fourth, in the yeare one thousand foure hundred and forty, sent an Ambassadour vnto the *Prester-Iohn* then liuing. And afterward, in the yeare one thousand five hundred thirte three, *Pope Clement* the seventh, and the Emperour *Charles* the fift, being met together at *Bologna*, an Ambassadour came to them, from valiant *David* King of *Ethiopia*, being named *Don Francis Aluarez*, a *Portugall*; to whom audience was giuen in the publicke Consistory, the 23. day of January. There hee presented the Letter (ensuing) to his Holinesse; & (in name of his King) he gaue the obedience observed from Antiquity, and likewise in his name, presented a Crosse of Golde, waighing a pound; having first kissed his foot, hand, and mouth. The Letter was written in the *Ethiopian* Language; after and translated into the *Portugall* tongue; then into *Latine*, and againe into *Italian*, and it was read by the Secretary to his Holinesse in the publicke presence.

Or Goyanica

wer and Religion. I am in my Realmes, a strong Collumb of the Faith, and haue no neede of any other, but put in God my whole hope and succour, he hauing alwaies sustained and gouerned me since such time as the Angell of God spake to Saint Phillip, when hee taught the true & sincere Faith vnto the Eunuch, belonging to the potent Queene Candace, *Qui of Ethiopia*, when hee returned from *Ierusalem to Gaza*, where Saint Phillip baptized the said Eunuch, by whom likewise the Queen was afterward baptized, with a great part of her house and people. The successors of which famous Queene, did neuer since faile in true Christianity, but haue continued euermore firme & constant in the faith, so that my predecessours haue not bene holpen by any but God, and haue extended the Christian Faith, as I haue laboured to do the like.

I keepe my selfe impaled within mine own limits, like a Lyon compassed with in a thicke Forrest, strong against the Moores, and other Nations enemies to Christ, that will not heare the worde of God, nor my faithfull exhortations. I haue pursued them with my sword in my hand, and (by little and little) chased them from their Nestes, by the helpe of God, who neuer failed mee; which hath not happened in like manner to other Christian Kings; for when they wold extend their limits, they went not against Infidels; as easily they might haue done, by means of assailing one another, besides their further aid of your Holinesse Benediction, wherein I also claime a part. For among my Charters, there is found the Letter of Pope *Eugenius*, which he sent heeretofore (with his benediction) to the King of the seed of *Isaac*; of which benediction, I haue iouissance, and highly delight in it.

Beside this, I holde the Temple of *Ierusalem* in great honor, and thither I send goodly offerings by my Pilgrims, and much more rich and costly should they bee, if the wayes were assured from Infidels, who beside their robbing the messengers of their presents, do hinder them also from free passage. And if the voyage to *Rome* were free and open, I wold come in familiarity and company of the *Roman* Church, as other Christian Princes do,

to whom I am not inferiour. For, euen as they do, I confesse one direct faith, and one Catholicke Church; I beleue sincerely in the holy Trinity, one only God; and I beleue the virginity of our blessed Lady. I hold and keepe the Articles of the Faith, as they were written by the Apostles.

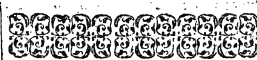
At this present, the Lord God by the hand of the most puissant King * *Emmanuel*, hath opened the way, to the end that we may visit one another by Embassies, and (ioyntly in faith) serue one God; But it so pleased God, that his Ambassadors being in our Court, they told vs tydings of his death, and the succession of his son (my Brother *Iohn*) in the Crown. So that the death of the Father, brought me not more griefe and discontent, then the happy comming of his son to the Kingdom, caused ioy and gladnesse.

Aed such is my hope, that ioyning our forces and Armies together, we may run thorough the Prouinces of the Moores, and vicerly destroy them. By which means, Christians may (more commodioully) go and returne from the Temple of *Ierusalem*. And as I earnestly desire, that I may be made partaker of the Ioue of God, in the Temples of the holy Apostles *Paul* and *Peter*; so do I wish to haue the Benediction of the Vicar of Iesus Christ, which (without any doubt) I repute you to be.

I heare manie things also of your sanctitie to Pilgrimes, which go from our Regions vnto *Ierusalem*; and thence to *Rome*, returning backe miraculouly, which hath bene to mee vnspokeable pleasure. But indeed, I should receiue much greater contentment, if my Ambassadors could vnto a shorter way, and bring me (at all times) tidings from you, which I hope they will doo hereafter, sometime before I die. God assisting, who I pray maintaine you in health and holinesse. So be it. I kisse your Holiesse, and humble pray

your Holinesse to send me your blessing.

* This was the
X. of Portugal.



An other Letter sent from
the same Preste-Ian, to the fore-named
Holy Father.



N the name of God the Father Almighty, Creator of Heauen and of earth, and of all things visible and inuisible. In the Name of God the Sonne, Iesus Christ, who is one and the same with him, from the beginning of the world, Light of Lights, verie God of very God. In the name of God the holy spirit, liuing God, proceeding from God the Father: [1] the King, to whose Name Lyons doo reuerence, send you these Letters, and by the Grace of God; am called *Alham-Timbil*, that is to say, *Incesse of the Virgin*, the sonne of King *Dauid*, the sonne of *Salomon*, son of the King of the hand of *Mary*, the son of *Nahum* by carnall succession, sonne of *S. Peter* and *S. Paul* by grace; Peace bee with you iust Lord, Holy Father, Mightie, pure and consecrate, that is the chief of all Byshops, not fearing any, nor anie one being, that may speake malediction of you; who is vigilant ouer foules, the friend of Pilgrims, a Holy Maister, Preacher of faith, and capitall enemy vnto all things that offend conscience, a louer of good manners, a holy man, lauded and blessed of all.

O happy holy Father, I render ye obedience with great reuerence, you being the peace of all, deferring all goodnesse, procuring (by duty) that al should render ye obfeyance, as the holie Apostles commanded, next vnto God. It is truly faide of you, and the same Apostles commanded vs, to do reuerence to Byshops, Archbishops and Prelates. Also to loue you in place of a Father, reuerencing ye in place of a King, and to haue Faith in you as in God. For this reason, I bowing my Knees humbly to the earth, doo acknowledge you with a pure and sincere heart for my Father; and that I am your Sonne.

O most Holie and mightie father, why haue you not sent some one hither to vs, to the end, that you might bee informed of my life and health, you being the shepheard and I your sheepe? For the good Shepheard neuer forgetteth his flocke. I should not seem to be too far from your Regions, but that your Messengers may haue the meanes to come to him; considering that the King of *Portugal*, *Emmanuel*, your Son, hath verie commodioully, and from much farther Regions of kinde, sent me his Ambassadors; And if God had deferred a little longer his calling to heauen, doubtles those matters that then were in discussion between vs, wold haue succeeded to an happy end. But my desire is at this present (euen so much as can be) to heare good, wholesome and precious tidings of your holinesse, by messengers truly and faithful, & sent expressly: because I haue neuer receiued any word from your Holinesse, but heard onely some final matters, by such as haue gon on pilgrimage in my name, and yet neuer brought me any of your letters. But in our interrogations, they haue answered (vncertainly enough), that having paid their vows and deuotions at *Ierusalem*, they went afterward to *Rome*, to visit the ports of the Holy Apostles, hauing first of all vnderstood, that it was easie enough for them to abide in those Countries, and to be accounted as Christians. And finally, it pleased mee highly to heare their discourse, by means whereof (in a sweete conceiued imagination) me thought I beheld and contemplated the figure of your Holy face, which seemed to me like that of an Angell; and I confesse to haue and honor it as Angellicall. But assuredly it wold be more sweet and acceptable to mee, devoutly to contemplate your words and Letters. Wherefore, I praye you at this present; that it wold please you to send me your *Nuncio*, with your benediction to reioyce my hart.

For seeing we are both of one faith & Religion, me thinks that (about all things else) I should require you to do this. Most humbly praying you also, that as you put the Gold Ring vpon your finger, and the Chaîne of Gold about your necke: such so, you wold place my amitie in the depth of your heart; that the memorie thereof may neuer bee lost. For by kinde Wordes, and Great

M m o u s

ous Letters, amity encreaseth stronglie; especially when it is embraced by holie peace, from whence (doubtlesse) all humane ioy proceedeth. And like as the man that is extream thirstie, desireth earnestly fresh water, as is to be found in the sacred Writings; euen so my heart longeth, to haue Newes by Messengers and Letters from farre-off Countries, where in I take incredible pleasure. And not only if I might hear some matter of your Holinesse: but also, if such Newes be certaine, which haue been reported to me, concerning Christian Princes, which ioy would be answerable to that, which Conquerors get by rich spoiles and purchases.

Which now at this time may the more easily be done, because the King of Portugal hath opened the passage, which long time hath bene vsed, sending me his Ambassadors, accompanied with many valiant Knights, in the time of his Father Emanuel, & while he liued. Since when, I haue receiued neither Embassie nor Letters from any Christian King, much lesse from any Pope. Albeit in our Rolles, or Treasury of Charters, which belonged sometime to our great Grandfather, is preserved the memorie of Letters from a Pope of Rome, named Eugenius, sent into these parts, when the seed of Iacob reigned, the King of Kingdomes throughout all Ethiopia, & the superscription of the saide Letters was in this manner: *Eugenius Pope of Rome, to our Well-beloued Sonne, the King of the seede of Iacob; King of Kingdomes throughout all Ethiopia, worthy to be reuerenced.* And by the summary of the saide Letters, hee declared, that his Sonne *Iohn Paleologus*, who was as forgotten two yeares before, K. of the *Romanes*, was called from *Constantinople*, to celebrate the sacred Councell, and with him went *Ioseph* the Patriarke of *Constantinople*, accompanied with a great number of Arch-bishops, Bishops, and Prelates of all sorts; and among them also assisted the Procurators of the Patriarke of *Antioch*, of *Alexandria*, and of *Ierusalem*, all assembled with him in loue of the holie faith and religion. By meanes whereof the vnitie of the Church was confirmed, with grace of the Lord, and al difficulties of the past times (which appeared to be erroneous, and contrary to Christian religion) taken away: which things, being

by good order established and confirmed, the same Pope had giuen to all the world occasion of reioicing, as to each one particularly.

Now at this time, wee send you this Book of pope *Eugenius*, that hath alwaies bin kept by vs without corruption. Wee would also in like maner haue sent ye, the tract of the order and power of the pontificall benediction, had not the Volume bin ouer great, for truly it is as big as the Booke of *S. Paul* to the Gentiles. And the Legats which brought these things hither on the Popes behalfe, were *Theodorus*, *Petrus*, *Dysimus*, and *George*, seruants of Iesus Christ. But you (most holie Father, shall do well to command that the Bookes of your Rols may be turned out and perused, where I think you shall find some memory of this which I haue written vnto ye, that if any thing be referred on our behalfe, it may be diligently registered among our Bookes, that perpetuall memory thereof may remaine to our posterity & successors. And truly, I account him most happy, whose memory is in letters preserved in the holy City of Rome, the seat of *S. Peter* and *S. Paule*, who are Lords in Heauen, & Iudges of the whole world. And because my beleefe is such, I send ye these presents, to the end, that I may win grace with your holinesse, and with your most sacred Colledge, hoping that from thence will come holie benediction, with encrease of all goodnesse.

Moreover, I do intreat your Holinesse to send me some Images of the Saints, & principally of the virgin *Mary*, to the end that the name of hir and of your holines, may be often in my mouth and memory, and that I may continually take delight in your presents. I also require ye to send me some Artizans and workmen, that know how to make those Images, and swordes and armor of all kinds, to fight withal; as also such as can engrave in Gold and Silver, Maister-Carpenters, Architects, and Malons, to make houses of stone. And men that are skillfull in Casting of Lead, Copper and Brasse, to couer the tops of those houses. Beside these men, we shall highly esteeme such worke in Glasse, or such as are Falconers, & such as can make Instruments of Musicke: as also such as can play on Flutes & trompets. Al which workmen, I desire that may bee of your house; or if you bee not so sufficiently

provided, your Holinesse may easily win such from other Christian Kingdomes your children, who are all obedient vnto your command: assuring yee, that no sooner shall those workmen heere arriue, but they shall be held in great honour, according to the severall merit of euery man, and shall receiue of my liberality, ample courtiesse, reward, and wages: with this condition, that if any one heereafter, be desirous to returne into his owne Country, hee shall depart from my Court so well recompenced, as shall giue him cause to rest contented, carrying hence with him, such things as himselfe shall please, for I will not keep any man against his mind, when I haue receiued some benefit of his Art.

Now am I to speake of other things, and would gladly demand of you Holie Father, why you doe not admonish the Christian Kingdomes your Children, to agree among themselves, as it becommeth brethren, considering they are of your flock and you their Shepheard? And wel doth your Holinesse know that which is commanded in the Gospell, where it is saide: *Every Kingdome diuided in it selfe shall be desolate.* For if the Kingdomes of Christendome were vnit-ed and leagued together, easilie might they destroy the Mahometans, & all other Infidels, and all their actions would succede to their wish, ruining the Sepulchre of that false Prophet, which is in the City of *Meca*. Wherefore I pray ye, to labour a firme league of amitie among them, exhorting them to lend me fauour and succor. For on all the Confinings of my Kingdomes, I am enuironed with Moores, Mahometans, and wicked people, who (neuerthelessse) do hold such fidelity together, as wee see not the like: They interchangeably aide one another, making alliance Kings with Kingdomes, and Lords with Lords, in great Loyaltie and constancie, and all against vs: I here is a King *Maore* my Neighbor, whom al the other *Maore*-Kings (his Neighbour) do furnish with Armes, horses, and all other Instruments for warre. These men, are the Kingdomes of *India*, *Persia*, *Arabia*, and *Egipt*, by whom I daily receiue much grieuance; beholding the enimitie of Christianity ioyned together in brotherly charity, enjoying peace: & Christian Kingdomes my Brethren, not according together in any manner, nor are moued at their pittagies.

or any way giuing mee succour, as is the duty of al Christians. And so much the rather, because the most filthy sons of *Mahomet* so ad one another. Nor that (in this respect) I would haue you think that I desire any forces for such an enterprise, for I haue sufficient of mine owne, and more then I need. But I intreat only your Prayers and Orisons to God, and couet to find grace with your holinesse, & with all other Kings my Brethren.

This is the reason why I seeke amitie with you and them, to the end, of being furnished abundantly, with such things as are before required, to the feare and astonishment of the *Moores*, and that my neighbours (enemies vnto the Christians name) may know, that Christian Kingdomes (my Brethren) can giue me fauor and assistance, which truly appertaineth to our common honor, since we agree in vnitie of Faith and true religion. We are resolved to continue firme in this counsell & deliberation, which seemeth to vs, most assured, perfect, and profitable. God fulfill your desires to the praise of Iesus Christ, and of God our Father, whose name be praised of al, in al ages. And you holie Father, embrace mee with all the Saints of Iesus Christ, which are at *Rome*: and in the same embracement, I pray yee to receiue al the inhabitants of my Kingdomes, and they that remaine in *Ethiopia*. Thanks be rendered to our Lord Iesus Christ, by your spirit.

Your Holinesse shall receiue these Letters, by the helpe of my Brother, King *Iohn*; son to the most potent King *Emanuel*; by the handes of *Frances Aluarez* our Ambassador.

CHAP. II.

Of the ouer great Superstition of the Queen of Maury, who lost her mighty Estate, by putting too much confidence in the predictions of Astrologers.



That Superstition is a verie great vice; bringing manie discommodities and daungers: vnto such as are thereto inclined, may Ordinarily bee seene. As for example:

Note the vain opinion of this world, in meeting some accidents on the way.

The Romans were greatly addicted unto superstitions.

Cicero in Lib. de Divinat.

The Tartars of Asia very superstitious.

* Casters of mens fortune by the day & hour of their birth.

If a man (returning from some journey, or setting forth upon it, his business being serious and important, if hee chance to meet an old Woman on the way, or perceiveth a Hare to crosse the passage before him, he presently takes it for an euill encounter, and to preface some perill towards him.

Some Huntsmen also are of opinion, that if they meete a Priest or a Friar upon the way, as they ride on Hunting, they shall surely (that day) not take any thing. Some others, if they but heare a Pie to chatter, they shall shortly vnderstand of euill tidings. There are some also, so strangely incensed, that they verlie beleue, if they meete a Serpent or Snake: that day no inconvenience can betide them; with diuers other vanities beside, which fauour much more of Paganisme, then of any Christianity. Such superstitious were deeply grounded among the *Romaine* people, yea, much more then in any other, witnesseth the *Auspices*, that is; their Consultations which they would make, before they began any war or expedition, by the obseruation of Birds, beholding their flight, listning their songs, and whether they fed wel or ill; in regard whereof, they lost many commodities in their warres. And it is not to be doubted, but that euerie superstitious Captain, will hardly do any thing of desert; which *Cicero* well noted in his Bookes of Diuination, and maketh a mockery thereof.

This follie is dispersed thorough the world, but yet in some Countries more then other. As among the *Asian Tartars* who are so much addicted to iudicial Astrologie, and therein so superstitious, as they will neither build a House, Village, Cittie, Temple, or any other building whatsoever, but at laying the first stone, they will set downe in Writing, the day, the hour, the moneth, and the season. The like they do at the Nativity of their Children, then they consult with Astrologers and *Gemethiques*, who then do fore-tell what pleareth themselves. And these people are now (at this day) more superstitious in these affaires, then euer they were. And this is the matter which I am now to speake of, in shewing that a woman (being too much ouer-swayed by these superstitions, lost one of the verie fairest Estates in the world, and how it happened, I shall briefly relate.

The *Tartarian* Annals do declare, that there was a King of *Maugy*, named *Jada*, who being on Hunting, epyed a great Lake of Fresh-Water, thorough the middelt whereof, passed so strong a Riuer, as was able to beare a Boat, which came from the East *Indies*, a rich country. Hereon he considered, that for Commerce and good of his Kingdom, the Territorie round about it was fruitfull, and the Lakes Water nourished great store of Fish, a faire Hauen also, being not farre off thence, standing for the benefit of all Windes, being on the Ocean Sea, which is (almost) continually calme, and in that quarter it would be verie conuenient to build a Cittie. Having had Communication in this case with his Counsell, and they allowing the goodnesse of his conceit, hee gaue order to them, for further proceeding in the purpose: this happened in the yeare of the worlde, according to their supputation, five thousand, sixe hundred. This Cittie was founded vpon piles, and according to their Custome, they consulted with their *Gemethiques*, to know if this Cittie should flourish and continue for any length of time. Whereon they answered, that it should neuer fall into anie others power, but only of them as should be of the Lignage of *Jada*, first founder thereof, vntill such time, as a man (who should haue an hundred eies, all clearly seeing) came to besiege it. The Cittie was named *Quinsy*, a worde corrupted of *Kynsin*, or *Checin*, in the *Lanian* tongue, which signifieth a Happy Cittie, and whereof, the whole Prouince where it is seated, tooke the Name of *Quinsy*. There are two Castles, which command on the Sea, and are adioyning vnto the Lake before named; and there doo the Waters of the Riuer of *Babala*, yeelde surrender of themselves, as they make their passage ouer the Lake.

It is seated about forty five degrees on this side the Tropickes, in the sixth climate, and the tenth Paralell. This goodly Cittie containeth (as such as haue Voyaged thither say) five good Leagues or thereabout in circuit: which is verie likely to be true, by reason it is erected in the water; and the streetes are verie large, the Pallace great, and forced Garden-plots: the whole bodie being planted at ease, & so well disposed, as a man may goe thorough

Of the King of Maugy, and his hunting.

Determination, for building a Cittie.

The foundation of the Cittie of *Quinsy*.

The situation and contriuation of the Cittie.

The greatest and contriuation of the Cittie.

rough all the Cittie on Land, and in the Channels also, which are large, easie, & great, because the Barkes may the sooner passe them. Horles also may easily passe through the streets, to bring such things as are necessaries for them of the Cittie: And there is no enclosed Cittie in the whole Vniuers, either on this side, or beyond the Equator; of such wonderfull greatnesse. In regard of the goodlie Scituation, it required no long time of peopling, & frequentation of Merchants: strangers, coming from many Countries: as from the rich *Bastern Indies*, by the Riuer of *Babala*; and by Sea, the *Ethiopijs*, *Armenians*, *Persians*, *Arabians*, *Egyptians*, *Scythians*, and others. Hereupon the King failed not to graunt good store of immunities, to draw inhabitants thither: which sorting to his expectation; hee builded a verie beautiful Pallace, that standeth yet intirely whole.

Now it came to passe five hundred yeares after, that there reigned a King, very rich, named *Fasfur*; by whom, the Kingdomes were in the great Prouince of *Maugy*, which is said to be one of the verie greatest in the world; and by whom, the Lands and Seigneuries were so well fortified, as they were thought to be invincible. By means whereof, none durst assaile or meddle with them; and this was the cause, that both the King and his people left off, and suffered the exercise of Armes to grow quite out of vse. For euerie Cittie was circled and engirt with great and deepe ditches (brim-full of Water) as also with huge walles, verie strongly flanked with goodlie Towers & vnder-props. And in those times, he had (at the least) the number of one thousand and five hundred; but now they can reckon no more then eleuen hundred; and yet hee had no Horles for warre, or anie other seruice; and this assurance occasioned, that the King made no vse of time; but continually tooke his delight & pleasure. He had ordinarily in his Court a thousand Gentlemen, beside his traine of Seruants and Officers, which was great and honourable. Neuerthelesse, hee held Iustice in highest esteeme, affecting peace and tranquillity, and he was verie mercifull. No man durst offend, or do wrong to his Neighbor, but he was sure of severe punishment. In breefe, his Kingdom was of such freedom, and af-

surance, that (many times) Trade-men left their shops wide open in the Night, yet none durst be so bolde, as enter into them.

Strangers and Trauailers passing thorough the Countrey, might goe both night and day in safe securitie, without feare of any man. In like manner, the King was verie kind and charitable to the poore, and neuer suffered such as were in extreme pouerty to complaine of their want and indigence. Moreouer, euerie yeare (by diligent search) he assembled together a great number of children, exposed as Orphans, and forsaken of their Parents (whereof sometimes there were twentie thousand) and them he caused to be kept & brought vp at his own charge; beside many other Charities which would require much time to rehearse, and which is not vsed by Christian Princes elsewhere. And although he was a Pagan and Idolater; yet hee suffered Iewes and Christians (whereof some were *Nestorians*) to liue in all his Kingdoms; and these things were in the yeare of Grace, 1268.

Cublay, King of the *Tartars*, was then accounted one of the greatest Princes in the world; for he had (as some haue left in writings) thirty or forty great Kingdomes. Such as made any doubt hereof, let them read *M. Paulus*, who was (at that time) in those parts, a verie true Author; and they shall find much more then I can heere speake of. His Captaines gaue him to vnderstand, that they could not find any more lands to conquer: for the Sea, and verie huge deserts had set a period at their Conquests, only this Kingdom of *Maugy* excepted, which continued on soine lands of the great *Chan Cublay*. Now, albeit *Fasfur* was a friend, and had giuen no occasion of making warre vpon him, only because he was almost as powerfull as the said *Cublay*, yet *Cublay* was now aduised to contend for superiouritie; and to make his great neighbor tributary vnto him. So minding to vse his men of war, he found them at variance among themselves, and that a great business was first to be ended, touching his two nephewes, whereof I haue formerly spoken. Hereupon, *Nestorian* a neerer Kinsman to *Cublay*, was chosen for this expedition; albeit hee was not then in the Court; but the Commissioners being directed to his abiding, the king had newes sent him, that

This would do well in all parts of the world.

Great charity to poore Children.

Cublay King of the *Tartars* and his number of Kingdomes.

The ouer great ambition in *Cublay*.

M 3 he

The extraction of Basam Chinfa, a valuable Balsam.

The education of Basam.

The conquests of Basam Chinfa.

Basam entered into Maugy, and summoned the King and ducers Cities.

he died two dayes before of a strange sickness. Wherefore, the charge of this businesse, was transferred to *Basam Chinfa*, the Sonne of a publicke poore Woman, not auouched by anie Father, and he was borne with many spots on his bodie; verie neere resembling the eyes of a man; whereby hee had the surname given him of *Basam Chinfa*, which signifieth in their Language, the sight of an hundred eyes.

This poore Boy was brought vp by his Mother, so well as her pouerty would permit, not hauing any man that would auouch her to be his wife. As he grew in stature, he addicted his minde to follow one of the Emperors Armies, being at first but a Lackey or Drudge, that carried a Soldiers furniture after him. Afterward, hauing attained to more yeares and strength, he was entertained as a Soldier, becoming first a Corporall: next Ensigne, Lieutenant, Captaine, or Chiefe, then a Colonnell: at length, being knowne a man of vnderstanding, valiant, and fortunate, he had the charge of an Army, which hee guided so successfully, that he annexed to the Crowne of *Cublay*, Emperour of *Tartaria*, and his Maister, ten great Prouinces or Kingdomes, to wit; *Athena*, *Caratena*, *Bengala*, *Cangua*, *Amu*, *Tholomana*, *Gnigru*, *Ciranfu*, *Ciangli*, and *Tadisu*: and he neuer attempted any matter, but he brought it to full effect, except the conquest of *Piamfu*, whereof I am to speake elsewhere.

Basam entered with a great Armie into the Prouince of *Maugy*, and summoned the King to render himselfe tributary, or else he would warre vpon him; for and in the name of his Prince *Cublay*; but the King made answer, that he had no such intention. Wherefore, at his first arrival, he besiedged the Citie of *Coniangangy*, and summoned the Citizens thereof to yeelde themselves: as also, to take an Oath of fidelity and obedience to the Emperor *Cublay*, which they likewise refused to do. By means whereof, hauing heard their answer, he raised his siege, and departed thence, without offering them anie other harme or molestation. Afterward, hee did as much to the next Citie, which also made the like refusal.

Pasing on, he summoned four or five other Cities; all which refused yeilding:

but coming to the sixt, he assailed it in great furie, and took it by assault: which being done, he returned backe vpon the other Cities, which he toke and tinned, so that in very short time, he subdued & tooke twelue Cities. For, he had in his Army verie braue and valiant men, all pickt or choise Soldiers, bold and courageous. And the Great *Cham*, sent him another Armie, as a fresh supply of as great power as the first, which gaue great terror to them of *Maugy*, causing them to wax desperate, and their hearts to faile them. And King *Esfur* himselfe, hauing had such deare experience of the courage and valour of the *Tartars*, and perceiving how they proceeded on still in their vndanted fury, became so much amazed, that he betooke himselfe to sea, with so many people as hee could muster together, withdrawing into an impregnable Island, hauing with him about a thousand ships; and leauing the guard of the Citie of *Quinsay*, to the disposition of his wife, there to haue her best support & defence.

In this extremity the Queen contained very manly courage: and carried her selfe so proudly, as nothing wanted whatsoeuer, that was iudged necessary for ayd and defence of the Citie. For shee had fiftie thousand men of warre; both Inhabitants and strangers, and twelue or fiftene thousand Diuers, men that could abide long time vnder water, and pierce the bottomes of the enemies ships to sink them in the Riuer. The Citie was well furnished with Victuals; and all needfull Munition, to endure a long siege, impeaching (euerie way) the entrance into the Haven, by the Sea. Neuertheless, the Queene and the chiefe Commanders were possessed with ouer-great superstition, till they heard, that he who maintained the siege, was named *Basam Chinfa*, that is (as we haue formerly said) the sight of an hundred eyes. This made both her and them to tremble with feare, remembering both the Father and son: and also, because it was registred in the books, which were kept in the publick treasure, that neuer should the Citie be surprized, but by a man that had an hundred eyes; and therefore they refused to yeelde it, though it seemed a matter wholly impossible, yea quite against nature, that a man should haue an hundred eyes. As they were vpon the point of surrendering the

Twelue Cities subdued by Basam.

King Esfur leaueth *Quinsay*, and goeth to a strong Island.

The defence of the Citie of *Quinsay*.

The Queene and her people too superstitious.

The Christians opposed themselves against the reduction of *Quinsay* to the Enemy.

Quinsay yeelded vp to Basam and his power.

The capitall City being taken, the rest yeelded.

These Kingdomes could not haue been conquered in subduged places.

the Citie by compulsion; the Christians, who had liued in all quietnesse in those Countries; by the means of their Bishop *Gaspur*, declared in the full Senate, where the Queen also was present: that no regard was to be made of such Prognostickes, as proceeded from lying Mathematicians, and Generalliaques, to whom if the Mans Name appeared for to haue the sight of an hundred eyes; yet notwithstanding, the man himselfe had onely but two, as other men haue, and these were but the illusions of Sathan; the Father of lying, hereupon, some in the Senate-house alleged many Histories, which happened in their time; to shew how vaine these fruitiuous predictions were. Neuertheless, the Cowardise of diuers, that neuer vnderstood the nature of warre, or what honour attended on bold hardiment, they being of the greatest in authority, and relying on these foolish superstitions; concluded to surrender the Citie. Wherefore, hauing made (by consent of the Queene) an honest capitulation: they suffered the Enemy to enter; that kept faith exactly with them. Whereat *Basam* was not a little amazed, for hee imagined his strength neuer able to surprize it. *Cublay* being aduertised thereof, caused generall processions to be made, and sollemne sacrifices performed to the Sun; mocking at the superstition of the *Quinsayans*, and admiring the vnmatchable fortune attending on *Basam*. As for the Queene, shee retired her selfe to the Court of the great *Cham*, who received and vsed her very honourably: and concerning the King of *Maugy* her Husband, he continued his abode in the Island, where he ended his daies.

At that instant also, the nine Kingdomes contained in that Prouince, yeilded themselves: except the Citie of *Stanfu*, which out-held the *Tartars* Army three whole yeares. And it had neuer bene taken, but that *M. Paulus*, and his Father and Vnckle (by permission of the *Tartarian* Emperour) made Engines of Wood, which hurled great Stones into the Citie, and did such harme to the so long besiedged; as they were constrained to yeelde themselves. Thus you may perceiue, that superstition is the cause of much euill; for

doubtlesse, if the Queene and the besiedged had still kept *Quinsay*, and the other Cities: an hundred yeares labour could not haue conquered the Kingdomes of *Maugy*.

And therefore I would entreat the gentle Readers, not to conceiue anisse of me, for not following the writing of *M. Paulus*, in his description of *Quinsay*, for hee saith: That there is in the midst thereof a lake, which containeth ten miles in circuit; and that the Citie is 34 miles in compass; and hath fise hundred thousand Houses in it. I rather thought fit, to follow a hatel finde written in a Dialogue, made by *Garcia Oriu*, a Portugall Philisitan, who saith: That it is not about thirty fise yeares since he wrote, that it contained not about foure or fues leagues in compass; being seated wholly in a Lake, and hath not about threecore thousand Houses in it. I know not whether it be diminished, since the said *Penetian* came thence: It valued in reuenues, fiftene Millions, and six hundred thousand Crowns, to the King yearly, in regard of his right (by way of leuie) vpon merchandises; and yet not counting the Toulle laid on Salt, and this was but the ninth part of the great Prouince of *Maugy*. At this day, as I heard by a Iesuite of *Chalors* in *Champaigne*, named *Gabris*, who told me, that he remained there about two yeares: and he saith, that the valuation is much more now at this instant.

Augustus Cesar made better vse of his superstition, then the men of *Quinsay*, or their Queene did; for a little before the last bataille, which hee had against his Competitor *Anthony*: as he went from his Land Army, to that on the Sea, hee met a Suter or Victualer to the Campe, driving an Ass laden before him, of whom he demanded, how hee was called: the Suter made answer; that his owne name was *Eutichus*, and his Asses Name *Nichita*: which two Greeke Names signified nothing else, but *Fortunate victorie*. Hereupon, the said *Cesar*, preiaged by this encounter, that he should be victorious ouer *Anthony*, who contended for the Empire of the World; and that the Gods had designed it vnto him. On this affluence, he forth-with gaue battell by Sea to

What the state of *Quinsay* is in these dayes.

The great Reuenues of *Quinsay*, yearly to the King.

A good kinde of superstition to *Augustus Cesar*.

Anthony.

Anthony, wherein he prevailed, and so (by consequent) got the Empire.

Pompey, quite contrary, through a great distrust, that he could never saue himselfe; nor finde any ayde or assured retreat, after he lost the battaile at Pharsalia against Julius Cesar; grounded his folly on this occasion. In his flight, passing by the Isle of Cyprus, to the end hee might breath a while; with-drew into Egypt. And being entertained (by the Gouverneur) into the City of Paphos, where his lodging was prepared in a Pallace, builded in a very pleasant plot vpon the Sea, he desired to know who builded it, and how it was named. Answer was returned, that the place was called Cacobasilaea, which is as much to say, as Bad Harbour. In regard of which name, it appearing to him to be an euill presage: hee would not enter into it, but passed on farther, and tooke Shipping very suddenly. Being verilie perished, that this accident to him at this Pallace, did presage; that he should soone enough meete with a bad lodging to last all his life time. Being landed in Egypt, to deriue some succour from the King, whose Father he had reuered in his Kingdome: he caused him to be trayterously slaine, as thinking to doe a great fauour to victorious Julius Cesar.

Sylla, by not being superstitious, won the battaile.

But Sylla did better, who perceiving his Army ready for to giue battaile to the power of Mithridates, King of Pontus; yet all being out of heart, as holding that the day would be lost, because both the Priests and Soothsayers had obserued, that the like day had been alwaies vnfortunate to the Romaines. For it was registred in their Calendar, that (as on the very same day) three hundred and fixe Noble Gentlemen, all of the Fabij, were slaine in the Vwarre, by secret Ambushes of the Veientines, who had long time warred against the, hard by * Cremera; and many worthy Capitaines beside, had receiued great mischances on the same day. But Sylla, who was no way superstitious, encouraged his Army, saying, *Let vs show our selues so valiant this day, that although it hath bene unfortunate heretofore: yet it may proue happy to vs.* So, suddenly giuing battaile, they won the day. Some other would not haue done it, but ra-

* A Riuer in Tuscany, where the noble Fabij were slaine.

ther would haue giuen credit to the dissemblings of Wizzards and Sacrificers. But to punish such men, for weakening the courage of Souliours prepared to fight: some of them haue bene put into the front of the battaile, where they haue bene slaine, and very few others. In breefe, superstition neuer caused any goodnesse; but hath procured many great losses.

CHAP. III.

Of the Order and Knight-hood of the Templers; and how long it continued.



IN the yeare of our Lord, one thousand, ninety six, some Christian Princes (of diuers Nations) made a Congregation, by the counsel of an Hermit named Peter, a man of honest and holy life. It was then determined, to goe for the Conquest of the Holy Land, which was in the power of prophane Infidels, who had kept it foure hundred and ninety years. Among the chiefe in this action, was Godfrey of Buillon, Duke of Lorraine, the most apparant of them all, and he that carried the greatest merit. It pleased God, that after many battailes, which lasted for the space of three yeares: the City of Ierusalem, and many other Cities in Syria and Iudea were conquered, beside diuers other neighbouring Prouinces. Afterward, all the Christian Princes hauing regard to the high deserts of Godfrey; elected him King of Ierusalem: and Arnulphus, Arch-bishop of Pisa, was likewise created Patriarch, by Pope Calixtus the second.

Godfrey of Buillon remaining King of Ierusalem, there also continued in his company, many great and worthy Christians, who daily made warre vpon the Infidels, as well round about Ierusalem, as in other neighbouring Countries. Which being vnderstood by diuers faithfull Christians in the westerne parts, and on what termes the affaires stood

A congregation of Christian Princes, and the cause.

The Conquest of Ierusalem by Godfrey of Buillon.

The death of Godfrey of Buillon & the insultment of Baldwin.

Buques de Pa-ganis, and Gaudre de Saint Adelman.

How they first attained to the name of Templers.

The King and Patriarch, allow their proceeding.

stood beyond the Seas: great numbers of people went continually thither, some (in meere zeale) to assist Gods seruice, and regaine the vsurped Landes; and others on voyages, to visite the Holy Sepulcher. Now, about a yeare after his Coronation, Godfrey of Buillon dyed, and his Brother, named Baldwin (a man equall enemy way to the others merits) was crowned King in his stead. During whose raigne, among many other that resorted daily thither: were nine Gentlemen, intimate friends and great companions, of whom we finde the names but of two; who (it may be) were the chiefeest, to wit: Hugues de Paganis, and Gaudre de Saint Adelman. These men being come to Ierusalem, and hauing well contemplated the Countrey, and all the neighbouring places: they found, that at the Port of Iapha, and other places of their passage, there were many busie spies vpon the waies, that daily both robbed and kild Pilgrimes and Passengers. In regard whereof, after good and mature deliberation, they concluded, with the helpe of many more, (for it is to be presumed, that they leagued themselves with other people of the same mind) to make a vow, for doing some seruice acceptable to God, and to employ their whole life time, in making the waies secure & passable, or else to loose their liues in the enterprise, while the other Christians were busied in other places, fighting with the Infidels. Persecuting in this religious purpose; they tooke (as an assigned place for their retreat) a Church, called, *The Fishy Temple*, by permission of the Abbot there abiding; and in that respect, they were cald *Templers*, a name which alwaies after remained to them.

When the King and the Patriarch had intelligence thereof, and perceived their paines to bee holy and commendable: they administrated all things necessary vnto them, so that they liued (after this manner) in the Temple, both very religiously and chastly, and (which is more) their number multiplied, and increased day by day. Notwithstanding, albeit there were now a great number of them; yet had they neither habite, nor any rules designed them; but liued together in common; obser-

uing their vow, and so they continued for the space of nine yeares. During which time, for the great seruice they did to Christendome; their credite and renowne highly encreased, beside the meanes of so worthy an example. By reason of their encrease in number, Pope Honorius the second, at the request of Stephen, Patriarch of Ierusalem; deuised a rule and manner of life for them; appointing, that they should be clothed in white. Afterward, Pope Eugenius the third, added a Badge, or Armoury of a red Crosse; to be worn on their breasts; which they promised by a sollemne vow to obserue for ever, according as other religious Knights did. And therefore they were honored, to haue it brought them by the hand of Saint Bernard, a reuerend and holy Doctour, whom they elected as chiefe and first Maister of their Order, according as other religious Knights had the like obseruation.

In short time after, such was the multiplication of their Order, and honour of their deedes in Armes; as not only they kept the wayes of the holie voyage, safe from Theues and Murderers: but also (both by Sea and Land) they made great incursions and strong warres vpon the Infidels. So that their fame and worth spreading it selfe throughout Christendome, the Kings and Princes (in many partes) ordained and allowed them great Rents and Reuenues; which they imploied in those warres, like true Knights, attending on the seruice of Iesus Christ. And by incessible time, growing on in strength and ability of wealth: in all Countreies and Prouinces, they had abiding in the chiefeest Cities and strongest places; but most especially in the Holy Land, where ordinarily the great Maister of the Order made his aboad, with the greater number of them, keeping an Army continually there, as also in other places, where most necessity required: It happened afterward, that for the sins of men; discord moued among the Christians, and the great negligence in Princes; not only the City of Ierusalem, but other places also formerly conquered (as we haue before declared) were regained by the Infidels; thence yeares after the conquest made by God-

Pope Honorius the second instituted the Order of the Templers.

S. Bernard was the first Maister of the Knights Templers.

The Great Maister of the Order layed in the Holy Land.

more humane and pious toward it, then the Father himselfe.

Well then, to conclude this point. I say of *Aristotle*, as *Augustine* *Cesar* said of *King Hiero* (when he understood, that among the Innocents which he had caused to be killed, after the birth of our Saviour, one of his owne Sons was slain) *It is better*, quoth he, *to be Herods Pigge*, then his Sonne. And this he said, in regard that *Pigges* were not killed in *Judea*, because the *Jewes* did not eate anie Swines Flesh. And euen so I say, it were better to bee a Beast in *Aristotles* Commonwealth, then a man, for Beastes should bee assuredly cared and provided for by their Dammes: whereas the Children of men, should bee in danger to be forsaken both of Father and Mother, and so perir.

And heere I cannot forbear to say somewhat, of another Constitution of his, which I knowe not, whether it were more absurd or ridiculous. We made mention a little before, of a notable Law of his, forbidding in his Commonwealth, the vse of lasciuious Pictures & Images; least young men, and especiall children, might be corrupted in manners by sight of them. Neuertheless, he excepteth in the same Law, the Images and Pictures of certaine Gods: in whom (saith he) *Casome alloweth Lasciuiousnesse*. Meaning no doubt, the painted and graued Stories of the Adulteries of *Iupiter*, *Mars*, and *Venus*, and other Gods and Goddes.

Lasciuious pictures and Images of Gods, absurdly allowed by *Aristotle*.

If Gods do as much, men presume to follow.

ting as they did, that they were true Gods?

For, how could any man bee persuaded, that Adulterie defiled punishment, or was not a great, yea, a Divine Vertue, seeing *Mars* taken tardy with *Pheno*, or *Jupiter* stealing away *Europa*, in the shape of a Bull; or violating *Leda*, in the forme of a Swanne; or entering into the house of *Danae* (by the Louer) in a Golden Showre? Would not anie man that were Religiously deuoted vnto these Gods, bee animated by sight of them to do the like? Yea, and Children learning their Religion, and not only hearing, but also seeing euery where, by Pictures and Images; that such actes were committed by their Gods, could they imagine, that the same were euill, and not to be imitated?

This is verie well declared by *Zachan*, of his owne experience, who, in his Dialogues, maketh *Menippus* say thus: *When I was yet but a Boy, and heard out of Homer and Hesiod, of the Adulteries, Fornications, Rapes, and seditions of the Gods, Truly I thought, that these things were very excellent, and began euen then, to be greatly affected towards them. For I could not imagine that the Goddes themselves would euer haue committed Adultery, if they had not esteemed the same to be lawfull and good.* The like also signifyeth *Chares* in *Terence*, who beholding a Table, wherein was painted how *Iupiter* deceived *Danae*, when he came in at the top of the house, saith; that hee was greatly encouraged to deuoure a young Maid, by the example of so great a God. *At quem Deum?* (saith he) *Qui templa casti summa sonitu concutit. Ego hominibus hoc non facerem? Ego vero illud ita feci & libens: But what God was this? Euen hee, which shakes the highest Temples of the Heavens with Thunder. And therefore, might not I, that am but a poore wretch, doe the like? Yea truly, I did it, and that with all my heart.*

These are the effects, that the sight of such Lasciuious Pictures of the Goddes, must needs worke in their minds which beholde them; and are withall, Religiously affected towards them. And therefore, *Aristotle* permitting these, and forbidding all other, to preuent thereby the wonderful corruption of youth, may verie fity be compared vnto one, that should

Mens mindes corrupted as amongst the Gentiles, by the sight of the lasciuious pictures of their Goddes.

Lust in Menippe.

Ter in Exum.

Aristotles absurdly made picture & magnificent.

A verie true and apt Comparison.

The weakness of mans wit, and the imperfection of Lawes inferred upon the premises.

Heere Dr. in fragments.

should make a Law to prohibite the burning of houses, except it were with some artificiall wilde fire; that could not bee extinguished. For such may be said to be the fire of Concupiscence, kindled in the minds of men or Children, by Religious acts or representations, which maketh such impressions, as neuer after can be rased out againe, so long as affection to the same Religion remaineth. Which maketh me therefore to conclude, that *Aristotle* failed and erred no lesse, or rather more absurdly, then the other Law-makers, whose errors hee censured and controlled.

Heereby two things are inferred, and do appeare evidently. The one, the weakness of mans wit, when it is not supported and directed by the grace of GOD. And the insufficiencie of humane lawes, through the weakness of the Law-Makers, who intending (manie times) to make good and wholesome Lawes, for benefit of the Commonwealth, doo ordaine things very inconuenient and preiudiciall thereto: which *Cicero* obscureth in some of the Wisest men of his time. I can tell you (saith hee) of *Marcus Cotta*, whose Law concerning priuate indgements, was abrogated by his own Brother the same yeare that it was made. And the Lawes of *Licina* and *Mutia*, made by two most wise Consules, were in the indgements of all men not onely vnprofitable, but also, pernitious to the Commonwealth. As also the Lawes called *Liuius*, were abrogated by the Senate in an instant. And in like manner, I holde the Lawes *Seiz* and *Apuliz* to be nothing worth. Thus saith *Cicero*.

The like whereof might be exemplified in euery Commonwealth, but this shal suffice at this time, concerning Law-makers. Now let vs consider Law in it selfe, what it is; to what end it is ordained; and what it can perform in a Commonwealth, for the perfection & establishment thereof.

CHAP. V.

What Law is: To what end it was ordained, And what it can perform in a Commonwealth.



Plato, speaking generally of all Law, as well written as vnwritten, defineth it to be, *A reasonable, leading and directing men to their due end, for a publicke good, ordaining Penalties for them that transgresse, and Rewards for them that obey.* And *Cicero* more briefly thus: *Law is (saith hee) the highest or chiefest reason grased in nature, commanding those things which are to be done, and forbidding the contrary.* And againe, *Law is the force of Nature; the vnderstanding and reason of a Wiseman; the rule of right and wrong.* And speaking more particularly of written Law, hee saith; *It is the reason & vnderstanding of a Wiseman, who vnderstandeth in writing what he thinketh good by way either of commandement, or of Prohibitions.* Lastly, the *Civilians*, most briefly and properly defineth it thus: *Lex est sanctio iustitia, iubens honesta, prohibens contraria.* Law is a holy decree, that is to say, a Decree which ought not to be broken, commanding good and holy things; and forbidding the contrary.

This Law, *Plato* calleth, *The soule, that giueth forme and life to the Commonwealth, and the Anchor that staith and assurth it.* And *Cicero* sayth; *That neither any house, nor Citie, nor Nation, nor yet humane kinde, can stand & without Law.* Neuertheless, how excellent or defective foreriter is for a Commonwealth, yet it is to be vnderstood, that all Lawes whatsoever (which are meere humane) are Defective and insufficient; for the perfect Government of a State. For where as humane Lawes consisteth cyther in Written Statutes or Decrees, or in the Commandements and Ordinances of a wife Magistrate, (which Magistrate, *Cicero* therefore calleth, *A Speaking Lawe*; as he also calleth the Lawe, *A dumb Ma-*

Rrr 3

gistrate,

Plato in Minid. Rept. de Leg.

Cic. in lib. de Legum.

The definitio of written Law.

Accord in infinit. de leg. lib. 1. Sent. com. 3.

Plato de Leg.

Cic. in lib. 3 de Leg.

All Lawes written or vnwritten, are defective.

The Magistrate speaking Law & the Lawe a dumb Magistrate.

The imperfection of written lawes.

Arifin Ethic. lib. 1. cap. 10. In Lib. 10. ad e. dicitur ff. de leg. 2. §. Senatus confult. 3. et Inf. Lib. 8. §. digni.

The imperfection of unwritten lawes

Better to be governed by good Lawes, then by the will of the best man, & why. Arifin Polit. lib. 3. cap. 12.

Where good Lawes govern Goddeth governeth.

As a Magistrate should govern the people, so should the Law govern the Magistrate. Arifin Polit. lib. 1. §. digni. ff. de leg. 2. §. Senatus confult. 3.

gistrate) yet it is evident, that neyther of both apart, nor yet both concurring, can suffice.

For the first, whereas written Lawes are univiersall, and concerne the action of men, which are infinite and periculer, it is not possible, that any Law-Maker should extend his Lawes so farre, that they may sufficiently provide for all cases that may occure; but that hee must leave place for the determination and judgement of men, according to equity.

As not onely Arifotle, but also the Civilians themselves, doe teach, and experience is daily seene thereof. In the necessity of interpretation and mitigation of Lawes, in Dispensations, and in Appellations from Law to Conscience, whereby the imperfection of all written Lawes, sufficiently appeareth. And as for the ordinapness of wise Magistrates, it is manifest (by that which I have sayde before, concerning the errors of wise Governours and Law-makers) that the weaknesse and blindness of mans wit, and the corruption of his Nature, is such; that hee can neither see so clearly in all cases, nor yet be so void of affection and passion, that he can be able to determine, decree, and iudge according to equity. In which respect, Arifotle disputeth, Whether it were better, That a Commonwealth should be governed by good Lawes, or by the wil of the best man? And he preferreth the Government of Lawes, before the other, saying; The Law is (as it were) a pure and cleare understanding: whereas the understanding of the best man, is tainted with sensual appetite, whereby it may be corrupted.

And therefore, where the Law governeth, there God governeth: but where man governeth, be he never so wise and vertuous, there a cruell Beast (to witte; Concupiscence and Passion) entureth into the government with him, and manie times obscureth his understanding. For which cause, the Magistrate ought in all cases, wherein the meaning of the Law is cleare: to iudge and determine according to the prescript thereof, as the Civill Law it selfe ordaineth. And Cicero saith: As the Magistrate governeth the people, so shoulde the Law govern the Magistrate. Whereupon I inferre, that seeing no Law-maker can so sufficientlie provide for the government, and direct ruling of a Commonwealth, by the Let-

ter of the Law; but he must leave infinite cases, yea, and the interpretation of the Lawe themselves, to the determination and judgement of men, who are also (on their part) defectiue, to wit; subject vnto passion and error: It followeth then, that neither the Law without the Magistrate, nor the Magistrate without the Law, nor yet both concurring, can suffice for the perfect government of a Commonwealth, but should bee to supply the defectes of each other. And therefore I conclude, that there is no sufficient and assured meanes, to establish any State by humane Lawes.

This will be more evident, if wee consider, what are the especiall ends whereto Lawes were ordained, and what they can performe. Two things are principally intended by them. The one, the administration of Iustice, by the decission of causes, controversies, and suites, betwixt partie and partie. The other, is the reformation of manners, and repression of vice, for that it is pernicious to a Commonwealth. Of the first I have already spoken sufficientlie, as well in the weaknesse of the Law-maker and Magistrate, as imperfection of the Law, in the determination of causes. And therefore, I will a little further enlarge my selfe, concerning the latter; which is, suppression of Vice, and reformation of manners: and I will declare, that humane Lawes cannot sufficientlie performe, either the one or other.

If Lawes were able to reforme mens manners, or to repress vice, they must do it, either by Precept, or by Prohibition, or by Permission, or by Rewarding, or by Punishing, for in these five things, consisteth all the force of humane Lawes, as the Lawiers do testify of themselves. For the two first, to wit; Precept & Prohibition, they are altogether vnable and insufficient, to bring the corrupt nature of man to any perfection or vertue. For, what other help have we thereby, but only the knowledge of our duty? which knowledge alone, as Arifotle saith, Helpeh little or nothing to vertue, the praise and commendation wherof, consisteth in action and operation. Because it nothing availeth, though wee know neuer so much, if we do not put our knowledge in practise. And as little it profiteth a sickeman, to know what meat is good for him: when hee hath such a loathing vnto it, that hee cannot eat it. Euen so, the

Cicero de legibus

No sufficient meanes to make a perfect Commonwealth by humane Lawes & Magistrate.

Two principall ends wherunto Lawes are directed.

A reference to the former discourse.

ff. de legibus §. Senatus confult. 3. §. 1. lib. 1. §. 1. lib. 1. §. 1. lib. 1. §. 1.

The force of humane Lawes consisteth in Precept, Prohibition, Permission, Reward and Punishment.

Arifin Ethic. lib. 1. §. 4. cap. 4.

Seneca Epist. 95. Precepts are a little availe to the obtaining of vertue.

the corrupt nature of man hath little help or remedy by the knowledge of his duty: when vertue is so loathsome vnto him, that he cannot brooke it. For, as Seneca saith. Nihil proderit dare precepta, nisi prius amoveris obstantia preceptis. It is to little purpose to give precepts, except thou first remove the obstacles of them. And therefore the Poet saide truly

Si possem, sanior essem; Sed trahit inuisum, nona vis, aliudq; cupido, Mens alius suadet, video meliora, proboq; Deteriora sequor.

That is to say; I would bee better, if I could; but a new and strange force draweth me againe my will. Sensefulness perwades me one thing, and reason another. I see and approve the better, but I follow the worse.

Also, the Apostle speaking in the person of our corrupt nature, testifieth the same, saying. Scio quia non habito in me, &c. I know that there dwelleth no goodness in me, that is to say, in my flesh: For I have a good will or desire, but I cannot performe it. For I doe not the good which I desire to doe; but I do the evil which I would not do. Thus saith the Apostle. Whereupon it followeth, that precept and prohibition of the Law (whereby wee have the only knowledge of good and euill) little availeth vs for the attayning of vertue; except the infirmity and corruption of Nature, be cured by some other meanes. For Animus (saith Seneca) ut ad precepta posset ire, solvendus est. The Soule must be loosed from the bonds that tie and entangle it, or otherwise, it cannot follow the good precepts that are given.

But what if the prohibition of euill doe hurt also, if it be not otherwise holpen? The Apostle proueth this clearely. Peccatum (saith he) non cognoui, &c. I knew not sinne, but by the Law, for I know not concupiscence, but because the Law said: Thou shalt not lust. And sinne, by occasion of the Commandement, hath wrought all concupiscence in me. And how true this is, common experience may teach vs, seeing nothing is more proper and peculiar to the mallice of mans Nature; then desire to doe that which is forbidden, and commonly for no other reason, but because it is forbidden. Which the Poet signifieth elegantly, saying;

Cui peccare licet, peccat minus; ipsa potestas Semina peccitula languidiora facit. &c. Nistimur inuicti semper, cupimusq; negasie interdictis imminet ager aquis. (Sat.

He which hath leave to sinne, sinnes lesse: for the libertie to sinne, weakeneth the very roots and seeds of sinne. We abate sinne to doe that which is forbidden vs, like to the sick man, who his sties most after forbidden water.

And another Poet saith, to the same purpose. Gens humana ruit per vetulum nefas, Mankind runneth head-long to sinne, when it is forbidden him: For euen as a torrent or Land-floody running a violent and precipitous course, and meeting with any stop by the way, becomes the more furious, and with redoubled force makes it selfe passage, bearing downe all before it; Euen so, mans corrupt Nature, being carryed head-long with vnbriided desires, and finding it selfe repressed or hindered, by any Law or Commandement; breaketh down the banks or bounds of dutie with redoubled fury, in such fort, that it committeth double offence, to wit; ife doth not only the desired euill, but breaketh the Law also. As the Apostle insinuateth, saying; Lex iram operatur, &c. The Law worketh or causeth wrath; for where there is no Law, there is no breach of Law. Whereupon Saint Augustine saith; The letter of the Law killeth, for it makes a man rather know euill, then eschew it; and by that meanes, rather encreaseth then diminisheth sinne: because mans concupiscence or unlawfull desire, is accompanied also with breach of the Law. Whereby it appeareth, that the Law in commanding or forbidding, helpeth not sufficientlie the reformation of mans corrupt nature.

But can Permission, or countenance with euill (which is another point of the Law) worke any greater effect? Who seeth not, that it dooth nothing else, but bewray the imbecillitie and imperfection of the Law? Because it is forced to permit that, which it gladdly would; and should remedy, but cannot. And therefore I will proceede, to treat of Reward and Punishment, wherein, as Solomon was wont to say, principally consisteth the government of a Commonwealth. And Isterius saith; Legis pramio

ould. Lib. 3. de Arte amandi.

Mans corrupt nature thursh after things forbidden.

Horatius 1. Carmenis Od. 3.

An excellent comparison.

Rom. 4. 15.

In discipulis ex S. August.

Permittit ostendit the imbecillity of the Law.

Isterius Lib. 1. Etimol.

Of reward & punishment.

aut pax, ut a moderato humana. Mans life is wholly governed by reward or punishment of the Law.

Now then, for as much as these two have all their operation, about the effects of Vertue or Vice, that is to say, about good or bad actions (which are onely rewarded and punished by Law) and not about the rootes and causes thereof, to wit, the good or bad habits or affections of the mind, from whence doe spring all good and euill actions: It is manifest, that though they may bee Motiues to good; yet they cannot bee effectual and sufficient meanes to work it. For, so long as the cause remaineth, so long will the effects follow thereof, at one time or other. We see that trees

Example by the yearly lopping of trees & vines.

are yearly lopped, and Vines cropped; yet while the rootes remaine sound, they bud afresh, and bring forth new Boughes, Leaues, and Fruits. Euen so, although euill and sinfull Acts be punished in wicked men, yet if the causes from whence they proceede (to wit, inordinate affections and passions) be not taken away, they produce the very same effects sooner or later, openly or secretly. For, what commonly followeth on the punishment of a vicious Act, when the habit of the Vice remaineth: but that the offender sinneth more warlike another time? And how often do men offend the lawes, without punishment, yea, without any feare or danger thereof? *That Man (saith Cicero) who feares nothing but a Iudge and a Witnesse: what will he not do in the dark? Or when he finds a weak and rich man alone, of whom he may safely haue the spoile?*

Cicero de legi.

How many waies the penalties of Politicall Lawes may be escaped.

Furthermore, how many waies may the penaltie of the Law be auoyded? Some escape it by their power, in which respect, *Anacharsis* compared Lawes to the Spiders Web; which takes onely the little Flies, while the great ones breake thorough it. Some againe auoyde it by corruption, either of the Iudge, Witnesse, or Iurie. And some by fauour or friendship. Others by negligence of Officers, which doe not execute the Lawes: And some by the Princes pardon. But what shall we say of such, who offend the Law, nor onely without punishment; but also with reward? To the ende, that this may be better appeare, and that wee may see

Plutar. in Solon

(withall) what force Law may haue, for suppressing the mallice of mans nature; let vs consider the power of a contrarie Law, which encountreth euery Common-wealth, and impugneth Politicall Law, to wit, the Law of the Flesh, whereof the Apostle saith. *Video aliam legem, &c. I see another Law in my body, repugnant to the Law of my minde.*

And for as much, as this Law hath also her Precepts, Prohibitions, Rewards, and Punishments: Let vs put it in a Ballance with the Ciuill and Politicall Law, weighing the one with the other, that we may see, whether will be liket to ouer come, in a man deuoyd of Gods grace, & consequently in Common-wealths, that relye onely vpon humane policie and power.

It is therefore to be considered, that the Carnall Law, flowing from the very bottome of mans corrupt Nature, is so much stronger, and more forcible, then the other, to moue and draw him: by how much it is more internal and familiar with him, and the end or scope thereof more agreeable, and consonant to his corrupt humour, will, and affection. For Politicall Law tendeth onely to *Bonum verum*, and *Bonum commune*. A true good, and the common good, consisting in solide & perfect vertue: whereas the Carnall Law tendeth to *Bonum apparen*, and *Bonum priuatum*; An apparent and priuate good, consisting onely in a Mans owne profit, pleasure, and delectation, whereto euery one is (of his owne corrupt nature) enclined.

The like also may be said, of the Statutes and Decrees both of the one and other, that is to say, their Precepts and Prohibitions: consisting in Commandements Negative and Affirmatiue. Wherein the Carnall Law hath also the like aduantage, in respect of the greater facilitie of the precepts thereof, and difficulty of the things it forbiddeth. For, whereas the Ciuill and Politicall Law commandeth vs, to loue our Neighbours as our selues, and to pretere the publique good before our priuate; to be temperate and continent; not to Steale; not to deceiue; not to commit Fornication or Adultery: The Law of the Flesh, being opposit in all, commandeth the contrary; as to loue our selues better then our Neighbours; to prefer

An exact comparison of politick Law, with the Law of the Flesh, to shew the aduantage of the later.

Whereto the Politick and Carnall Lawes doe tend.

The Statutes of both the Lawes, politickall and carnall.

The opposit on of the Law of the flesh.

Rom. 7. 15.

The General Law precept

presente our priuate good before the publique; to steale; to deceiue for our commodity; and to commit Fornication and Adultery for our pleasure: And to conclude all, in one precept, it saith *Ede, bibi, lude, pati mortem nulla voluptas. Eat, drinke, and be merry, for after death there is no pleasure.*

The Statutes of the Carnall Law, the Holy Ghost layeth downe notably, in the Booke of Wisdome, speaking of wicked men, in these wordes. *Diserant impij, &c. The wicked said. Let vs enjoy the goods that we haue, and use the Creature in this time of our youth, without delay. Let vs fill our felues with Wine and Oynment, and let vs not lose the flower of the time, &c. Let vs leaue euery where the signes of our mirth, for this is our part, and this is our lot. Let vs oppress the poore witt Man, and let vs not spare the Widow, nor haue respect to the hoary Haire of any. And let our strength be the Law of inuictee. These are the Statutes of the Flesh, which how much more consonant and agreeable they are to mans corrupt Nature, and how much more easie to be performed, then the statutes and decrees of Politicall Law, which commaunds and forbids the contrary; I neede not to declare.*

But who knoweth not, that to learn Vice, a man hath no neede of any great wit, or of a Councellour, or of compulsion? who is so simple, that he hath not wit enough to be wicked? Whereas, to be vertuous, we neede not onely wit and capacity, Maisters & Teachers: but also Lawes, stripes, Prisons, Gates and Gibbets. And yet, as *Seneca* saith; *We may thinke we profit well, if we be none of the worst.* So that, he which is dyther left to his own corrupt Nature, or hath no other then humane help: is drowned in vice and sinne, before hee come within a kenning of vertues port. *We are (saith Seneca) taken vpon by the way, wee labour to come to Vertue, being already engaged and intercepted by vice.* And no maruaile, seeing men voyde of Grace, (for such I speake of) haue neither sufficient Armes to defend themselves, nor refuge where to saue themselves. For reason, which is their onely Weapon, not being strengthened by Grace, is so weak and brittle, that it breaketh at the first blow. And Morall Vertue (where

Mans prompt selfe and forcewille to keene euill.

Seneca in Epist. 75.

Seneca vbi su. pta.

Reason the onely weapon, being thus strengthened by grace.

inconsisteth all their hope and refuge) is so hard to be attained: that a man receiue many deadly wounds of his Enemy, before he can arrive where it is. Besides, his danger is the greater, because his Warre is so domestical and intestine; that hee is not feareful from harme himselfe. For, he is to fight, not onely with the World and the Deuill: but also with his owne passions and affections, in so much, that his greatest feare may be least: he himselfe betray himselfe, and tender himselfe Prisoner to his Enemy.

Furthermore, wee see that our proclivity to Vice, and auersion from Vertue, is such, that as it is sufficient to flesh a Dogge onely once vpon a Sheepe, to make him a Sheepe-wurrier as long as he liues: Euen so, one onely tast of vice is enough, to make a man vicious euer after. Whereas contrariwise, many acts are required; to the attaining the habite of any one vertue, and so timely is mans friendship with sensuality, the Mother of Vice; and so late his knowledge and vse of reason, which leadeeth to vertue: that he hath gone halfe the way to Vice, before hee know where Vertue dwells.

By meanes whereof, hee commonlie groweth to bee vicious very earlie; to wit, in his Childe-hood, and verduous very late, if euer he prooue verduous at all. For the way to vertue is long, and full of difficulties; but the way to all kinde of vice, is easie, and, as *Salomon* saith; *Complanata lapidibus, Attila plaine with stones, euen, and well paved; short, and gone in a trice.* *Hesiodus* saith, *Haud procul illa habitans, breuis est via que fit diuitum. Vice dwelleth not farre from vs, the way is short, and all in a descent.* Where vpon the Poet saith; *Facilis descensus Averno; The descent to Hell is very easie.* Finally, of these two waies our Saujour saith. *Latus porta & spatiosa via est, &c. The way is broad and spacious that leadeeth to perdition, and many enter in thereat: but est Gate is strait, and the way is narrow, which leadeeth to life, and few will finde it.* Thus we see, what great aduantage the Law of the flesh hath, of the Politicall Law, in respect of the facilitie that men finde, to fulfill the precepts thereof, which (in some) are nothing else but to be vicious.

Mans Onely selfe, and his owne passions, are his onely Enemies.

Vice is verily easie to learned, but vertue very hardly.

It is but one tast of vice, that maketh a man vicious euer after.

Many acts are required, to the attaining the habite of any one vertue, and so timely is mans friendship with sensuality, the Mother of Vice; and so late his knowledge and vse of reason, which leadeeth to vertue: that he hath gone halfe the way to Vice, before hee know where Vertue dwells.

Men learne halfe the way to vice, before they know vertues dwelling.

The way to all kinde of vice, is easie, and, as Salomon saith; Complanata lapidibus, Attila plaine with stones, euen, and well paved; short, and gone in a trice.

Hesiodus. Procul illa habitans, breuis est via que fit diuitum.

Vici in Lib. 6. Aenaid.

Mans Onely selfe, and his owne passions, are his onely Enemies.

The aduantage that the carnall Law hath of the politickall law.

The Carnall Law hath her Advocates, Orators, Philosophers and Teachers.

The doctrine of Epicurus and his followers.

Metrodorus a Disciple of Epicurus.

Adam in his Treasures, that a man cannot live merely in the Sea of Epicurus.

Phil. 3, 9.

Youth corrupted by lascivious books and ballads.

But wanteth in any thing, whereas with Politicall Lawe is furnished: Hath not them in as high a degree, and able to hold equall competence? Hath not this Carnall Law (thinke you) her Advocates, Orators, Philosophers, & Teachers to publish and proclaim it to please, to teach it? What saye to all the Sect of Epicurus? Whose Doctrine consisted principally in the Precepts of this Law, and impugning (as much as he durst) the Civill and Politicall Lawe. In which respect, all Epicurians were banished out of many good Common-wealthes of Greece, as Plutarch testifieth, and that worthily. For Epicurus having made a demand, in certaine questions - which hee wrote, whether a wife man would not doe against the Politicall Law, if he might be sure to escape unpunished: answered freely thereto himselfe, *Yes truly*. And writing to *Tidmeus*, one of his Schollers, he admonished him seriously; not to subject himselfe to the Lawes and opinions of Men, whensoever he might hope to avoid the penalty of the lawes. And *Metrodorus*, a Disciple and familiar friend of his, writing to his Brother: forbade him to go to the warres, or endanger himselfe for the good of all Greece, advising him, rather to drinke good Wine at home, and entreate himselfe well, that his body might receive all pleasure and contentment. Concluding, that the chiefe and souveraign good, consisteth in the belly, and in the pleasures thereof. This is the Philosophy that belongeth to the Law of the flesh, and experience sheweth, what number of professors there are thereof in every Common-wealth. *Quorum Deus venter est*, as the Apostle saith; *Whose bellies are their Gods*. Whose endeavors tend to nothing but to their private pleasure & commodity. Who employ their wits, studies, and pens, to nothing so much, as to publish and promulgate the Carnall Law, in amorous and lascivious Books, wanton Poems, and scurrilous banquy Ballads, which abound every where, to the corruption of youth, and consequently, to the prejudice of the Commonweale, & to the great shame of Magistrates, that see and suffer it. Moreover, to the end we may see, that this Carnall Law will yeild in nothing

to the Politicall; hath it not also Common-wealths wherein it governeth, and apudence and policy appropriate unto it? Yea, politicke Princes and Magistrates that practise it, and politick writers that teach and maintaine it? Look upon all tyrannicall States, where all is ruled according to the precepts of this Law: doe Magistrates and Governours practise any other policy, but *Prudentiam carnis*; as the Apostle calleth it; *The Prudence and wisdom of the flesh*? And *Machiavell*, whose workes are so highly esteemed of many men at this day, doth he teach any other government; then that which proceedeth from the principles of this law; to wit, from selfe love, and particular interest? Yet this were not so much to be wondered; at if it had not also a Religion conforme to it selfe, with Doctors and Divines, to Preach and defend it. For as Politicall Law, having the help and assistance of true Religion, is more perfect, and worketh far greater effects in the Common-wealth, for the establishment and conservation thereof: So also hath the Carnall Law, being masked with the Vizard of some Religion, eyther true or false, is of farre greater force, to overthrow or destroy any Common-wealth. And therefore it seeketh alwaies, to have eyther the appearance and shew of true Religion, (in which respect, *Machiavell* teacheth his Tyrant to be an Hippocrite) or else it serveth it selfe, with some new fangled and false Religion: which the Apostle signifieth; when amongst *Opera carnis*, *The workes of the flesh*, he numbrellth Sects of Heresies.

But perhaps you will say, that the other Law (in rewarding and punishing) surmounteth this, and represseth it in such sort, that it can have no force in any well governed Commonwealth. Let vs then examine this a little, and we shall finde: that the Politicall Law hath no oddes of this in that point, for as well rewards and punishments also, as well as the other. The rewards which this Law proposeth, are diuers; for it promisseth (for some things) the pleasure & delight which is taken in the action, with the which, the party thinketh himselfe so well satisfied: that he is contented (many times) to bestow his Money, yea, to venter his life to obtaine it.

The Carnall Law hath Common-wealths where in it governeth.

Rom. 8, 6.

Machiavell's Principe.

The Carnall Law hath Religion and dogmatics and Preachers.

Gal. 5, 20.

The rewards which the Law of the flesh proposeth.

The two laws compared together.

The reward for vertue very uncertain.

The rewards of vice are certaine, for the most part.

Good men dy many times, yet neuer repressed.

The ministers of vice are not excused to honour.

Sometimes againe, it proposeth some commoditie or benefit, which may accompany or follow the fact. And lastly, it findeth means (otherwhiles) to rob vertue of her reward, and apply it to it selfe: in so much, that there is no remuneration promised by the Politicall Law, whereof the Carnall may not sometimes give hope, to such as follow it. As I will make euiden, by comparison of the one with the other: whereby it shall appeare, that the Carnall Law hath every where the advantage.

Therefore (I say) that the rewards proposed for Vertue by the Politicall Law, are uncertaine, in respect of the other, for neither is there any at all assigned for very many good actes, neyther are all those rewards promised, performed. Whereas on the contrary, the rewards of Vice, are commonly more certaine, for eyther they goe before the act (as it falleth out in bribes, and many other cases of unlawfull gaine, where the reward is paid before hand) or else they accompany the fact (as in all cases of intemperance and incontinency, wherein only pleasure is sought, or in cosenages and deceipts, which bring present gaine) or else they follow upon the deede, as when some unlawfull act is done, upon promise of future pay. So that, for Vice the reward is alwaies eyther assured, or (at least) hoped for and expected; which is no smal Motiue to induce men thereto. But for vertue, neither is there any reward to be had many times, nor yet hope of any by politicall Law, as we see by experience in very many Men, who live laudably in the Common-wealth all their lives: and yet are so farre from having any remuneration, or from expecting any, that they thinke themselves happy, in that they can escape the penalties of the Law.

But let vs proceede a little further. Is there any reward for vertue, so assured by Politicall Law, that Vice cannot, yea, doth not abtaine it daily? Hath it not honour (many times) for reward, as well as Vertue? Who sooner riseth to the highest offices, and credit in some Courts: then the Ministers of the Princes pleasures, or Instruments of his wickednesse? As *Scianus*, vnder the Emperour *Tiberius*. Two Slaues, called *Narcissus*

and *Pallas*, vnder *Claudius Tigellinus*, vnder *Nero*, *Perennius*, *Cleander*, *Regillus*, *Julianus*, and other Slaues, vnder *Commodus*. All which men, governed both the Emperours, and the Empire: to whom I might adde diuers other, if I thought it convenient. For, whether wee looke to former times, or to the present: we shall finde eyther where, as many advanced by euill means, as by good. For no man is so wicked: but if he haue Money, he may hope for any prement whatsoeuer.

Curia pauperibus clausa est, dat census honoris amicitias, pauper vbiq; iacet. (res,

The Court (saith the Poet) is shut up to poore men: but wealth giueth honours, wealth giueth friendship, and the poore Man lyeth euery where in the dust.

And if we consider also, how Princes doe commonly bestow their rewards: wee shall see that merit is least respected. Which *Philip de Comines* (sheweth by a pleasant example, of *Lewes* the eleauenth, King of *France*, and *Charles Duke of Burgundy*. Who, after the battaile (which was fought betwixt them at *Montleheri* in *France*) being determined to reward and punish such, as had defered well or ill in their Armies, and finding, that diuers ranne away on both sides, while the battell was doubtfull (some on the one side an hundred Miles Eastward, and others on the other side, as many Westward) the King of *France* tooke from one of his Subiects, all his Offices and dignities for running away and gaue it to another that ranne ten miles further then he. The Duke of *Bourgundie* deputed also one of his, of all his goods and authority, for the like cause, & within a while after, gaue him more then euer hee had before. *Whereby (saith Comines) it appeareth, that Princes bestow their rewards and fauours, not like Angels, but like Men, as they are.*

Seeing then, that Vice hath not onely perticullar rewards, either of gaine or commoditie, or of pleasure at least, (which contenteth some more then Gold) but also hope of the rewards due to vertue it selfe, eyther by the Princes error or infirmite, or by his fauour, or by

Suetonius in Tiberio Claudio Tigellino.

Lampidius in Regibus, Plinio in Commodis, de vitiis Imperatorum.

Onid. Eleg. 7.

Philip de Comines in cron. du Roy Louis. Chap.

Rewards giuen without any desert.

Kingdomes & Crownes of-
tentimes are
obscured by
wickednesse.

by purchase, or by accident and chance, (whereby many wicked men are also advanced.) What advantage can the Politicall Law haue of the other, by proposing reward, though it be neuer so great? Doe we not see Crownes and Superaignties (wherein most men place the greatest felicity of this life) procured by murders, machiues, and most wicked meanes? And doth *Machiuel* propose any lesse reward to his Prince (for extreame wickednesse) then assurance in Soueraignty? So that the most wicked man that is, hauing hope to get or conferre a Crowne, (or rather, Soueraigne State) by some murder or mischief: what greater, or fo great a reward, could he expect for all the vertue in the world, by obeying Politicall laws? Did not very many (in old time) get diuine honours, though they were most wicked men: as *Iupiter, Venus, Bacchus, Hercules, Tiberius Caesar*, and diuers Emperours as bad as he? And so it would fall out, if Christian Religion had not expelled Idolatry out of the world. Whereby we see, Politicall Lawes, without the helpe of Gods Grace and Religion (for I consider them here) cannot assigne fo great a reward for vertue: but that the wickedst man in the world may hope also to haue it, though he follow and obey the lusts of the flesh.

Wicked men
sometimes get
rackes and
ropes in stead
of dignities.

But a man may say, that many wicked men, which promise themselves great gaine or advancement, by some wicked act: get nothing in the end, but rackes and ropes in recompence thereof. This I grant, but then let vs also consider on the other side, how many notable Men, cyther loose their liues in actions, for which they should be rewarded, or in stead of the reward which they deserue, get nothing but ignominy, banishment, hatred of their Princes or people, death, and vter ruine? As *Marcus Coriolanus, Furius Camillus, Scipio, Cicero, Themistocles, Aristides, Phocion, Dion the Sicilian*, and infinite others. Some of which men, were deprived of their Dignities, others banished their Countries, and others shamefully put to death by publicke authoritie; after they had done great seruices to their Common-weales and States, wherein they liued. And did not *Lewes* the eleauenth, King of *France*, discouer a great

secret, concerning the humors of Princes, in rewarding seruices past, when he said; *Il perd souvent d'auoir trop bien seruiz: Il ouertthroweth Men many times: so haue done too good seruice?* Signifying, that Princes are more willing to haue others beholding to them; then to bee themselves beholding to any. And some, as well Princes as others, are of such Nature, that when they see their obligation so great to any man, as they thinke that they cannot commodiously reward him, according to his satisfaction and merit: they hold him then but for an eye-fore, and seek to rid him one way or other. Therefore, how vncertaine and casual is the reward of vertue by Politicall Lawes, seeing the distribution thereof is in the hands of such: as for some particular respect, or interest of their owne, may not onely forbear to reward, but also (some-times) vnder and destroy those, that haue best deserued of them and the Common-wealth? Thus much of Reward.

Now, to speake of Punishment, wherein consisteth the greatest force of any Politicall Law, for the repression of mans mallice: let vs see, what are the penalties or punishments, where-with the Law of the flesh terrifieth men, to diuert them from vertue, and to draw them to vice. For, although it cannot (of it selfe) inflict any punishment vpon the true louers of vertue, who tread downe and triumph ouer all power of the flesh, and Lawes thereof: yet it setteth vp certaine Scarre-Crowes, to fright such simple Soules as it deceiue, proposing vnto them farre greater difficulties, labour, and paine, then there is (indeed) in the practise and exercise of vertue. Which difficultie, they hold for no other then continuall affliction, and (as it were) a penalty or punishment, inflicted vpon such as labour to be vertuous. By meanes where-of, they contemne the penalties of Politicall Lawes, esteeming them, not onely more easie to bee auoyded, but also more tollerable to bee borne, then the other. Nay, more easie to be auoyded, for that, neither there is a penalty imposed for eury offence, neither are those that be ordained, alwaies executed vpon offenders. For, as I haue noted before, they at many times, escaped, y-

Philip de Com-
paigne Cap. 2.

The vncertainty
of the reward
of vertue, by
Politicall law.

The penalties
and punish-
ments which
the Carnall
Law threat-
neth.

The Scarre-
crowes and
false feights
of the carnall
Law.

The escapes
of the carnall
Law.

ther by power, or by fauour, or by corruption of Officers, or by their negligence, or by their Princes pardo, whereas the paines that worldly men conceiue to accompany vertue, seeme to them inevitable, except vertue it selfe be auoyded: whereof, no man can arrive, but by the strait, narrow, and painefull way, which I haue before described.

And againe, the penalties of Politicall Lawes, doe seeme to them more tollerable then the other, because al penal mulcts, consist either in payment of Mony, or in Infamy, or in corporall or Capitall punishment. If in Mony they feare it not much; for they are content to buy their fatisfying thereof: and many we see doe voluntarily begger themselves, to obtaine their pleasures. If the penalties consist in Infamy; what care they for it, who hold sinne for no shame, but as an honour? And (as the

Philos faith) *Gloriantur in malitia: they glory in wickednesse. Et letantur* (saith *Salomon*) *cum male fecerint, & exultant rebus pessimis, quoniam via peruersa; quum crescant infames sunt.* Who reioyce when they haue done amisse, and exalt in the worst things. Whose waies are peruerse, whose steps are infamous. If the punishment be Corporall, or Capitall, they esteeme the practise of vertue more painefull. For, what affliction, Prison, restraint of liberty, torment or death, can seeme so grievous to a Man giuen ouer to lust and pleasure, as to afflict himselfe by restraint of his owne will? To conquer and subdue his owne vnbridled affections? To chastise his body, that it may be made obedient to the Spirit? To mortifie, and crucifie himselfe? To dye to his Lust and Concupiscence? Yea, and to bee (as it were) his owne Butcher and Hang-man? To execute all this vpon himselfe, not for once or twice, or for a day or two, or for now and then: but daily, continually, and without intermission: for otherwise, true vertue can neither be attained, nor conserued. Can any thing (I say) seeme more irkefome, or any punishment more corporall, or capitall, or sensuall & fleshy men, destitute of grace?

Qui non percipiunt ea quae sunt spiritus dei: Who haue no feeling or apprehension of matters be-onging to the spirit of God? Corporall torments they think (with

Epiphanius) the greater they are, the sooner they dispatch a Man out of paine, & the lesse they be, the more tollerable they are, and death they hold for an end of misery. But the labours and paines, which they imagine to be in continuall exercise of vertue: they take for a continuall and neuer dying torment, & for an everlasting death. So that, very many are so disgusted, with the onely receipt & apprehension thereof: that they will not take so much as a taste of vertue to auoid any penalty of Law, whatsoeuer it be: as we see daily in many Malefactors, that are inuincible. And againe, diuers that haue already made some entrance, into the course and way of vertues, are thereby so wearied wishin a while; that they vntoylely despaire, euer to arrive at any perfection therein; such men (I mean) as haue no light or help of Gods grace. Inasmuch, that one *Sextus*, a Gentleman *Romane*, of whom *Plutarch* writeth, hauing giuen himselfe to the study of Philosophy, and the practise of morall vertue, was within a while so discouraged: that his friends had much ado to keepe him from drowning himselfe. *Asmeius Probus* testifieth, that the Son of the famous *Dion of Seilie*, being restrained by his Father, from the licentious life which hee had led (for some long time) in his Fathers banishment: did desperately cast himselfe from the top of the house, and brake his necke.

But put the case, that Subiects might be made vertuous, by the feare of punishment: what remedy is there for the Prince, when he is of a bad and malignant Nature? True lie none, for he feareth no penalty of the Law, being himselfe about the Law: and as for good counsell, if any man dare giue it, hee dare contemne it. What good did the good counsell and precepts, of the Diuine *Plato*, and of famous *Dion*, to the two Tyrants of *Sicily*, the Father & the Son, called *Dionysius*? In requital of their good enstruitions, was not *Plato* sold for a Slave, and *Dion* banished out of *Sicilie*? What benefit reaped the wicked and cruell *Nero*, by all the good discipline hee receiued from the wife *Seneca*? Did he exercise any lesse cruelty on him, then vpon all others? And what good effect wrought the good education, example, and enstruitions, which the

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Plutarch his
cynisme
corporall tor-
ments.

The great au-
ersion of we-
ked men from
vertue.

Plutarch in *Lib.*
de *Tranquil-*
litate.

Asmeius *Probus*
in *Diogenes*.

None means in
politicall law,
to reforme a
vicious prince

Dionysius *Fa-*
ther and Son,
two Tyrants
of *Sicily*.

Nero & *Seneca*

Empe-

Marcius Aurelius and his Son Commodus

The Princes life is a great example to the Common wealth.

Plinius lib. 4. Epil.

No sufficient means in Politicall Law, to make the Prince and Common-wealth truly vertuous.

All the premisses examined over in due order for a Conclusion.

Emperour *Marcius Aurelius* (called the Philosopher) gave to his Sonne *Commodus* ? Succeeding him in the Empire, was not he far more detestable and harmful for his vice, then his Father was renowned & beloved for vertue ? If then there be no sufficient means, by lawes, education, counsell, or exhortation, to reforme the vicious and corrupt Nature of a wicked Prince : who seeth not, that (by consequence) there is no assured means, to make the Common-wealth vertuous ? For though it be neuer so well ordered and disposed in the body : yet it may receive such corruption from the head, that it may perish thereby. For, as *Plinius* saith ; *Euen as in Mens bodies, so in Common-wealths, the disease is most grievous and dangerous, which proceedeth from the head.* And we commonlie see, that the manners of the people, are conforme to the manners of the Prince. Now then to conclude. What sufficient means there is in Politicall Law, to suppress the Law of the Flesh, and to make the Prince and people truly vertuous ? Is it precepts or Prohibitions ? Nothing lesse. For, if they consist but in wordes ; they are easily contemned. And (as I haue said before) Prohibition doth encrease the disease, that is to say, the offence and sin, rather then remedie it. And as for permission of euill, it doth but bewray the weaknesse of the Politicall Law, and shew the force of carnall Law : which the other is faine to permit, because it cannot redresse it. What then ? Is it punishment or reward ? Neither of both. For, as I haue signified, either the offences are so secret, that they are not subiect to punishment : or the Law is deluded, and the penaltie many waies auoyded. Or if not, yet in respect of the paines, that wicked men imagine to be in the exercise of vertue, they are little feared. And as for reward, what reward (ordained by Law) can so satisfie a sensual man, as pleasure ? Which he holdeth for his Soueraigne and chiefe good, and for the onely felicity of his life ? In so much, that I haue heard some men, most wickedly protest and sweare, that if it were not for the pleasures of the flesh ; their liues would be loathsome and hatefull vnto them. Therefore *Lisurgus* (with great reason) depaired, to make either the King, or

the Subjects in his Common-wealth, vertuous by the force of Lawes. For which cause, he ordained (as *Aristotle* saith) that the Kinges of *Lacedaemonia* should not be perpetuall, but gouerne for a time : least some euill King, if his government were for rearme of life, might destroy the Common-wealth.

CHAP. VI.

Of Sleepe and Rest ; And what manner of seating, or lying in our Beds, ought to be observed in our sleeping, as well for civility as for health.

BY good reason did *Galen* say ; *That sleepe is the repose of the whole body, and principally of the animal faculties, and without sleepe, a Man could not subsist : therefore there are certaine rules to be observed in sleeping, as necessary as in eating and drinking.* For it is not enough, that a man sleepe seauen or eight houres in a night ; rise early in the morning ; shun sleepe after dinner, vpon an indigested stomack, &c. But he is to vnderstand withall, what comperment or behaviour is conuenient for him in sleepe. Beasts and other animals, do heerein lend vs some instruction, for they do not fall downe backward, when they prepare to rest ; but couch downe vpon one of their sides, and (almost ordinarily) on the right side, and according to Nature, neuer faile therein. Neuertheless, albeit that men are endued with reason, yet very hardly shall three men bee found, lying in on Bed, or in one company, that do take their rest after one and the same manner. For one will haue his head raised high, another low. One lyeth to sleepe on the right side, and others on the left very ordinarily. Some on their bellies, or on their backs. In regard whereof, many people (thorow want of due obseruation) doe fall into grievous diseases, which prone (oftentimes) incurable, or are found fitted in their sleeping, which falleth out too ordinary.

The man that desireth to preferre his health,

The insufficiency of Politicall Law for the reformation of vice acknowledged by *Lysurgus*, *Arist* in *Polit.* Lib. 2. cap. 7.

Galen his definition of Sleepe.

Beasts do giue instruction for sleepe.

Man onlie is disordered in the manner of his sleeping.

What behaviour is to be observed in sleeping.

health, should sleepe on his right side, during the time of his first sleepe to the end, that the meates may descend into the bottom of the stomack : because it is fleshy, and lesse full of membranes then the vpper part ; and so, by consequence, more hot and proper for concoction. Afterward, for his second sleepe, hauing continued some foure houres, or thereabout, on the right side : he may turne on the left, to the end, that the liuer may the better extend it selfe, and rest vpon the stomacke. In doing thus, digestion is made perfect ; because the Liuer is hotter then the belly, and embracing all, serueth as if it were a warmth of fire. But if a man be constrained to keep his bed long, at one time & other, he must obserue turnings, one while on the one side, and then on the other.

Off sleeping on the belly, what inconueniences are caused thereby.

Off sleeping on the backe and reines.

Off sleeping on the sides.

The bodies figure in a healthfull mans sleeping

sleepe soundlie. And being laid too low, it procureth broken and painefull sleepes, and engendereth offendue dreames.

To sleepe with wide open eyes, indurates (all along) the Tunicles or conuering skines of them, and so by consequence, begetteth a short or nere hand sight, because that the visuall Spirit cannot penetrate crosse-wiſe. It may also happen, that some thing falling strangely into them, may greatly harne and perill the sight. And in any sharpe or extraordinary disease, to sleepe with the eyes open, it is an assured signe of death : except the party haue been long inuired thereto, or haue had some great fluxe of the belly ; or taken some violent purgation ; or else hath endured long watchings.

To sleepe with the mouth open, is very contrarie and incommodious to the health of a man, because hee draweth abundantly to him (by the vocall Artery) all the ayre that it meeteth withall : which commonly (in the night time) is very impure and troubled. By means whereof, the Conduits whereby a man respireth, being over-moyned : either it maketh the voyce hoarse, or dull and feeble. Whereas, if a man sleepe with his mouth closed ; then the exterior ayre (by little and little, and not in any excessive quantitie) entereth at both the passages of the Nostrils, and so goeth on to the Lights, where it moderateth the heate of the heart. Which is the cause, that they which sleepe with their Lipps fast shut ; doe feele themselves the lesse disturbed. For they that sleepe open throated, by reason of the breath, which entereth and issueth forth abundantly : the tongue and rooſe of the mouth becommeth very much dried, which makes them, both in the night time, and in the morning, to finde themselves much altered.

In like manner, when the breath is some way kept and retained, concoction is made the more strongly & soundly : euen as meat is the better boyled in a couered pot. There may happen many other inconueniences beside, for in sleeping open throated ; a Feather may fall, and passe into the body, which will cause a continuall Cough ; by reason that neuer, or very hardly, it can

Stiff

Of an apt Soultie for the head.

Of sleeping with open eyes.

Of sleeing with the mouth open.

Of sleeping with the mouth close thut.

The lips fast thut.

Sleeping open throated, how dangerous it is.

A good Comperison.

A deadly
Phaſicke.After what
manner to
hold the armsOf talking in
the night
time, how
hurtfull it is.Of ſnooring or
ſnooring in
our ſleepe.A pretty Re-
ceipt againſt
ſnooring in
ſleepe.* Myrrhis,
Mockheruill,
an Hearb like
to Hemlocke.
Some call it
Kex or Kexes.

be auoyded, and ſo grow to a deadly Phriſicke. A Serpent *Stellio*, Spider, or ſome ſuch venomous Creature, may alſo get his paſſage, without all meanes of recovery, as I haue knowne too often.

As concerning the Armes, if they be held croſſe-wiſe, like the ſigne of the Croſſe, or elſe haſte courbed, and the hands reſting vpon the little belly; it is very healthfull. But one thing (kinde Reader) take aſa warning, that it is a very euill cuſtome, to talke in the night time, and a notorious ineuility. For ſuch as are vſed to prattle at their wakings, doe very hardly fall to ſleepe againe. And ſo conſequently, ſuch wakings doe cauſe Crudities in them: becauſe their ſleepe haue not bin ſufficient, to boyle the meates receiued into the ſtomacke. Another reaſon is, that it impeacheth and interrupteth the reſt of others, who (perhaps) take little delight in talking at ſuch vnſit houres: but when once they haue made cuſtome of it, they keepe it as an eſpeciall habite.

Some, in their ſleepe, are ſubiect to ſnore or ſnort, eſpecially fat and round bellied people. It is a thing very odious and offenſiue, to lie by ſuch a body, or in the Chamber where ſuch a one reſteth. A man were almoſt as good, to lodge in a ſtye among the Swine, as neere or with ſuch perſons, eſpecially, ſuch as delight in liuing ciuilly and honeſtly. Therefore I will ſet downe a prettie receipt, which a *Portugall* Apothecarie (but yet a *ſen* by his Religion) taught me againſt this vndecey, and the receipt is thus. He that is ſubiect to this infirmity, halfe an houre before he goeth to reſt, let him eate a little Conſerue of an Hearbe called *Perſil d'Alme*, *Aſſe-Perſelie*, or *Wilde Chernill*. It is an Hearbe very ſufficiently knowne, and the Conſerue muſt be made of the root thereof. I haue made good experience of it many times. Or elſe let him gargariſe a pretty deale of good Vineger, made ſomewhat warme, a quarter of an houre before he lyeth downe. This laſt remedy was praſticed by a Courtier (in the time of King *Charles* the ninth) with very happy ſucceſſe: for, if he had ſnored neuer ſo little (as he was much ſubiect thereto) hee had

loſt the gracious fauours of a Gentlewoman, who admitted him to her owne Lodging, her Husband being abſent.

Therefore I would gladlie perſwade Fathers and Mothers; yea, Schoole-maſters and others, who haue the charge of youth and young Children, to conſtrain and accuſtome them in their tender yeares, to honeſt, decent, and wholeſome lodging in their Beds: For, beſide the comlineſſe and ciuility, it is no meane propagation of their health. And let me tell ye more, thorough ſuch vndeceit behauiour in bed; I haue knowne many vnhappy quarrels and debates, ſometimes betwixt the Husband and Wife.

The Authors
friendly ad-
miration.

CHAP. VII.

Concerning the conſtancy, of ſome *Lacedemonian*, *Romaine*, and *French* women:
At the deſce of their Children, hurts,
and nurſing of them.



That Commonwealthe may tearm it ſelfe happy, when the Weomen are not onely chaſt: but likewiſe endued with manly Spirits, full of conſtancy (commonly) are Heroicall Children bred and borne. Which Argument giueh me leaue, to ſpeake of ſome Women among the *Lacedemonians*; then the *Romaines*; and laſtly the *French*: but firſt we will begin with the moſt generous *Lacedemonians*.

Lacedemon, *Sparta*, and *Laconia*, were all but one, to wit, a people and Countrey ſituated in *Peloponneſus*, a Region of *Greece*, where *Lycurgus* had not onely bene King, but alſo was their Law-Maker. He left them many good lawes and Morall precepts, which while both the Men and Weomen knew how to keepe; they continued Lords of themſelues, liuing in full enfranchiſement

The ſeueral
names, of *Lacedemon*, & *Laconia*, & ſit-
uation there-
of.What benefit
enioyed by
keeping the
lawes of *Lycurgus*.Of a mother
and her only
Son.Good & eu-
eracious coun-
ſell of a Mo-
ther.Fooliſh Mo-
thers of their
times.Two hono-
rable minded
Mothers.Another Mo-
ther worthy
of immortall
commendation.

and libertie. But ſo ſoone as they wandered and ſwerued, from thoſe good manners which the ſaid *Lycurgus* had taught them: they became forthwith Seruants and Slaues vnto others. During ſuch time, as they were obſeruers of his Morall precepts; it happened, that the *Athenians* made Warre, in hope to ſubdue them: but as they were farre inferior to them in their forces, ſo were they as ſtoutly and valiantly reſiſted.

Among the women of *Sparta*, there was one, that had but one only Sonne, who was grieuouſly wounded in the foote, and greatly complained, of the ykelome paines which thereby he endured: but his Mother ſaide vnto him,

My Sonne, if thou didſt ſee vertue before thine eyes; not onely would this anguiſh bee forgotten: but (in reuenge thereof) thou wouldſt ſee thy ſelfe valiant. But the Mothers of our Countreys, doe cuſtomarily augment the grieuances of their Children, by teares and cōckering, too frequent among them. Whereas this worthy Mother, did breath her Spirit into his Heart, to teach him, how hee ſhould ſuffer harries manfully, and not to complaine, like a cowardly woman.

Another *Lacedemonian* Woman likewiſe, hauing tidings brought her, that one of her Sonnes was ſlaine in the battaile, ſaid: *Why, he was one of my Sonnes too: reioycing in the generoſitie of her Son, and neuer mourning for his death.* Contrariwiſe, another woman, hearing that her Sonne fled away cowardly; quoth ſhe, *He neuer was any Son of mine.* Intimating thereby, that ſuch Sonnes deſerued no acknowledgement, who de-generated from the vertue of their Anceſtors.

I cannot forget another *Lacedemonian* Woman, who had five Sonnes, and all of them loſt their liues, fighting valiantly for the freedom of their Countrey. She, going into the Subburbs of the City, to know the iſſue of the battaile, meeting with a Vant-cirrier, demanded how all matters went? And he told hir the farall hap of her five Sonnes. *Wicked Slave* quoth (he) *this is no anſwere to my demand. I pray thee to tell mee, in what e-ſtate ſtandeth the affaires of the Commonwealthe?* Hee told her; that the victorie went with the *Lacedemonians*. *Why now*

(quoth ſhe) *thou art an honeſt man, and I beare my Childrens death patiently.* Was not this a Woman full of honour, and endued with an incomparable Spirit, to prefer the welfare of the Commonwealthe, before ſo many liues of her deareſt ſonnes?

Others alſe adgeeth another, who was a noble *Romaine* Lady, no leſſe to be eſteemed then the *Lacedemonian* woman. She beholding her Sonne, named *Spurillus Caluſtius*, that could goe no other wiſe, but euē as Beaſtes doe, on all ſoure, through the greateſt wounds he had receiued in the warres; fighting for his Countreys liberty, and perſeuiuing him to bee aſhamed, becauſe one had ſcorned him for going in that manner; ſhe ſaid vnto him. *Thou ſhouldeſt bee the more ſtout; and proud of thy wound, that made thee go in this crooked manner: when grieue at that poore ſpirit, that dare not ſhow his face where thou haſt bene.*

But let me telle ye, that neither *Lacedemon* nor *Rome*, contained all the generous Women: for in our Native Countrey of *France*, there haue bin very many, and yet are at this preſent, of whom I will for breuities ſake, alledge but two. The firſt ſhall bee *Madame Margaret de Sauoye*, Wiſe to the decaſed *Anne de Montmorency*, Conſtable of *France*, who had five Children, all worthily educated, and euermore moſt lovingly affected vnto the Crowne of *France*, as beeing very remarkable for their fidelitie, as alſo well provided of honourable eſtates. When newes was brought her, that one of her Sonnes was dead, named *Mombrun*, whom the moſt dearely affected about all the reſt, and was ſlaine in the battaile at *Dreux*, fought againſt the *French* Proteſtants, in the yeare 1562. and alſo that her Husband (being wounded) was there ſurprized: She ſaid, *Bleſſed be God, as well for the bad as the good, and gaue him hartie thanks, not onely becauſe her Sonne was ſlaine; but that her Husband remained wounded, and a Priſoner, for the ſeruiſe of his King, &c.*

Madame de Saint Blancar, Wiſe to the late magnanimous *Marſchall de Birón*, was viſited by a Lady of great Birth, who brought with her very goodlie workes of Silke, which thee and her Daughters had wrought in Samplers.

Cicero lib. de
Orat. 3.A moſt vali-
ent Romaine
Mother.Generous wo-
men of FranceThe Battaille
at Dreux, in
Anno 1562.The braue re-
ſolution of
Margaret de
Sauoye.Madame de
Blancar writes to
the Marſhall
Birón.

She.

Madame de
Mornay
is a
very
courage.

She brought with her also one of her Children; that danced delicately, and played sweetly on the Gitterne, whom she shewed to the said Lady Marshall, that she and her Children, should learn to spend their time in the like delightful exercises. Madame Marshall made her answer, *That she could not devise any better works exercises, wherein to enshrine her Sons and Daughters; then in the fear of God, and good manners; whereby their hearts would become magnanimous, to do service for their King, according as their Father had formerly done.* And indeed, all the Male children issuing of her, were very brave minded and valiant men. As for her Daughters, over and beside their happiness, to marrie with wise and worthy Knights: so were they well educated in household discipline, by their excellent breeding, and famous houses of generous nourishing. As Madame the Countesse de Chastannew, whose Husband is (at this present) Lieutenant to the King, in higher and lower Lymoine. Madame de Foré, & others that I know.

A generous
Exhortation
of the Author
to Ladies of
great birth
and others.

Let then great Ladies of blood, and others of meaner birth, bee advertised by this discourse, that if it happen, that their Husbands and Children dye, or become maimed in their Kings service, or for the good of the Commonwealth: they would not bee so weak hearted, as to lament, grieve, or beate their heads against walles, because such behaviour is not seeme, but in Women of ignoble and slender worth. But fixing rather before their eyes, the generous Spirits of these Lacomian, Romaine, and French Ladies, formerly exemplified; to account themselves happy, whensoever the like disasters shall happen to them. Considering withall, that they whom they esteeme to be dead, do live, and they shall see them again at the day of resurrection, accompanied with much glory and honor.

The greatest
to any Chris-
tian soule.

The beauti-
full mercy of
God to Job.

In the case of
Parents
ought to com-
fort themselves

To Job, all his goods and wealth were redoubled, onely his Children excepted, for he begat but such a number, and in the like number he had them againe. Yet herein the promise of God was as well accomplished, as in his other goods: for he knew that they were not dead, but should be raised againe, and re-knowne of their Father and Mother. It may be presumed, that such women

as are so full of sorrow and vexations do not beleue any resurrection. Other- wise they would embrace aduise and en- struction, to teach their Sons & daugh- ters all such exercises, as might redound to the benefit of the Common-wealth. As their Sons to have learning, to ma- nage Armes and Horses, with all ver- tues becoming man-hood. Their Daughter to feare God, and learne wo- mens hufwifery: not idle Samplery, or Silken follies, which (else-where) is the exercise of Eunuches & Slaues. I would with me to hold as firme a purpose, as did Madame Katherine du Salaing, Wife to the late *Meſſire Geffrey de Sail- let*, a brave and hardy Knight in his life time. She sending her Sonnes (in their very young yeares) to Paris for enſtruc- tion, was aduised by some familiar Friend, to keepe them (as yet) at home, because they were but young and tender. She made answer, *That her Children resembled vessels wholly new, wherein if good liquor were put as the first, they would ſavour thereof so long as Nature lasted.* In like manner, if Children embrace good doctrine in their young age, they will relish alwaies after thereof, even to old age. Which they cannot doe, being kept vnder the Mothers Wing, as wee teame it, where neither are like Mai- sters, or commodious meanes, as is in such places, where all vertues are taught, to such as will seeke for them. For this good Lady added, *That she desired rather to be without Children, then that they should be not virtuous.* And indeed, such did her Sons proue to be, and good Seruitours to their King, notwithstanding all the partialities in France.

Example of
the Lady Ka-
therine de Sa-
laing.

A worthy
president for
all cocking
and nice Mo-
thers.

CHAP. VIII.

Against Obsecration, or Detraction. And why it is more unseemly for men, to speak euill of Women, then Women of Men.



LI Diuines and Philoso- phers, as well Auncient as Moderne, haue held, and doe maintaine, that detrac- tion is one of the branches of Enuy, which

Detraction
one of the
branches of
Enuy.

Diogenes his
answer, con-
cerning De-
tractors and
Flatterers.

Good fame is
the greatest
riches in the
world.

Princes sub-
ject to heare
flatterers and
Detractors.

An excellent
Comparison
of the depra-
uers.

Of Medius,
chief of the
Flatterers a-
bout King A-
lexander.

which delighteth and nourisheth it selfe by calumny and lying: whereby people of honest conuersation, do continually receiue most greivous wounds; by giuing ouer light beleefe, to such, as haue a felicity in lying. And therefore, *Diogenes* the Cynick being demanded, what bite of any Beast was most hurtfull and dangerous, answered: *Amongst furious and wilde beasts, none like the Detractor, and among tame or gentle, only the Sower and Flatterer.* Vpon the same words, *Themistocles* the Theban, said: *There is no greater paine or miserie in the worlde, then to know and beholde the honor of an honest and good man, to be in the mercy of a venomous tongue, there to be outraged by detraacting speeches.*

Full wel we know, that virtuous fame and good renoune, is more precious then any treasure whatsoever. No lesse shame and wrong is done to a man, in taking away his honest name and good esteeme, then as if hee were robbed and depouled of all his substance. But about all other, Detraction and calumny yeeldeth most pernicious effects, when Princes do willingly lend care to deprauers; by whom, euen themselves doe become at length corrupted. For the enuius detractor, dealeth like a bad Painter, who when he hath made a mishapen Cocke, commandeth his Boy, to drue all Natu- rall Cockes farre enough off from his foule handy-worke. So hee, from such as he would command or gouerne, hee strives to keepe off al honest minded men, for hee cannot worke his intent openlie, because hee stands in feare of their Ver- tue whom he hateth in his heart. Hee maketh a shew of honouring, admiring, and affectionate embracing: but vnder- hand, and behinde his backe, hee casteth forth and soweth all seditious slanders. But if his claudeſtine, and secret-wounding reports of the absent, do not quick- ly beget the yssue of his intent: hee hath yet alwaies readye in his memory, that which in elder times was obſcured by Medius.

This Medius of whom we are to speak was as the Maister, or chiefe of all the troope of flatterers, that hovered about the mightie *Alexander*, euen more bandy- ing against well disposed people in his Court. Hee gaue instruction, that no one should bee so bolde, as to backbite

openly, or else the power of calumnie too apparently, *but rather in such sort* (quoth he) *that about the parties bitten doe resouer his harme, yes that the gripes or scratches may remaine incurable.* Euen so, by such scarpes and gripes of lies and false accusa- tions, or to call them better (according to *Plutarch*) by such Cankers and Gange- res, many great persons haue suffered themselves to be corrupted and retained still in their memory, detestable yntruth, deliuered of virtuous men; to their inno- cent ouerthrowe, and their owne great dishonor.

All the enmities and quarrelles, as well among great as meane persons, whence haue ensued so manie laughers, as day- ly are behelde with great greefe: neuer had any other ground or Originall, but onely detraacting the honour or repute of absent people. Now, albeit this Vice in generally, is most infamous, and about all other, vnſightly and il-ſeeming in per- sons of honor; yet, of both the sexes, I hold it to be more incivill and disgracefull to a man, then to a woman. Howbeit, I know, that there are manie people; that are of contrary opinion vnto my present purpose of speech. My first reason is, that among all the Nations of the world, there is a natural Law, obseruing it selfe; whereby a dissolute life is not held as any Vice, defect; or infamie in men: but in women it is an opprobrie, & so extreme a shame, that ſhe of whom an euill report hath once passed (be it true or false in the imposition) she standeth for euer blamed or branded. Therefore, a well aduised man, wil neuer touch the honor of wo- men.

There is likewise another reason, to wit; That Women being imperfect creatures, and of little or no dignitie at al, in respect of men, it were verie requi- site, that (seeing of themselves they are not capable, to performe any virtuous action) some bridle or restriction were imposed on them, by shame and feare of infamy, that any good qualitie (though it were perforce) might be planted in them. And it seemeth, that continency was thought more necessarie for them; then any other, for the better certitude of their Children. Now, because this hath bene enforced, euen by all ingenu- ous subtilities, Arts, and possible meanes or wayes, to make Ladies become contin- ent;

The Wicked
speeches of
detraacting
Medius.

Detraction
the ground of
quarrels and
murders.

Detraction is
more vob-
ſeeming in
men then wo-
men, and the
reason why.

The first rea-
son.

The second
reason.

Continencie
thought most
conuenient in
women.

Women allowed to commit all errors, their chastitie referred.

An advertisement to Ladies, and also other women.

An act of piety to defend a woman's honor.

A History alleged by Valentinus Baruchius of Toledo, concerning the false accusation of a Dutchess of Savoy.

10 tinent; yea, it hath appeald, and (as it were) consented thereto by themselves, that in all other things they are of no validity, but continually they doe the contrary to all that they ought to do. Wherefore, seeing it is lawfull for them, to commit all other errors without blame; let them neuer bee taken with those imperfections that they have done, they being all permitted to them, which (in this respect) most not be iudged in convenient, or carelessly regarded by them; provided, that their Chastitie be preferred.

And yet for all this, I doe not inferre that it is lawfull for women to depraue or mispeake by any means: for as I have saide, it is one of the very greatest imperfections, and draweth vnto it more contempt and disgrace, then any other vice whatsoever. But I would aduise honourable and worthy women, if at anie time it happen, that a Woman haue spoken reproachfully of them, or such as do appertaine vnto them, to tolerate & make no account thereof, for the reasons forementioned. But on the contrarie; it is a worke of piety, to offend their quarrel, if any do presume to defend their honor. And so much the rather, because it was neuer knowne, that euery any Knight, who undertooke the Combat, to support the honor of a woman, was at anie time vanquished.

Wee haue some prooffe thereof, by a History, which *Valentinus Baruchius*, a Native of *Toledo* in *Spain*, hath sette downe in a great Latine Tome, most exactly written, and in verie elegant phrase, the briebe whereof, is thus: A Daughter to the King of *England*, being married to a Duke of *Savoy*, & Prince of *Piedmont*; by not yielding to the immodest requests of the Count of *Pantaler* (whome the Duke her husband, had left Regent and Lieutenant of all his Lands in his absence while he was busied in the wars of *France*, because hee was there Constable) falsely imposed on her the crime of Adulterie, which he saide she had committed with his Nephew. And being to combat against all such, as would gainefay the truth of his deposition, he presented himselfe in the Lists.

10 In the end, as a matter proceeding from Diuine inspiration, a Knight of the Noble house of *Mendoza*, who although he was farre inferior in bodily strength, not only in regard of a former long sickness, but also by so long a way of trauel, which had so tired himselfe and his horses; yet he accepted the cause and Combat, to maintaine the honor of that vertuous Princessse; He foiled him in fight, and made him confesse his damnable imposture. After which, partly by some grievous wounds received, but more by mere spight and hatefull malice, he died within few daies. And yet the said Count was one of the most valiant and strongest Knights (of his time) in *Al Lombardy*.

20 In *France*, about the space of threescore yeares since, the combat was threatened by King *Frances*, first of that name, to two French Knights, the one named *La Chastaigneraye*, and the other *Jarnac*. It was a great quartrell to bee decided, because the Lord de *la Chastaigneraye*, had offended the honor of a Ladie, that appertained in blood to the Lord de *Jarnac*. These two Knights, fighting in the single *Duello*, and according to the Kinges judgement, the whole Court, and all the spectators, it appeared that *La Chastaigneraye*, would haue the vpper hande, as hauing made good prooffe of his person, in diuers battailes, and single combates: yet notwithstanding, *Jarnac* slew *La Chastaigneraye*; and, as manie people were perswaded in Conscience, by the iust judgement of God, for hauing defamed so worthy a Ladie. If it might be permitted, I could alledge infinite other Histories, tending to this purpose: but feare of offending, is my onely hinderance. And therefore, I will conclude with the Proverbe, more then true: *That neuer were Women deprauid, but by a Knave or a Coward.*

CHAP.

The Noble Mendoza of Spain, defended the cause of the wronged Princessse.

A Combat tried between two French Knights.

General opinion is often times depreiud in proofe.

An ancient Proverbe.

CHAP. IX.

How Pythagoras founde out (verie ingeniously) the iust measure and proportion of the bodie of great Hercules.



10 I T is verie memorable, & therefore not to bee let passe in silence, the ingenious inuention found out in a subtile and curious maner, concerning the true shape and measure of *Hercules* his body. When it was knowne, that the place where the Olympian Games were solemnized (from five yeares to five yeares) in *Achaya*, neere *Elis*, & before the Temple of *Iupiter Olympus*, had been measured by *Hercules*, who hadde there made a *Stadium*, containing six hundred and five and twentie foote, by the measure of his owne foote. Vnderstanding also, that the other *Stadiums*, which his successors afterward ordained throughout all *Greece*, did hold the like length of sixe hundred and five and twentie foote, it appeared yet neuertheless, that they were much shorter, then that of *Hercules*. For *Pythagoras* knew easily by this proportion, how much the foote of *Hercules* contained in greatnesse, from the ordinarie feete of other men. And hauing thus vnderstoode, the size or measure of his foote, hee comprehended thereby: that the whole bodie of *Hercules*, must needs be (according to that proportion) much greater then the bodies of all other men, in regard that his *Stadium* surpassed al the rest.

A Towne in the west part of Peloponnesus, neere the River Alpheus where the Olympian games were performed.

CHAP. X.

How the Iewes did continually, and from time to time, giue Law and Religion to such as were their Conquerours and Commanders.



10 *Seneca* fell into great admiration, so did diuers others, how it shold come to passe, that the vanquished Iewes, disperfed and scattered vnto the foure Corners of the world, should administer Law and Religion to their vanquishers. For, as concerning their subiectiō, they are a people that haue bene troden vnder foote by the Egyptians, Assyrians, Persians, Grecians, Romans, Turkes, &c. and how many Masters fouetier they hadde, yet they neuer changed or altered their Law. Amongst other people, in matter of their Law and Faith, hath bene found some fennible constancie: but that the subdued, transported, vilified, made slaues, led in triumph thorow Empires; that such men, I say, should not only subdue the hearts of their Triumphers to God, but (in a manner of speaking) traîne their Gods also themselves, in triumph after them, is verie admirable. That the Conquerour could not giue Law to the conquered, but that the vanquished hath done it to the victor; the subiect vnto the Prince; the Captiue to the Maister; and the condemned vnto the Iudge; Who would beleene this, I pray yee, except he saw it? And hauing scene it, how can he say otherwise, but that GOD onlie did it?

20 But if *Seneca* could hear me peaceably, I woulde deliuer him from this astonishment and admiration, so strangely conceited, as thus. Those Gods which the Iewes had caused to be left to the people (commonly called inuolable and immortall) consisted of dumbe and insensible Statues, disguised like men, Beastes, and Fishes; and some of them, resembled hideous Monsters. So that infamous Demons, possessed themselves of these Statues and Symulacres, and in them required

Seneca in his Booke of Superstition.

The Iewes euermore subiect vnto made captiues.

A rare & vniuersall thing in common obseruation for the vanquished to be victor.

The Idols of the Gentiles were Demons, without anie veritie.

red worse matters of men, then did the most detestable Tyrants that euer were. As, that a man should geld himself, lame himselfe, kill himselfe, yea, and that men should Sacrifice Women, Virgins, and Children to them.

But when the people heard speech of one only true God, the Creator of heaven and earth; and that he would be served in heart and spirit: these wordes, although they came forth of a poor slaues mouth, made Captiues of the men them selues that heard them, and subdued their Gods. What then shall we say of the Iewes transmigrations, and fitting from place to place: but that they were as so many Colonies and Preachers, to proclaim the true GOD, and euen as so many armies, to extirpate Idollies?

That it could be no otherwise, *Daniel* and his affociats, being as the rest) transported into *Assyria*, he shewed vnto the King, that the Idoll Bell (which hee caused to be worshipped, and had daily delivered him such quantities of bread made of the finest Flower, a great number of Sheepe and fatted Cattle, and fix * *Amphores* of Wine) was no true God, though he himselfe worshipped him, and went euery day to adore him, as believing that he deuoured all that meate and wine. He made it apparant to him, that it was but a mere manifest deceit, performed by his Priests & Sacrificers, who with their Wiues and Children, came in the night time, and ate vp all the Viands set before the Idoll, for which they were deservedly punished.

After he had thus shewne to the *Assyrian* King, the vanitie of the Idoll Bell, the King tooke him, and shewd him a mighty great Dragon, which the *Babylonians*, and himselfe, as well as the rest, worshipped beside the saide Idoll Bell. The King saide to *Daniel*, *Thou wilt not say that this is of Brass, like the other, this cannot be denied to be a God. Daniel* hauing obtained leave to kill the Dragon, without the help either of sword or staffe, with pitch, fat, and haire (which he boyled altogether) made rounde balles thereof, and threw them into the Draggons throat, which made him burst in sunder. And then said *Daniel*, Behold what ye haue worshipped. But for these thinges, the people threw *Daniel* into a denne of hungry Lions, of which Beasts hee was not deuour-

red, although he had nothing giuen him to eate, in the space of seauen dayes before. At the end of which time, the King finding *Daniel* yet liuing amongst the Lyons caused him to be taken forth, and forsaking all Idolatrie, worshipped the true GOD, the God of the Iewes. Were not these worthy slaues, that conquered this great King, and thus triumphed?

Who gaue intelligence to *Cyrus*, King of *Persia*, concerning the true God, the God of the *Israelites* and *Iewes*, and to cause him send home the captiued Iewish people, giuing them meane to repayre the Temple, ruined by the *Assyrians*, commanding them also, to pray to God for his prosperity; but euen the same Slaues of the Iewes? May we not likewise say as much, of *Alexander* the Great? He was brought to worship the true God, throwing and prostrating himself before *Jadus* the High-priest, who came before him with all the people of *Ierusalem*, hauing their heads and feete bare, to implore his mercie, and not to bee put to death by him, because they gaue him no aide with men and victualles, when he besieged *Tyre*. Notwithstanding, these conquered and halfe-dead Iewes, by their humble maner of behauiour, but Gods grace more especially working, caused that great and inuincible Monarch, to fall on his Knees before their chiefe Priest; and not onely so, but to embrace them with amitie, and graunt them manie gracious priuiledges. And to their Neighbors the *Samaritans*, who obserued not the same Religion, he gaue inhibition and countermand, of enioying the same immunities. And himselfe would confesse, that the Iewish Law was good, but the *Grecians* Law was of no worth.

Did they not impose the selfsame Law on the Egyptians, who likewise led them into Captiuitie? Wee may read in the Greeke Histories, that after the death of *Alexander*, many of his Kindred, & some of his aduanced fauourites, possessed themselves (as best they could) on diuers portions of his Monarchy. And among the rest, *Ptolomy* seized on Egypt, and on many other adiacent Prouinces. And purposing to do as muchon *Iudea*, he was impeached by the Iewish people, who would acknowledge no other superiour, but their High-priest and Sacrificer.

Where-

The Iewes led Captiues into Egypt.

Whereupon, *Ptolomy* entred into *Palestine*, made there great deuastation and spoile, beating down diuers strong forts, and led away many thousands of them, as captiues into Egypt, where they were ill entreated; and employed in the basest & vilest slauieries. All which notwithstanding, poore foules, they ceased not to cry and call to the Egyptians, that their Religion was false, and that they had manie monstrous Gods: As Onions, a Cow, a Crocodile, and others.

In the end, their declarations were so manifest, and their cries so violent on their Idolatries, that the verie wisest men of the Countrey, with their King *philadelphus* (one of the successors to the former King, who led the poore Iewes awaie as Captiues) lent eare vnto them, and found all true, which the miserable and distressed Iewes had preached to them.

In regard whereof, the King wold needs make more ample enquiry, concerning their Law and Religion. He caused all the Books of the Old Testament to be translated out of Hebrew into the Greeke tongue, by seauenty Interpreters of the Iewes (most learned in the said tongues) seperately, so that they could not confer one with another, to know whether they agreed in their traduction of the Booke of the Old Testament, or no. When he had found a mutuall concordance in the severall translations, and had read, and read againe the saide Booke; hee acknowledged, that his Captiues the Iewes had saide nothing but the truth; and that there was but one God, the GOD of the *Israelites*, and the *Iepes*. Wherefore, he afterwards embraced the feare of God in his heart, reformed his life, and set at liberty all the Captiue Iewes, throughout his Land. Thus you may see, how the vanquished gaue Law and Religion to the victor.

When that the Egyptians had suffered the Iewes to liue in peace, the *Syrians* within a while after, conceived hatred against the Iewes, and perceiving Ciuill diffentions to be among them, they also warred on them. *Antiochus* their King (by the meanes of Traitors) was brought into *Ierusalem*, where hee placed Idols in the Temple, ravaged all *Iudea*, and ledde away a great number of Captiues, according as *Zonarus* declareth. Yet the poore captiued Iewes shewed vnto the *Syrians*,

that they had done verie euill, in polluting the Temple of the true GOD, for which they should be seuerely punished. As afterwards it came to passe, for the saide King *Antiochus* was conquered by the *Romans*, and paid tribute to them. Then could the *Syrians* and their King, remember the predictions of their poore captiues, whom they did gladly set at libertie, and entreated, that they would pray to God for them, being afterwards in the *Romans* safeguard.

It were a matter impossible for me, to set downe all the Kingdomes, where the Iewes haue beene kept Captiues; & persecuted: and yet neuertheless, still acknowledged, that they worshipped the only true God, and brought diuers kings and people to discernie their Lawe: And some verie speculatiue Diuines haue bin perswaded, that these Captiuities of the Iewes had not beene permitted by God, but onely to the end, that they should beare testimonie in all the quarters of the earth: that the Histories of the Olde Testament were true, and that the God of the Iewes, was the only true God. Therefore, it was no such matter of wonder, as *Seneca* made it, that euermore the Iewes gaue Law to the Conquerours, and such as kept them in captiuitie. For the law of the Gentiles, was nothing else but vanitie and lies: but that of the Iewes, was grounded on the knowledge of the true God.

CHAP. XI.

Of Sorrow or Mourning for the dead. How it hath beene obserued, and yet is to this day, in manie Prouinces and Countreies of the world.



O moume and sorrow for Parents, Kindred, & Friends deceased, is not any matter of Nouelty, but most ancient. For it is found, that seauen score and ten years after the flood, and threecore years after the death of *Noah*, and in the year of the world, two thousand sixtie, according to the calculation

The Syrians instructed by the Iewes.

The captivity of the Iewes unexpressible.

The cause of the Transmigration of the Iewes.

The Lawe of the Gentiles.

The antiquity of mourning for the dead.

The Transmigration of the Iewes, was for the honor and glory of God.

Daniel discovered the Idoll Bell to the King of *Persia*.

* An ancient measure, containing 36 quatters.

The King shewed *Daniel* the great dragon.

Daniel killed the great dragon.

Daniel cast into the den of Lyons.

Daniel delivered, and the King converted.

Cyrus, King of *Persia*, believed in God.

Quintus Curtius in the life of *Alexander*.

Alexander inspired by God to his humility.

Ptolemy got the possession of Egypt, and spoiled *Judea*.

The captiue Iewes did shew the error of the Egyptians.

The Bible translated out of Hebrew into Greeke.

The vanquished gaue law to the Victor.

The Syrians warred on the Iewes.

lation of *Carion*, and of other Chroni-
clers, that *Abraham* mourned and for-
rowed for his wife *Sara*, the space of thirtie
days. I thinke, that the *Iewes* afterward
continued (and yet do to this day) the cu-
stome of mourning, for no more then 30
dayes. But *Christians*, belonging to the
Church of God, vsied mourning a whole
yeare, to wit: clothed in blacke for the
most part: but *Women*, were clothed
partly in white, and partly in blacke; ef-
pecially in some Countreys, which was
done according to the diuersity of *Nati-*
ons. But the ancient *Romaines*, before
they were *Christians*, mourned 9. mo-
neths onely. Heere we are to know, that
if a *Christian* man or woman, in those
parts, wearing mourning, came to agree
againe in a second marriage, during the
yeare appointed for mourning, the *Ma-*
trimony was stayed, but thence-forward,
hee nor shee were bound to weare any
more mourning.

The people of the *Greece* Church,
mourned a whole yeare, like to them of
the *Lixing* and *Romaine*, and neuer made
any motion of a second marriage, during
the limited yeares space: but did much
more, for euery day of that yeare, at a
certaine appointed houre; all the people
of the house, vsied lamentations, and ve-
ry greeuous cries, for the party deceased.
But at the renewing of the day, they left
off their mourning habits, and Funerall
forrowings. In the times of *Terence* and
Plautus, *Commicall Poets*, the like was
practised.

They that inhabit the great Isle of *Tap-*
paria, and (wel-neere) thorow all the *Pro-*
vinces, which are called *Malabaria*, after
that the dead mans bodie is publickely
throwne into a fire, and one of his liuing
wiues therewith, the nearest in Kindred
to the deceased party, weareth a garment
of Violet colour, and neuer putteth it
off for a whole yeares space, eating also
but one meale a day during that yeare.

They that are of the *Mahometan* *Re-*
ligion, dwelling in the lesser *Asia*, *Europe*,
and *Affrica*, do mourne no longer for a
ny man or woman deceased, but onely
eight dayes; & that it is the limited time
for mourning. Their Garments are of
coarse wollen cloth, dyed of colour (cal-
led among them, *Chenine* or *Felte*) and
whereof coverings are made for horses.
But such as will not weare them of this

fashion, do carry a white Linnen Cloth,
hanging down from the Turbant so low
as the Girdle, and so go on with Teares
and cries to the graue.

If the deceased Turk be a man of qua-
lity, and had Dogges and Horses, before
he bee brought forth of his dwelling to
buriall, they rub their noses with some
sharpe graine of hearbe, to vryge teares
out of their eyes, that they may appeare
to mourne for their deceased Maister, &
they are made to follow the bodye to the
Graue, which commonly is without the
Cittie, and so they continue on the
mourning for eight dayes. Al which not-
withstanding once euery day (during this
short time of sorrow, at a certaine limi-
ted hour in the day time, all the Kindred
and friends do meet at the graue, to pray
to God for the dead mans soule. The
eight dayes being ouer-passed, all mourn-
ing is laide aside, and then they make a
Feast: which being likewise ended, the
suruiuer may then seeke after a seconde
match.

Some do Write, that the Parents or
Kindred of the dead, during the space of
a whole yeare, do giue order to certaine
men, called *Saintons*, to read euery daie
in the *Alchoran* ouer the Graue, for the
saluation of the deceased parties soule. In
like maner, that some women very much
deuoted to the *Mahometan* Religion, do
leauie diuers Legacies, to such as vie the
was, during the space of a year after their
husbands death, to bring them home the
heades of *Christians*, to offer vpon their
graued. And commonly, they allow a
Sultain of Gold, to bee giuen for euery
head: but he must produce good witnes
and testimony, and it must bee soundly
verified, that it is a *Christians* head. Most
vniuall they do but bring the skin or form
of the face, but sildome the whole head.
And this is the mourning of the *Turkes*.

It was my chance to find another mourn-
ing, of much longer continuance, then
those formerly recited; which is vsied in
a great Province, named *Cormos*, subiect
to the *Persian* and professing the *Maho-*
metan Religion. This Province lyeth in
so hot a country, that the inhabitants are
wholly blacke. Neuertheless, the Lande is
rich, abounding in Horses, gold, Silver,
and Precious stones, of inestimable value
for many rare and beautifull embellish-
ings. Notwithstanding, the aire is merui-

Beasts made
apt to mourne
for the dead.

The *Turks*
vsie prayer for
the dead, and
Feasting.

Of certaine
Turkish *Wo-*
men, cruelly
superstitious.

* A *Turkish*
Coin of gold,
ualewing 7 s.
6 d. Sterling.

Mar. Paulin
lib. 1. cap. 23.

lous

lous vnhealthfull for Straungers; and
therefore (very often) it causeth their
death. The *Vice-Roy* of the place, know-
eth well enough how to appropriate
to himselfe (by way of *Eschetage*) what
goods soeuer doe belong to strangers,
being no *Natiues* of the Country. And
therefore when any one there dyeth, the
wife of the dead man doth weare mourn-
ing the space of foure yeares, and ne-
uer marrieth againe during that time.
But all that long and irksom limitation,
the hath certaine sequestred houres dai-
ly, to kneel in her Chamber, accompa-
nied with some of her neereft kinred &
friends; to make moanes, lamentations
and funerall complaints, for the losse of
her deceased Husband. As concerning
the Men of this Country, and so of *Tur-*
ky, I cannot giue ye any assurance, of
their mourning for the death of their
Wiues; because their King despeneth
with them, for the marrying of manie
wiues. But the women of this Province
of *Cormos*, are much to be commended
for their chastity, beyond many of them
remaining among vs, who rarely will
tary a yeares space of mourning.

CHAP. XII.

Of diuers *Paganes*, that tooke the matter
very offense, and a great dishonour to
themselves: that any one should misprize,
or contemne their Religion.



Asianus reporteth, that
neere the City of * *Manti-*
nes in *Aradia*, there was
a Temple consecrated to
Neptune, the entrance
whereof was interdicted to men: and
yet notwithstanding, it had no other
guard or defence, but certaine little
woollen cords, placed before the Gate,
which caused such dreadfull fears, as the
place thereby was accounted very reue-
rent. It chanced, that *Epythes*, Son to
Hippotes, King of *Aradia*, a man slenderly
affected to Religion, without any re-
uerence or respect, did cut the faide
cords, and as he would haue entred in-
to the Temple: the Waters of the Sea

gushed forth abundantly vpon him,
and wholly blinded him; so that hauing
lost his eyes in this manner, he present-
ly died. The auncient fame and report
was, that the Waters were noted and
obserued to reft in that Temple: And
it was reputed to bee the greater Mira-
cle, because the Sea was three miles, or
thereabout, distant from that place.

In the City of *Cabiria* in *Becia*, with-
in a mile of *Thebes*, there stood a Tem-
ple dedicated to *Ceres*, and entrance
thereinto was granted to none; but on-
ly the *Cabirians*. It so fell out, that *Ad-*
dominus, one of the Captaines to *Xerxes*,
entring; hereinto with his Souldiers,
to rob and bereaue it of the Treasures;
both he & all the rest of his Army, were
(in an instant) surprized with such a sud-
den fury, that casting themselves down
headlong into very deep ditchess, and
from the tops of Rocks and Mountains,
they all dyed most miserably. The like
happened to the Souldiers of great *A-*
lexander, who hauing taken *Thebes* by
power, they would likewise enter into
the said temple; but being smitten with
lightning from heauen, they ended their
liues cruelly, which proued a mightie
terror to the Nation of that age. *Phie-*
gyas, King of the *Oreghemians*, or (ac-
cording to *Virgil*) of the * *Lapithes*, ha-
uing done infinite dammages in *Greece*,
surprizing many Townes and Cities
became (in the end) so ouer-weening &
foolish bold, that he lacked the Temple
of *Apollo* in *Delphos*, and slew *Philonas*,
who brought a power of people to re-
lieue the Temple. But it came to passe,
that within no long while after, all the
Country of the *Phlegians* was vterlic
ruinated, by a violent earthquake, and
flaming Arrows shot from Heauen,
which killed most of the people, & they
few that remained, died of the plague.
Vpon which sacriledge, and contempt
of the Gods, *Virgil* saith, that their king
Phlegyas is grieuouly punished in Hell.

Phlegyas is grieuouly punished in Hell.
Admonet & magni sceleris voce per omnes,
Discite iustitiam timore, et non timore Diuum.

Which Verses were thus translated by
Majures.
Phlegyas in that place
Forewarned all, of his great misery,
And as sad witness of such wretched cases;
In those dim shades he cries out wofully
Learn to do Iustice: Amby my contemp
Of the high Gods, do ye see how I am punished.

Paul. in Lib. 9.
A Temple in
Becia dedica-
ted to *Ceres*.

Another ac-
cident con-
cerning the same
Temple.

* A people
dwelling in a
part of *Thess-*
lia.

Philonas a
cunning Her-
per, Sonne to
Alphes.

Virg. in Lib. 6.
de *Acid*.

T t t

The

* Between the two Riuers, Sybaris and Typhis.

* The place where Apollo made answer.

The Historie of a laue becom by his Lord and Maister.

That which could not be gained in reuerence of the Gods, was for a Fathers sake won.

Amrys makes open sale of all his goods, fearing what was to follow.

King Cambyfes his vnhallowed intent against the

The *Sybarites*, people of a city in great Greece, (so called, by reason of a Riuer which passeth there along, named *Sybaris*) being desirous to vnderstand the future felicity of themselves and their City: sent to consult with the Oracle of *Delphos*, to be resolved in the matter. Where to *Apollo* in his *Pythium* gave them this answer. *Your Land shall run to perdition, & your felicity shall haue end; when you begin to make more account of men, then of the Goddesses.* The Ambassadors haue heard this answer, made report thereof to the *Sybarites*: who took good courage to them, perswading themselves assuredly, that such disaster should neuer happen to them, and therefore their felicity would be eternal. But within some pretty while after, it happened, that a Maister beating his Slaue nere to the Temple: the Slaue fled from him, & knowing that the temple afforded refuge, ran therinto, and mounting vp to the Altar, embraced the Image. His Lord pursued him, & hauing forcibly recovered him from the Statue, without any reuerence of the place, began againe to giue him many Bastonades. The seruant fled to him oncemore, ran to saue himselfe at the Tombe of his Lords deceased Father: but then, in meer paternall duty, hee left punnishing any more, and pardoned the fault which hee had committed. All this being noted by *Amiris*, one of them that had bin Ambassador to *Delphos*, hee cald to remembrance the former words of the Oracle, and declared to some other of his Friends, that the time for accomplishment of *Apollos* answer, was euen now come. But they giuing no credit to his words; imagined that hee was become foolish. VVhich when hee perceived, he took hold of their supposition, and (soone after) counterfeited as if he were growne somewhat distracted in his senses. So that, making publicke sale of all his goods, and getting a large summe of Money together: he departed suddenly thence, & went to dwell in *Morea*, expecting continually the fate of his Country. It returned, that within no long time after, the Citty of the *Sybarites* (by what accident I know not) was rased, rent, and torne, and vntirely made a heap of stones.

Cambyfes, the Son of *Cyrus*, sent fiftie thousand men to destroy the Temple of *Iupiter Hammon*; but by a sudden furious

tempest, they were all quite ouerwhelmed with heaps of sand, before they could get thither, and so perished most wretchedly, without executing their pernicious designe. All they which were with *Quintus Cepio*, at the robbery of the Gold out of the Temples of *Tholose* in France, to the quantity of one hundred & ten thousand markes of Gold, and 500. Millions of markes in Silver: dyed every Man of them (with all their kindred and Families) within that yeares compasse, and not a boue one of them, did carry so much as one piece thereof home to his own house. *Strabo* hath left it written, that this Treasure of *Tholose*, was a part of the *Delphian* riches. For *Brennus*, Captaine of the *Gauls*, being assailed by the *Teltesages*, had ransacked *Delphos*: according as we find it recorded by *Iulius* the Historian. As then these *Teltesages* made their retreat to *Tholose*, which was their ancient Country: the plague began to affaile them, and neuer ceased, vntill such time, (as answer came from the *Diuines*) that they had drowned all the Gold and Silver (gotten by sacrilege) in the bottome of the *Thoulouzan* Lake. Out of which place it was (long time after) won and gotten, by *Q. Cepio* & his followers, who carried it thence to their owne deare detriment. The *Romains* hauing surprized *Carthage*, certaine of them despoyled the Statue of *Apollo*, of a costly robe of Gold worne about him: but the hands of him that committed this sacrilege, were found cut off, and fastned to the same garment. And *Brennus*, captaine of the forenamed *Gauls*, entred forcibly into the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos*: and hauing committed it to publike spoile, was so furiously possessed, that hee slue himselfe with his own hands.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Seiane Horfe. And of the admirable Statue of a Horfe, erected in *Alitina*, a Citty in the Country of *Olympia*.

Caius Bassus, in his Commentaries, and *Iulius Modestinus*, in his second Booke of confused Questions (agreeing with that which *Anulus Gellius* reporteth with that which *Attick* nights) do relate a memorable History, concerning the *Seiane* horfe, & in this manner. In the Province of *Argos*, there

Temple of *Iupiter Hammon*,

Aut. Gell. in lib. 3. Cap. 9.

Strabo in lib. 4.

People of the west part of Norwicke, towards the *Pyrene* Mountaines. *Iust. in lib. 31.*

The *Romains* at their sacrificiall of carthage.

Cornelius Dolabella the Consul, second Maister of the Horfe.

Caius Bassus in Comment. lib. 3. Cap. 10. *Iul. Modest. in Quest. lib. 2. Cap. 1. Aut. Gellius in Noct. Attic.*

there was a horfe bred, reported to be of the race of those Horfes, belonging vnto *Diomedes* the *Thracian*, which horfe *Hercules* brought with him into Greece, after he had slain the said *Diomedes*. This horfe was of a Bay colour, and of vnusall greatness; his Maine yellowish and long; his Nostrils very wide and open; his eyes great; his legges well formed; his breast goodly, and his taile long: in briefe, hee was perfectly faire, well limbd, stout, and full of courage for the wars. In the time of his beeing but a Colte, great rumour ran abroad of him, in *Asia*, *India*, *Thebes*, *Pentapolis*, and all ouer Greece, procuring very many (from all these parts, and many more beside) to trauaile to see him; others to buy him; and diuers to draw his figure or proportion. But this goodly Beast had such an vnfortunate decline, that whosoever was his Maister, must needs perish, with his Familie, House, and Goods whatsoever. For prooue wherof, such as bought him, and mounted on his backe (which were fieworthy Knights) dyed all both miserably and infamously. The first that bought and backt him, being then little aboute two yeares old: was *Cneus Seianus*, a *romaine* Consul, and of great birth, as also verie verie wife in gouerning the Commonwealth, who being to returne out of *Persia* to *Rome*, followed the faction of *Octavius Augustus*; in regard wherof, sixe moneths after hee had bought the said Horfe, *Marke Anthoine* caused his head to be fittened off in Greece, and commanded that his body should remaine without any buriall. Now, because that *Cneus Seianus* was the first Buier and Maister of this Horfe, and also had (by his death) first experimented his fatal fortune: hee was therefore called the *Seiane* Horfe.

Afterward, a *Romaine*, named *Cornelius Dolabella*, Consul also: bought this horfe at an hundred thousand *Sestertians*, which amounted to the value of two thousand Duckets. But if hee had knowne, that hee bought misfortune, at so deare a rate: he neuer would haue accepted him in gift: For within lesse then a yeares space after hee had him, the vnfortunate *Dolabella* was massacred in *Syria*, in a mutiny of people that rose against him, and being thus slaine, his body (in meere despight) was dragd along the streets, *Dolabella* being thus dead, *Cai-*

us Cassius, who had great command in *Rome*, performed many warlike exploits in *Asia*, and had besieged and ouercompt *Dolabella* in that expedition; took the horfe for his owne employment; but hee had not kept him any long while, all his troups being vanquished, and his Armie quite broken, him selfe dyed very miserably.

Thus writeth *Anulus Gellius*, howbeit, I haue else-where read, that at a Dinner, both hee, his Wife and Children, were poysoned, and all them dyed within an houre after. Vpon the death of *Cassius*, this vnhappy and disastrous Horfe hapned into the power of great *Marke Anthony*, who found him to laire, and well fitting his owne minde, that hee gaue in recompence to the bringer of the horfe, as much as hee would haue giuen him if hee had bought him. *Marke Anthoine* was vanquished by *Augustus Caesar*, in a battaile on the sea neere to *Adium*, and sauing himselfe by flight into *Alexandria*, (where likewise hee was engirt, with sharp besieging;) hee stabd his owne Sword into his belly, and so perished by a violent and contemptible death. When *Marke Anthony* was thus dead, a Knight of *Asia*, named *Nigidius*, bought the Horfe, at a reasonable price, because now hee grew to waxe older; but his successe proued as deare and fatal, as any of the former owners, and much more notorious. For within the yeares time of buying this Horfe, as he rode with him ouer the Riuer *Marathon*: the Horfe stumbling in the Water, could by meanes recouer himselfe, but there, both Maister and Horfe were drowned, and neuer after any tidings heard of them. This Historie made way to the ancient and well knowne Proverb, to wit; *Hee had the Seiane Horfe*, which continuall was spoken of him, that came to any miserable and vnfortunate end. As the like was otherwise vttered, *He met with the Gold of Tholose*, for the reasons remembered in the precedent Chapter.

A very admirable matter is likewise remembered, of the Statue of the Horfe of *Iormius*, erected in *Alitina*, a Citty of *Olympia* in *Elir*. There stood a horfe of Braffe, without any taile; yet appearing very goodly, and forged by the hands of *Dionysius the Argine*, in honor of *Phormis* the *Arceatari*, as was plainly giuen to

Caius Cassius, third Maister of the Horfe.

Marke Anthony the fourth Maister of the Horfe.

* A Towne & Præfecture of Epire, where *Augustus*, after hee had spoiled *M. Anthony* and *Cleopatra*, built the Citty of *Nicopolis*.

Belonging to a Towne in Macedonia, thence miles distant from *Alitina*.

Erasmus Chilian. 1. Cent. Lib. 10.

The Statue of *Phormis* the Horfe.

*Roboris inuicti animi sit Græcia quamuis,
Vix a tamen forma paruit illa sua.
Laidit ipse parens amor est aluitq. corinthus
Ac nunc ipsa senet inculta Thesalia.*

By the Author thus turned into French.

*Rien que la Grèce fait d'invincible courage,
Vaincue toutefois à cede au visage
De sa chere Lais, belle comme la sœur
Brauee Pimpante en tout, fille du Dieu Amour
Aux molleux de ses ans Corinthe le nourrit,
Et ouis fit en fin garder en Thessalie.*

And thus by the Translator into English.

Though Greece was of unconquerable might,
Yet wretched she yielded, and gave way
To the faire bodies of Lais, bright as the day:
Fare in all forme, the Love-Gods deare delight.
Corinth gaue breeding to her better daies,
But Thessaly keeps both her Bones and praise.

CHAP. XV.

Of Androchia and Alcida, *who were Sisters. Also of Macharia, Daughter to Hercules: Which Ladies, for the safety of their Countries, slew themselves.*

*Sophy in Antig.
Pomp.*

Sophocles maketh mention, in one of his Tragedies, that at Thebes, in the temple of Diana Eulisa, were buried two Virgins; daughters to Antipemus the Thebanes Citizen; the one, being named Androchia, and the other Alcida.

It happened that *Erginus*, King of the *Orchomenians*, hauing besiedged the Citie of *Thebes*, with full determination to ruinate it, in reuenge of the death of his Father *Clamen*: the *Thebanes* consulted with the Oracle, concerning theyr fortune in this extremitie. Afterward, when the two fore-named young virgins had vnderstood from the Oracle, that if two such Virgins were to bee found (of Noble Family) and would bee so courageous as to kill themselves: they should thereby bee the cause of theyr Citties freedom, and ouerthrowe of the Eneinie. These two young Ladies, desiring to be that happie paire of Virgins, and prefer-

The rare resolution of two famous Virgins,

ring their Countryes deliuerance before their owne liues: killed themselves presently, and the enemy returned ashamed and foiled; whereby both honor and victorie remained to the *Thebanes*, to the eternall praise & memories of those two worthy Virgins.

Hercules escaping the power of *Euristheus*, went into *Thrace*, where hee remained til the time of his death. He being dead, *Euristheus* demanded his Children of *Seix*, Lord and commander of *Thrace*, who fearing theyr liues losse, sent them to *Theseus* at *Athens*, to whose especiall care and trust hee recommended them. When *Euristheus* had intelligence thereof, he proclaimed war against the *Athenians*: who as well for their owne safetie, as the Children of *Hercules*, determined constant resistance against *Seix*. But consulting with the Oracle, which side should be the Conquerour in this doubtfull triall, the Oracle gaue answer, that they should haue the dayes victory, provided, that one of *Hercules* his Children, must first die. This was no sooner heard by *Macharia*, Daughter to *Hercules*: but instantly she slew her selfe, and the *Athenians* were the Conquerors. Thus you may see, how the Deuill could get himself sacrifices, and make human creatures prodigall of their liues to him, in those darke dayes of ignorance, when almost the whole world beleued those deluding Oracles: wherein, for any one truth, infinite Lies, Riddles, and Ambages, were deliuered vnto the poore ouer credulous people.

CHAP. XVI.

From whence came as first our Orange and Cedar Trees. And how the Cedar is verie good and soueraigne, against the poyson of Serpents.



Citrons, Citrons, and Cedars, were neuer in ancient times known to be good to eat: but onely they were giuen as Offerings vnto the

Gods, and esteemed most speciall for their beauty and sight, & being thrust vp in chests

*The King of Greece, the Theme of Iunior reuge on Hercules,

Macharia daughter to Hercules slew her selfe, for the Athenians deliuerance.

Oranges, Citrons, & Cedars offered to the Gods

CHAP. XVII.

How hurtfull a thing it is to endure fasting or hunger: And what the reason is, that aged people are more capable thereof, than youthfull bodies, yet without any preiudice. Also, whence it proceedeth, and upon what occasion, that fasting is hurtfull to chollerick persons, and profitable to the Phlegmaticke.



Phlistions doe hold opinion, that two principall inconveniences doe ensue by Hunger and Fasting: the one is, the naturall heate is thereby consumed; and the other, that the humiditie of the stomack is thereby weakened. The body that is most offended by these two harms, endureth hunger with exceeding great difficulty: but whereas these annoyances doe cause no oppression, it is suffered with the greater ease. The Infant then that encreaseth, hath his naturall heat in sufficient strength, and radicall moisture verie subtil: which resolue it selfe much more by equall proportion, in not enduring hunger then, then it can doe in any other degree of age.

Moreover the sensitiue vertue is then forcibly moued, whereby it suffereth hunger with much passion and damage, which causeth both heat & the naturall Spirit to diminish mightily, & keeping nourishment then from him: is the maine hinderance to his growth and encreasing. By which occasion we may perceiue, that an Infant or young child is more injured by hunger, then all persons else in any other age.

The young man, that hath attained to his intire and perfect encreasing, although his naturall heate bee as strong as that of the Infant: yet notwithstanding, he hath his naturall humiditie more grosse, and therefore it cannot so soone dissolve, as that in the Child. In which respect, hunger doth no way so much offend a Man of middle age, as a young

Two inconveniences caused by hunger

Of naturall heat in Infants, and radicall moisture.

The hinderance of an Infants growth.

Of the young man in his full state of encreasing.

his, in his Histories.

The Histories of two men condemned to death in Egypt.

Denouncing Serpents refused to touch poor condemned men, onely because they had eaten Cedar.

chests or coffers, to yeild a pleasing sauer to Cloathes and Garments, as also to preferre them from Mothes & worms. Then, in regard that they first came out of *Persia* and *Media*: men vsed to call them *Persian Apples*, and *Median Apples*; Howbeit, *Iuba*, in his Histories, rearmes them Apples of Gold, or Apples of the *Hesperides*. In no long while alter, men began to eate of the Cedar, and thereupon appeared, that a meruailous vertue was found therein, against the venome and poyson of Serpents & Aspics. To approue the truth thereof, we finde it credibly recorded, that two men, being condemned to death in *Egypt*, their sentence was; that they should be exposed to Serpents, to bee deuoured by them, which kind of death had bene vsed among them from olde Antiquitie. The day being come whereon they should dye, one of them was (accidentally) visited by a friend of his in the Prison, who was champing and chewing a peece of Cedar in his mouth, and bestowed some litle part thereof on the condemned Prisoner, which hee accepted very thankfully, and byring thereon, gaue some also to his deathe companion, in meere simplicity, and without knowledge of any secret vertue therein.

They being brought to the place of death, and thrust out to the greedy Serpents; they would by no meanes come neere them, or touch them, but auoyded so farre as possibly they could from them. The Officers of Iustice being there present, began to examine, what might be the reason of this sildome scene wonder: whereupon they found, that the Cedar (eaten by both the Prisoners) was the onely cause. But in regard they intended a more ample proof thereof, on the next day following, they caused one of the condemned Men to eate of the Cedar againe, but gaue to the other his accustomed food, and bringing them both to the place of execution: all the people beheld, that the Serpent ran fiercly on him that was fasting from Cedar, tearing and renting him in infinite morsels; but left the other againe without any touch, who died also the day following by the same Serpents, according as his fellow had done before him.

younger Child or Infant. For it is vniuersally obserued, that in Adolency, Youth-hood, or when a man is neereft to his original, with so much the more paine and difficultie hee endureth hunger, because his naturall moisture is more subtile and resourable.

The old, or aged man, hath his naturall heat much abated or dected, and his humidity greatly thickned or closed together, which cannot so easily resolue it selfe. The sensitiue vertue also is highly decayed in him, and senteth nothing so perfectly, as when hee was an Infant, a Youth, or in his strength and best of yeares. And therefore, hee endureth not so much paine and damage then, as in the precedent conditions. But he who is the decrepite, or very old man, although he haue his naturall moisture much more grosse, his heate very feeble, and his sensitiue vertue farre more imperfect, then is in all the other Ages, as being Neighbour and neere to his extinction: yet for all that, how little foueuer he suffereth the accident or discommoditie of hunger, it endangereth the quite quenching of his naturall heat, whereon immediatly he dyeth. And therefore it is very needfull, that food should be as often giuen to the decrepite man, as to the young Infant, but yet diuersly. For the Infant must haue enough at every time giuen him, and but little to the decrepite man: because, if he should receiue ouer much, it would suffocate the small quantity of heate remaining in him; as we see by a slender flame, when too much Oyle is put into the Lamp.

Hunger is caused in vs, and all other Creatures else, by reason that naturall heat continually consumeth, and dryeth the humiditie of our members, which being consumed, consumeth likewise the moisture of the veines; and their consumption causeth attraction from the Liuer, and the Liuer from the stomacke. These humours thus consumed, the Soueraigne Creator hath ordained in vs, that the Splene or Milt should conuay the Melancholly humor to the stomack, which being eager and corrosiue, consumeth likewise the substantiall humiditie in the stomacke it selfe, and so inciteth a desire of foode, from whence ensueth the occasion of

Hunger. Which is very hurtfull to Chollerick bodies, because whensoever they suffer hunger, their chollerick seedeth into the stomacke, and will not let them eate; but are possessed with fumes and vapours while choller so mounteth, which afterward (when they doe eate) corrupteth and putrifeth the meates receiued. But in Phlegmatick complexions, there is humidity enough in the stomacke, and in all the members. And therefore it is profitable for them to endure hunger, for by their sufferance thereof, their bad and ill-affected humours are consumed away by choller.

CHAP. XVIII.

¶ That there is not any thing in the World, which is more hurtfull to man, or procureth him more losse and danger, then the Tongue: with many notable Examples to that effect.



Nachar is the Philosopher, being one daie conversing with his Schollers, concerning the tongue, spake thus vnto them. *Not without great Art and Mytery (say my Schollers) did Nature bestow on vs two Feet, two Legges, two Armes, two Hands, two Eyes, two Eares, and no more but one tongue. As signifying thereby, that either to see, or heare, are offices which we can doe as often as we please: but to speake well, wisely, and modestly, is more then we can easily asaine vnto. He said moreouer. For no other occasion hath Nature left our face vncouered, our eyes, eares, hands, feete, and all the rest of our body, except the tongue: which she impaled with leaues, and walled about with teeth, and afterwards defended it with lippes: but onely to let vs vnderstand, that (in this present life) there is nothing that defendeth a stronger guard, then the vnbrield tongue. We haue no part belonging to our body, which Nature hath so surely Rampiared vp, as the tongue. Before it is placed a Bulwarke of teeth, to the end, that it should be obedient*

The Chollerick humour.

The Phlegmatick complexion.

The speech vied by *Nachar* is the Philosopher to his Schollers concerning the tongue.

Nature left al our parts else vncouered, but the tongue

The teeth ordained to punish the tongue.

Nachar is at a Banquet with *Solon*.

Prov. 18.21.

Evof in *Endir*, cap. 9.

Pittacus his compilation of the tongue

The answer of *Affranus* the Philosopher.

Plutar, in *Lib*, Exil. cap. 4.

bedient to reason, which restraines it, (as with a strong bridle) within: but if it will not be kept backe, her intemperance may be iudly punished, with a bloody gripe betwene the teeth.

The same Philosopher banqueting one day with *Solon*, was esteemed to be wife, because being a-sleepe afterward, hee was noted by one or two: to hold his right hand on his mouth, and the lefse upon his naturall partes of secrecie, as thereby declaring, that the tongue had neede of a much stronger Bridle, then the other partes of Nature. For the tongue containeth in it both good and euill; And *Solomon* saith: *Both life and death is in the power of the Tongue. If we use the tongue well (saith Erasmus) it is as a Horne of plenty or abundance: but if it want a Governour, there is nothing more offensive.* The Philosopher *Pittacus* saide. *The Tongue resembleth to the world, the forme of a Lances point, but is much more dangerous: for the Lances woundeth the Fleish onely, but the Tongue striketh quite thorough the Heart.*

Affranus, another Philosopher, was one day demanded, wherefore he spent the most part of his time, in walking among the Mountaines, hazzarding his life euery houre, where so many wilde Beastes might suddenicly deuour him? Hee presentlie replied. *Beastes haue no other weapons but their teeth, where-with to teare me: but Men cease not daily to commit outrage with their members, and to defame with their malicious Tongues.*

*Plutar*ch, in his Booke of Banishment, declareth, that such Men as had bad and wicked tongues should be banished and confined for halfe a yeare, into some distant seuerate place; without power of speaking to any one whatsoeuer. And many times it happened, that some of them chose rather three yeares slavery in the Gallies, then to be so bard of speaking for halfe a yeare.

Demosthenes, a Man of great authoritie, and preuailance in speaking, was much feared throughout all *Greece*, and therefore talked at his owne pleasure. In regard whereof, all the chiefe of the

Athenians met together on a day, and are meet appointed place, concluding to bestow a large recompence, and liberall *Wages* also on him best, and calling him in among them, to let him vnderstand their bounty and beneuolence: (in name of the rest) spake thus vnto him. *Demosthenes*, we doe not bestow this great gift, either because thou hast spoken, or that thou shouldst speak: but onely to the end, that thou shouldst hold thy peace.

Marke Anthony caused the Father of Eloquence to be slaine, vpon no other occasion: but because hee had spoken too aduantageously on his behalfe. Which was manifestly declared by *Fulvia*, Wife to *Marke Anthony*, when shee procured *Cicero*s Tongue to bee put out, for his false speaking, and pierced it thorough (in many places) with Needles. *Salust*, the Romaine Oratour, was verie odious vnto Strangers, and seuerely pursued by his owne Companions: because he neuer tooke Penne in his hand to Write, but it was against some especiall persons neither would he open his mouth, but it was to depraue some others. The *Lydians* had an inuiolable Law, to punish Detractions with death, but Homicides and Men-killers, they condemned them to labour in their Gallies. So that among those barbarous people, for one Man to depraue or defame another: it was reputed a far greater offence, then if he had slaine him.

As King *Darius* far one day at Dinner in his Tent; such as hee pleased to accept in companie at his owne Table, beganne to moue some Military Argument, concerning the warlike affaires of *Alexander* the Great. In which discourse, a Captaine, named *Mygdonius*, (one very highly fauoured of *Darius*) deliuered some reproachfull speeches of *Alexander*, whereupon *Darius* suddenicly saide. *Hold thy Tongue. Mygdonius, and know, that I brought thee not with mee to this Warre, to depraue Alexander with thy Tongue; but onely to conquer him in Armes, if thou canst.* By which example, we may perceiue, how detestable and odious the Vice of Detraction is: because it is apparent; that euen Enemies themselves

The manner how the *Athenians* recompensed *Demosthenes*.

Mark Anthony caused the death of *Cicero*.

Off *Salust* the Romaine Oratour.

The *Lydians* law against Detractions.

An honorable mention King *Darius* towards his enemy.

This *Mygdonius* is mentioned by some *Mygdon*.

Of the Aged or old man, in his declining estate.

Of Decrepit or the lowest age of all.

The decrepite old must be as often fed as a child, but in another kind.

How hunger is caused in man, and in all creatures els.

The Melancholly humour

Over-much
talk is a great
blemish to
Honour.

felues cannot endure, to heare disgrace-
full wordes of one another. *Pythow*,
Duke of *Athens*, was a very honorable
Prince, full of courage and resolution:
but yet so over-abounding in talke, that
it greatly diminished the glorie of all
his other achievements. A Philoso-
pher being bidden to a solemne Ban-
quet, spake not one word while the fea-
sting continued, which made every one
maruaile at his so long silence, and de-
manded, for what reason he was so spar-
ring of speech? Whereto he returned
this answer. *It is much better to know
the time when a Man should speake, then
barely how to speake: For nature hath taught
us the one, but wisdom is the instructor
in the other.*

Read *Plutarch*,
in his little
Tracte of too
much talking.
Of him that
found the
empty Bot-
tle in the
Temple of
Iuno Chalcocoe.

No Man (at any time) repented him-
selfe for being silent, but many have
done it for too much talking, because
one word hath sometimes bene the
price of a mans life. Let him be a Wit-
nesse, who interpreted the signification
of the empty Bottle, found in the Tem-
ple of *Iuno Chalcocoe* in *Lacedemonia*,
after it was stolne thence: by over-la-
uish prattling, when no man deman-
ded any question of him, hee lost his
life, with his owne consent. He could
then haue wisht his wordes in his belly
again, but it was too late, and time
past; for a word cannot be recovered a-
gain, when it is out of the mouth, no
more then a Bird, when she is let go at
libertie: whereupon it was saide: *That
Words haue winges*. Sildome hath an
vetered word returned any such seruice,
as profit hath ensued by diuers neuer
spoken: For wee may alwaies deliuer
that wel, which is yet within vs, but ne-
uer call that backe to mending, which
is gone from vs.

Of *Dymenides*
the Painter
of *Rhodes*, that
was wailed into
Asia.

Epimenides, a Painter, parting from
Rhodes, traualing into *Asia*, where hee
continued many yeares together: but
at length returned to *Rhodes* againe, yet
no one in the Citie could heare one
word of him, concerning what he had
done and seene in *Asia*. Whereto the
Rhodians making no little maruaile, they
entreated him, to acquaint them with
some discourse of his long traualles,
whereupon, he gaue this answer. *I
was ten yeares on the Sea, to make me apt
for parting from place to place: Other tenne
yeares I tarried in Asia, to better my skill in*

Epimenides his
answer to the
men of
Rhodes.

painting: And sixe yeares afterward I stud-
ied in *Greece*, onely to learne how to hold my
peace. Your comming to me now is, that I
should vfe wordes to ye, and tell ye newes.
Come to me no more (kinde Country-men)
to any such intent: For you may see Pictures
in my House, if you please to buy them, but
I haue no newes to feede your eares withall.

In my poor opinion, he answered them
like a verie wise man, for, by reporting
matters of farre Countreys, which are
rare and diuers: people (of weake ca-
pacitie) giue no credit to them; others,
make a mockery, and most are doubtfull
of them.

Pythagoras being seriously questioned,
what was the reason that hee kept so
strict silence in his *Academie* (because in
the space of two yeares, all Schollers
that came to be entrusted there, might
not speake one word, being thereto en-
ioyned by his seuerer command) return-
ed this answer. *In the Schooles of other
Philosophers, they teach their Schollers to
speake; but mine learne onely how to bee si-
lent.* And vndoubtedly, concerning
the life of man, there is no higher or
fairer Philosophy, than this World can
affoord; then how to refrain the
tongue, when it is most needfull.

Reporters of
tales & newes
are sildome
well esteemed.

CHAP. XIX.

What Feasts and Banquets were used in an-
cient times; And how *Augustus* prohi-
bited in *Rome*, that any Man should in-
uite another to eate in his house.



Mong the *Spartaners*, there
were certaine Banquets
used, which they com-
monly termed *Phiditia*,
and therein they fed on
Bread and Swines Flesh foddin in Wa-
ter, without any thing else for their first
seruice. For their last course, which
those Auncients called, the second Ta-
ble: they were serued with Olives,
Cheese, and Figges. And to close vp
the feast, they had certaine baked cakes,
made of fine Flower and Oyle, cut vp
on Bay-leaves: without any Perfumes
at their Tables, curious backe meates,
or

* Common
Suppers a-
mong the *La-
cedemonians*
kept in the
open street.

Athenians vs
Lib. 4. Cap. 5.
Feasts in *Greece*
free for all
commers.

The manner
and prepara-
tion of the
Feasts.

The Noble
Lady and dis-
poser of the
Banquet.

Their Table
ulke, after
Dinner or
Supper.

A notable en-
couragement
for youth full
spirits.

or choise saucies of sundry tastes, things
in those dayes neuer heard or thought
on; their Feasts & Banquets being much
more modest then ours now are. In
those elder dayes, thorough al the cities
in *Greece*, on certaine dayes of the yeare;
they were wont to make Banquets, com-
mon for who soeuer pleased to come to
them. For maintenance whereof, eu-
ery Citizen gaue the tenth part of all
his fruites, which were gathered duely at
the Cities entrance, by some of the so-
ciety thereto deputed. The care and
charge of the whole Banquet: was refer-
red to a worthy Lady, who had (vnder
her) three or foure women of more in-
feriour degre, beside two seruants, that
fed the Fire with wood. In the house
appointed for the Feast, first of all were
prepared two Tables for the Citizens,
and two other, onely for strangers. The
assistants were all serued with equall al-
lowance: but younger people had lesse
flesh meates afforded them, then the el-
der. At each Table there was appoin-
ted a Vessell full of Wine, well qualified
with water, whereof they dranke in com-
mon, and after they had indifferently ea-
ten, they had other wine brought them,
of better qualitie then the first: whereof
the grauer sort dranke so much as they
pleased, but the younger: in more mode-
rate manner.

The Noble Lady, who helde the su-
preme authority of the Feast, accompa-
nied with some other Ladyes; brought
the most delicious meates to them, that
in times of warre or peace, had done any
famous and remarkable deede, as being
those that best deserved honour. When
this Dinner, or Supper (as it fell out to
be) was ended, they would sit still, con-
sulting first together on publique affairs
and afterward on matters appertaining
to the warres, with repetition of their
names and seruices, that had best defer-
ued of the Common-wealth; profited
their Country; benee beneficiall to the
Temples, and household Gods of euery
Familie; and were dread-lesse of death
in all good actions. These wanted not
also thereby to a more humane, ciuill
and pleasing kinde of life. *Suetonius*
Tranquillus declareth, that the Emperor
Octavius Augustus prohibited in *Rome*,
that any of his subiects should inuite one
another, to dine or suppe with him: but
yet

Tables, and departed thence about their
occasions.

The *Lacedemonians*, at their marriage
Feasts, would permit no more but nine
persons to dine together, which they did
as in reuerence to the nine Muses. And
this was conditioned also, that if any man
talked at the Table, no wine should be
giuen him, to drinke; so that if a man
desired to drinke, hee must be sure to holde
his peace. This law would serue to good
purpose in these dayes, because both in
our marriage Feasts and other Banquets,
nothing is more usually heard then noyse,
rumour and babling, and they are best e-
steemed, that can maintaine the longest
prattling. The *Naxosites* in the Hal-
lowed Feasts, which they celebrated in
honour of their Father *Dionysus*, or *Bac-
chus*, in the *prytaneum*, were all clothed
in white Albes, then called *Prittanem*
Gownes, and when they had heard the
voice of the publique Cryer, they would
al fall down on their knees to the ground,
and hauing saide certaine private pray-
ers, seate themselves at the Table, euery
one receiving two measures of wine; the
Priests of *Apollo Pithegus*, and of *Bacchus*
only excepted, who were allowed a dou-
ble portion, as well of wine, as of all o-
ther things beside. Afterward the vse
was, that euery one should haue a fayre
large slice of very pure bread giuen him,
and thereon a piece of conser Bread,
with a morrell of Swines Flesh on it, be-
side a Cake of Barly Bread fryed, or else
so much Meale fryed, or a misset of Pot-
tage made of Hearbes, according to the
season of the yeare, two Egges, a cantle
of Cheese, dried Figs, and a Cake crown-
ed with a Garland. If any one (in these
sacrifices) provided any other meates then
those above rehearsed, he was to be am-
mored with a pecuniarie fine.

The vse of making Feastes and Ban-
quets (as *Aristotle* wisely) was inuented
by *Nalus*, a very auncient King of *Italy*,
who kept company with grosse and boor-
ish people, feeding among them, obli-
ging them (by that meanes) to yeld him
the more obedience, and he drawing the
also thereby to a more humane, ciuill
and pleasing kinde of life. *Suetonius*
Tranquillus declareth, that the Emperor
Octavius Augustus prohibited in *Rome*,
that any of his subiects should inuite one
another, to dine or suppe with him: but
yet

Marriage
Feasts among
the *Lacedemo-
nians*.

* *Naxosites*, a
City in
Egypt.

The allow-
ance of the
Priests.

The Dole gi-
uen at the
Feast, and no
preparation
of it, was to
be allowed.

Arist in *Lib. 9.*
Cap. 10.
The first in-
uenter of
Feasts and
Banquets.

Sueton, *Tran-
quillus*, *lib. 6.*
cap. 10.

yet they might so much honor one another, as to send part of his Viands to the others Table, but not to perake in eating thereof. But being demanded, what was his reason for making this Law, he answered, *The occasion that moued me to forbid Playes and Feasting, was for nothing else: but because in those places, Men cannot obtaine from blaspheming the Gods, and (as Feasts) one Neighbour defameth or backbiteth another. Cicero writeth, that Cato the Censor, being at the point of death, deliuered these wordes. Among other things done by me, not as became a good Romaine Citizen, but rather like a presumptuous and barbarous Man; was this: I being once entreated by a friend of mine, that I would come and dine with him: I suffered my selfe to be over-ruled, and went vnto him, which I ought not to haue done. For to speake uprightly, no generall and vertuous man, should goe to eate in the House of any Friend, or other: because, hee thereby looseth his owne liberty, and hazardeth his reputation and grauity in extraordinary perill. A certaine man demanded of Eschines the Oratour, what hee should doe, to be esteemed a good and honest man? To whom he thus answered, If thou wouldest bee a perfect honest Grecian, thou must goe to the Temples willingly, and to warre vpon necessity: but to Feasts or Banquets, neither on thine owne free will, or any importunitie; An answer well deseruing eternal memory.*

Pericles, a man of great account among the Athenians, did so highly detest the custome of Feasts and Bankets, and the prouision appointed for them: as hee did neuer dine or sup with any Friend of his, but onely Eurytolemus, on the day of his Nuptials. And yet he was a man of great honor, very liberall, and maintained many people with his goods. Nor doe I (for all this) whollye condemne Feasts and Banquets: provided, that modestie bee obserued in them. For I hold it very vicious and vniuersally, to shun honest conuersation, and ciuill resort to feede together: as is obserued in Societies and Companies, as well Religious, as others, in their Refectories or dining Haules, as we vse to tearme them. For, not onely Nature, but amity also necessarily requirereth; that we should support this Custome of Banquets, which the Latines

The Authors generall conclusion on this Argument.

(our betters) vled to tearme *Comitiolum*, of *Comiendo*, as a familiar kinde of life, when men, louingly feede together at one Table. Neuertheless, I much mislike, and iudge it worthy of great reprehension; to super-exceede both in pompe and superfluitie in our Feastes, with such diversity of meates, as (many times) prouokes to a mans vndoing. For nothing makes vs so much like vnto brute beasts; as gluttonous gurmardise, and study wholly applied for the belly.

Comitiolum, a comiendo.

CHAP. XX.

Of many Men, that by their Prodigalitie and lauish kinde of life, made expence of all their faculties in very short time.



He most Prodigall Man of Auncient times, was *Epicurides* the Athenian, surnamed the Little Man; who in fixe daies, consumed all

his wealthy Patrimony. *Paschivrus* king of Crete, after he had spent all that hee had, and could make beside: at length sold his Kingdome, and liued afterward priuately, in the City of *Amathunta*, where he dyed miserably. *Ethiops*, the *Corinthian*, sold to *Archias*, all his lands and inheritance, both what hee had in present possession, and was to enioy by his Birth-right: onely to maintaine his excessive drinking. *Cleops*, King of *Aegypt*, having laide out vspeakable expences, for the building of a mightie huge *Pyramides*, was brought to such extreme necessity; that for his owne meere maintenance, he was enforced to expose his Daughters virginity to public sale, to make Money of her lasciuious and dishonest pleasures.

Marcus Tigellus was so prodigall in expences, that all his Flatterers, Pickethankes, Players, Pypers, and loose Companions, who deriued exceeding benefit daily from him: bemoaned his death, & wept bitterly for him. Of him, *Horace* maketh mention, saying,

Epicurides the Athenian.

A City of Cypru dedicated to Voth.

Cleops, King of Egypt, that made sale of his daughters virginity.

Societies

Horace in Satir a. Lib. a. et in Satir 3. Lib. a.

Ellianus in Lib. 4. Cap. 7.

Athenus in Lib. a. Cap. 1. a. Aristophanes in Com. Frodo. 1341.

Plut. Antip. Lib. 11.

** Who after his Fathers death was brought vp by Placian.*

** So called of harnesse bootes, called Caligae, which he was wont to weare being a Child. Diu in vii. G. Cap. Calig.*

Societies of Flatterers infinite, That follow furnish Tables day and night: Sellers of Vaguenes, sweetes: And Mountebanks, Lechurious Women, wing warren Franks. All these Harts-leaches rufally complaine Tigellus death, whose life was all their gaine.

The prodigality and voluptuous life of *Pericles*, of *Callias*, the Sonne of *Hippomachus*, and of *Nicias*, brought them to extreame poverty, and when Money failed them: they all three, (each after other) receiued Hemlock for their drink at their last banquet, and so ended their daies. Of *Callias*, *Athenus* maketh mention, and *Aristophanes*, in his Comedie of Preachers, and *Lyfius* writeth, that his Father *Hippomachus* was the very richest man in all Greece. *Demades* the Oratour, had gathered such a masse of Riches, as himselfe confessed, that hee felt not the want of any thing: neuertheless, in the end (horow his intemperance and dissolution) he so wasted and consumed all his wealth, that he was banished from the City, because hee had bene seauen times accused, for not payment of such fines, wherein the men of Athens had condemned him. And *Antipater* the Poet of *Sidon* mocking him, said: *He had nothing but his tongue and belly left him, for hee had wasted and offered up all to his owne sensuality, &c.* *Cresippus*, Son to *Chabrias*, was so Prodigal, that after hee had lauishly consumed all his goods, he sold the very stones of his Fathers Tomb, in the building whereof, the *Athenians* disbursed a thousand *Draclmaes*. *Cornelius Lentulus*, surnamed *Sura*, a man of Noble race, but of very bad gouernment, spent ouer-vainely, and foolishly (beside his owne possessions) a great sum of Money belonging to the Common-wealth, when he was *Quaestor*.

G. Caesar * *Caligula* surpassed all Prodigals, in inuentions of profuse expence and dissolutions. He inuented a new kinde of Bath, and diuers sortes (neuer before seene) of Viands and Banquets: for hee would bathe himselfe in curious sweet waters, and cause Pearles of inestimable value to be dissolved with Vineger, and fet before them that hee feasted, hauing his Breads and Meates all gilded ouer. Moreover, he commanded light Gallies or Foists to be made (which were called *Liburnian* Foists) of Cedar wood, hauing all their

poopes couered ouer with precious stones. Hee had large and goodly stoues or Hot-houses, with rare perfumed chambers in them, where he would sit and banquet in the night season: but in the day time, hee had variety of costly Arbors, Bowers, and Vines, abounding in the plenty of their fruits, wherein he would sit with his Consorts of Musitions, sweetly singing among them. And when hee pleased to take the open ayre, it was on the Sea-shore of *Campania*, which was reputed (though being in Italy) to be the most pleasant and fertile ground in the whole World. As for his buildings and Houses of pleasure, abroad in the spacious fields, in groues, Woods, and other delightful places: they exceeded all compasse of reason; for hee coueted nothing more, then to effect such things as appeared to be impossible. In briefe, in lesse space then a yeare, he consumed immense riches, with the twenty seauen thousand times * *H. S.* being an hundred thousand small *Scutellariae*, which *Tiberius* had left him, amounting to threecore and seauen Millions, and fifty thousand Crownes, allowing fortie fixe *Sols* to the crowne. But when Money began to fayle him, and he waxed needy: he then gaue his mind to leuying of ioules, and excessive tributes yea, hee exercised rapines by diuers meanes, beside calumnies and confiscations of his subiects goods.

The Emperour *Nero*, his Nephew, was not a iot inferiour to him in Prodigality, for hee obserued no order or measure in spending and giuing: accounting them to be wretches and avaritious villaines, that kept any written Register of their expences. But contrariwise, he esteemed them to be honorable and magnanimous, that could soonest runne thorough their whole estate in spending. He gaue to *Tyrdates* (as a daily allowance) eight hundred thousand *Nummaes*, valuing twenty thousand Crownes of our Coyne, a matter almost incredible. He made a present of two goodly Pallaces; the one to *Meneceates*, a Player on the Harpe; and the other to *Spectulius*, the *Myrmillon* Fencer or Sword-Player. He would neuer ride abroad, or on any Iourney, without a thousand Chariots, at the least. His Mules were shod with Silver,

Caligula obserued no measure in his expences and prodigality.

** A Coinne among the Romans, whereof *Domitian* contained foure, and was mixed with *H.S.* which signifieth a half. et dim. &c.*

Suetonius in Lib. 6. Cap. 10. The prodigality of the Emperour Nero, &c.

Excessive pompe and prodigality, not to any purpose.

* Famous for fine wool of crimson colour.

Isopon Lib. de bel. Indus. g. cap. 13.

The Emperour *Vitelius* and his four meales daily.

A Prodigall declined by *Vipian* the Lawyer.

Laws in ancient times ordaind against prodigall persons.

Such a law would now doe well, to curbeth the Prodigals of this times.

Silver, and all his Mulets Saddles and furnitures, were of Cloth of * *Canusum*, a Towne in *Apulia*. Moreover, he neuer would weare any Garment twice.

Iosephus, in his History of the Jewes warres, maketh mention of the prodigality of the Emperour *Vitelius*; who helde the Empire no longer then eight months and five dayes. *If his life had bene of any longer continuance* (saith *Iosephus*) *believe, thus the whole Empire could not have sufficed his excess and prodigality.* This *Vitelius* was so dissolute and prodigall, that he would have foure feuerall meales each day allowed him, which he thus deuicd, into Breake-fast, Dinner, Supper, and Collation. At such time as he came to *Rome*, his Brother made him a Supper, whereas he was serued with two thousand daintie and rare Fishes, and feauen thousand as delicate Fowles and Birdes. Which pompe he exceeded in another Feast, of more excessiue and sumptuous cost, which he made at the dedication of the ground plot, that (for the admirable greatnes thereof) hee called the *Shield of Mithras*.

A Prodigall (saith *Vipian*, in the first law ff. *de cura. furio*) *is he that hath no time or end of his spending: but scattereth and consumeth his goods beyond sense or reason, and is reuerend in Greeke* *ἀσώτος*; *because that hee loseth himselfe, and wasteth his patrimony.* Our graue and worthy fore-fathers, did establish Lawes against spend-thriftes and prodigalles. *Solon*, the famous Grecian, ordaind, that they should be made infamous. The *Arcopagites* and criminall Iudges of *Athenes*, appeald prodigall persons in iudgment, and being proued and conuincd for such offenders, were punished accordingly.

The Ancients, called the ten men, prohibited by their lawes, that prodigals should haue the government of their owne goods, but all such authorities were taken from them: and a Guardian or Overseer was appointed the by the Iudge, as is to be seene in the law *Iulianus. ff. de cura. furio*. Therefore they could not sell or alienate (by any valuable meanes) their Lands or goods, neither make any transport of them: moreover, they were disabled by the Law, of making any wils or Testaments, as appeareth plainly in the Law. *Is cui bonis. F. de verb. oblig.*

Whereupon, they were compared by the Iuriconsultes, to madde men; *scilicet. quod furiosum exitum parat prodigalitas.*

And as for the paine and punishment due to wast-full spend-thrifts, the Grecians had a law, whereby it was especially ordaind, that whosoever consumed his patrimony laushfully, he might not be permitted Buriall in the Graue of his Father, but abroad, among such as were strangers and vnknowne. The Law of the twelve Tables, interdited all prodigall persons, from any administration of their owne goods; and in the end, all the Lenders (by commaund of the Iudges) might let them haue no more monies, on pawns or otherwise: but Surauayers or Comptroullers were set over them, according to the example and order for mad men or Lunaticks, and all manning of their owne affaires, was also prohibited them in this forme or manner.

Quando bonitas paterna anitque nequicia disperdit, libere que tuos ad egestatem perducis, sob eam rem tibi care commercioque interdic. In this very manner, *Q. Pompeius, Pretor*, perceiving that *Q. Fabius*, (Sonne to *Q. Fabius* the Great, surnamed *Allobrogicus*, because he conquered the * *Allobroges*, and *Bituricus*, Captaine and Duke, or King (as some write) of the * *Auerni*) was extraordinarily dissolute and prodigall in his expences: depriued him of his Fathers Lands and goods. For euery one pittied, and much lamented, to see so much Gold and Silver wasted in lewdnesse and luxurie; which rather should haue supported the splendour and Nobilitie, of so glorious a race and Family, as were the *Fabij*.

Dion writeth, that the Emperour *Dionysius* did set a Tutor, ouer a certaine Senator, who was void of all good gouernement: to order him, as if he had bene his pupil. *Iouianus Pontanus*, in his Booke of Bounty or Liberality, maketh a question, to wit: which of the two, either the prodigall person, or the auaritious, is worst and most pernicious? Whereunto, himselfe maketh answer thus. *This doubt* (saith he) *is very easily decided.* For first of all, the prodigall person is beneficiall and profitable to many, on whom he bestoweth his goodnes bountifully: whereas the couetous Miser is not commodious to him selfe, but maketh

Alexand. de A. lexandrin. in Dig. Gmel. Lib. 6. Cap. 14.

The law of *Servellus* Tables against all prodigall spenders.

Valerius Maximus in Lib. 3. Cap. 1.

* People of Sauiy and Dauphiny. * People of France.

Dion in Lib. 47

Iouian Pontanus in Lib. de Libertate.

The Niggard is a good to himselfe, or any other.

The nature of the couetous mans gifts.

Couetous wretches of more base quality then Prodigals.

*use of his goodes, as if he had them not, at least-wise very sparingly. He will not cate halfe so much, as is needfull for the meere maintenance of his owne life: which makes him looke with a wanne, pale, and meager complexion. In the second place, the Prodigall giueth liberally, and gushes passe from him with a free, generous, and good heart: especially, when he exceedeth not the bounds of reason, and his gifts are giuen to some honest and commendable purpose. But the couetous mans gifts are quite contrary, with a gripe and pinching heart, and a villaines disposition. Moreover, as the greedy wretch encreaseth his store day by day; even so doth the Prodigall change his naturall inclination and manner of life, as well by course of time, as age drawing on him: which at length teacheth him know, that he must needs become poore, and fall into want. Whereby many times it comes to passe, that his manners grow to better reformation then before, and yeares diminishing his laushnesse, by little and little he recouereth health and strength againe. Whereas (on the contrary) *Auarice* is an euilllasting and incurable disease. By which reasons it appeareth, that couetous and auaritious Misers, are of a more vile, base, and abiect condition; then those that be prodigall.*

CHAP. XXI.

The Magnificent Triumpe of Antigonus Epiphanes, made in despite of the Confull Paulus Emilius his Triumpe, for his victory obtained against the Macedonians.



Polipus in the 14. Booke of his Histories, calleth him *Primus*, that is to say, made, or victorious.

Antigonus, King of *Syria*, surnamed *Epiphanes*, that is to say, Famous or illustrious, hauing heard recitall deliuered of the magnificent Triumpe, made by the Confull *Paulus Emilius*, for the victory which he won against the *Macedonians*, when *Perseus* their King was taken Prisoner: he conceiued such enuy and disdain thereat, that in meere vanity and arrogancy hee resolued to make another Triumpe, that should farre excell and goe beyond the Confuls. Vpon

this occasion, hee made it publicke knowne throughout his Kingdome, that on such a day, as he purposely appointed, he would be in person at *Daphnia*, a City of *Asia*, where wonderfull sports and delights were to be performed. Which caused, that not only the people of Greece, but infinite numbers also (from other Regions) repayed thither; and the order of the royall intended spectacle began in this manner.

First of all, as the formost leaders to the famous troupes following, marched five thousand young men, supposed to be the very Gallantest Spirits in all Greece, they being armed according to the Romaine manner. After them followed as many of *Mysia*, armed as the Custome of their owne Countrey required: being pursued by three thousand *Thracians*, and five thousand *Gala-tians*, and they were seconded with many other, who, because they carried certaine Bucklers or Targets of Silver, were fir-named * *Argyraphides*. Next to these, marched twenty five ranks of *Gladiatores*, Sworders, or Fencers, and subsequently a thousand knights, whose Horses were all barbed and caparazoned with Gold and Silver, and each of them a Garland of Gold on his head. After them followed another thousand Knights, who were tearmed Fellowes, or Companions; and with them another company, that were called Friends to the King: who likewise had a thousand Noblemen following them, and a thousand other braue Knights, called the Kings Band. In the next place, marched fiftene hundred Knights, armed all with Armour, ouer which Armour, each man did weare a military Rob or Mantle, embroydered all with Gold & Silver, and enriched with many costly Figures of Beastes. Then followed an hundred Chariots, each one drawne by sixe Horses, and forty other Chariots, each drawne by foure Horses.

One wonderfull sumptuous Chariot, drawn by ten Elephants, followed next, being pursued by sixe and thirty other Elephants; beside eight hundred gallant Youths, wearing Garlands or Crowns of Golde on their heads, embellished with many precious stones, and then followed a thousand fat Oxen, and 800.

The order & proceeding in this purpose royal triumph.

* Some doe hold these Warriours to be of the Iude *Septuaginta*.

Fellowes, companions, and Friends to the King.

The spate Chariot that was to serue the King, who he pleased.

V v v 2. teeth

CHAP. XXII.

That Gold and Siluer were not in any frequent vse, among our reuerent Ancestours: And as what time they began to be employed more largely. Also, what deuises were found out by Timotheus the Athenian, and Condalus, Captaine to Mausolus, for the gaining of Money.



HE vse of those Mettals, called Golde and Siluer, which were found in Thrace, neere to the Riuer * *Pangaeus*; was very rare and strange among our fore-fathers. For the *Lacedemonians*, being desirous to guild the Image or Statue of *Apollo Amycleus*: made diligent search thorow all Greece, and yet could not finde any Gold: And therefore they were constrained, to send and buy some of *Croesus*, King of *Lydia*. *Hiero*, the Tyrant of *Syracusa*, hauing likewise vowed to dedicate a Table of Gold, to *Apollo Delphicus*, caused search to be made throughout Greece and *Italie*, without finding any: nor euer had done, but of * *Architelus* the *Corinthian*, who (by little and little) in a long space had got it together. The people of * *phocis*, hauing afterward sacked the Temple of *De phos*, and *Alexander* carrying thence the prey or booty into *Asia*: the vse of Gold began so fast to encrease, that diuers Vesselles were made thereof, euen from such as they washed their handes in, to them that they vsed in the Kitchen. The first stamp that euer was beaten vpon Gold Coine, was at Rome, in the Temple of *Seipus* the *Africaine*.

The *Athenians* making long warres against the people of * *Olynthus*; Money beganne to faile very greatly in the Armie; which the Souldiours perceiving, and with what difficultie it was to be expected from *Athens*: they entered into a mutinie or tumult, for appeasing whereof, *Timotheus*, there Captaine, bethought himselfe of a new and sudden deuised meanes. Hauing first covenanted and agreed with such Merchants,

* A Promontory of Thrace, whereto the Riuer receiued name.

* He is called (by fables) *Architelus*.

* A little colliery of Greece, by the Gulfes, *Cicissus*.

The first stamp.

* A City of Thrace, neere to the Countrey of *Athens*.

The deuile of *Phidias* to pay his Souldiours.

Arch. in Phil. lib. 7. cap. 9.

Condalus his conceite for present supply of money, by a politike Orator made to the *Lycians*.

Preterred pity is oftentimes the greatest prey, for in matters of no meane moment.

chants, as were (in this case) to fit and furnish him, vpon this faithfull promise, of exchange and repaiment when time better serued: he caused Money of Copper to be made, wherewith he paid his Souldiours. And within no long while after, when Money of Siluer was sent from *Athens*; he not onely satisfieth the Marchants & Victualers liberally: but also receiued in all the Copper Coyne againe, and gaue due restitution for it in Siluer.

Aristotle writeth in his *Polliciques*, that *Condalus*, Captaine to *Mausolus*, King of *Caria*, being in *Lycia* (a Prouince of the Lesser *Asia*, situate betwene *Pamphylia* and *Caria*) with an Armie, and want of Money growing great among them: hee inuented a meanes, though some what ridiculous, yet well answering to his owne expectation. He knew very perfectly, that the people of *Lycia* tooke delight (about all things else) to wear their lockes of Haire very long: Whereupon, he called diuers of the chiefeest persons of that Prouince to him, and saide vnto them, after this manner. That much against his mind, and to his no little greefe, he was constrained to acquaint them with a Commission, which hee had (that instant) receiued from his King, and which hee likewise knew, could not chuse but be greatly offensive to them. For King *Mausolus* (quoth hee) commaundeth, that all the *Lycians* must be presently shauen, and all their goodlie long Lockes be powled from their Heades, to be sent vnto him into *Caria*: because hee will haue a new and strange kinde of Apparell made of them, in honour of the King of *Persia*.

Condalus continuing on his speech, pretending much compassion towards them in this case; further added. That if they would follow his counsell, he would finde out a meanes, whereby, not onely their faire Haire should be saved; but the Kinges intent should also be answered, without cutting them off in any such manner. Whereunto the *Lycians* answered, that they would gladly follow his direction in all things; provided, that their Lockes of Haire might be kept from defacing. *Condalus* then aduised them, to prepare Money

among them (appointing a round and indifferent summe, which they might gather by the poule, eyther more or lesse, according as their Lockes were in fashion) and then to send that Money into Greece, where plenty of such haire he would easily help them to, and afterward send it to King *Mausolus*, and cause it to be receiued, as if it were their owne. The *Lycians*, with all possible hast that might be vsed, leuyed such a Masse of Money together; as (without any great difficultie) would haue bought them goodly Perriwigs; yea, if they had beene all of Gold. Which summe of Money they deliuered to *Condalus*, who, feigning as if he sent it into Greece; discharged all his Souldiours wants there-with; and yet no way displeased the people.

Folly accomteth nothing deare, so it selfe be satisfied.

CHAP. XXIII.

What a commendable thing it is, euermore to speake the truth: And what a detestable vice lying is, with many examples concerning each Argument.



Phemides the Philosopher was asked by the *Rhodians*, what thing that Vertue was, which Men call Truth: whereunto hee answered,

Truth is that thing, wherof (more then al other) the Gods doe make profession; and the vertue thereof beateh the Heauens; illuminateth the Earth; maintaineth Justice; governeth the Common-wealth; and cannot endure any wicked thing neere it, but maketh all doubtfull matters to bee cleare and apparant.

The *Corinthians* also demanded of *Chilo* the Philosopher, what this Truth was? And he replied. It is an assured Gage, which neuer diminisheth it selfe: A Buckler or Shielde, that neuer can be pierced thorough: A time, whiche neuer is troubled in it selfe: An Armie, neuer daunted or dismayed: A Flower, that neuer fadeth.

Phemides his answer concerning truth.

Chilo his answer of truth to the *Corinthians*.

Memory continued of woe, day decays, to examples in the lake.

The Kings Pages & chief Ladies to beautifie the show.

* A place for all kindes of exercises, eyther of mind or bodie.

Anaxarchus
answer to the
Lacedaemonians

Arifines con-
cerning truth

The opinion
of a Romaine
Philosopher.

The Emperor
Othavus Angu-
stus triumph-
ing over
Mark Antonie
and Cleopatra.

Spartianus his
report of Pam-
philus the fa-
mous Lyeer of
Rome.

*faſeth or wiſhereth : A Sea, that neuer ſa-
fereth Fortune : And a Haven ; wherein no
Man ſhall ever ſuffer perill . The Lacedae-
monians likewiſe entreated Anaxarchus
the Philoſopher, to reſolve them what
Truth was, and he made anſwer . It is
a perpetual health and welfare ; A life with-
out ending ; A Stroke that healeth all in-
firmities ; A Sunne alwaies ſhining ; A Moon
that neuer ſuffereth Eclipse ; An Earbe e-
ver growing ; A Gate neuer ſhut againſt a-
ny ; And a journey, wherein no Man can
waſe weary . Eſchines alſo ſaid of Truth,
It is a vertue, without which, all ſtrength
is feeble and infirme ; Juſtice bloody ; Hu-
mility a Traytreſſe ; Patience counterſeit ;
Chaſtity ruine ; Liberty a Priſoner ; and
Pity ſuperfluous . And another Phi-
loſopher, being demanded by the
Romaines, what he thought Truth to
be ; gave them this anſwer . Truth is
the Center, wherein all things doe reſt ;
The Sea-mans Card, whereby all the Mar-
iners doe governe themſelves ; That Wiſe-
dome, which is the guide and directer to all
Men ; A height, on the top whereof is all
ſweetneſſe of reſpoſe ; And a light, whereby the
whole world is illumined .*

The Emperour *Anguſtus*, in the Tri-
umphe which he made of *Marke Antho-
ny* and *Cleopatra* ; brought with him to
Rome a Prielt of *Egypt*, aged three-
ſcore yeares, who in all the daies of his
life, had neuer told any lye . In regard
whereof, the Senate preſently ordained,
that he ſhould be made free, and cre-
ated Great Prielt : Alſo, that a Statue
ſhould be erected for him, and placed a-
mong thoſe of the moſt renowned me
of all the Ancients . *Spartianus* relateth
an example much diſſembleable from
this laſt, and faith . In the time of the
Emperor *Claudius*, there died a Man in
Rome, named *Pamphilus*, who (as it was
moſt evidently juſtified) never told any
matter of truth in all his life time ; but
evermore had his chiefe delight in ly-
ing, which cauſed the Emperour to
giue command, that no Graue ſhould
be granted to his body : but his goods
were confiscated, his Houſe ruined, and
his Wiſe and Children baniſhed out of
Rome, to the end, that no memorie
might remain in the Commonwealth,
of ſuch a venomous Beaſt . At the time
when theſe two notable effects hapned,
the *Romaines* were Mortall enemies to

the *Egyptians*, whereby may worthilie
be obſerved, how wonderful the power
of truth is : in regard that the *Romaines*
would advance a Statue, in the honour
of their enemy, onely becauſe he was a
Man of truth, and deſprie their Citi-
zen ſon of a Sepulcher, becauſe he was
ſuch a notorious Lyeer . It is no way to
be doubted, but that a true man may
freely walke, and practiſe in all places,
without feare of being accuſed by any
perſon . He may alſo (in ſafety & dread-
leſſe) reprehend any Lyeer, and ſpeake
boldly in face of all the world, going al-
waies with an erected and dauntleſſe
countenance . But the Lyeer is fled of all
Men, like to a noyſome peſtilence, and
ſo long as hee liueth ; yea, after death
likewiſe, he is infamous to all Poſterity .
His reward and wages, is, that if hee
change to ſpeake truth, no man will be-
leeue him : For, by being ſo knowne a
Lyeer, truth (in his mouth) ſtandeth al-
waies ſuſpected .

CHAP. XXIII.

*What a benefit the Invention of Letters was
unto man : Who firſt found out and deni-
ſed them . Of the Hebrew Characters, &
what ſignification they haue of them-
ſelves, differing from all other Letters
eſe in any Nation .*



F thoſe men may iuſtly
be ſaid to merit praife
& commendation, that
were the firſt deuilers of
liberal and mechanical
Arts, and they likewiſe,
that found out diuers Doctrines and
conſtructions, nor onely appertaining to
the rule and direction of the Soule, but
likewiſe for bodily vie and behaviour :
how much more great and eſpecial ho-
nor then is due to him, that was the firſt
Inuenter and deuiler of Letters ? Thoſe
incomparable Inſtruments, which haue
bin the certaine guards and conſeruers,
of all other inventions whatſoeuer : for
without them, not any deuile could
haue beene preferred, whereto we may
add moreouer, that Letters haue
made Men halfe immortal .

Such

An excellent
obſervation
of the power
of Truth.

Difference
betweene the
true man and
Lyeer.

Diversity of
opinions a-
bout the in-
vention of
Letters.

The power
and preroga-
tive of Let-
ters, and what
haſt criſtic
(by their
meanes) from
times of An-
tiquity.

No memory
had remained
but by Let-
ters, for eſſe,
all precedent
accidents had
bin vterly
loſt.

Diversity of
opinions a-
bout the in-
vention of
Letters.

Pliny, in Lib. 7.
cap. 11.

Cethon Cap-
taine of the
Phanians,
brought Let-
ters into
Greece, be-
ing then but
ſixteen in
number.

Such hath bin their power and pre-
rogative, that matters of a thouſand yeares
paſt, are (by them) ſo familiarly preſented
vnto vs, as if there had beene no diſtance
or deuſion of time . By them are ap-
prehended all kinds of Diſciplines . They
make knowne to men of this inſtant age,
whatſoeuer our graue fore-goes learned
and made vie off, or any famous actions
by them perſormed : And thoſe things
which theſe dayes afford (as deſeruing
future knowledge) by them, are left as
Legacies to vmoſt poſteritie . They
ſhew and reſentent vnto the eye, matters
once done, euen as if they were in conti-
nual action, and as full of life in the in-
ſtant, as in the precedent : which neuer
could haue beene done, if Letters hadde
never beene deuiled . For neither *Plato*,
Aristotle, nor a great number of other
wiſe Philoſophers, had carried ſuch re-
putation with vs, as now they doe ; but
onely by their ſacred meanes . For con-
cluſion then, we may very well ſay ; that
the onely beſt and greateſt thing (among
all humane inventions) was that of Let-
ters . Whoſeuer is doubtfull, or ma-
keth any queſtion in this caſe, let him but
reade and conſider what is left written to
vs, whereby he ſhall perceiue : that
all thoſe famous memories and anti-
quities, had beene vterly loſt, and no record
remained of them, but onely by Letters .

Seeing then, that they are the cauſe
offo great a happineſſe, & reaſon (in meere
Juſtice) requirerh, that we ſhould know,
to whom wee are beholding, for them .
And yet I finde it to bee a matter of no
meane difficultie, becauſe opinions are
ſo varions and doubtfull in this caſe . The
Gentiles doe much diſagreed heerein with
our Chriſtians, and Chriſtians alſo haue
not well conſidered together . *Pliny* ſet-
teth downe many opinions, and then ad-
deth his owne (which (in my iudgement)
cometh much neerer to truth, then the
other . Firſt of all he ſaith, that Letters
were found out by the *Aſſyrians* in *Aſſy-
ria* ; but others doe affirme, that *Mercury*
founde them firſt in *Egypt* . Some (be-
ſide) are of the minde, that the *Pelagians*
brought them into *Italy* ; or eſſe that they
were carried into *Greece* by the *Phanians*,
with *Cadmus*, who was their Cap-
taine, who had no more of them then,
but ſixteen in number : but in the warre
of *Troy*, *Palamedes* added foure more vnto

them . After *Plinius* report of all theſe,
and ſome opinions beſide, he concludeth
according to his owne iudgement : That
Letters were eternall, which is as much to
ſay, that they had beene from the begin-
ning of the world .

Now, concerning the bringing of
Letters into *Greece* by the *Phanians*,
Herodotus and diuers others doe affirme
it . The *Egyptians* alſo doe make their
vaunt, that the invention of Artes and
Letters came firſt from them . *Diode-
rus Siculus* is of the minde, that *Mercury*
founde them out in *Egypt* . Howbeit,
the ſame *Diodeorus* ſaith in his 4. Booke,
that ſome are of opinion, that the *Ethio-
pians* had Letters firſt of all ; and that the
Egyptians receiued their firſt vie of Let-
ters from them . Vpon this Argument,
there are diuers other ; as well Iewes as
Chriſtians, who doe plainly auouch, that
Moyſes was the firſt finder out off Letters
in the world : for he was much more an-
cient, then any letters or writings among
the *Gentiles*, becauſe the ſame *Cadmus*
(of whom we haue formerly ſpoken, and
that he ſhould bring Letters into *Greece*)
liued in the time of *Othemiell*, Duke and
Capitaine of *Iſrael*, and raigned forty
ſeaſen yeares, after that the written lawes
were giuen to *Moyſes*, as is evidently
prooued .

They that are of this opinion (among
whom were *Eupolemus* and *Arabanus*,
Ethiopian Hiſtorians) doe maintaine, that
the *Egyptians* learned Letters of *Moyſes*,
and that they gaue them firſt to the peo-
ple of *Phenia*, from whence (afterward)
Cadmus tranſported them into *Greece* .
The fore-named *Arabanus* iuſtifieth
that the man, named *Mercurius* or *Mer-
cury* (whom alſo doe affirme to haue taught
Letters in *Egypt*) was *Moyſes*, who cal-
led *Mercurius* by the *Egyptians* . *Philo-
ſophers* doe much diſagreed heerein, mak-
eth Letters to be more ancient for the
faith, that they were found out by *Abra-
ham* . But the truth is, that they were
invented by *Adam*, or (at leaſt) by his
Sonne, or Sonnes Sonnes, in the firſt
age of the world, and before the Flood .
Then were they conſecrated to *Noah* and
his Succeſſors, euen to the coming of
Abraham, and ſo afterward to *Moyſes* .
And this is the iudgement and opinion
of *S. Auguſtine* . Moreouer, this is yet
further verified, by the authoritie of *Jo-
ſephus* .

Herodotus, for
the Phanians,
bringing
Letters into
Greece.

Diode Siculus.

Moyſes ſaid to
be the firſt
inuentor of
Letters.

Othemiell,
Duke and
Capitaine of
Iſrael.

The Egyp-
tians learned
Letters of
Moyſes.

Moyſes called
Mercurius by
the Egyptians

Adam or his
Children the
firſt inuentors
of Letters.

Auguſt. in Lib.
18. de Ciuit.
Dei.

1049, in Lib. 1.
de Antiquit.

Joseph, in saying; That the *Nephewes* of *Adam*, the *Sonnes* of *Seth*, made two *Col-
lombes*, the one of *Stone*, and the other of
Earth, wherein they wrote and insculpted
all the *Artes*. He also affirmeth; that
himselfe had seene one of those *Pillars*
in *Syria*.

Preference
of Letters
from
Adam and his
Sonnes to
Noah.

We finde also, that *Saint Iude* the
Apostle, alleadged in one of his *Epi-
stles*, the Booke of *Enoch*, which was
before the *Flood*. So then, it is not
to be doubted, but that *Adam* and his
Sonnes (who were all so wise, and had
intelligence in so many things) were
the only first Inuenter of Letters. And
that *Noah* also, who was both lettered
and learned, preferred them with him
in the *Arke*. Howbeit, that afterward,
in the confusion of Tongues, which
happened at the building of the Tower
of *Babel*: it might come to passe, that
the greater part of the *World* lost the
knowledge of those Letters, which re-
mained onely in the Family of *Heber*,
of whom (afterward) the *Hebrues* de-
scended, who, as we haue already said,
lost not their first Language. *Saint Au-
gustine* auoucheth as much, in his booke
before alleadged; the like doth *Eusebius*
also, in his first Booke of the *Euange-
licall* preparation, and the greater part
of the learned men of our times.

The flock
of Heber lost
not their first
language.

Eusebius in lib.
1. de Prepara-
tione.

Philo the Jew
and diuers o-
thers de-
cided in their
opinion.

Josephus com-
pares Gram-
mar.

Moses learned
the Arts of
the Egyptians

Wherefore *Philo*, and such beside
him, as supposed, that *Moses* was the
Inuenter of Letters, were greatly de-
ceined in their owne imaginings: be-
cause it is a matter most notorious, that
the *Bookes* and *Histories* written by
Moses, were not the first before all o-
ther; nor before the *Philosophy* and
Wisdom of the *Greekes*, as *Saint Au-
gustine* proueth sufficiently in the
saide Booke; and *Josephus* also, against
Apion the famous *Grammariar* of *E-
gypt*; and likewise *Eusebius* and *Iustine*
Martire. He and they should haue con-
cluded then, that Letters were before
the time of *Moses*; because we finde it
written, that *Moses* learned in *Egypt*,
all the *Arts* and *Sciences* of the *Egy-
ptians*; which he could not haue done,
except there had bene Letters before.
And yet we know moreover, that there
were *Hieroglyphicall* Figures, where-
by (as we formerly proued in the first

Booke) they had vnderstanding of one
another's mind.

We will therefore set downe our
resolue, that Letters were from the
dayes of *Adam*, and afterward, that *A-
braham* had knowledge of them in *Syria*;
and thence it ensued, that *Plinie* vari-
ed in so many opinions before related.
It shall be needlesse therefore, to make
any further curious search; as touching
the Original and causes of Characters
and Letters: because they may be made
according to any mans mind or will; e-
uen as now-a-days wee see, that *Ci-
phers*, *Figures*, or what else, are for-
med; after the fancy of the *Writer* or
Deuiler, and sometimes signes or
shapes in stead of Letters.

So saith *Saint Hierome*, in his Pro-
logue before the Booke of the *Lawes*,
and that when *Esdra*s, the great *Scribe*
and *Doctour* of the *Law*, re-wrote and
restored them againe: hee found new
Characters or formes of Letters,
whereof the *Jewes* did make vse to the
time of *Saint Hierome*, euen as yet they
doe to these dayes of ours. And those
Hebrue Letters or Characters, haue a
secret propriety; not incident to the
Letters of any other Nation: for the
voyce, sound, or name of each one of
them, yieldeth a signification of some
thing else beside.

The first Letter, which is termed
Aleph, doth signify Discipline. The se-
cond, named *Beth*, signifyeth a House.
Gymell, which is another Letter, rela-
teth replenishing or abundance. And
Dalath, Tables or Bookes. All the rest
of the Letters, doe interpret some one
thing or other, which I forbear to
speake of, to auoid prolixitie. Such
as are more curious. Inquisitors into
these occasions; let them read *Euse-
bius*, in his first Booke, De
Preparatione Evan-
gelica.

The Authors
condition
concerning
Letters.

Original and
causes of char-
acters and
Letters.

Hierome, in Pre-
lud. lib. de Leg.

Hebrew Let-
ters haue a
private prop-
riety to the
letters in sig-
nification.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXV.

How our Ancients wrote, and whereon,
before the inuention of Paper, and with
what Instrument. How Paper and
Parchment were first found out, and by
whom.



E haue spoken briefly in
the precedent Chapter,
concerning the inuention
of Letters: it now re-
maineth, that we should
say somewhat, of the matter whereon
our fore-fathers vsed to write. Now,
albeit wee cannot exactly set downe,
what it was that our first Fathers (in the
first Age, and before the *Flood*) did
write vpon, as being a case very doubt-
full; to wit, whether then they had the
vse of Letters, although we haue made
proofe thereof by the authority of *Iose-
phus*, assisted by some other reasons be-
side; yet it evidently appears (according
to the general iudgement of *Vvriters*)
that such as wrote in those elder times,
had not, neither knew what Paper was;
but onely did write on Leauces of the
Palme or *Date Tree*, from whence fol-
lowed the common word (yet vsed) the
Leauces or Leafes of Bookes. After-
ward they wrote vpon other Leauces of
Trees, but principally such as came easi-
est from each Tree: as the *Birch*, the
Platane, the *Ash*, and the *Elme*. From
these Trees they tooke the inner-most
Rinde, which groweth betwene the
Wood and the thicke blacke Barke, and
these soft skinned being subtille smoo-
thed and plained: of them they formed
the Leauces of their Bookes, ioyning
them artificially one within another,
that they might the more firmly hold
together. And because (in those reuer-
end daies) the *Latines* termed those
inner-most Rindes of Trees, by the
Name of *Libri*: it thence ensued, that
they gaue the Title of *Liber* to one of
their Bookes, though afterward they
refused all further vse of those meanes.

Within some while after, they found
out another helpe for Writing, which

Doubt of that
whereon our
first Fathers
wrote before
the flood.

First writing
was on Palme
Tree Leauces.

The first man-
ner of writing
Bookes.

Liber, the in-
ward peece or
rind of a
Tree.

was vpon Plates of Lead, ingeniously
made thin and pliant: whereof, some
Men (that were more curious and (spe-
culatiue) made likewise *Collonibes* or
Pillars, as well as Bookes, whereon
they registred all publique actions:
Those Ancient Fathers, found out yet
another manner of Writing, which
was on Linnen Cloath, smoothed and
polished with a certain kind of colour.
But heere we are to obserue, that they
vsed not then to write with Penne's,
but with a little Cane or Reede; which
yet is called by vs (as then) in *Latine* *Ca-
lamus*, and wherewith some doe still vse
to write.

Afterward, another kinde of Paper
was deuised to write vpon. which they
made of diuers little Shrubs of Trees,
cald by them *Papiri*: by reason of ano-
ther addition thereto, to wit; of a cer-
taine kind of Rushes, growing ordina-
rily in the *Moores* and *Marishes* of *A-
lyps*, and the name of this Rush in *Latine*,
is called *Papyrus*. *Plinie* saith, that there
is yet growing in *Syria*, neere to the Ri-
uer *Euphrates*, certaine Papers or Ru-
shes, that haue sundry little Leauces,
Rindes, or *Skinned*, growing naturally
betwene the *Pith* and *Barke*: which
being cunningly drawne out with the
point of a needle, and intermedd with
a kinde of Glue, made of Meale (verie
finely seared or boulded) and tem-
pered with boyling Water and Vineger;
Paper is made thereof, apt and very
good to write vpon. But that skinned
which is neerest to the *Pith*, maketh the
best and smoothest Paper: whereby
we may gather, that according to the
sorts and differences; so are the Papers
diuersly named. And in regard that
this Reede, Rush, or little Shrub, was
named *Papyrus*; the Name of Paper
hath so continued, and was likewise im-
poted on those kinde of Paper, which
were (since then) made of Shreds, rags,
and smallest peeces of Linnen Cloath,
past all kind of seruice, and fit for no o-
ther vse.

Marcellus Varro saith, that the first In-
uention of making Leauces of Paper, ei-
ther of Shrubs, Rushes, or otherwise:
was found out in the time of *Alexander*
the Great, and at such time also, as the
Cittie of *Alexandria* was first founded.
Notwithstanding, *Plinie* proueth it
much

Plates of lead
made apt to
write vpon.

Linnen cloth
polished with
a colour, to
write on.

No Pens were
then used, but
Reeds.

Papyrus is a
great Rush in
Egypt, grow-
ing in Fenues,
or Moorish
groundes; whereof (in
elder times)
they made
leauces to write
on, & where-
of the first
paper was made
and now it is
vsed for print-
ing Paper.
Plinie lib. 15.
Cap. 11. 12.

Mar. Varro in
Lib. 7.

790 Of writing, before Paper was knowvn. 8. Booke.

much more auncient, by those Bookes which *Cicero Terentius* found, by digging in one of his Inheritances, which Bookes had formerly belonged to *Numa Pompilius*, King of Rome, and had bene hidden in a Temple, where himselfe was buried, and the leaues of those Bookes were made of the said Ruffes or shrubbes. It is held for a certainty, that *Numa* lived long time before *Alexander*. And yet *Titus Livius* reporteth otherwise of this Tombe; affirming, that two such Tombs were found by *L. Patilius*, *Laetantius* and *Plutarch* doe herein agree with *Titus Livius*: and yet notwithstanding, the intention of *Pliny* is most approved.

Now concerning the word *Carta*, or *Charta*, some doe holde, that this name came of a City, situated neere to *Tyre*, which was called *Charta*, or *Cartha*; whence *Dido* (altring the name) called it afterward *Carthage*. I read also, that those reuerend men of former times, did write on waxed Table-leaues, made thin smooth and slippery: they likewise formed their letters, with sharpe pointed Bodkins or Pinctions, which they teamed Table-Pinnes, but others called the Stiles, whereof, he that (by experneffe) wrote most perfect, was said to haue a good stile in writing, deriuing the worde from the instrument, and not by the integritie in Art or method.

Moreover, it is to be noated, that before such Paper (as we vse to write on) was inuented: an auncient custome was obserued, (without seeing any other help or meanes) to write onely vpon Parchment, which they made of Sheeps Skins, whereof *Herodotus* maketh relation. The inuention thereof is attributed (by *Marcius Varro*) to the people that inhabited the Country of *Pergamus*, or *Pergama*, who had (at that time) *Eumenius* to be their King; where-vpon (in Latine) it bare the name of *Pergamentum*, which we do commonly call Parchment. And whereas in Latine also, it was called *Membrana*: yet it appeareth to take name of the Inuenter. Notwithstanding, in my iudgment, such skinnes were written on long before the time assigned by *Varro*; mentioned (after him) in like manner by *Pliny*: because *Iosephus* writeth, that the Bookes of the *Hebreues* (which were long before the dayes of *Eumenius*) and many other Bookes beside, were written on

such Skinnes.

In like manner, when he declareth, that *Eleazer*, Prince of the Priests, sent the Bookes of the sacred Scriptures to *Prolemaus Philadelphus*, with the seauenty two Interpreters, that they might be translated out of the Hebrew tongue into Greeke, he saith; King *Prolemaus* was amazed, and wondred very much, at the ingenious coniunction of those Skinnes of Parchment. Whereby may be obserued, that the lines written on Parchment, were much more easily performed, and of longer continuance, then on any other Skinnes or Leaues whatsoever, although they were of greater antiquity. In regard whereof, vse of Parchment neuer failed, neither euer will, especially for serious seruices: albeit, the Paper which is now in vse among vs, perhaps is easier and cheaper to be had, and may better fit the passage of infinite Letters, which ordinarily are entered vpon all occasions, and necessitie of haste.

Hauiug thus farre proceeded in discourse, concerning the first inuention of Letters, Paper, Parchment and writing: I me thinkes, I should very much forget my selfe, if the famous Art of Printing should passe vnspoken of, whereby so many Bookes are Imprinted, with no meane expedition, and which I doe ingeniously confesse, to be the best inuention in the world. By one Authour, the deuiler therof is said to be an *Allemaigne* or *Germaine*, of the City of *Mentz*, named *Iohn Faustus*, (although *Po'odore Virgil* doe call him *Peter*) yet others teame him *Iohn Cuthemberg*, confessing him also to be a *Germaine*, and a Knight, and that the first impression of any Booke, was in the year of our Lord, 1453.

About which time also, or soone after (as *Volateranus* affirmeth) this worthy Science was brought into *Italy* by two Brethren, named *Conrades*, printing first in *Rome*, and in the house of the *Maximes*: where, the first Booke that euer was printed, was *S. Angustine de Cinitate Dei*, & next, the diuine Institutions of *Laetantius Firmianus*. Exemplaries of them were not long since (and I thinke yet are) in the Library of the most reuerend Bishop of *Sarno*, the Lord *Imoconio Comes*, a *Spaniard*, a man of singular learning, being Auditor of *Roma*, Regent of the Penitentiarie, and Referendarie of both the

Philo-
delphus, and
the 72. Inter-
preters.

Parchment of
longer con-
tinuance than
Paper.

Concerning
the incompe-
rable Art of
Printing.

At what time
the inuention
of Printing
was found
out, and by
whom.

The first
Bookes prin-
ted in Rome,
in the year
1453.

Signa-

Chap. 25. Of writing, before Paper was known. 791

Signatures. After that, *Nicholas Gersone*, being a Frenchman, honoured Venice therewith, in the time of Duke *Augustine Barbarigo*. And, as an inuention of such merit could not be concealed, so succeeded it to many Countries, and by diuers worthy men, who beside their Art of Printing; were learned and iudicious Correcters of errors and falsifications, easily ouer-slipped by vnskillful worke-men. Among these men of noat, are especially commended, *Aldus Manutius* at Venice, who made a fresh restoring of the Latine tongue: *Francus Priscianus*, at Rome: *Baldus Colinetus*, *Erobenius* and *Oporinus*, at Basle: *Sebastian Gryphus* at Lyons: *Robert Stephanus* at Paris and *Antwerpe*; and *William Caxton* at London in England, besides many more, whose names I omit, for breuitie.

By these famous helpees, and furtherers of Learning, a number of Bookes: hidden, obscured and vtterly lost (as it were) receiued fresh life and light again; to the no meane enfructiue and benefit of many men, whose learning hath made it selfe manifest (only by the meanes of Printing) throughout all Christendome, yea, and else-where: whereas, before so sacred an assistant was inuented, much greater paine and labour was employed; whereof the fruit could neuer be so general, or any such perfection appeare in Learning. And, if we doe graunt, that this deuise was not the chiefe and principall cause: yet assuredly (I am of the mind) it was the very greatest and most absolute; because, with much lesse paine and labour, Bookes (full of imperfections) haue bene found to be corrected, and purged from those maculations, blots, and blemishes, which ordinarie doe attend on writing. Again, if written corrected Copies had past from some one or two: yet they were so rare to come by, and not to be perused by many earnest and desirous minde; that it hindered much forward endeavour, which this vniuersality hath liberally friended. But, to speake truly, since immeasurable Licence tooke hold of Imprinting Bookes, especially of Fables and fruitlesse labours; it hath bene iudged by some (yet none of meanest wisdome) that Printing might well haue bene spa-

red from so general knowledge, or neuer bene used at all; rather then such idle toys should passe the Presse, to the perurication and imppoysoning of diuers good minds, especially the younger sort, who rather affect such vaine deuises, then studies much more commendable, and fitting for them.

But leaving further speech of Printing; Hand-writing must not bee condemned, hauiug (in these dayes) attained to more intire perfection, then euer was knowne in former times. Whereof *Quintilian* hath giuen good rules, well deserving oblation; likewise the learned *Erasmus*, in his Booke of good and true pronounciation. And herein *Erasmus* must be my directour, because he saith: *Blinde men haue bene instructed in good writing*. For they had Tables made of Porphirie, Bone, or of some Mettall, wherein were insculpted the letters of A. B. C. D. E. &c. Then the blinde partie tooke some sharpe pointed Instrument in his hand (made apt and able to vse impression; with ease and facilitie) and his hand being guided by the instructers: vse and practise framed a shape of each Letter in the blinde mans minde, according to the remembrance of true forme and fashion, whereof customarie acquaintance (by heed and attention) gaue an Image, and of euery Letter really in his memory, which afterward he could (with ease) forme vpon the Table, or any thing else of respect, whereto his minde stood most affected. VVherin might appeare some defect or impediment, but yet it would be well made, and indifferently leageable. After which often experimented proof, he may write vpon Paper, in true order and Method: or any else, that (blind-folded) shall make vse therof, concerning any matter that best fitteth his fantasie.

Of writings
and the per-
fection there-
of in these
dayes.

Erasmus
Liber
de Rob-
re ver. p. 10.

Blinde men
that could
write very
perfectly, and
by what man-
ner of prac-
tise.

Vse is the
Mother of
perfection.

CHAP

Printing be-
gan in Venice
in the year
1483.

Especially men
excellent in
Printing, in
diuers Coun-
ties.

Printing was
the only
meane to
make learned
men euer
vber famous.

Very great
errors former-
ly committed
in the writing
of Bookes,
which (by
Printing)
haue bene
induciously
corrected.

An objection
against the
over-general
vse of Prin-
ting, where-
by much hurt
hath ensued.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of the first Libraries in the world: As also, what Pictures and Portraitsures of memorable men, were obsequiously preferred in them.



T is not to be doubted, but that the first Bookes and Libraries that euer were in the world, must needs bee among the Hebrue people.

For, as it is certaine, that Letters were by them first knowne, and vse made of them: so is it likewise to be presumed, that they were not neglect or carelesse in keeping them, or whatsoever they committed to writing. This is iustified by the authority of *Iosephus*, before alleadged, as also, by that which we read in the holy Scriptures. *Isidorus* relateth, that after the *Chadaans* had burned the Library of the *Hebrewes*, with all the Bookes of the Lawes: the *Hebrewes* being gon backe againe to *Ierusalem*, the Prophet *Ezdras* (being thereto lightened by the blessed Spirit) repaired that losse, by writing those Bookes ouer againe, reducing them into the number of two and twenty Bookes, according to the number of the Alphabet letters. Whereby may be gathered, that after *Moyse* had written: the *Hebrewes* had a Library, wherein they preferred the Bookes of the Law, as well those which we haue of the old Testament, as the rest, whereof we haue already made mention. Among which, was the Booke of *Enoch*, alleadged by Saint *Iude* the Apostle in his Epistle, spoken of also before: And the Booke of the warres of the Lord, whereof memory is made in the twenty one Chapter of *Numbers*: And the Booke of the iust seruants of the Lord, alleadged in the first Booke of the Kings: and the Booke of *Samuell*, recorded in the last Chapter of the first Booke of *Paralipomenon*: And the Booke of *Nathan* the Prophet, with

many other beside, which appeared to haue bin burned and lost. Therefore we may plainly perceiue, that the *Iewes* had Libraries, and that those which appertained to the *Gentiles*, were both after the other, and of later time.

All the *Grecians* doe declare, that hee who first made any publique Library, was named *Pisistratus*, a Tyrant ouer the *Athenians*: but afterward, it was greatly increased by those people. In following time, when *Xerxes* came to *Athen*, he carried thence all those Bookes, and transported them into *Persia*: but a long while after, the King *Selucus* (called *Nicator*) bought them, and caused them to be carried backe to *Athen* againe. This affirmation proceedeth from *Aulus Gellius* and *Isidorus*; adding moreover, that this Library was afterward very largely increased. Notwithstanding, that Library of *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, which the King *Ptolomy Philadelphus* made; was (in very truth) the most excellent of all other in the world beside: because therein was the old Testament, and all the sacred writings of the fauentie two Interpreters, and a great multitude of all other bookes whatsoever. Yet *Pliny* auoucheth, that King *Eumenes* made another Library in the City of *Pergama*, in enuy of that which *Ptolomy* had founded. *Aulus Gellius* and *Amianus Marcellinus* doe say, that in the Library of *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, there were seauen hundred thousand Bookes. *Seneca* doth (in a manner) agree concerning the number, which although it seeme to be excessiue, yet notwithstanding, whosoever hath read of the expenses and great cost, which the Kings of *Egypt* haue wasted, in the making of Obeliskes, Pyramides, Temples, Houses, Shippes, and other thinges of inestimable charge (some part of which matters are spoken of by *Budens*, in his Annotations on the *Pandectes*, and *Lazarus de Bass*, in his Art of Navigation) this Library will not appeare impossible to their iudgement.

Bookes were brought to this Library from all the Nations of the whole world, and also in all Languages: and they that had the charge thereof, were all of them very learned men. One part was appointed for Bookes of Poetry, others also for Histories, and elsewhere for all the Sciences and faculties: but all this learning

The Iewes had Libraries long before the Gentiles.

Pisistratus of *Athen*, made the first publique Library.

Aulus Gellius in l. b. 6. *Isidorus* in lib. 6.

The Library of *Alexandria* in *Egypt*.

Aulus Gellius in lib. 6. *Amianus Marcell.* in lib. 7. Cap. 9.

Budens in doct. de Pand. *Lazarus de Bass* in art. Navig.

Caspar Scallius burned this goodly Library.

Plutarch in vit. *Marc. Anton.*

Strabo in lib. 7. Cap. 18.

Strabo contradicth other Authors.

The first publique Library in Rome made by *Asinius Pollio*.

All the Libraries in Rome burned and spoiled.

Domitian the Emperour re-tore the Libraries losse.

Paulus Orosius in lib. 9.

learning thus brought together, was burned by the Soldiers of *Iulius Caesar*, when he pursued *Pompey* thither, and fought against the people of *Ptolomy*, who was brought vnto *Cleopatra*. As for that other Librarie, which was made by *Eumenes* in *Pergama*: *Plutarch* saith in the life of *Marcus Antonie*, that it consisted of two hundred thousand Bookes.

The Librarie which we read of in *Greece*, *Strabo* saith, that *Aristotle* was the first that made a Collection of Bookes together, and framed a Library of Bookes in the City of *Athen*. But therein he contradicth the other Historians, who doe all maintaine, that it was *Pisistratus*, who liued long time before *Aristotle*. Therefore it is to be understood, that *Strabos* meaning ayimed at some one particular Man, who was neither King or Prince, as *Pisistratus* was: howbeit, it may be pregnantly coniectured, that *Aristotle* was therein much succoured and assisted by *Alexander*.

Later Libraries and Letters, where in the Citie of *Rome*, and the first that erected a publique Librarie there, was *Asinius Pollio*, of whom *Pliny* saith: That of the Spirits of Men he made a publique matter. The first man that brought thither any great quantitie of Bookes, was *Paulus Emilius*, when he had vanquished *Perseus*: And next to him, *L. Lucullus*, from the bootie of *Pontus*. *Iulius Caesar* also augmented and enriched the Libraries, which he committed to the charge and keeping of *Marcus Varro*: but all the Libraries in *Rome*, were afterward burnt and brought to nothing, by the frequent Warres, and often spoiles made of the Citie. And yet this great losse was repaired againe, by the Emperour *Domitian*, for he caused search to be made thorough all Countries, for Bookes of any Nature whatsoever; yea, he sent into *Egypt*, to haue the Librarie that remained there, to be transported to *Rome*. Whereby it verie plainly appeareth, that all King *Ptolomies* Bookes were not destroyed (as formerly hath bene said) because a great part of them were afterward recovered. And *Paulus Orosius* doth heere perswade me, when

he saith; Four hundred thousand of the Bookes were burned: And by the confirmation of other Historians; we finde, that there were seauen hundred thousand in all, and three hundred thousand doe then appeare to be saved; howbeit, some would faine enforce, that they were all burned.

But returning to the Librarie of *Rome* againe, the same *Paulus Orosius* saith, that in the time of the Emperour *Commodus*, it was once more burned: neuertheless, *Gordianus* the Emperour regained a great number of Bookes, to the estimate of seauentie and two thousand Volumes. And that (which is much more notable) hee enioyed them by the last Will and Testament of *Seranus Samonius*, to whom they first appertained, according as *Iulius Capitolinus* recordeth. There were many other great and goodlie Libraries among those of elder times, as well private and meane persons, as Princes and great Lords. But the first Librarie among the Christians, was that (as *Isidorus* testifieth) of *Pamphilus* the Martire, whose life is registred by *Eusebius*, and that he had thirty thousand volums in his Librarie.

We read of a common Custome obserued among those graue Men, chiefly in their Libraries: where they preferred the Pictures, Portraits, and Statues, of such men as had been most excellent in Learning. *Pliny* also saith, that *Marcus Varro* (euen in his life time) so merited by his learning: that his Statue was kept in the Library of *Asinius Pollio*. *Cicero* wrote to *Fabianus* the Gaule, that he should buy him some Statues and Portraits, wherewith to grace and beautifie his Librarie. The younger *Pliny*, writing to *Iulius Securus*, saith; that *Euergetius Senecrus* (a very excellent learned man) placed in his Librarie (among other Pictures) those of *Cornelius* and *Titus Arrius*; sufficient testimony haue we of all those thinges.

Now, concerning these recited Libraries, and those of many other learned men, and of Princes also, in imitation of their example: they were all destroyed and ransaged by the *Gothes*, *Alaines*, and *Pandales*, vntill such time as

Romus Librarie burned againe in the time of the Emperour *Commodus*.

* This man was fetched from the Plough, and made *Senator* of *Rome*.

The first Librarie among the Christians.

Pictures of famous learned men preferred in Libraries.

Pliny in lib. 9. Cap. 7.

Pliny, *secundus* in lib. 4.

Xxx

(by

Who were
the notorious
destroyers of
Libraries and
Learning.

Our Bookes
not equalling
the tenth part
of our Anci-
ents.

(by the goodnesse of God) both in our daies, and those of our fore-fathers, many learned and studious men liued, whose paines and endeouours created infinite others, from whom haue proceeded heapes of huge Volumes; albeit I thinke them not the tenth part, compared with those which their graue Auncients left in Writing. Beside, such as haue beene found, were so vncorrected, corrupted and badlie written: that had it not bene for the indulgent traualle, of diuers great and worthy personages, they could hardly haue beene reduced to any order and perfection.

CHAP. XXVII.

The Interpretation of the Imperiall Titles, heretofore giuen by the Romaine Emperours, as they haue beene found registered in the Bookes De Iurispudentia, abbreviated and re-collected by commandement of the Emperour Iustinian, to wit: Of the Gothes, Allemaignes, Germaines, Alanes, Vandals, Affricanes, Gætes, Girpides, &c. and of many other Nations, appertaining to the same kinde of Argument.

Vaine Titles
affected by
the Romaine
Emperours.

THE Romaine Emperours, in their Imperiall Titles of honour and renowne, did not onely obferue and giue vnto themselves, the Names or Appellations of those Provinces wonne by them, and reduced vnder the yoke of their Empire: but likewise of such Nations and people, as left their own Countries (in abounding multitudes) and entred on the Landes and possession of others, thence to chafe and expell the naturall Inhabitants, to plant there their owne abiding, by giuing them sundry battalles, and some way surmounting, though not wholly exterminating them. Upon which reason, *Iustinian* would en-

title himselfe, of the *Gothes, Allemaignes, Vandales*, and of others. Of which Nations; I purpose to speake in some measure, what people they were, and whence they came: because (at length) they ruined the great Romaine Empire. Whereto I am the rather induced, to enstrut such as are little skilled in Histories (not onely Cosmographically, but likewise Geographically) how those people did not onely weaken and ruinate the saide Empire: but also did cast out the true and naturall Dwellers, of the verie greatest part of our Hemisphere.

Moreouer, they compelled the Emperours to graunt them places, wherein to liue (afterward) in peace and quietnesse: for these Nations were the cause, whereby many Countries changed both their manners, Language, and Religion, which matters are necessarie to be spoken off, as nerely appertaining to our argument.

We will begin then first with the *Gothes*, because they were the first, that forsooke their owne Native Country: which was called *Gothia*, or *Gothland*, as signifying a good Land, it being a Northerne Province of *Germanie*. This Land abounded in Graine, Fruites, Cattle, Woodes, Riueres, Mettalles: but especiallie in Copper, and Skinnes seruing to make Furses. At all times, and as yet (to this instant daie) is to bee discerned, the Kingdome of *Sweisia*, or *Swenia*, hath bene comprized vnder the Dominion of the *Gothes*. As the Country was fertile in Fruites of the Earth; euen so were the Weomen thereof likewise in Children: for, as they were strong, and of great stature, so had they vially two Children at a birth, which was the cause then, and so it yet continueth, that they had more people, then could well liue together, the Country not being sufficient to yeilde sustenance for so many. In like manner, they were very great feeders, eating much more then they that liue in the Easterne or Meridional parts.

These people of the *Gothes*, perceiving, and aduisedly pondering on the fore-specified reasons: leuied the more part of the youngest and strongest men of their Country, to the number of three

Strange people
and Nations
that weakened and ruined the Romaine Empire.

Of the *Gothes*, their original Country, and nature.

More plenty of people, the Country was able to feed and nourish.

A leuied of three hundred thousand able men among the *Gothes*.

The *Gothes*
wander to
seek a new
dwelling.

Trebellius.

Procopius, concerning the *Gothes* in Italy and Spain.

The reason of the *Gothes* maintenance, and continuance.

The conquering Armies abroad in trauell.

three hundred thousand; and marryed such as were not, to ridde themselves of the charge of Daughters; as well as of Sonnes, for the Country ordinarily abounded in the Feminine, more then in the Masculine Sexe. So, being well provided of all necessaries for Warre, and leauing a chiefe Commander at home, of the Royall linage; they wandered abroad thorow the Fieldes, to winne by power, or compasse, by Loue, some new habitation wherein to liue.

Many Authours, and, among the rest, *Trebellius* saith, that the first rumour of this their straying, was vnder the raigne of the Emperour *Flauius Claudius*, about the year of our Lord Iesus Christ, two hundred seuentie two. And that they passed thorow *Germany, Hungaria, Thrace, Greece, Gaule*, and so farre as *Italie*. They lost many battalles, and wonne likewise as many, against the Romaines and other people, maintaining themselves so well: that they raigned in *Italie* (euen in despite of the *Italians* and Emperours) the space of seauentie and one yeares; as *Procopius* auoucheth. At length they went into *Spaine*, whence (afterward) they would not remouue: for the Catholique Kinges of *Spaine* that then raigned by succession, and raigned yet to this present, descended from the race and line of their Kinges, who were (indeed) very generous people.

Now, it is to be imagined, that in regard of such a mighty muster of men, the Country of *Gothia*, or *Gothland*, or the Neighboring Borders, remained not without Inhabitants, or the rule of Kinges: For there were euen then left behind, so many as the Land was able to nourish, who had their Kinges in authority ouer them, and strength sufficient to withstand any inuasion of the Country. As for the conquering Armies abroad, they continued in honour for a verie long time; albeit, they lost great store of men in battalles, encounters, surprisals, and passages of Riueres: for these disadvantages were still supplied, by the daily birth of Children among them, because they had their Wiues in all places among them. And perhaps some Straungers

mingled among them, who wearing their habites, and learning their Language, helped still to increase the line of this people.

Such as haue bene named *Ostrogothes*, were a people of the same Country, of *Gothia* or *Gottland*, from a place which is called *Ostrogothia*, the principall Cities whereof, are *Strango* and *Linnepa*. This people made their warre apart by themselves, being separated from the *Gothes*, yet ranging abroad in the wide World, according as they did.

The *Westrogothes* (in like manner) came out of a Country called *Westrogothia*, among whom, the chiefe Cities, yet to this present daies, are, *Strango* and *Verum*. *Wistgots*, or *Bisigothes*, came forth of a Country named *Frisi*, the very principall whereof, is yet named *Frisi*. And was the more willing to make this description, because I haue heard of diuers (who are but slenderly experienced in Cosmography) that they do term those *Ostrogothes*, to be *Gothes* Orientall, or of the East; and the *Westrogothes*, Occidental *Gothes*, or dwelling in the West; and so contrariwise of the other. Albeit, they are all descended, and came out of the Kingdome of *Gothia*, or *Gottland*, according as *Munster* hath very well obserued.

The *Vandals*, in the erroneous judgement of *Procopius*, a learned Greeke Authour, are laide for to be of the verie same Nation, and that all the feuerall people of the *Gothes*, *Vandales*, *Alanes*, *Frunnes*, and diuers others, (whom I am heereafter to describe vnto you) were deriued out of one and the selfe-same Land, and are all comprehended vnder the name of *Sauromates*, or *Sarmates*, and haue no other difference, but onely by the names of their Captaines or Kinges. But I must maintaine against him, that the Land of the *Vandales* is distant from *Gothland*, about the space of two hundred leagues, and therefore they cannot be one people with the *Gothes*. True it is, that this Nation is Septentrional, or in the North, as the others are, and in a Maritime Country also, named yet to this day *Vandalia*; as I haue already

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Of the *Gothes*, their original Country.

Of the *Westrogothes*.

Of the *Bisigothes*, or *Bisigoths*.

The error of some young Cosmographers.

The error of *Procopius* concerning the *Vandals*.

Gothes and *Vandals* two feuerall people.

ready said, yet very far off the one from the other.

This people did (almost) as much hurt to the Romaine Empire; as the *Goths* did: for, ioyning diuers other people with them (as the *Alains*, *Suaues* and *Franconians*): they trauesed the *Rhine*, *Gauderichus* being then their King, and passing among the *Gauls*, wasted and spoyled them very greatly. Then went they into *Spain*, and in despite of the *Goths* tooke possession of that part of the Countrey, which ioyne to the Kingdome of *Granada*, and is (to this day) called *Andalusia*, or (by corrupting the Word) *Vandalusia*, albeite the *Spaniards* mince it more nicely, and nick-name it to be *Andalusia*. To be briefe, they were (after much wast and spoyle) expelled forth of *Spain* wholly in the year four hundred thirtie one, vnder another of their Kinges, named *Genfericus*, and passed thence into *Africa*, where they reigned seauenty sixe yeares. From thence they were compelled to auoyde, in the seauenth year of the Emperour *Iustinian*, in Anno. Domino. 528. by the valour of one of his Captaines, named *Belsarius*.

The *Hunnes* also departed out of their Countrey, for the selfe-same cause as the *Goths* did, about the yeare one hundred sixtie eight, onely to seek some other Land, where they might liue after the *Scythians* Religion: first getting possession of *Pannonia*, where they alwaies so strongly kept and guarded it, that (according to their owne name) it became to be called *Hungaria*.

This people came from that part of *Scythia*, which was rearm'd * *Hunos*, no long distance from the River *Tanaus*; but it is in a miserable estate at this day, and vnder subiection of the *Moscovites*. Having vsurped *Pannonia*, they kept it manfully against the *Romaines*, and two hundred yeares after, *Attila* their King, accompanied with some people of the *Allemaignes* or *Germanes*, as *Bohemians*, *Gepides* or *Gypides*, *Seleses*, *Wetlites*, *Thuringians*, *Goths*, *Ostrogoths*, and others, making (in all) about the number of fixe hundred thousand Men: passed thorough *Allemaigne*, which they very much endamaged.

Then went he into *France*, where hee lost a battailie, in which perished a great number of his men. This battailie was given him by the *Romains*, *Gauls*, and certaine *Goths* allyed together, and hee lost (as some Authours doe affirme) about two hundred thousand men. At length he iournied into *Italie*, which he (wel-neere) yterlie ruined, and retiring afterward home into his owne Countrey of *Hungaria*: he dyed within some few following moneths, and on the day of his Nuptials, which was in the year of Iesus Christ, foure hundred forty three.

The *Lombardes* were a Northerne people, issuing out of *Denmarke*, as *Eusebius* maintaineth; and no other reason had they to leaue their Native Countrey; but onely a desire to winne some other. There happened in the time of one *Seno*, or *Sveno* (yet some tearme him *Snio*) a very great dearth or scarcitie of victuals in the Land, and because the people endured it verie impatientlie: was concluded by the King and his Councell (to ease the Countrey of so many men as were ready to famish) that all such persons as were vnable, eyther for Warre, or labour of the Ground; should be slaine, whether they were old or young. But this seuered Edict being reuoked, they then resolved to make a leuy of all sortes of people, that (by the helpe of Armes) might trauaile to finde out some other dwelling, so to discharge the Countreys heauy burthen.

This being put in Execution, they trauailed so farre, and carryed themselves so couragiously in trauesing diuers Landes: that they came at last into *Italie*, and there conquered the Countrey, which was called *Liguria*, making themselves absolute Maistres thereof. Now, because these people were long and taule of stature: the *Italians* and *Ligurians* tearmed them long *Barbarians*, which by corruption of the Word, and succession of times, made them to be called *Lombardes*, or *Lombardes*. Some are of opinion, that vnder the raigne of *Valentinian* the Emperour, they beganne to make themselves first knowne; which was about the year of our Saviour Iesus Christ,

The great Ioliff that *Attila* sustained in France.

Of the *Lombardes*, and whence they descended.

A very founte and cruel Edict, bussepedily recalled, and better meanes devised.

Ifrica in Italy conquered & now named *Lombardy*.

Christ 385, and that they became Commanders in *Liguria*, in the year 570. Likewise, according to *Petrus Diaconus*, the Emperours made peace with them, in the year, seven hundred and thirtie, and euer since they haue held that Countrey, which at this day is named *Lombardy*.

Let it heere be further noted, that where (in any Historie) mention is made of people tearmed *Dacis*, or *Danians*; the Nation of *Denmarke*, is thereby vnderstood. Out of which Countrey, many great Armies haue trauailed at sundry times, and haue mightily troubled diuers Kingdomes: among which, they continued a long time in *England*, but were thence expelled, about the year eight hundred sixtie, as is generally granted.

The *Normanes* were people of *Norduegia*, or otherwise called *Normania*, a Northerne Countrey, being much addicted to crueltye and inhumanitie, because they vsed many great Piracies on the Seas. An hundred and fifty thousand Men (of this Nation) bestowed themselves in Vessels on the Sea, and tooke possession of that part of *Gaul*, or *France*, which was then named *Neustria*, now *Normandie*, and this was done in the year of Iesus Christ, fixe hundred; and others say, eight hundred eightie foure, and in the time of *Charles Le Gros*. But be it howsoever, they haue (since then) kept it against all encounters of the Emperours, Kings of *France* and *England*, preserving it still by the name of *Normandy*, and themselves reckoned to be people of vndaunted courage. There are diuers others, that doe fauour of this their first Originall, and doe yet proude vpon the Seas, committing many Thefts and Robberies.

The Nation which we call *Sniffes*, *Suesses*, or *Suenes*, but more vulgarly *Zutizers*, and are (at this day) auxiliaries vnto the *French*: came out of *Suetia*, *Suenia*, or *Sueneland*, a Northerly Region like to the other. They likewise, by reason of the dearth of foode among them: departed forth of their owne Countrey, about the yeare of Grace, eight hundred, and went so farre as the *Rhine*, which they would haue passed;

but were hindred by the *Franconians*. Thence went they to the Land of the *Heluetians*, who despising the *Suesses*, (because they were poorly and wretchedly apparelled, rude in their feeding, and not looking like Souldiours) suffered them to wander about their Countrey.

At length, perceiuing the kinde sufferance of the *Heluetians*: they fought to abide in a certaine Canton of their Land. Which when the *Heluetians* noted, they demanded of them; to what end they thus wandered about the World? They answered, That they were poore people, and sought but to weare out their liues in trauaile, by deluing or labouring in the Earth. And seeing that there was wast ground in those partes, vnlaboured, or any vic made of (it being Hills and Vallies, enuironed with diuers Lakes) they desired the *Heluetians*, to permit them to labour in those rough Fields, as yet not cultiue: and they should receiue the gaine and benefit thereof, onely allowing them but nourishment for their paines. This was all that they requested to pretend, iustifying their requests with many follemne Oaths and protestations. Their desire was granted, and not long after, the Countrey wherein they liued, was not onely called *Suessia*, in regard of the *Suessians* there dwelling: but likewise the Ancient Inhabitants had the same Name giuen them, and (in truth) the Countrey is very mountaine, and vnapt for riding.

Iustinian, and other Emperours, (both before and after him) entited themselves Lordes of the *Allemaignes*, by hauing receiued some victories against the *Allemaigners*. But this may not be faide (as some haue done heretofore) that those victories were obtained against the *Germanes*: for euen at this present daie, when that wee speake or Write of *Allemaigne*; therein is comprehended all the Nations, which are contained throughout *Germanie*, and that doe speake the language of the *Teutones*. But as concerning *Allemaigne* it selfe, and *Allemaignes*; the *Romaines* neuer vnderstood, or meant any other people, then those

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The vrandiles of the *Pandals* into diuers Countreys.

They possessed *Spain* & *Africa*, which in the end were despoiled by them.

The *Pandals* expelled out of *Africa* by *Belisarius*.

The *Hunnes* of *Scythia*, and their trauailes.

* *Hunos* a part of *Scythia*, inhabited by the *Hunnes*.

Attila King of the *Hunnes*.

Petrus Diaconus concerning the *Lombardes*.

Dacis or *Danians*, people of *Denmarke*.

The *Normans* issued from *Norduegia*, or *Normania*.

Neustria now named *Normandy*, & hath so continued long time.

Suesses or *Suenes* came out of *Suetia*.

The *Suesses* despised by the *Heluetians*.

Their poverty among the *Heluetians*, & their request to them.

The *Heluetians* did grant the *Suesses* requests.

Of the *Allemaignes*, and whence they were deuised.

The true *Allemaignes* were of *Suebia*.

Drusus Nero
Germanicus.Germany con-
taineth 49.
great Prouin-
ces.Of the Alains,
and what peo-
ple they wereThe Alains
companions
with the Gots
in their wars.Of the Gepi-
des, Gyrrides,
or Inquides.Gepudy or
Sepudy.

of *Saba*. And, to speake vprightly, they euer haue bene (and are) the true and Auncient *Allemaignes*; as *Cornelius Tacitus* plainly confumeth. *Drusus Nero* was the first, that styled himselfe *Germanicus*: for hauing rather angered the *Germanes*, then soyled them, as diuers other Emperours afterward did. Moreouer, by *Germanie* is to be vnderstood nine and forty great Prouinces, as well of the lower part, as of the higher part of the said *Germanie*, comprizing the Countries of the *Switzers* and *Heluetians*.

Ouer and beside the fore-named Titles, they vied the word *Analicus*, which by translation, implyeth *Alaines*. Many haue supposed, that these were a people of *Germanie*, but therein they were and are deceived: for *Protonius* knew them well, and placed them in a part of *Scythia*. *Capitonus* betowes them in *Dacia*; *Marcellinus*, *Pliny*, & *Dionysius* the Poet, doe graunt them a being in *Sarmatia* of Europe. *Iosephus*, in his last Booke, affirmeth their abode to be betwene the riuer *Tanais*, and the *Palmus Maotides*; and faith moreouer, that (in his time) these *Alaines* or *Alanes*, accompanied with the *Hircanians*; both robbed and spoyled all the Region of the *Medes*. As for my selfe, by that which I haue gathered, from such as haue written on the actions of the *Gothes*: I am perswaded, that those *Alaines* were their Companions, and that oftentimes (in their Warres) for their owne aduantage, they sundred themselves from them, as one while they did with the *Vandales*. But questionlesse, their descent was from *Scythia*, according to the affirmation of *Ptolomey*.

If we shall speake of the *Gepudes*, *Gyrrides*, or *Inquides*, and what people they were: there are opinions enow concerning them. Some say, that they were (at the first) of *Scythia*, and came thence (as the *Lombards* did) into *Italy*. But hauing made a more curious and diligent search; I find, that they were a people of *Germanie*, being then called *Gepudy*, or *Sepudy*, and (according to *Protonius Mataneus*) now at this day, *Siechemburgs*; who followed the *Gothes*, the *Vandals* and the *Normanes* also, they being erring and vagabond people. Till

at length they ventred on the Seas, and went to inhabite the Isles of the *Orchades*, whereof *Thille* is the latest inhabited, as *Volateranus* auoucheth, and now is subiect to the Kings of *Scotland*.

The *Geter* haue bene, and are yet a warlike people, instantly much mollified by the *Turkes*; but they found the *Romaines* work enough to doe, consisting of *Transiluanians*, *Wallachians*, *Moldautians*, and other Countries about the River *Ister*, which falleth into the *Ponticke* Sea.

I may not be forgetful of the *Bourguignons*, because I my selfe defended of that Nation. *Orosius* holdeth, that they are deriued out of *Germany*; And *Volateranus* faith, that *Iouinianus* the Emperour vanquished such a people, which liued by the Riuer of *Rheine*. But there is nothing more certaine (according as I haue gathered by the *Germanie* Histories) then that they issued from some remains of the *Gothes*, *Vandales*, and *Hunnes*, who being altogether chafed by the *Romaines*; threw themselves vpon that part of *Gaulle*, which they stiled after their owne name, and there (perforce) enthroned themselves. For afterward, they could so well resist the *Romaines*, that they were constrained to yeild them tolleration, and let them liue in the saide Countrey amongst the first Inhabitants. There they builded Fortes, Villages, and Townes, which they teamed Bourgs or Bourrouges of *Gothes* and *Hunnes*. And then coniecting (corruptly) to speake it in one Word: from *Bourg-Goth Hunnes*, they came to be called *Bourguignons*, as much to say, as a warring people.

Etienne, Lieutenant to the Emperour *Theodosius*, gaue them a bataille in the yeare of Christ. 435. and won the day: but it cost him so deare, that he would neuer after meddle any more with them. About the yeare 430. they receiued and embraced the Christian Faith. These people grew on in great ciuility, and became as much addicted to Learning, as to Armes: For they haue a goodly vniuersity, founded by one of the Dukes of *Bourgonne*, wherein many Lectures are read of all the Sciences, to Schollers of all Nations, at *Dols*, the capitall City of that part of *Bourgonne*, which is vnder command of the house

Of the Geter,
a famous war-
like people.Of the Bour-
guignons, and
whence they
are issued.Bourgonne
named after the
Bourguignon.Of their own
first names.Actions foyle
the Bourguig-
nons.A faire vni-
uersity build-
ed by a duke
of bourgonne.

of

Digeon the Me-
tropolitane
City.Of the Franke
or FranconiensAfricenes and
Parthians.

Stephanus.

Euphrates the
boudnes be-
tweene the
Parthians and
Romaines.Titles full of
vanity and
fond selfe-
conceit.The misery
of most of the
Romain Em-
perors.

of *Aufria*, and there they hold a Parliament also. As for the other part of *Bourgonne*, in obedience to the crown of *France*: *Digeon* is the Metropolitane City thereof, where likewise is held another Parliament. And these two *Bourgonnes* are maintained in very good peace, albeit they are in obedience to diuers Princes.

The fore-named Emperours did also stile themselves by names of *Franques*, as hauing fought with and repulsed the *Franconiens*, who were risen vp in arms, and departed out of their Countrey of *Germany*. But so slender were their impeachings, that they invaded the *Gauls*, which then were Prouinces of the *Romaines*, notwithstanding, all the best means they could make. They were entitled *Africenes* likewise, for hauing obtained some Conquests in *Africa*: And *Parthians* also, for hauing wonne some victories ouer the *Parthians*. *Stephanus* ranketh them among the people of *Scythia*: but I neuer knew, or read, that the *Romaines* made the *Parthians* tributary, being their best Friends, for they had more victories ouer the *Romans*, then ouer the *Romans* had against them. They did not leaue their Countries, and sought after a new habitation, eyther for pouertie or necessitie: but rather to conquer Kingdomes and Prouinces; as *Media*, *Hircania*, *Armenia*, *Caramania*, and many other. The Riuer *Euphrates* was the limits betwene them and the *Romaines*: but those *Romaine* Emperours, vpon the declining of their Empire, were Princes full of follie and vain-glory, attributing Titles to themselves, without any matter of right or merit.

They gaue themselves also the Title of Happy and Prosperous, albeit they were (oftentimes) the most unfortunate men of other, as well in their home affaires, as the Negotiations of the Empire. For (day by day) they lost their Prouinces, which precedent Auncient Captaines (endowed with many vertues) and worthy *Romaine* Consuls had won, by no meane expence of paines, and effusion of their blood.

Moreouer, the most part of the Emperours, beheld their Wiues, Children, and Friends, murdered and massacred; yea, and themselves subiect to no bet-

ter fortune in the end: as *Iustinian*, who was cast out of his Empire by *Elerianus*. They would likewise be called *Iselytes*, that is to say; Princes of glorious renowne, victorious, triumphing, and euermore *Augustus*, as much to say, as enlargers of the *Romaine* Empire: but, as I formerly said, these were but such Titles as Flatterers gaue them; for the greater number of those Emperours; after that these Titles of honour were imposed on them; could boast of no such happinesse, but rather came farre short of any such felidities.

Thus haue I briefly scened the originall of all those people, which those Emperours made vanto haue soyled and vanquished; shewbeit, though they were teamed barbarous by them, yet (by little and little) they rent and tore their Empire in pieces. At this day they are all become ciuillized, and (well-neere all) Christians: onely the *Parthians* excepted, who are *Mahometists*, pertaking in the *Turkes* Religion.

But hauing spoken of so many Nations, who are all said to be deriued from the *Scythians*: wee may not omit to say some-what of the *Picts*, who (by the opinion of most Writers) do beare the name of a people of *Germanie*, that had their Originall out of *Scythia*, descending of the *Agathyrsi* in *Sarmatia*, that vied to paint and couler their faces, and thereupon were named *Picts*. Before they entered into *Brittaine*, they inhabited the Isle of *Orkney* for a long time together, ferrying ouer into *Cathness* daily, multiplying so in power and number: that (getting vp further into the Land) they possessed *Rosse*, *Murreyland*, *Merne* and *Angus*, whence passing into *Fife* and *Lothian*, they droue thence the *Brittain* Inhabitants, who were onclie poore people, that liued by nourishing & breeding Cattle. This their entrance into *Albion* (for so was it then called) was in the yeare of the Worlds Creation 3633.

Cruchneus Camelonus is said to be the first King of the *Picts*, and that he builded a famous City on the banke of the Riuer cald *Caron*, appointing it to be the chiefe City of all the *Pictish* Kingdom. He builded also the Towne of *Agmeda*, afterward called *Edenburgh*, of *Ethus*, King of the *Picts*, and the Castle, named

The significa-
tion of *Ag-
meda*.Those Nati-
ons are all
become Chri-
stians.The originall
of the *Picts*,
& their com-
ing into the
Isle of *Orkney*A rich peo-
ple becom-
ing on the *Scythi-
ans*.They were
nan d *Picts*,
of painting
their faces.Cruchneus
Camelonus first
King of the
Picts.

The

The Caile of Maydens, because the Pictish Kings kept their Daughter there, vnder strict custody, and in all good exercises, till their meete yeares for marriage.

Concerning the warres, strifes, and bloody contentions betweene the *Albion Scots* and *Picts*, thorow all their Kings raigne, till their vter ouerthrow, and quite dissolution of *Pictland*, by *Kenneth* the victorious King of *Scots*: I referre it to fitter time and place, onely letting ye know, that this subuersion & vter ruine of the *Picts*, happened in the yeare of our redemption, 839. in the sixt yeare of King *Kenneths* glorious raigne, and 1168. yeares after their first Plantation in *Albion*.

CHAP. XXVIII.

What benefit Musique bringeth to a Common-wealth; And how it hath bene naturally given to all Nations in the world, and (by the iudgement of some Historians) hath cured diuers infirmities and diseases of the mind.



Ery certain it is, that some Law-makers, peculiar, troublesome, and ouer-hard in many matters, whereof *Lycurgus* was one: did expel Musick out of their Commonwealths, affirming, that it made people effeminate, negligent, and idle. But I am of a quite contrary minde, and dare maintaine, that such as will truly consider Musique, and what it is in it selfe: shall finde, that it can make men bold, hardy, modest, and chaste, especially being wel and vertuously vsed. Vnder this kind of Musique, I comprehend not onely that which is sung by Art and melodiously, as by the voyces of Men, Women, or Children: but also I presuppose (within the same compasse) all Instruments; as Flutes, Lutes, Viols, Drums, Trumpets, Organes, Virginals, Harpes, and others. And there is not any thing, that maketh men more ciuilly minded, or preferreth them in better concord and amitie, then Musique.

Polybius declareth, that the great Common-wealth of the * *Cynetheses* in *Arcadia*, falling from the delight they formerly had in Musique: grew soone after into seditious humors, & ciuill wars among themselves, wherein there wanted not any kind of crueltie. And when all their Neighbors round about them, were merely confounded with admiration, as wondering how these people should become so harsh, barbarous, and rude, considering that all the other people of *Arabia*, had by them been reduced to cunctie and humane tractability: *Polybius* was the first that took notice thereof, and auouched, that it onely proceeded, by leauing the vse of Musique, which (from all Antiquity) had euermore bene prized and honoured in *Arcadia*, more then in any other place of the World. For it was especially ordained, by the customes and decrees of the Countrey, that euery one should make vse thereof for the space of thirty yeares; yea, vpon very great paines and penalties. And this was the reason (saith *Polybius*) that the first Law-makers among those people, ordained and appointed continually thereof: onely to cause ciuility & humanity, in regard, that (of their owne naturall disposition) they were wilde, fierce, and barbarous, as all people inhabiting the Mountaines, and cold Countries are.

Perhaps the like iudgement might passe on the *Gauls* of former times, whom *Julian* the Emperour reamed the barbarous people of his daies: which Nation (neuertheless) became afterward so courteous and tractable, as any other people whatsoever in *Europe*, whereat all Straungers wondered not a little. And yet it is generally knowne, that no people did more practise Musique, or sung more sweetly, then they: nay, and that which goeth farre beyond this, they could daunce any daunce in *France*, were it *Ionian* or *Lydian*, that is to say: consisting of five or seauen notes or strains. Which were expressly forbidden to Youth, by *Plato* and *Aristotle*, because they had a great power and preuailance, in softning and humbling the hearts of men. They would also exercise their Children to the * *Derion* Musique, which was the first or chiefest note, to maintaine them in an harmonious sweetnesse, accom-

Polybius Lib. 4. Cap. 7.
A City in *Arcadia*, note *Lygrium*.

A Common-wealth quite ouerthrowne by leauing Musique.

Lawes and Customes for the vse of Musique.

Of the Gaule
1st. temp. in *Epist. ad Antioch.*

The Gaules were generally addicted to Musick.

Plato in Lib. de Leg. et Republ.

* A certaine kind of Musick representing gravity.

Dances vsed in the Lesser Asia.

Songes of the first note or found, not vnder the primitive church.

The stern nature of the Gaules, softened by Musick.

Musick a member of the Mathematicks

Musick maketh all labor seeme light and easie.

panied with grauitie, which was the *Derion* proper effect.

Such prohibition might better haue bene vsed in the lesser *Asia*, where they had no other dances, but of fine or selen straines, especially in the Countreys of *Ionia* and *Lydia*. But people inhabiting the Northern parts; cold, Mountainous, and Rocky, who are ordinarily more savage, or lesse courteous then the Inhabitants of the South; or dwelling on Plaines, neuer can be better qualified or softened, then by vsing the *Ionian* & *Lydian* harmony, which was also forbidden in the Primitive Church: and nothing was there permitted to be sung, but of the first note: which is now most of all frequented in Churches. And like as men do disarme Savage Beasts of furie & violence, to make them of a more tractable Nature: euen so, the *Lydian* and *Ionian* Musick or harmony, disarmeth the verie rudest and most barbarous Nations, of all their former savage, and cruel Natures: causing them to become melle, pliant, and affable. According as it fell out with the *Gauls*, who (it may be) could not haue bene tamed & made obedient vnto the ciuill Lawes and Ordinances of a Monarchy, if their former sterne Nature (which the Emperour *Julian* said, was so high, and vnufferable of seruitude) had not bin mollified and sweetened by Musick.

Musick, is one of the members of the Mathematickes, as being a Science attracted from numbers: because that by them, the proportion: Hermonicall is found out. *Plato*es will was, that Children should learne to sing, for recreation of their owne spirites, and to prayse God by Hymnes. And in truth, there is nothing that more taketh away offensiuenesse, or easeth matter of great and laborious traualle (as working in the ground, Masonry, Carpentry, and exercising other Arts, painefull to the bodie) then singing doth.

In like manner, all Artezans, following any Trade or profession, doe vse to sing: as Hay-makers, Haruesters, Gardners, Deluers, Children and Women weeding grounds, doe weare awaie the irksomnesse of their labour by singing, either in heate or colde, Winds or Rain, it maketh paine the more supportable to them.

Soldiers, euen when they goe (inancie times) to be laine in a battell, will yet sing by the way: the beating of Drums, and sounding of Fifes and Trompers, giueth courage to the Soldier for his carriage in Warre, making him hardie, bold, and valiant. Noe is it to be doubted, that Nature gaue Musick and Melodie to man; but onely for his good and benefit; as young Children do apparently manifest vnto vs: for when their Suckles would haue them to sleepe, and keepe them in their Cradles: euen when they are most impatient and froward: nothing sooner asswageth and preuayleth with them; then mellodie and singing. And marke Barbarous Nations, as haue bin discovered in former Antiquity; and in our daies, in that part of the earth which is called the New-found World: Flutes haue bene found among them; Drums, Hoboyes, and other Instruments: and both priuately and publickely, as also in their Temples, singing of Psalmes hath bene obserued.

Many creatures, as diuers kinds of Birds, when they are in any cheerful disposition, will sing to solace and delight themselves: as the Nightingale, the Tarrine, the Thrush, Linnet, Blackbird, and others; among which Birds, many haue bene taught to sing by men, as dayle in most places is discerned. As concerning foure-footed Beasts, diuers of them doe take much pleasure in Musick, as namely Camels: for if such as guide and gouerne them, doe not ordinarily sing or whistle to them, they will not trauele with any spirit or cheerfulness. All such as haue bene in the East Countreys, and noted the Carauannes, which are troops of Camels laden with Merchandizes, haue affirmed as much. Horses that are dressed by their Keepers, and daily sung vnto as they do it, are made verie manageable, gentle, and apt for the Saddle. Aboue all other Beasts, the Hart or Stag how wilde soeuer he bee, if hee heare a man play on a Violl, or on a Lute, he will (by stealths) draw neerer and neerer, yea, and suffer himselfe to be touched, as I my selfe haue seene by experience.

Musick hath mighty power and Authority ouer the spirits and affections of men: and amongst many examples, the first may be of *Timotheus*, who by pleasing sounds and changes of his Instru-

Nature gaue Musick vnto man for his benefit.

Musick in Countries of the New-found world.

Birds that take delight in Musick.

Camels are pleased with singing.

The Hart or Stag, a great admirer of Musick.

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Dances vsed in the lesser Asia.	panied with grauitie, which was the <i>Dorian</i> proper effect.	Soldiers, euen when they goe (manie times) to be slaine in a battell, will yet sing by the way: the beating of Drums, and sounding of Fifes and Trompets, giueth courage to the Soldier for his cariage in Warre, making him hardie, bold, and valiant. Nor is it to bee doubted, that Nature gaue Musicke and melodie to man, but onely for his good and benefit; as yong Children do apparently manifest vnto vs: for, when their Nurfes would haue them to sleepe, and keepe them in their Cradles: euen when they are most impatient and fioward nothing sooner aswageth: and preuayleth with them, then melodie and singing. In so manie Barbarour Nations, as haue bin discovered in former Antiquitie; and in our dayes, in that part of the earth which is called the New-found World, Flutes haue beene found among them, Drums, Hoboyes, and other Instruments; and both priuately and publickely, as also in their Temples, singing of Psalmes hath beene obserued.	Nature gaue Musicke vnto man for his benefit.
Songs of the first note or sound, not vsed in the primitive church.	Such prohibition might better haue bene vsed in the lesser <i>Asia</i> , where they had no other dances, but of fine or feuen straines, especially in the Countreyes of <i>Ionia</i> and <i>Egydia</i> . But people inhabiting the Northern parts; cold, Mountainous, and Rocky, who are ordinarily more savage, or lesse courteous then the Inhabitants of the South, or dwelling on Plaines, neuer can be better qualified or softened, then by vsing the <i>Ionian</i> & <i>Egydian</i> harmony, which was also forbidden in the Primitiue Church: and nothing was there permitted to bee sung, but of the first note, which is now most of all frequented in Churches. And like as men do disarme savage Beasts of furie & violence, to make them of a more tractable Nature: euen so, the <i>Egydian</i> and <i>Ionian</i> Musicke or harmony, disarmeth the verie rudelt and most barbarous Nations, of all their former, savage; and cruell Natures, causing them to become milde, pliant, and affable. According as it fell out with the <i>Gaulles</i> , who (it may be) could not haue beene tamed & made obedient vnto the ciuill Lawes and Ordinances of a Monarchy, if their former sterne Nature (which the Emperor <i>Iulian</i> said, was so high, and vn sufferable of seruitude) had not bin mollified and sweetened by Musicke.	Many creatures, as diuers kindes of Birds, when they are in any chearfull disposition, will sing to solace and delight themselves: as the Nightingale, the Tarrine, the Thrush, Linnet, Blackbird, and others; among which Birds, many haue beene taught to sing by men, as daylie in most places is discerned. As concerning foure-footed Beasts, diuers of them doe take much pleasure in Musicke, as namely Camels: for if such as guide and Goerne them, doe not ordinarily sing or whistle to them, they will not trauele with any spirit or chearfulness. All such as haue beene in the East Countreyes, and noted the Carauannes, which are troops of Camelles laden with Merchandizes, haue affirmed as much. Horses that are drested by their Keepers, and daily sing vnto as they do it, are made verie manageable, gentle, and apt for the Saddle. Aboue all other Beasts, the Hart or Stag how wilde soeuer he bee, if hee heare a man play on a Violl, or on a Lute, he wil (by healths) draw neerer and neerer, yea and suffer himselfe to bee touched, as I my selfe haue seene by experience.	Musicke in Countries of the New-found world.
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The reason
why Alexander
went from
a Banquet.

Alexander &
his Wife
cetera.

K. David deli-
ghed highlie
in his Psalteri-
es.

Moses spain-
ted Musick in
the Temple
of God.

Musick obser-
ued amongst
the Grecians

Of the first
Inuentors of
Musicke and
Instruments.

Gen. 47. 21.

ment, constrained *Alexander* (as out-joyed with pleasure) for to depart from a banquet. Next, we may speake of *Alexander*, who was loath to part from his Country, and go to the siege of *Troy*, because he was doubtfull of the modesty of his wife *Clytemnestra*; and therefore, he left a Musition on the Harp with her; the sound whereof, should incite her to bashfulness and continence, so that *Aegisthus* could not abuse her, without killing the Musition. But in speaking of this Harp, it maketh me to remember the Royall Psalmist *David*, who of himselfe, was a man verie strong and seuer, yet much guided and detained by his Psalterion. Nor are we to thinke, that the hermonie of this Instrument, was common or vulgar, whereof the sacred Scripture maketh mention so many times, and which was iudged only (among al other) meete to celebrate the praises of God. It is composed of seauentie two strings, in forme triangulare, and the consonance thereof, is incomparable.

It was ordained by *Moses*, that God should be praised in his Temple, with voices and Instruments; and Christians (afterward) made continuance thereof by singing Psalms, both with voices and Organs, which greatly incited Deuotion in the verie dullest minds. It was an especiall note of ciuilitie among the *Grecians*, euen as it is to this day after any feast or Banquet, to play vpon some Musical Instrument, or to sing anie *Ode* melodiously. Which obseruation, reached into *Italy*, *Germany*, *Spain*, and *France*, where much more account is made of a cunning Musition that can sing well, play on Muscull Instruments, Dance, y^e lofotic trickes, yet keepe both tune and time, that the cadence of his feete may fit with the Instrument, then of any ydle, neglect or ignorant fellow.

Manie haue attributed the inuention of Musicke, and playing on the Lyre or Harpe, to *Orpheus*; others, to *Amphion*; the Grecians to *Dionysius* or *Bacchus*; but others, to the people of *Areadia*, because the men of that Country, were naturally addicted thereto. The Hebrewes, as *Moses* and *Iosephus*, doe say; that *Isabell* the Sonne of *Lamech* (who liued in the yeare of the worlde, 1040. manie Ages before *Amphion*, and al other Musitions, was the Father of all that play vpon the

Harpe and Organs; and that he did first finde out the concords of Musicke; nay more, that hee carefully addicted himselfe, and played both on the Psalterion, and on the Harpe. As concerning my selfe, I will not deny, that all the fore-named men were good Musitions, but that any one man of them should bee the sole inuenter, I can verie hardly therein bee perswaded.

Rather I am of the minde, that euerie singular man, according vnto the Ages wherein they liued, made addition of their skill and knowledge; and so brought it to the perfection wherein we now find it to bee. And in these verie dayes of ours, there haue liued men so excellent and skillfull, as haue added diuers Rules, which neuer were knowne before, and brought the name of Musick to admired perfection, some inuentors whereof are knowne, but other vncertaine.

Before the Conclusion of this Chapter, I am desirous to set downe two seuerall experiences, concerning the efficacy and might of Musick: which my self saw practised vpon two Gentlewomen; one of them being de *la March*, neer to *Garet*, young, vertuous, and passable for beautie. This Gentlewoman fell into such a furie (by reason of a reporte made vnto her, of other husbands inclination, to change and nouell affection) that at euerie sudden moment of time, shee would throw her selfe headlong into the fire, or out at a Window, or into a Fish-pond; neere to her house; out of which, she had bene rescued two seuerall times; and therefore committed to more diligent keeping.

Physitions could returne no good by their paines and endeours, but a religious *Capuine* passing that way, and craving his *Passade* or Almes, at the doore of this Gentlewomans house; and hearing the strange accident befall her, gaue them aduise, that some skilfull man, well experienced in playing vpon the Lute, should vse his cunning by her, and not to part from her in some prettie length of time, because it would proue verie helpfull to her. Further hee added, that in the night time, some pleasing Ditties might well comfort with the Musicke, which accordingly was performed; and within lesse then three months space, the violent passion forsooke her; and she remaineth

That no one
man could be
the onely in-
uenter of Mu-
sicke.

Musick
brought vnto
perfection in
our dayes.

Two experi-
ments made
of the power
of Musick.

A Gentlewo-
man distur-
bed with in-
tolerably cruel,
and how.

The aduise of
a Capuine fri-
er.

The Historie
of another
Gentlewoman
of Honor.

Griefes and
great Infirmi-
ties cured by
Musick.

A strange ac-
cident vnto a
Taborer.

The Hourour
moueth the
tenth of this
Historie.

The Authors
conclusion.

maineth at this time found both in mind and bodie.

I likewise knew another Gentlewoman of honor at *Chen*, whose name may best be knowne by *du Parreau*, that al her life time, did neuer vse the helpe of anie Physicke, how great or grieuous fouer her infirmities were. But in all his diseases, griefes, hurts, Childe-weaknesse, and lamenesse, shee neuer desired anie better Physition, then one that could artificially play on the Taber and Pipe, and him shee would entitle her true Physition.

This Gentlewoman being well entred into Age, it happened, that an extreme paine seized on her knee, imagined to proceede from some taste of the Cowe. Whereupon, she would haue her laborer instantly, to play her a pleasant and liuely Carranto. The laborer being verie willing to please his Mistresse, made such haile to touch his Taber, and founde his Pipe in the best manner: that striving to exceede himselfe in Art and dexterity, both in readinesse of his winde, and agility of hand, he fell down in a swoond vpon the Floore. Hee being disabled from playing any longer, and all there present wondering not a little, to see him lye in such strange estate, without anie recovery of strength or knowledge, for the space almost, of three quarters of an houre: the Gentlewoman her selfe, euen then complained, that her paine and affliction was neuer so extraordinary on her, as in the time of the Musicks so sudden cessation.

The Taborer hauing recovered strength and iudgement againe, and indifferentlie refreshed with a sprightly Cup of Wine, fell afresh to his former skillfull Muscull playing, and the Gentlewoman felte her paine immediately to leaue her. I my selfe was in the Chamber when these accidents happened; and do auouch vpon my credit, that the Gentlewoman thus liued an hundred and six yeares.

In briefe, in all well pollicied and ordered Commonweales, men should entrust their Sons and Daughters in Musick, because it mollifieth angrie hearts, allswageth sadnesse, preferueth people in kinde concord and amitie, healeth many melancholy diseases, and is no mean exciter of the minde to deuotion. Plato was of the minde, that the Heauens (in

their motion and stirring) doth make fo great and melodious an hermonie, that if man could be able to vnderstand it, he would neuer be wearied with abiding in this world.

CHAP. XXIX.

Of Gold, the properties & excellency thereof: Where it is found: How it is extracted, purified: and what paine is bestowed in getting it.



E thinks, I shoulde offer great wrong to Nature, if hauing written on fo manie fundry things, I shold not say somewhat concerning Gold, it being the most excellent of all other metalls, yea (in a maner) surpassing all things created in this weathier world. For, it is faide to be immortall, exempted from all rust and corruption; inso much, that lying hidden in the earth, in the Water, or in the most putrified heape of filth, for so manie yeares as any one please, yet it will neuer receiue or tast of any imperfection; or let it be continually kept in the fire, yet it neuer diminisheth, neither receiueh any change or alteration.

His colour carrieth resemblance with the beames of the Sunne, which reioyeth or cheareth melancholy people. It hath no euil fauour or tast neither soileth their hands that meddle with it, as all other Metalls esse do; which likewise float aloft about Quick-silver, but Gold only goes to the bottome. If it be receiued into the bodie, it neuer offendeth the stomacke, be it either in powder, or solidly in Morlelles: but contrarywise, giueth chearefulness to the heart, and comforteth the vital spirits, whereto other Metalls are often offensive.

Therefore, let no man enter into anie meruaile, if the World doth make such estimation thereof, and prize it above all other things. For, as concerning the matter whereof it consisteth, a Learned Authour sayeth: That it is composed

Musick and
melody in the
heauens mo-
tion.

Gold repaire
d to be immor-
tal and free from
filth or putri-
faction.

The colour,
properties, &
perfections of
Gold.

The matter whereof Gold is composed, being two Elementarie substances.

of two Elementarie substances, insitile and equally proportioned. These substances then so mingled, being equall and vnited in proprietie, can endure nothing else, but this amiable and concordiall Commixtion, which perfecteth it selfe in the fermentation and knitting together, making such an interligation, and absolute vnion of the one with the other; that it appeareth meerey impossible to dissolve or separte them. So that, bee it that this ensue by the influence of the Celestiall bodies, or by the diuturnity and power of time, or by the admirable operation of Nature; or else, that all these are therein assisting: yet notwithstanding, these Elementarie substances do conuert themselves into a Mettall bodie, which is reamed Golde. The temperature whereof, with the Colligation and Vnion, maketh it so firme and solide, that not only it begetteth a common and vulgar permanencie: but receiueh likewise an incorruptible temperature, as it were, hauing (I know not how) some what in him, that enricheth and honoureth him, with all the forenamed excellent properties.

Elementarie conuerted Metally bodies.

Merchants saile by Sea, trauell on the Land, with infinite cares, dangers, and paines, only to get this Gold. The maine intent of Soldiers, that expose themselves euerie moment into the pawes of death, or danger of her perpetuall thraldome, is only to winne Golde. For be it, that they surprize a Citie by assault, or winne the day by triall of battaile: they wil seeke after no other Luggage or Moueeables, but Gold onely: and if prisoners labor to redeeme their liues, the ranfome must be Gold only. Schollers, and men experienced in all Arts, their studie & practise is to no other end, but to gaine Golde. If a payment be made to any great person, it must be in faire Gold. If gifts to Princes, none fitter then Golde. It but betweene Friend and Friend, the courtesie doth best expresse it selfe in Gold.

Kinges, Emperours, and Princes, by

the meanes of Golde, haue made themselves redoubted and dreadfull, and conquered manie potent Prouinces. Let *Philip* King of *Macedon* remaine as a testimonie; who causing a re-search to bee made in the Mines of Gold which were in his Countreyes (that formerly had bin thoroughly digged, and quite giuen ouer) found yet so much remaining, as yeilded him the whole Conquest of Greece and *Alexander* his Sonne afterward, of all the East. And many times, by the meanes of this excellling Mettall, the same King *Philip*, caused impregnable places to bee surrendered to him, which he neuer could haue surprized by power.

To approue the truth heereof, *Plutark* reporteth of the same *Philip*, that he hauing besiedged a place, by Nature so inexpugnable, that his owne followers aduised him to withdraw from thence: he demanded of him that had best experience of the faide place, if there were no meanes, to let an Assie (laden with Gold) but goe about it. Whereto answer was made, yes doubtlesse. Then *Philip* assured himselfe of taking the place, for he that was the Commaunder in it, coming to parlie, and touching the Gold, submitted himselfe to King *Philip*, & the place also.

The *Indians*, which be so farre off, are sought for with danger of death, and vn-speakable trauails of so manie thousands of men, which the Kings of Spaine haue continually sent thither: onely for the Mines of Golde, and rich sands so frequently found in the Riuer. Which neuer would be so fiercely followed, if I were able to recount, how manie men and women grow negligent of their own honor and good fame, onely by the base affection of Gold. But let vs now see, where this Golde is found; and in what manner it is come by: which I will relate in a Chapter by it selfe, least this should be offensive to the Reader by length.

Kingdomes & great Prouinces wonnely by Gold.

Impregnable places made passible by Gold.

The reason why the Indians are so much trayned & sought after.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXX.

How Mines of Gold are known where they are: And in what manner the Golde is taken forth & washed.



I would require too long a labour to relate all those Regions where Golde is found; for I am perswaded, that if men did beflow their paines in seeking, Mines would be found (almost in euery Country: yet more in some one, then in other; and of greater ease to be obtained. In manie parts of Germany, Gold is found, as in *Bohemia*, *Transylvania*, *Lauris*, *Sieebourg*, and many other Countreyes. In *England* in some few places. In *Macedonia* in a place called *Syderocapsa*. In diuers parts of *Africa*, as in *Ethiopia*, and beyond the rest, in the New worlde, which we improperly tearme *India*, where Gold is had with much lesse labour, then amongst vs.

All Countreies supposed to haue Mines of Golde, but not alike in quantity.

Men find not Ingots ready made to their hands.

No such store of Gold now as in former times.

The Necessitie of Gold.

Yet howsoeuer it be, nothing can be obtained without labour; and we must not thinke, that when men are in the *Indies*, they finde Ingots readie made to their hands, and gather vp Golde, as we do stones vpon the High-ways. Surely it cannot be so, for we finde by the Spanish Histories, that the more part of the Naturall *Indians*, do meerey dye with labouring in the Mines of Golde, as being ouer-enforced and constrained vnto hard toyle, and verie badly vsed by the Spaniards.

Now adayes, no such plentie of Gold is brought thence, as formerly hath bin, for that which was sent hither, and in so great quantities, had long time before bene gathered by the *Indians*. And so much the rather, because the greater part of their Idoles, were made of malsey Gold; the verie soles of their Shooes, Vessels, and wearing Garments. Their Temples and Royall Pallaces, were all

couered quite ouer with Golde, as ours are with Lead, and manie other moueeables, which were too long and tedious to relate.

Next, the great and admirable ranfomes of manie of their Kinges, I passe ouer in silence, as being at large discouered in diuers other Bookes. But nowe at this present, a new kind of search must bee made for Golde, with much difficult labour, and great expence of time, especially, to recouer anie such quantitie. Therefore, let vs examine the places where it is to be had, and what proceeding is vsed therein.

Mettall matters haue their proper seating in Mountaines, in the same quarter, as Trees haue their roots, Trunkes Branches, and Leanes. And those hills, whose toppes tend towards the South, and their feetes stretch towards the North, dooth giue a demonstration to haue Mettall in them, because Mettalles doe engender themselves of a verie thicke and grosse humour, which may be knowne by the colour and fauour; for, it yeeldeth a Blacke coloured earth, in regard of the Golde and Siluer, and such is the fauour also.

If ye breake two stones, of one and the same hill, if any Mettall be beneath in the bowelles thereof, ye shall apparently perceiue, that the Stones will fauour exceedingly of Sulphure. Whereby is to bee vnderstoode, that the first creation or compofure of Golde, is in the verie top and highest part of Mountaines, or other loftie places, because the Sunne there purifieth that, which is ouermuch earthy. But when Raynes and Torrents, doe (by little and little) distill vpon the hilles, they beare the Golde along downe with them vnto the lower parts of those hilles: whence likewise ensueeth, that the earth rising by the Raine, Golde therein encloueth it selfe.

Hauing declared sufficiently (as I thinke) the true Originall of Golde, and of his Mines, I come now to relate, how it is come by, as well in Germany, as in *Calicut*, *Peru*, and other Prouinces, be they in the East, West, North, or South, in which places, there are diuers diuersities of Mines, Because they must either fish for Graines of Golde in the Riuer, or

Mettall matters are in Mountaines, and are discerned by colour, and smell of the earth.

Gold is created in Mountaines of high Hills, and in what manner.

Howe manie diuersities of Mines of gold there are, & how they are generally signified.

Yyy delue

delue and digge in the Rockes & Mountaines, according vnto the places where such Mines are discovered. For knowledge whereof, it is to bee vnderstande, that there be Mines, which are teamed pendant or hanging Mines; others called lying or settled; others, oblique, or winding diuers waies; and others beside, that are streaming or gliding gently along in the earth or water.

The pendant Mines, be those which are found in the sommitie or superficies of hills or Mountaines, and haue (from thence) earth vnderneath them. Those that bee called lying or settled, are such as are beneath in the bottome, or playne firme ground, being carried downe thither by Torrents and outrageous Raiues. And the other which are layde to be oblique or Circling, haue their courses thwarting or trauesing, eyther in those which hang, or in the Lying Mines. And all of these, doo disperse and spred themselves (by the meanes of little Pearling Gullies of Water) into the neereff neighbouring Riuer: from whence ensueth, that there are Riueres, generallye throughout the World, wherein is Sande and Granel, appearing as if it were Azure and Golden in Colour, and therein are pure and fine graines of good Gold.

But returning to the pendant or hanging Mine, it behooueth heere to know, after what maner the *Indians* (and diuers other Nations, where such matter is in vse and practise) do gouerne and carrie themselves, in getting or deriuing this Metall out of the earths entrailes.

Before we enter vpon the worke, it is necessarie to knowe, that in the Eastern Countreies, where the people are Idolaters, such men as intend to goe and digge for Gold, and neuer were before at any Mines opening: doe abstaine from their Viues, & all other pleasures of the body, vnto verie soleinne Fastes and abstinences, adoring the Sun with earnest prayers. And this they doe, not onely because they hold a firme opinion, that Gold must needs be a sacred thing; but also to arme and settle themselves against Diabolicall Visions and illusions, which they are often subiect to in solitarie places, where they raise vp and finde so precious a Metall, as they that haue bene in *Peru*, and the other Neighbouring Countreies, confessed to haue seen,

during the time of their there present abiding.

Gold there is found in the earth, and in Rockie places, bee they the plaines or hilly grounds, where there is no verdure, but all naked and bare. In such partes as are without Water, as the experimented and skilful in the Veyns of Mines (knowing for a certainty what can be in such an earth) do first wash the place very cleane where they purpose to digge; which being done, they delue about eight or ten foote in depth, and as much in length and largenesse; then, in a certaine vessell made of purpose, they fill doe wash the earth, as it is digged vp. If thus by washing, they finde any Golde, they continue on the labour: but if they find none, they will not yet giue ouer, vntill by digging deeper, they finde out the Rocke, which they breake and pierce thorough with their Instruments, vaulting it daylie as they goe on, with Engines and strong defences of Woodde, that the earth or stones may not fall downe vpon them. Concerning such Mines as are fought for in plaine grounds, they beginne digging (so neere as possibly they may) vnto some Brooke, Riuer, Current, or Lake: because thereby (in washing the earth) they may the sooner perceiue the Gold; or when any cometh to them, for otherwise, the labour would be too insupportable. And this is the reason, that the richest men in the *Indians*, haue store of Slaues, whom they onely employ in digging and deluing, beside other laborers, that bring or draw vpe the earth in Baskets, and others that carrie it to the Water in Panniers or Doffers. In the

Water, bee it Riuer, Lake, Brooke, or Spring there are diuers other slaues, that stand vp about the Knees, washing the saide earth (as it is brought vnto them) in Siues or Seares, making vse of no more water then is needfull. And so dexteroously separating the Golde from the Earth, that as the earth (by little and little) glydeth away, so the Golde remaineth behinde in the Siue or Seare; then afterward, making (as it were) a second kind of separation, it is put into a Vessell by it selfe, and more earth brought to washing in like maner, and vsed accordingly. Heere is to be remembered, that they which wash the Metall in these Siues or Seares, are most commonly Women, who haue

The first manner of digging for gold, in groundes haue no Water.

Of digging, till they come to the Rocke, and what is done after.

Of Mines in plaine groundes

Rich men in India, haue store of Slaues and how they are employed

Of washing the earth in Siues or Seares.

Gold hath his Original in the superficies of the earth.

tuo

two men, standing ready to fil their siues, two others, which bring the Earth or Oare to them; two more for lading, and two for fetching, drawing it vp from the Diggers. So much shall suffice for the first manner of bringing Golde from the Mine.

There are also meanes, and in another manner, as also the place where the Golde is founde, is altogether different. Considering, that there are Riueres, wherein both sande and Graines of Golde are found; which for the more ease in recovering, if the Riuer bee small and little, the *Indians* labour to empie and draw it drie. Then taking the sande and Earth in the bottome, they wash it in such sort as hath been declared.

But if the Riuer or Spring bee such, as it cannot bee made drie: they change and turne the course some other waie, quite from his Naturall Bedde or Current. Which being done, they go to seeke for Gold in the very midst of the Channell, amongst the Pebbles and Flintes: and more profite returneth by this kinde of Fithing, then by washing the digged Earth, as I haue truly found by obseruation.

But howsoever the Metall of Golde is thus found out in Riueres, or in the Plaine Fieldes: yet it is helde for most certaine and infallible, that it was first bredde in the Sommetie and toppes of Hills or Mountaines; and the vehement showres and falles of Raine (when this Earth was baked and conuerted into Golde, by the radiant and splendant beames of the Sunne) by soft and flow flydings, carried it downe into neere adjoining Riueres and Brookes, which lye apt and readie to receiue whatsoever is sent downe by Torrents from the Mountaines; as also, into the vnder-eeuen groundes.

Therefore, there is no further question to be verged, but that Golde hath his Original in the superficies of the Earth, and breedeth in the most secret partes thereof. So that Mines are oftentimes made like vnto Cauernes and Grottes; whereof, and likewise of Mines in the Mountaines, wee doe now purpose to speake.

The *Indians*, doe vse another kinde of meanes for the finding of Golde, which is much more dangerous; and is also

observed in those Countreies, which lie called the West *Indians* Iyes, it is likewise vsed in the Northern Regions, towards the higher *Suecia*, *Outbia*, and partes of the *Finnia*; all toying to the kingdome of *Norway*.

This manner of emptying Mines, is observed in those that are pendant, vnto Mines of the Mountaines. In which labour, diuers Engines are employed, and vaulted Tables vsed, to hinder the danger hourly to bee feared, because great perilles dooth ordinarily happen: For, some haue bene doted, in Vorking to vndermine the Rocke, to be on the suddaine murdered, with the fall of great Stones, breaking out of the hollewe riftes. Others, that climb and grapple along the sharpe steepe Rockes, with Doffers and Baskets fastened vnto their backs, seeking for the Oare of the Mines, to carrie it vnto the Water, by being altogether vnable to holde, their owne weight any longer, fall downe and are destroyed.

But, that this businesse might be put in execution, with much lesse danger, some haue inuented a verie great wheele, guided and directed (in some places) by Horffes: but for lacke of such help, men do therein employ their strength and industrie. By the meanes of this wheele, they let downe and mount vpe againe, the Deluers and Diggers in the Mine; and those also that carrie the Oare to washing. This VVheele serueth likewise, to conuey away the Water which the Diggers happen to light on, verie deepe in the Earth. Another great danger which I do obserue in this search, is the noysome exhalations yssuing out of the Mines, whereby many people haue been stifled, not being able to endure so grosse an Ayre. Many times also, rauiues and inuadations of water happeneth, suddenly breaking forth, by some ouerture of the fource or Spring, and ouertaketh or rather surmounteth them sooner, then they can haue respite for giuing warning to them alofte, for drawing of them vpe. And therefore, those as bee employed in this laborious paines & trouble, commonly are such as haue deuoted the Halter: or else, they oune Slaues, whose Liues are of lesse esteeme vnto them, then are some of their best Beasts.

How Gold is gotten out of pendant Mines which properly are called Mines of the Mountaines.

Great danger in the pendit or Mountaine Mines.

A great vnder-out VVheele for sale of Workmen in the Golden Mines.

Thenoy some fources & exhalations in Mines.

The qualitie of such as vndergoe the greatest danger.

Wee are further to knowe, that the Golde which is found in the *Indies*, is not so much charged with Mettals, as that which is hadde in *Europe*, *Asia*, or *Africa*: because it is farre more pure, and yeldeth not so much labour to the Purifier. For that Golde of the *Indies*, is fined or purified only by fire: but that elswhere (ouer and beside the fire) is beaten and re-beaten with the strokes of hammers; and then in the end, refined with strong Water. Also, rarely or sildome do they find any pure Gold in the Mine: but it is intermedled with Siluer, or some other Mettals.

Gold in graines being founde in Rivers.

The Interpretation of the Fable of the Golde-Fleece.

As for the Golde in Graines, which is found in Rivers and perling Brookes, they vse (in some parts) to gather it with the helpe of Sheepes skinnies, that hadde the Vwool on them: but because it appeared to bee ouer-laborious, the vse of Quicke-siluer was deuised; whereby it is easily knowne among the land. From which manner of trying or finding Gold, the Fable of the Golden Fleece was inuented, which *Iason* and his *Argonautes*, sayled for to *Pontus*. And hauing attained so farre as the River *Phasis*, where the Country people found out and gathered their Golde, with such Vwooll skinnies: they deriued thence, many good Golden Arguments, and could tell store of Tales, at their returning home. But bee it how soeuer *Iason* and his followers Fleece, and got all the Golde from the *Colchians*, which they had gathered for many yeares together, with their sheep-skinnes: And then gaue it out in a mockery, that they had conquered and woonne the Fleece of Gold.

CHAP. XXXI.

Whence the diuersitie of Golde proceedeth: His Medicinable Vertues. Of visions and illusions that are mette withall in Mines. And of the deccite that is committed in the composition, which is called Aurum portabile.



Some do hold, that in the whole vniuersall Worlde, there is but one kinde of Gold only; and that (generally) wherefoeuer it is found, or whence soeuer it cometh: if it be well refined and purified without any commixtion, it is continuallie good Gold. Also, that that which is drawne out of the verie coldest Regions in the world, is as good as that of the verie hottest parts. And that of the East is no more excellent, then the other of the West. But when Finers, Gold-smiths, and Monnoyers, do attribute diuersitie of Names thereto, esteeming one kinde to bee of much greater price and value then another (as we may note for example; one is termed Ducate Golde, another Crown Gold, another Maille Golde, or *Or de Maille*, another Pistolet Gold, valewing *xxi*. Carraits, another eighteen, and so of others; some more, some lesse) Questionlesse, these Names and dignities, did receiue their birth and Original in diuers Countries, where Gold had bene adulterated and sophisticated by the vnfaithfulness of Workemen, and multiplied with other minglings of Metals, of much lesser value, and farre inferiour in puritie to the other. Vvhich multiplication, hath bene inuented, according vnto their will and humout, that laboured to augment our moderne Moneys. As for Ducates, Crownes, * *Thillipins*, * *Angoles*, and * *Portugaleses*, they were diuersly forged of pure and impure Gold, and the inuention hath not bene Moderne.

For wee finde, that from the time of the Romaines Greatnesse, the Commonwealth

Opinion committed to one kinde of Gold only.

Original of the diuers kinds of gold, and of their several terms by valewing.

Multiplication began in Moderne monies. * Our English Argill. * The Portugese words in Latin as Sterling.

mon-wealth being not able to supply the expences of their warres: did sometimes diminish the prices of their moneys, for an ouer-plus gaine and aduantage. Likewise, they sophisticated their purest Siluer, enter-mingling it with an eyght part of Copper, onely because they wold encrease it.

Some (neuertheless) contrarie to the opinion of Antiquitie, and of many, verie skilfull in matter of Mettals, doe say the contrary, to wit; That the lasterme Golde is much better then the Northern; and better in one Country then in another. But as for my selfe, I holde the first Opinion, as being perswaded, that Nature neuer tooke delight, in making one Elementarie substance of gold, more fine or perfect then another. For, hee is so much the neater and purer in his qualitie, as the Elements are simple, whereof hee is framed or composed.

It is no shame then to vs, if we hold Golde in such excellent estimation, farre aboue all other Riches, and valew it in our iudgement, to bee more precious then all other Mettals whatsoever. For, Nature consulting with her selfe, to compose it of an equal quantitie, truly correspondent to the Symmetric and iust proportion of the Elements, yeldeth it readilie purified from the verie Original, according as the selfesame Elements were truly simple. And by Coniunction of those Elements, being in Vertue equall together, was engendered such a Delicate and perfect mixture of indissoluble Vnion, composing the Connexion so intirely and faithfully: that it formed an incorruptible Paste or substance, which is permanent vnto all Eternitie both in goodnesse and excellencie.

And this is the cause, why it cannot bee Conquered by the injuries of Antiquity, and that it will not containe in it selfe, neyther endure any exccrescence and superfluitie of fowle commixture. For, although it remaineth as buried in the VV ater, or in the Fire, for some long space of time: yet notwithstanding, it is neuer blemished, neyther receyueeth any other qualitie or defect, as I haue formerly sayde. This is the priuiledge, which is alone peculiar vnto Golde onely, aboue all other Mettals what-

soener.

Now, albeit the Gracians haue spoken nothing of his properties and Medicinable vertues: yet the *Arabians* were not therein forgetfull, because they appointed in prepared Medicaments, to euacuate fullen and Melancholic Humors.

Item, to make an actual Cautere, especially in his Soueraigne qualitie, it must onlie be done with Golde: for the Wound which it maketh and Vlcerares, is much more the sooner healed, Golde held within the mouth, maketh the breath good and sweete. The Filidust of Golde, pounded or beaten smallest on a Marble stone, is verie good in such Medicines, as are given for the re-growing of Haire againe, after it hath been formerly lost: or for Ring wormes and Tetters, when it is so finally beaten, as it may be scarce discerned vnder the Thimble Naile: then putting it into the eyes, it is very foueraigne for clearing of the sight. It is drunke also, for a preseruatue against the accidents and dauntings of the heart.

Water, wherein an Ingot of Golde (made red hote in the Fire) hath bene some few times quenched: or, wanting an Ingot, a Ducate, Portugue, or some such other thick and great piece of gold: that Water, mingled with wine, helpeth the Quartaine Feauer, purgeth the Melancholy humor, diminisheth the puff vvp Spleene or Milte, and is also a singulare remedy against the Drophie.

Nor are those reports to be reputed as Fables, concerning euill Spiritres or Demons, which haue bin seene and heard in Mines: for this is the most idlest and dangerous thing, that hurteth and offendeth the poore Mettally Pioners. And manie times, they behold the rowling of great stones from the maine Rocks, their Engines suddenly broken all to peeces; their Ladders ouerthrowne, and the Cords (whereby they holde) broken in sunder; so that the parties fall beyond all recovery.

Others haue bin rapt and transported suddenly away, and neuer after cyther seene or heard of. These hurtful spirits, are thought also to do them infinit small seruices, as to them that draw vvp the Mine, and cleaue the great stones of the Rock, (which is thought sometimes impossible to

The Medicinable properties & vertues of Gold.

Cauterizing with Golde.

Gold maketh sweet breath.

Gold restoreth lost haire.

Gold preferreth the eyesight, & comforts the heart.

Gold quenched in Water, helpeth the Quartaine Ague & Drophie.

Spirits haunting Mines, are verie dangerous to the poore Pioners.

Spirits irresistible for a while, and hurtful afterward.

to be done, without such strange help) & counterfeiting a thousand voices, with as manie Apith and fantastick tricks, for the pastime and pleasure of such poore people in their labour. But verie soon after, except they be aduised and careful of themselves, a peece of the Rocke falls on thir heades, and then this ioy is converted into teares and sad complaints. And this happeneth more in the *Indians*, and amongst those Idolaterous people, then where any Christians are, or frequent.

More among the idolatrous Indians, then any wher els.

Belshim his Historie of a mettall spirit.

An angry discontented spirit.

Aug. in lib. 9. de Civit. Dei.

Deceite committed by Quack-salers & Empericks.

Belonius reporteth, that when he was in *Greece*, at the Mountaine of *Syderocap- sa*, where the Mines are, that appertaine to the *Turke*: himselfe went to peepe in, at one of the spiracles or breathing holes of a Mine, which had formerlie beene, (but not for a long while) of great reuennue to his Maister, who was a Jew; but as then hee was constrained to forsake it, because it was haunted with a Mettallie Spirit. And because he had very often shewne himselfe, in the forme and likeness of a Goate, with faire and goodlie Hornes of Golde, they called that hole or Spiracle, *Hyaris Cabron*, which was at the top of a Village, named *Pianis*; in the same Mountaine, and neere to the Brook, termed *Rotas*. But this was such a discontented Deuill, as none might be suffered to labour there, neither in company, nor alone.

He affirmeth also, that in other Mines, there were diuers other mettallie Spirits, that would doe no harme to anie of the Workemen, but helpe them many waies in their labours. *Munster*, who had visited sundry Mines in *Germanie*, records the verie same. To yeelde a reason for these matters, I cannot: but referre it to such as are better scene in such things, then I am my selfe: yet *Saint Augusline* speaketh verie amply thereof, in his booke of the Cittie of God.

But before I end this Chapter, I would aduertise the well minded Reader, to beware of certaine gadding Empericks or Mountebanks, making profession of Physicke, who giue vnto sickly people a kinde of powder, or a certaine liquor to drinke, which enforceth the bodie for to purge so violently both vpper & downward, that verie many haue died thereby. Concerning mine owne iudgment heerein, I take it to be *Antimonie*, though they

please to tearme it, *Aurum Potabile*. For, if it were Gold, it could not do any harm: for whatsoeuer proceedeth of Gold, cannot but be good, and free from hurt. But vnder the shadow of his Sacred vertue, such Conseruers haue taken occasion, to commit thereby verie great abuses. As there are some also, that Nursing young Children after their owne manner, doe let them champe double Ducats in their mouths: and then their slauer or spetle is to bee preferred: affirming it to be verie helpful to diuers diseases.

Aurum Potabile.

Young Children driuall or slauer.

But because these are euident and apparent tromperies; I am of the minde, that it will not passe any long time vnperished.

This you see, what I haue Collected out of manie good Authors, both Ancient and Moderne; as also the iudgement of approued good Mettallers, concerning the true History of this so excellent & much affected Mettall: which although it looke sometimes verie pale, it only proceedeth thorough the enuie and desire, that euery man (Naturally) beareth vnto it.

CHAP. XXXII.

The Interpretation of those three severall Titles, Democratia, Aristocratia, & Monarchia, which are three diuers kinds of Gouvernement in a Commonwealth, to vnderstand which of them, is the best and most expedient.



Did purposely insert this Chapter, to declare the great error of manie in these our dayes, who be- holding feditious troubles to offend the authoritie of Soueraign Princes (without any cause or subiect) in too manie countries and parts of Christendome; would haue Common-weales formed, according to their petticular affections, some being *Democratiques*, others, *Aristocratiques*, and are all vnto Enemies vnto absolute Monarchy. Nowe, because these three

The Authors reason forthin Chapters in- terfering.

These three words not easily vnderstood by euery man.

The definition of Democratia.

Of Aristocratia.

When this kind of government is allowed.

Of Monarchia.

The Soueraigne authoritie of Royaltie.

Many things seeme good, that are not so indeed.

This reason that defendeth it way of Popularity.

three wordes are not easily vnderstood, except it be by such men as haue knowledge in the Greeke tongue; the courteous Reader shall finde my honest furtherance therein; albeit *Monsieur du Verdier*, Lord of *Pauprinaz*, hath written and related somewhat thereof, yet very succindly. But I will allege the reasons both of the one and other, to the end it may be knowne, which of these kindes of Common-wealth is the best, and likeliest to be of longest continuance.

Democratia, or popular estate and preheminance, is a Common-weale, where the free and poorest (being the greatest number) do ouer-rule and command all the rest. *Aristocratia*, is that which we may interpret in our language, to be the power of the most vertuous, and in Latine, *Optimum Principatus*: in regard, that they are reputed to be very good and vertuous, as commonly wee hold our best Gentlemen to be. This forme of government taketh place, when as few Noblemen are approued vertuous, either in learning or good manners; to sway the Soueraigntie of the wholebody, and minister Lawes to the rest of the people, as well in general, as in particular. *Monarchia*, is that awfull authority, when one alone hath the sole power ouer all the people, both Nobles and others, commanding absolutely.

This forme of government in any Common-weale, is called Royaltie. And me-thinks, now that I haue giuen yee the signification of these three Titles: it would not much vary from our purpose, to set downe which of them is the most profitable to the people, lole- rable, and of longest continuance. For many reasons and Arguments may be produced on either side, some whereof will seeme to be receivable: which neuertheless are not, and therefore I hold it fittest, to let them bee tried by open euidence.

First then, such as approue the estate of *Democratia*, or popularity, will allege vnto vs: that there haue been *Democraties*, of the very worthiest men in *Athenes*, and that by the Lawes of the very greatest Iurisconsults, Orateurs, and Atezans, there should not be any other Common-weales, where the faction of a few Lords among them, or

the ialousie of one sole Monarch, should hinder the subiects in any great attempts. And, which is more, it appeareth, that the true note of a Common-wealth, should consist in a popular estate onely: for then, all the people enioy the publike good, each man partaking in common good fortunes, spoyle, wages, and conquests. As her- as a few Lords in *Aristocratia*, and one alone in Monarchy; convert the publike benefit to petticular interest. In briefe, if there be nothing more to bee desired, then that Magistrates should be obedient to the Lawes, and subiects to Magistrates: it appeareth also, that these may be best obserued in a popular estate, where there is nothing else but Law, who is the Lady and Mistresse of all. These are the principall points that can be alleged, to vphold popular authority, which carrieth a goodly luster in appearance; but indeed, all these reasons are nothing else in effect, but meer Spiders webs, soft, gentle and cunningly wouen, yet of no validity or strength at all.

To refute that which hath been said, of a popular estate, or Common-wealth, we will begin with the first Allegation: that therein hath been found more Law-makers, Orators, good captaines, and Handy-crafts men, then in any other. It is very certaine, that the cause of so many Law-makers in this estate, proceeded from the contrarietie of Lawes, one repugnant to another, which Magistrates suffered to liue in suspense, during the time as they exercised their Offices; neuer caring or respecting, whether they were beneficial or hurtfull, but onely that some memory might remaine of them, after the expiration of their authority. This was an ordinary custome in *Rome*, as may be noted, when the Consul *Cassius* proclaimed by the sound of a Trumpet, that all the *Latines* and *Hernians*, which had no Houles in *Rome*, should aduoe and get them gone. *Virginia*, his companion in rule, caused the contrary also to be published, to make the people capable of such a Law as he would promulgate, and to flish the Inhabitants (in the hart of the City) against the Strangers. By reason of these two contrarie Lawes, some were found, that

Generally benefit of the people.

Know the Lady and Mistresse of all.

A refutation of the reasons formerly alleged.

The cause why there were so many Law-makers.

Example of the Consul Cassius, and Virginia his associate.

studied

The cause of
such thore of
Captaines.

War is more
beneficial for
Souldiours
then Citizens

Of Oratours
and eloquent
Speakers.

Ignorant peo-
ple affect
praises.

Confusion is
among multi-
tude of peo-
ple.

Titus Livius id
Lib. 7. c. 8.

studied how to glose and accord these differences, and they that medled most busily therein, were termed great Law makers. If (in this condition) such great Captains have bin found, it grew by no other occasion, but that in such popular estates, cuill VVaires were orderlie very frequent. Heecrof let Rome be a VVincle, where oftentimes the people were b-held in a heape on the one side, and the Nobility on another side, sometimes in three divisions. Or, if they had peace among themselves, then they were at Warre with their Neighbours. And indeed, through this continuall exercise of Armes, there were many good Caprains and Souldiours made; but with the dear expence of the Citizens blood and liues.

For Oratours, because any people that commonly are without Letters or learning, or any store of iudgement, doe affect such as praise them; he that can best please by those meanes, tickling the eare with finery wordes: shall be sure to be effectuated among such people, and eloquence is very dangerous, except it be well vfed. For the attaining of which degree, Oratours have ordinarily no other obiect, but contend in the Art of Rhetoricke, who shall speake smoothest. And it is no matter of materia, if excellent Orators bee found in popular estates: for there was a Demosthenes in Athens, and a Cicero in Rome. Moreover, to aske counsell of the people, as anciently it was done in popular Commonweales: were nothing else, but to request Wisedome from furious mad men, and it hath long past as a well knowne Prouerbe; *Wise Men propound, and Fools give resolution*. Moreover, we know very well, that in an assembly of people, nothing can be kept secret, which is a most pernicious thing. The difficulties ensuing, by contenting a multitude of people in one place, the disorder among croudes and throngs, the variety of voyces, and inconsistency of men of many minds; all these I passe over.

The people, of their owne Nature (saith Titus Livius) are insolent and effusive in all liberty and licence, when matters goe well with them; and as dejected or downe-pressed are they, upon the least losse: for vicious and impu-

dent men, are advanced among them, but the honest and virtuous are thrust out by the cares. As for in-Iustice, the peoplesay, let no care be had thereof: provided, that profit may be deriued from iudgements, and sold to the fairest offer: that good meanes may be had, to ruinate, Rich, Noble, and honest men, hurrying them without any cause, but mere capital hatred to such good mindes; contrary to the many-headed humour and Nature. For this cause, the popular estate or Commonweale, is the house and refuge of all turbulent spirits, mutiners, seditions, and exiles: who give counsell, comfort and resistance to the siller fort, to make hauocke and spoile of the greater.

But yet there is a more capital plague, attending vpon those popular Commonweales. To wit: impunity of wicked persons, provided, that they bee Citizens, that is to say, petty Kinges. For in a popular estate of the Romaines, it was prohibited to all the Magistrates, on paine of death: to condemn a Citizen to natural or euill death, or to deprive him of his libertie or Bourgeship, or to whip him with Rods, were his offence neuer so foule. Yet we read, that *Ferres* was accused, arraigned, and conuined, to haue robbed, stolne, and committed an hundred thousand concussions, or publicke extortions, and false iudgements: neuertheless, by parting out of Rome, & leauing a good moiety of those thefts behind him; he was quitted. And yet *Rutilius*, *Metellus*, *Coriolanus*, the two *Scipios*, and *Cicero*, they could haue no better fauour then banishment. *Ephesus* also could banish the virtuous *Hermocrates*: Athens expelled iust *Aristides*: *Themistocles* died in exile; *Alistades* in Persia; *Socrates* was put to death; and *Phocion*, the most intire and virtuous man of his age, after he had bin chosen five and forty times chiefe Captain and Commander, neuer receiuing any blame or taxation: yet notwithstanding without admittance of any answer, he was condemned to death, with forty other famous men; onely because they were his friends. States & degrees were therof also, even as they did at Rome: for *Marius* durst boldly bring Sumpters laden with Money, to buy the voyces of the people; and *Pompey* did the like.

Bad men advanced, and good men no way regarded

A popular estate is the Nurse of infinite mischiefs

Titus Livius Lib. 7. c. 8.

Vices which doe ordinarily accompany popular commonweales.

Offenders spared, and Innocents banished.

* He caused the twelve Tables to be made.

* He was Scholler to Plato and Xenocrates, and of wonderful cool fancy & gravity.

Degrees and Offices bought with Money.

The

Extortion & in Iustice committed in the iudgement place.

Example of the Megarenes to their Prince.

Plato in lib. de Leg.

The reason why any Popular estate hath some time of continuance.

Thucydides in Lib. 4.

Lords of Leagues and Confederacies, in their gouerning.

The reason why the common wealth of the Switzers hath continued so long.

The concussions beside were an incredible matter, made in the face of iudgement, and before the eyes of all beholders.

Most conformable to this, was that of *Statoles*, and *Democides*, *Athenians*, who when they took possession of their Offices. Come on (quoth they) let vs now goe to the *Harvest of Gold*. If then such estates, degrees, and Iustice it selfe were so vnworthily sold, in two such great Commonweales, enriched with the spoyle of other people: what then may men iudge of the popular preheminance, where the poore are alwaies needy, wretched and indigent? Wee haue an example of the *Megarenes*, who hauing expelled their Prince *Theagines*, established such an irregular popular gouernment, that it was lawfull for the poore to liue in rich mens Houses, as *Plato* hath very well recorded.

Now we are to know, that if the Commonweales of the *Romaines*, *Athenians*, or others, hadde some time of flourishing: it was onely occasioned, by hauing in those tempestuous daies) a Senate, full of men of honour, as also of worthy and virtuous Capitaines, that kept the people from disordering themselves, and serued (indeed) as a bridle to them; As in Rome there a *Mennius Agrippa*, a *Camillus*, a *Papirius Cursor*, a *Fabius Maximus*, a *Scipio*, a *Cato*, a *Scannius*, and a *Pompey*. In Athens, there was a Senate of the *Areopagites*, and a *Pericle* (saith Thucydides) who was the true Monarch thereof, though in appearance it was merely popular. In briefe, the popular estate can haue no long subsisting; if there be not some especiall Wise-men, that haue an eye to the gouernment.

But some will obiect vnto me, and say: doe we not see the Lordes of Leagues and Confederacies, that they haue built vp a goodly popular estate, and continued in the gouernment thereof, more then three hundred and fiftie yeares? Are they not also (by these meanes) warranted not onely from tyranny, but likewise haue giuen chase to Tyrants, insluting on their Neighbors? To a double demand, we must needs returne a double answer. First, the Country it selfe, and naturall disposition of the people, is very conuenable

for a popular estate. In the second place, they that are most quarrellous & mutinous, doe goe to the seruice of other strange Princes: the rest of the milde people, apt and easie to be ordered, they haue no great care how the State stands.

Moreover, all the Lordes of Leagues, and popular Commonweales, doe enter into confederation offensive and defensive, and are vntied strictly together: Not much unlike to such as walke in darke nights, or goe ouer slipperie places, where is danger of downe-falls, they hold one another fast by the hands, and in this manner they maintaine themselves, against the power of Monarchies, as the *Athenians* and *Thebans* did in those elder daies. Yet one thing more may not be forgotten, the foundation of their popular estate: was builded and cimented with the blood of Nobility, and of those that were the very richelt.

Our auncient Predecessours, for the better assurance of their estates, did strue to equalize all their Citizens in Goods, Honours, Power, and recompences, and if there were some one, more iust, more virtuous, and more wise then the rest: if he were not banished, he was vfed as badly, for all things possible was taken from him, even as it was a common practise in the Commonweale of Athens. It is an act of great in-Iustice, to take away the goods of a rich man (which he hath obtained by his care and industry) and make them equall to another, of no meritor worthy qualitie. It is also contrary to the Law of God, who hath exprefly commaunded, that the proprietie of mens goods, should be kept to themselves. It behooueth not then to say, that nature made all things in common: for the law of the Mother, can no way be contrary to the commaundement of the Father.

And as for the power of commaunding, wherein popular men would equal one another: there is much lesse appearance then in goods: for wisdome and prouidence is not giuen by an equall distribution, and therefore (on mere necessity) election must bee made in a popular estate, of the most sufficient Magistrates, for the better commaund and

A very apt comparison.

Equality of all waies most respected in a popular Commonweale.

Gods law for the proprietie of mens goods.

Danger of electing Magistrates and Officers in a popular estate.

and deliury of Iustice. But who is he then, that perceiue not at first sight, that among men there are some, who haue lesse iudgement then brute beasts; yet others againe, who haue the diuine Character to clearely, that they appear rather to bee Angels, then Men? All which notwithstanding, they that seeke after equality; would haue authoritie giuen to furious, ignorant, and insensible Men, as well as to the wise, and best vnderstanding. For the voyce of such assemblies is not poyzed by weight, and euermore the number of Fooles, wicked and ignorants, is a thousand times greater then people of respect: therefore *Salomon* said truly, *Hardly ye shall finde one among a thousand.*

For conclusion, seeing it is not in the power of good Citizens and wise polititiques, to change the popular estate into Monarchie; the principall foundation of popular sway, consisteth in the strict obseruation of Edicts and Ordinances. For in as much as the popular estate is established, contrarie to the course and order of Nature, which bestoweth command and preheminence on the verie wisest: this appeareth incompatible to the vulgar people, who will not receive any command in a collective name, neither set good lawes and ordinances before their eyes, as bright Torches for their better direction; therefore such an estate must needs be quickly ouerthrowne. And this is the reason, why those Lordes of Leagues doe so strictly keepe Edicts and Ordinances: otherwise, their estate had long since beene sunke. Now, in regard that this Chapter seemeth ample enough, and (I hope) not weariesome to the Reader: the matter of *Aristocratie* and *Monarchie*, shall be handled (by themselves) in the following Chapter.

CHAP. XXXIII.

That Monarchie ought most especially to be preferred, before Democratie or Aristocratie.

BY naturall reason, that Seignurie or Dominion is cald *Aristocraticall*, where there be many Citizens, and the lesser part of them doe hold the estate: or more properly, where the best and worthiest people are onely received and aduanced. And yet it may be faide, that souerainetie ought to be giuen to the richest persons only, as to them that haue therein the greatest interest: considering also, that they beare much heavier charge then the poorer sort, who hauing nothing to loose, meere neede maketh them to forgoe authority. It appeareth then, that *Aristocratie* should be preferred before the popular estate, but not before *Monarchie*. And yet doubtlesse, they that doe well consider what *Aristocratie* is, will finde it full of maine incommodities. That it must needs be so, make some obseruation. In a great Common-wealth, ye shall haue many Lordes that wil command, and the more Lordes there be, the greater store of factions: among whom, deliberations being difficult to resolve on, they rather vanish away like smoake, then are seriously considered. For this cause is it, that *Aristocraticall* authorities haue bin much longer durable and assured, where there haue bin the fewer Lordes: As the *Lacedemonians* with thirty Lordes, and the *Pharisiens* with one and twentie, did long time maintaine their rule, but others not halfe the while.

It may be objected vnto me, that they which gouerne the *Aristocraticall* estate, must be proud, valiant, wise, and rich. I answer, that it is very hard to finde such men there, but at length they will be touched with ambition: and if there happen any to be conscientious, or religiously affected; as commonlie they are the fewest in number, so shall they

The meaning of the Aristocraticall government.

The reason of them that maintaine Aristocratie.

The fewer Lordes, the firmer government in Aristocratie.

An objection and answer thereto.

they be sure to haue the lesse respect & partakers. In which regard, wicked and ambitious men gaining eminency; their conclusions passe for authentically, and they may the easier tyrannize ouer the people.

But to be brieue, it is daily seene, that the more heads there are in governing, the more disputes there will be, and lesse resolution. For this cause, and to shun the inconueniences of a great multitude, the Seignurie of *Venice*, consisteth in the managing of their State in a dozen persons, but more often in ten: especially, for the determining matters in secrecy, wherein lieth the soule and safety of any Estate.

Let vs put the case, that the private Council in *Aristocratie* should be so secret, that nothing could touch the ayre or wind: yet it will be a very difficult thing, for so few Lordes, to maintaine their estate against all the people, that haue no part at all in their honourable qualitie, considering, that euen the Lordes themselves doe continually despise popularitie, and the poorer sort also cary as contemprable hatred against great men. So that, thorough the meanest fedition of Lordes among them, (which is inescutible, if they bee people of martiall stomacke and disposition) the most ambitious and troublesome, will fall into the peoples mercy, and then comes the down-fall and ruine of *Aristocratie*. And this was the onely occasion that ouerthrew many Seignuries and Common-wealthes; as of *Genneua*, *Sienna*, *Florence*, *Caloyne*, *Zuriche*, *Strafbourge*, *Liudaw*: And the ancient *Phoenices*, *Samiens*, *Cnydians*, *Mtylenians*, and many other.

If an *Aristocraticall* Common-wealth haue warre against a Stranger, and doe come to the losse of a battell: the estate stands in danger, and as little assurance haue the Stangers also, fearing to be foyled by the other. To which dangers the popular estate is not so much subiect, each man hauing a part & interest in the State. *Aristocraticall* government then, is not onely in danger of Strangers as enemies: but also of the people, who must be contented, or restrained by power. To content them, without giuing them part in the estate is verie difficult: and impossible also to accept

them in honorable charges and offices, without changing the estate of *Aristocratie*, into popular rule. To reframe them by might, is no matter of certainty, or ease when to be performed: because it were an open entrance into feare and distrust of them, that rather are to be won by benefits and countesse. For otherwise, the least warre of Strangers against the Seignurie, or of Lords among them; will make the people vindictive Armes, onely to throw off the yoke.

For this reason, the *Venetians* (to maintaine their State) haue appointed some small Offices on part of the people, contracting loue and alliance with them, & vice borrowings of them; to binde them the better for the States maintenance, yet wholly disarming them. And to the end, that they may be the more milde and pliable: they grant them freedom, and all kinds of pleasures, yielding sometimes the right of Bourgeships, to the richest Citizens. Also, if they haue War against a Stranger; they haue appointment therein, at what rate soeuer it be. But about all things else, they labour to quench partialities and hatreds among their Gentlemen, which procureth: that the rich beinge drunke with pleasures, and the poorer sort hauing neeces to Traffick, and exercise themselves in all Mechanicall Arts, with commodity of the Maritime partes, and naturall strength; they can haue no great occasion, but much lesse the power of rebellious among themselves.

These are the onely meanes, which (next vnto God) hath principally maintained their estate: and not the Nature of *Aristocratie*, as many haue imagined. And yet notwithstanding, within these foure hundred yeares, or there-about, they haue hardly out-stood many ciuill Warres and feditions, of the *Bocchoniens*, *Falerians*, *Tepolians*, *Batiamontans*, and cruell factions of the *Iustinians*, *Scapoliacs*, *Selians*, *Bassianes*; the murders of eighteen Dukes, and a great number of Senators, as may be read in their own Histories.

If the worthy men that gouerned this Common-wealth, were generous and martiall minded: they seized the State, as *Cesar* did at Rome, and as *Sylla* before him.

The wisdom, and discretion of the Venetians among themselves.

Partialities and hatreds qualified among Gentlemen.

Troubles happening within four hundred yeares.

Equality of Authority in all men.

A remedy for the maintenance of popular estate.

Where lawes and ordinances are not severely kept, the State can hardly indure.

The inconueniences happening in the State Aristocraticall.

The Seignurie of Venice.

An allegation concerning council.

The ruine & overthrow of an Aristocraticall estate.

* A little country of Greece, by the gulf of Cynna.

* An Isle before Ioua, ouer against Phoenicia.

* A City of Caria.

* A Citie in Leuius.

* People very hard to be ordered and kept in quiet.

Danger of
Marital Com-
munders in
an Aristocrati-
cal estate.

The princi-
pal founda-
tion of Aristoc-
ratia.

The long con-
tinuance of
some Aristoc-
ratical Com-
mon-weales.

Care of new
election is an
essential mat-
ter.

The discom-
modities en-
fuing by Mo-
narchia.

him. Or as *Hannibal at Carthage*, who moued Warre against the *Romans*, whereby he became the cause of ruina-
ting the estate of his Country: in re-
gard of the *Barchian* faction, which was
quity contrary to him, and hindered,
that men and succour should bee sent
vnto him in *Italy*. We may perceiue
then, that the principall foundation of
Aristocratia, consisteth in the mutu-
all amity of Lords: for if they agree and
consent together, they will maintaine
and gouerne much better then the peo-
ple. But if there be any faction among
them, there is no estate more difficult
to be kept, for the reasons before spec-
ified; and namely if the Lords be Mar-
tially, for men of war doe brooke nothing
so badly, as peace.

It is no maruaile then, if the *Aristocra-
tia* of the *Venetians*, *Raguzians*, and *Lu-
cians* have continued some ages: con-
sidering, that they doe not addit them-
selves to armes, neither hold any thing
in more recommendation, the Traffick,
and vse of Mony. And, to speake all in
one word, there is not any forme of *Aris-
tocratia* more tightly or assured, then
that which maketh choise of Lordes of
reputation and vertue, or (at least) that
are not infamous: especially when due
care is had, of substituting another ho-
nest man, in the place of him that dieth,
and by true election, as continuallie is
done in *Venice*. Thus you see the com-
modities and discommodities of the *A-
ristocratical* estate: Let vs now speake
somewhat concerning Monarchy, which
all the best and chiefe men have com-
mended before all other commonweals.

It may be objected vnto me, by such
as approve *Aristocratia* or *Democratia*,
that in *Monarchia*, when the death of the
Monarch happeneth: new disignes
doe thereon ensue, new Lawes, new
Officers, new Friends, new Enemies,
new Habits, and new forme of life. For
Princes delight to please themselves,
by changing and remouing (well-nere)
all things, to make speech of their own
noueltes: which oftentimes causeth
great discommodities, not onely to the
Subjects in particular, but likewise to
the whole bodie of the Common-
wealth, holding the forme of Monar-
chy.

If things do not fall out in this man-

ner, but that the Prince is the wisest
that can be wished: yet the alliances &
loues made with the Predecessor, do vi-
sually end in him. And such fauours and
respects being finished, Princes doe
thereon betake themselves to Armes;
and then the strongest assayleth the
weakest, or (at the least) will giue him
Law. Which cannot so fall out in Es-
tates Popular and *Aristocratical*, where
perpetuall alliances are made, conside-
ring that the people dye not. This oc-
casioneth, that those other Princes, and
particulars, do continually affect rather
to contract with a Seignour, then with
one Prince, for the assurance of Trea-
ties and Obligations, whereto the
Successors of Princes stand not obli-
ged.

Moreover, Monarchies that make
their Kings by election, do oftentimes
fall into ciuill Warres, by diuisions a-
mong such as aspire to the Crowne,
which draw after them the ruine of the
whole Estate many times: considering
that euery in the right of succession,
there is no meane perill, if there be di-
uers in the same degree, who some-
times do murder one another, or make
diuision among the Subjects, whereof
too many examples are extant to our
eyes; yea, it often falleth out, that the
lawfull Successour is expelled, by him
that hath no right at all. But admit we
the case, that there is not any contenti-
on in *Monarchia*, yet if the Monarch be
a Child: there will be denision for his
gouernment, betwene his Mother
and the Princes, or else among the
Princes themselves. And if the Child
haue a Tutor or Guardian, by ordi-
nance of the Predecessor, or else by
Custom: there is then some danger,
least this Guardian should make him-
selfe Sole Commander, which is the
most to be feared, if he marry with the
Mother of his Pupill. And although
(to auoyde this danger) the gouern-
ment be giuen to the nearest, and the
Childes Nurfing to his Mother: yet
notwithstanding, there haue some Mo-
thers bene found to be Murderers, and
haue not onely made sale of the estate,
but also of their Childrens liues. And
sometimes the Tutor continueth in
the gouernment, and leaueth nothing
vnto the King but the bare Title: as the

Fauours of
one Prince,
seldom suc-
ceede in any
other.

The affection
of Princes &
particulars.

Of wars and
their causes in
Monarchia.

If the King
be a Child,
what dangers
are depen-
ding thereon.

Danger in the
Mother of the
Prince.

The danger
in Tutors and
Guardians.

Where-
into Ma-
gistrates are
ordinarily sub-
iect.

Of a Marital
minded Prince.

A wife & well
bedded Prince.

Contrary
to the nature
of Princes, &
their natural
dangers.

Tyranny fil-
lome de-
scribeth on mai-
esty.

Reiours, ci-
uill wars, and
seditions in
Offices, in
Monarchia, in
Aristocratie.

The right of
Soveraignty
remayneth
in the Prince.

the Duke of *Northumberland* did to the
K. of *England*, *Edm. 6.* And as *Apelles* did
to *Philip King of Macedon*, who
could not enioy his owne outlarb, till hee
had slain his Tutor. I know likewise,
some one will tell mee, that many times
it cometh to passe, when a young prince
attaineth to the Crowne, he will not allow
the gouernment of Maisters, that are pla-
ced nere him for instruction, but bee
ruled by his owne fanly, being addicted
to Playes, Masques, and such like. In brief
many times his Court sheweth like a meer
Burdell, falling into a thousand Vices,
and the people following their Prince in
imitation. If the Prince be a Soldier, he
may expose his person and kingdom to
many hazards. Admit that none of these
afore said things doe happen, yet it hath
bin obserued, that Princes being wife &
well mannered, when they arise to the
Monarchie, Soueraignty hath had this
hard fortune, that the very wisest haue
proued fooles, the most valiant turned co-
ward, and the very best to be most bad:

If the Prince be subtle and wicked, he
will establish tyranny; if cruel, he makes
a butchery of the Commonwealt; if
conuets, he will haue both the haire &
the hide of his Subjects; if Prodigall, he
will suck both the blood and Marrow, to
glut some dozen of Horse leaches that
attend about him. And if he be ignorant
and sottish, then is tyranny so much the
more to be feared, when as he hath ney-
ther Maister nor Companion that dare
make head against him. These are the
dangers that attend on Monarchies.

But yet there is much more perill
in the Estate *Aristocratical*, and a great
deale more too, in the popular condi-
tion: for these dangers which wee haue
proposed, castrkth for the most part, where
the Monarchy is deuolued by successiue
right. But seditions, partialities, and ci-
uill wars are ordinary, and continually (as
it were) arising in greatnesse, for the vi-
der-handing of Offices in the common-
weale Seignourall and Popular, then in
the estate of Monarchy, which will en-
dure no sedition for Offices, or for anie
Estate, except after the Princes death,
and but kildome then too. But the prin-
cipall point of a Commonwealt, which
is the right of Soueraignty, cannot bee,
neither subist (to speake properly) but
only in Monarchy: for none can be So-

ueraigne in a Commonwealt, but one
only. If there be two, three, or more, the
one is no Soueraigne, because one can
neither giue, or yet receive lawe of his
companion. And although we may ima-
gine a bodie of many Lords, or of ap-
pointed hie Soueraignty: yet it is, most
certainly, that there is but any true sub-
iect, or any support, if there be not one
head with Soueraigne power, to whome
one with another, which one simple
Magistrate neuer can do, without Soue-
raigne Preheminence and authority.

The difficulties are daily noted, which
continually haue accompanied popular
Commonweales and Seignuries, when
both the one and other do hold contrary
parts, and by diuers Magistrates. Some
calling for peace, others war: One will
haue this law, another a quite contrary.
One will haue this man to be chiefe, ano-
ther another at his frind and pertaker, and
the like in diuers other matters.

Moreover, in a Seignourall and Popu-
lar estate, the greater part are continu-
ally made to beleuee things, howbeit the
wise and vertuous are alwayes the lesser
number: by which means (diuers times)
the more sound and better sort of peo-
ple, are constrained to stoope vnder the
greater, to please the appetite of some
seditious fellow, or seditious Orator-
maker. But the Soueraigne Monarch,
hee can alwayes keepe with the more
healthfull spirited and meaner part, ma-
king choise of wise men, and such as
vnderstand the State affaires: whereas quite
contrary necessity compelleth the popu-
lar and *Aristocratical* estates, to entertain
and embrace both fooles and Viscemen
together.

When the Common-wealth of the
Romains was in perill, they made a
Soueraigne Magistrate, according to
which dignitie, hee had no Appellation,
but commanded Soueraignly, and they
tearmed him Dictator. The *Penetians*
created a *Prouidore*; the *Lacedaemonians*
an *Harmolite*, & each of them did so,
considering *Monarchia* to bee the most
assured estate. Me thinks, that these
reasons, and many other, which might
bee drawne in particularly, are sufficient
to shew, that amongst the three kindes
of lawfull Common-wealths, the right
of Monarchie is most excellent; and a-
mong them of Ryot and Disorder, the

Imaginations
are alwayes
irregular and
offensive.

Contrary opi-
nions in po-
pular Com-
mon-weales,
very hard to
be reconciled.

Wise men co-
strained to
stoop to Pa-
ralitics.

Monarchia al-
wayes allow-
eth the best
councell.

Comparison
by diuers co-
mon-weales.

Monarchie is more durable then all other kinds of Commonwealth.

Comparison of both kinds.

Monarchie is figured and represented in the Stars, and in other Creatures.

Read the History of the Turkes, and there this example is at large related.

popular estate is the most vicious. Lawfull borne Monarchie, as a strong, and potent bodie, may easilie maintaine it selfe: but popular qualitie, and Dominion of a few people (as being very weak and feeble) are subject vnto many diseases; and must of necessity bee gouerned by dyet and prescriptions. Neuer were *Arifocracies* and *Democratias* sene to continue so long as *Monarchies*, which we finde (by writing) to haue endured a thousand or twelue hundred yeares, as those of the *Persians*, *Assyrians*, *Medes*, and others: but the Popular or *Arifocraticall*, three or foure hundred yeares only.

Therefore, it shall be needefulle to insist any longer, in approving *Monarchie* to be the most assured estate: considering, that a Family (which is the true Image of a Commonwealth) can indure to haue but one head only, as we haue approued. And all the Lawes of Nature are our guides to Monarchie; be it, that wee respect the little Worlde Man, who hath but one bodie, and but one Head, as chiefe of all the other Members: on whom, dependeth the will, motion, and vnderstanding. Or bee it, that we looke vpon the great world, which hath but one Soueraigne God. If we eleuate our eyes to Heauen, wee shall see there but one Sunne. If we descend to sociable Creatures, we may plainly perceiue, that they cannot suffer many kindes, or many Lordes, how good foucer they be.

This is the very same example, which *Solyman*, King of the Turkes, vsed in *Anno Dom. 552*. hauing heard the lowd acclamations and shouts of ioy, which the whole Armie made for the *Sultane Mustapha* his Son, at his returning from *Persia*. Commanding him to bee strangled in his Chamber of preface. When he was dead, he threw his bodie forth before the whole army, and cried out aloud, *There is no more but one God in heauen, and one Sultan on Earth*. Two dayes after, he did put to death *Sultan Gebusi*, because hee wept for his Brother, and *Sultane Mehemet* the third, because hee fled away for feare, and would leaue no more but one only to shun the inconveniences ensuing by many Lordes and Commanders. Euen so we haue beheld all the people vpon Earth, from the sun-

their date of Antiquity, and when they were guided by one light only: to like nor allow of any other forme of Commonwealth, but absolute Monarchy.

An example derived from Antiquity.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Of the Vertues & secret properties of the Nut-megge: That it was unknowne to our ancient predecessors, with diuers obseruations, worthy due regarding.



HERE are manie things, which becoming ordinarily worn or carried about a man, do impair & grow vnto lesse estimation: as some precious stones, which though they are of a hard and solide matter: yet notwithstanding they waxe old, and loose much of their valew.

Cinnamon, Cloues, and Pepper, borne about vs, do drie of themselves, and loose their sweet savour. Contrarywise, the Nut megge (on whose behalfe I haue written this Chapter, termed by the Latines, *Nux mixtifica*) being worn or carried about a man, doth encrease it selfe, and becommeth much the better. I found this rare effect of Nature, in the lower *Germanie*, where the Inhabitants of those Countreys, doth vsuallic hang Nutmegs about their Childrens necks, and beeing so worn five or six yeares together: they were then much more Oily and moyst, then they were the first yeare. After I had considered on diuers reasons inducing to this purpose, I could finde but one especially which I will declare: submitting my selfe neuertheless, to any other, that can alledge a better, and more profitable.

Nutmegges (doublelesse) beeing long time kepte in Spiceries, bee it in places dry or moist, and well packt vp together, do yet dry of themselves, become rustie, full of holes, and of bad tast, euen like to worne-eaten and rotten wood. Neuertheless, a young man bearing a nutmeg about

There are not try few things but they grow aged by vs, and lose their vertue.

Where the Author made his first obseruation of the Nutmegs.

How Nutmegs loose their Vertue and flavour.

Chap. 37.

Of the Nut-megge.

about him, & exposed to the open aire; doth encrease and make it much the better thereby.

Now, to comprehend whence this proceedeth, we must vnderstande, that this is not proper to all Nutmegs, worn by all men indifferently: but it is to bee considered, of such as is about an infant or elder Child, a youth, or anie other young man, not hauing attained to the age of fortie yeares, as commonlie the *Belgians* are, and those of the nether *Germany*, beeing of verie good habitude, euen as vulgarly they are. This is easilie knowne, by the goodlie proportion of their bodies, the chearefull countenance and complexion of their faces, and firm fleshtiness of their limbes, by their Ordinarie appetite to feeding, strong digestion, and being liuely disposed in all their ioynts and members; alwayes trauielling courageously, rarely troubled with sicknesse or diseases, shunning and auoyding the riotous excesse, and lawfull desire of gourmandizing, whereof they are verie carefull, mingling wholesome Spices continually amongst their meats, and scarcely anie one of them, but wearing some about them, especiallie Nutmegs.

The younger sort do weare them about their Neckes, because they hold opinion: that they make stay of the Rheume which falleth downe on the stomacke, and is a griefe ensuing by ouermuch eating and drinking; suffocating thereby, the Naturall heate. And because such Nutmegs as are worn about the necke, for the space of foure, five, or six yeares, (some more, some lesse) do neither wast or consume, but appeare to bee more weighty and Oily: it seemeth to proceed by this commendable temperance, from whence it exaleth a vapour somewhat delicate and humecting, wherewith the Nutmegs (which they weare) are plenteously stored, which causeth that their Oily nature, cannot by no means become dry, but rather is much the more encreased.

Nor is this to bee accounted any way straunge, because we finde in Learned mens writings, that from the bodies of diuers persones, haue vsued very sweet and odoriferous sweats. Among whom we read of *Alexander the Great*, whose Garments receyued a wonderful sweet-

nesse (as one recordeth) from his verie bodie, and so continued in them most pleasingly, without any other Arte or cunning. I my selfe sawe an *Indian* at *Nantes*, who though he was stark naked, and his bodie seeming of a wilde Olie colour: yet, when mens hands were sweate thereon, they brought thence a sweeter fauour, very answerable vnto Ciuit.

As for Maides and young Women, such matter is not acknowledged of them: and therefore I thinke, that the hinderance proceedeth from this, that Naturall heate is more imbecille, and of lesse power in them, then it is in men; and their exhalation is nothing so temperat, and in regard also, that they are fuller of Excrements, as hath beene declared in the precedent Chapter. But if wee shall speake of aged people, they do resemble trees ouer spent with yeares, full of Putrifaction humors: which maketh them white-headed, wrinkled, and full of defects, hauing no more strength to grow or encrease, whereby to produce matter of anie worth. Otherwise, they are so drie, that no exhalation at all commeth from their bodies; for age is nothing els but a meere exiccation of the Radical humour, and an extinction of the Naturall heate. Whereby may appeare, that they can no way better a Nutmeg by their exhalation. The Reader may content himselfe (if he please) with this reason, which many learned men haue approued, as well as my selfe. It shall now not be much amis, to discourse a little further of the Nut-megge, concerning the manner of his growth, in what Countreys; and likewise of the faculties thereof.

That Nutmegges were vnknewne to our reuerend Antients, is verie easie to be comprehended: because, neither *Theophrastus*, *Histories*, nor *Galen*, did euer make any mention of them. And it serueth to no purpose, to alledge, that they haue spoken of *Mace*: for, I say, that the *Mace* of the Greeks, was not the *Mace* of the Arabes, which is a hide or skinn that doth couer the Nutmegge. And it is verie likelie, that if they had hadde anie knowledge of the *Maces*, questionlesse they would haue lesse something written thereof. Neyther could wee attaine vnto anie

A a a know-

A naked Indian at Nantes.

Concerning Maides and young Women.

Aged men or women haue lost their temperate.

A definition of Age.

Nutmegs and Maces verily vnknewne vnto our Antients.

* Not Maces, but a cloth. A non-natural kind of a certain Indian root.

The reason
how a Nut-
megge is bet-
tered by wea-
ring about a
Child & yong
man.

The ordinary
disposition of
the Belgians.

The reason
why Nut-
megges are
worne about
the necke.

The Sweates
of some mens
bodies are ve-
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Nut-megges
and Maces
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* Not Maces,
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Rinde of a
certaine in-
dian tree.

A a a know-

A naked In-
dian at Nantes.

Concerning
Maides and
young Wome-
men.

Aged men or
women haue
lost their tem-
perature.

A definition
of Age.

knowledge in this case, till after that the *Arabs* had gotten vnto some authority, who taught manie medicines, vtterly vnkowne to the Grecians, because they were much neerer vnto the *Indies* then they.

A description of the Nutmegge and Mace Tree.

The outward Rinde of the Nutmegge.

The first appearing of the Maces, & alteration of their colour afterward.

In what places the Nutmegge Trees doe usually most grow.

The choyce of Nutmegs.

The Tree which beareth these Nutmegges, and the Maces is as great as a Pearre tree, hauing the like Leaues, but shorter and rounder. It carryeth his Nutlike fruite, couered with a very hard rinde: which (when the ripening season is come) cleaueth or openeth of it selfe; and sheweth the filme or skinner that encloseth the Nutmegge, like a scale or shell; and that is it which wee call the Maces or Mace. I meane not the exteriour or outward rinde, albeit (in diuers parts) they vse to Confect it with Sugar, and is much commended in the Countrey where it groweth; that the smell & taste thereof, is verie wholesome against the paine of the Collicke, and the dis-ease of the Reines.

The fruite being ripe, and the sayde rinde exteriour opening (like to the shel or scale that encloseth the Chestnuts of *Lymosine*) the Mace appeareth as red as Scarlet, wonderfull goodly to beholde, especially, when the Trees are wel charged and laden, and beare more then is their vsuall custome. The Nutmeg drying, the Mace still keepeth close and fast about it, till loosing his red colour, hee begetteth another, which is like a Golden Complexion: And these Maces are folde at three times dearer rate, then the Nutmegges.

This Tree that beareth these Nuttes, groweth in one of the Islands of the *Molucces*, which is called *Bandano*. It is found also in diuers other places, as in *Banda*, *Bandornica*, *Herma*, *Tharod*, *Macchedad*, *Lyzamath*, *Cares*, and in *Zeylan*, which are the most fruitful Landes, and better then anie other. The people of the Countrey doe vse to gather them, some more in one place, then in another, according as they can get them: for, in the most parts of all the Islands, all things are in common, without any priuate claime. This is affirmed by *Gariet d'horta*, who traiailed himself into those parts.

They that be fresh, and not drie, withered or worne eaten, are the best nutmegs; likewise, they that were waightie,

maisie, oyle, & abounding in moisture: so that by pricking them with a pinne or Needle, they send forth a sweete sauour. Nutmegges (according to the *Arabians* opinion) are hot and drie, in the second degree compleat: they are astringent, & (by champing in the mouth) doe make the breath sweet: they take awaie spots and blemishes out of the face, sharpen the sight, and strengthen the Liver and stomacke: they diminish the Spleene or Milt, prouoke Vrine, stay the courie and Flux of the Belly, expelling all Windicoffe, and helpe greatly against the Disease of the Mother, proceeding of Frigiditie. In briefe, they haue the very same Vertues and properties, as the Cloaues haue. Nutmegs do yeilde a liquor or iuice, being freshly pounded, heated in a pan, and presently pressed: which iuice being let stand till it be cold, becommeth like virgin wax, and senteth very sweetly. This vnguent is very soveraigne for cold Gowts, and to make a man gracious in the fauor of Ladies. Thus much haue I gathered concerning the Nutmeg.

Naturall properties of the Nutmegge.

A soveraigne Oymment made of Nutmegges.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

A Paradox purposely written in the defence of Warre, approving and maintaining it to be much more famous, honorable, & meritorious of commendation, then Peace.



Ecause many sufficient men haue (heeretofore) verie plentifully discoursed on the praises of peace among which, wee haue *Erasmus Roterdamus*, *Romulus Amasius*, *Claudius Ptolemeus*, and *Adriano Bentiuoli*; all of them (with others of no lesse elegancy) hauing spoken foundlie, and to the purpose, as being Orators of no lesse learning, then fluent and eloquent in the tongues: the two first in *Latine*, and the other in the *Tuscan* language, all hauing discretely employed their paines: yet notwithstanding, altho their defences bestowed on the behalfe of Peace, I cannot forbear to maintain the contrarie, and

Such Authors as haue written in the defence of Peace.

Opposition made against the former defences.

The apparant harmes and iniuries ensuing by Peace.

* A Field ten miles distant from Athens, where Theseus slew a terrible Bull.

* A long Modaine pulling from Lacedaemon, through the midst of Greece.

* A Towne of ten thousand Cythians neere to Thibes.

* A Towne in the borders of Ionia, vnder the Calcedonians in Pontus.

Antient customes of the habit of Citizens.

Worthy encouragement for Souldiers: and as great Alliance vnto Cowards.

and will approue with resolute courage, that they haue done mightie iniurie vnto themselves, in making such description of commendations, by multiplicitie of ydle arguments, which now I will not trouble my selfe withall, either to impropose or confute. But so many onely will I produce and aduertise yee of, as shall happen to my memorie, in fauour of honourable combustion & war, and appeare to the manifest discredite of Peace.

For the first of my reasons, I say that in the time of Peace, Militarie Discipline is lost, and commeth to nothing: which (neuertheless) hath bene at all times reckoning, and allowed as a matter most necessarie, for Conquest, enlarging and conseruing of Empires, Provinces, and the venge greatest and ciuilest Iurisdiccions throughout the world.

Witnesses heereof, are * *Marathon Salaminus*, * *Thermopye*, * *Plataea*, * *Leuce*, & many other places, not meanelly renowned by the Heroicall Actions of Armes. By the means of warre, *Horatius Cocles* was made immortall; and the three *Deij* helde for three Demie Goddes. Hence arose the great & infinite praises (so sweetly sung and Celebrated by Poets, and our ancient Historians of both the *Cypriotes* and honourable *Marcellus*. To whome, I would gladly see who can be iustly compared, vnder Correction of whatsoever hath bene said by fore-named Authours, in honour of their Gowne-men, the onelic especiall louers and fauourers of peace.

We see also by experience, that (well-neere) all ancient Statues or Figures, both were and are formed in military habits, And it was not lawfull (by the customes of all elder and noble Nations) for a Citizen to weare any other Garment, then a party coloured coate: vntill hee had laine, or (at least) vanquished two of his Countreyes enemies. In this case, the *Carthaginians* had a most notable obseruation; for, looke how manie times a Soldier had bene seene in the face of the enemy: so many Plumes, helmets, or Horles, should bee bestowed vpon each feuerall man: but contrary-wise, as often as they were absent from the field, so manie Larbes and Capons wer sent them, as remembrances of their

cravenly cowardise. Liſe wife by publick agreement, it was not lawfull for any mā to marry, except hee had first serued in sundry foughten battailes, or performed some one or other honourable exploit, in the defence of his Countrey.

Let vs consider the great honor which Warre maintaineth euen to this verie instant, to such as either haue or do beare Armes for safety and defence of our holy Christian faith. In memorie whereof, Noble and famous Orders of Knights of *Ierusalem*, of *Malta*, of *Saint Iames*, of *Holie Lazarus*, of *Iesus Christ in Portugall*, of the Round Table, and of the Garter in England, with diuers other Dignities, for Religious warfare, onely for the performance of meruitious and excellent Actions. Vnder these contrary-wise, the mindes that were thus fitted to haughty achievements, in the fleshfull times of peace, would too easily (euen of themselves) be conuerted to proud and insolent attempts.

To proue this true, that they which in the times of Warre, doe accomplish deeds of Vertue, and in the dull daies of peace, fall into quite contrary behaviours, we may perceiue by great *Marines*, the Conqueror of the *Cymrians*. When warre did set an edge vpon his true temper, he had not his equal for valour and rowesse: but, in the trifling times of peace, he was the most wicked and dangerous man in all the Countrey. In like manner, wee shall finde it for most certaine, that Peace quencheth whatsoever is good in anie man; and quickneth or giueth life vnto all such things, as are in him most hurtfull and damnable.

Let mee moue a question (in meere Courtse) vnto such as are the greatest blamers and deprauers of warre. What can they call Hatreds, Quarrelles, and Seditious, but the onelic true and perfect Instrumēt, whereby Nature oftentimes helpeth to performe manie verie lawdable actions? Ye may imagine, that it was not without very great reason, that VVarre (by the Latines) was called *bellum*, Fayre, Pleasunt, and Commodious: for such indeede is the true Nature thereof, albeit our new vplust gaine-layers dooth affirme, that

A a a z it

Law for marriage.

Honour persecuted by deeds of Armes.

Orders of Knights-hood to encrease the memory of Armes.

Examination of the severall times of War and peace.

Peace the quencher of all goodnes in men.

Concerning Hatreds, Quarrels and Seditions.

The name giuen to warre by the Latines

it is meant in a contrarie fence. But if it were lawfull, to compare the losses in peace, with them that ensue onely by warre: the report would be pittifull, and the remembrance verie Tragicall.

How many goodly Armies haue bin broken, defeated and destroyed, by the meanes (I will not say of peace) of truce onely? Which, though it bee Vvares neereft Kinsman, yet it is sworne enemy vnto all Vertue and Valor. The strength and powers of Truce, ministers the meanes (euen as Peace doth) to lessen and impair Cities, Townes, and whole Prouinces, by straitne Lawes and Ordinances: beside, it engendereth infinit secret hatreds, and vpholdeth Princes in roughnesse and feueritie against their Subjects. In time of peace, the dispositions of men, which (but for it) would be highly exalted with enflamed desire to expresse their brauerie and roialty, do become sleepe, drowsie, pensue, slothfull, lasciuious, and effeminate.

But to prouoe that Warre hath bin fauoured and esteemed by our Lorde God himselfe, tell mee (I pray yee) he is not called by the Children of *Israel*, *The Great God of Battails*, *The Lorde of Hostes and Armies*? Look in the Olde Testament, how manie mightie ouerthrowes and slaughters were executed in his Name, vppon them that were the Aduersaries of his people? Howe manie were slaine by *Moses*, *Iosuah*, *Gedon*, *Sampson*, and diuers other? Howe manie slew *Abraham*, *Dauid*, *Iudas Machabees*, and they that wer in those times? What shall we say of Saint *Michaell* the Arch-Angell; who (euen in Heaven it selfe) made such a sharpe Conflit against the Draggons? And, to continue on this discourse, euen to the New Law, if GOD had beene displeased with Vvare, would hee haue commanded his Apostles to sel their cloaks, and buy each of them a Sword? If Saint *John Baptist*, had hated Soldiers, or Militarie Discipline, would he haue appointed them this Law and Ordinance (when they demanded of him, what way they should take, whereby to attaine to the saluation of their foules) *That they should content themselves with their Vvages, and not rob or pille from the poore people*. Hee would then rather haue commanded them, to leaue that estate, and betake

them vnto some Hermitage; or else, to deale in some assayres of Merchandize, or in some such like employments. No, content your selues (quoth hee) in your Garrisons, with your ordinarie pay, and offer no shame, violence, or extortion, to any one. For your calling (which is the Art Militarie) will not let or hinder yee from your saluation: because manie of your profession, haue thereby wonne their safest security.

This in briefe, and in my conceipt, is that which blessed Saint *Johns* words intended, if I bee no bad Paraphrastor Interpreter. If hee had beene willing to discommend Warre, yet he wold haue forborne it: perceiving what pride and insolence was crept into rich mens minds, during the pampering daies of peace and no way so soone to be cured or corrected, as by the worthy discipline obserued in warre.

How many haue beene observed, of great Gentlemen, Merchants, Countrey-men, and other of all conditions, who were wont to be most proud and arrogant: suddenly to become kind and tractable, onely by meanes of the bridle of Warre? This is it, which deliuereth vs from a number of milbaps by theenes ydle Vagabonds, Gamblers, Pipers, Players, young Rogues, Cozeners, Ruffians, and High-way watchers. It serueth to whet and waken the spirits of Men, making their bodies to become more strong, light, nimble, patient; yea, and emboldened against all hard and sinister fortunes.

Consider the sweetnesse and delight which the *Cymbrians* founde in Vvare, vsing it as the Conseruation of their Countrey: and when they went to fight, they woulde sing as chearefullie, as if they had beene going vnto a wedding. Imagine what pleasure was taken therein by furious *Hanniball*, Valiant *Morcellus*, Vertuous *epio*, Courageous *Camillus*, and that Victorious *Alexander*.

If say moreover, whofoeuer is ignorant in taking good order for publike assayres, there is no place or Schoole, wherein hee may more easily attaine thereto; then by noting the preparation and conducting of an Armie. Besides, whofoeuer knoweth not the deceptives, sleights, and trickes of ingenious prudence,

The implication of S. John Baptists words to the Soldiers, according to the authors interpretation.

Warre is the only bridle to many notorious inclinations and shames.

The Cimbrians had great felicity in Warre.

Warre the Schoole for publike exercises, and ingenious prudence.

Famous Armies destroyed by the meanes of truce.

Princes made rough and fierce to their people, by peace.

Warre, fauored and allowed by god himselfe, and what names were giuen him.

Examples alleged out of sacred Scripture in the old Testament.

Examples out of the new Testament.

dence, or how to stand vpon his guard, to know what he should auoyd, and what he ought principally to followe: let him but liue in war a month or two for pleasure; and in that time he shall learn more then all the Bookes of Peace shall euer be able to teach him.

Furthermore, hee that conets to vnderstand the true Nature of inuolable obedience, strict diligence, incomparable vigilance, vnspokeable promptitude of heart, and inestimable strength of the bodie: let him but vouchsafe so much leysure, as (for a while) to follow a field well manned and prepared, there to obserue carefully, what hee may behold for his owne benefit. If hee finde not himselfe well satisfied; yea, & more then contented in verie few dayes, I will yeeld, and loose my credite in this cause. Which therefore shall serue me to conclude withall, maintaining still that war is to be preferred before peace, as deeply beloued, and with choicest praises commended. Beside, our Prayers should continually bee made to God, to create such chearfull hearts in our Princes, that wee may not any long time, remaine in want, of such a precious and vnnuable Iewell.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Of the Indian Beare: And of those Beares in our owne Native Countreyes, howe different they are in their severall Natures.



All kinds of Creatures haue their contraries appointed, to appeare their hurtfullnesse.

Nature hath verie many times expresse hit care and prouidence (as a dutifull handmaid attending on God) where there are any store of hurtfull creatures in some country, that may inpeach the inhabiting of men, or Lienes of other beasts and animals, to engender some other of contrary kinds, to destroy the ouer-abounding of such harmefull things. As we may obserue in Serpents, which do deuore vp Toads & Lizards: Serpents also themselves, are eaten by Storks, and many times they themselves

do feede one vpon another: Cats also do deuoure Rats, and so in diuers more beside. I speake this the rather, because we finde recorded in the generall hitorie of the *Indians*, that in *Quilas*, a certaine Countrey of the New-world, there are such extraordinary fwarmes of Antes, that they consume the feeds and rootes of all Trees and plants. So that, if there were no Beares (which Nature in effecti- all fauour hath there appointed; and in great plentie) ther could not be any possibility of dwelling there, because they would make the Countrey to bee quite barren.

The Beare of this Region, liueth only (without anie other foode or Pastorage) by eating those Antes, whose beddes and Nests hee chiefly findeth, and so with his tongue (which is verie broad and large) hee is so quicke and readie in licking of them vp, that hee is onely nourished by them. There are also great store of those Beares, but they are not fierce, wild and harmefull, as those in other partes: for they will not set vpon men, neither mount vppon Trees, to deuoure the young sprouts and fruites, but are verie easily made tame and tractable by the *Indians*.

There is no need of plucking out their eyes, or boaring their lippes, to thrust Rings of Iron thorough them, onely to tame them. For euen of themselves, they are (well-neere) Domestically: and, if it were not for these Beares, neither men, and great store of other creatures, could not liue there: but they encrease in those partes so abundantly, that they suffice to destroy the plentie of Antes; in which respect, the Countrey may well account it selfe to be most happy.

I haue not well bene informed, whether it bee the Nature of the Beares in this Countrey, that (according as hath bene reported) the three Beare yeildeth or whelpeth a Male of Fleish, without anie forme or apparance of life: and that the Damme, onely by the Vertue of licking, giueth it true shape.

Of this opinion, were manie Learned and graue men, as *Aristotle*, *Plutarke*, *Plinie*, *Ellanus*, and *Dn Barlaam*: but it is a manifest error, as experience hath plainly declared vnto vs, because in manie enclosed places of *Germanie*, and of *France* also, Beares of both sexes

Quilas a Region in the New-found World.

The Indian Beare feedeth on Antes only.

The Indian Beare is gentle and tractable.

The error of Aristotle, and many other learned men herein.

knowledge in this case, till after that the *Arabs* had gotten vnto some authority, who taught manie medicines, vtely vnknowne to the Grecians, because they were much neerer vnto the *Indians* then they.

A description of the Nutmegge and Mace Tree.

The outward Rinde of the Nutmegge.

The first appearing of the Maces, & alteration of their colour afterward.

In what places the Nutmegge Trees doe usually grow.

The choyce of Nutmegs.

The Tree which beareth these Nutmegges, and the Maces is as great as a Pearre tree, hauing the like Leaues, but shorter and rounder. It carryeth his Nutlike fruite, couered with a very hard rinde: which (when the ripening season is come) cleaueth or openeth of it selfe; and sheweth the firme or skinner, that enclōseth the Nutmegge, like a scale or shell; and that is it which wee call the Maces or Mace. I meane not the exteriour or outward rinde, albeit (in diuers parts) they vse to Confect it with Sugar, and is much commended in the Countrey where it groweth, that the smell & taste thereof, is verie wholesome against the paine of the Collicke, and the dis ease of the Reines.

The fruite being ripe, and the sayde rinde exteriour opening (like to the shell or scale that enclōseth the Chestnuts of *Lymagne*) the Mace appeareth as red as Scarlet, wonderfull goodly to beholde, especially, when the Trees are wel charged and laden, and beate more then is their vsuall custome. The Nutmeg drying, the Mace still keepeth close and fast about it, till loosing his red colour, hee begetteth another, which is like a Golden Complexion: And these Maces are solde at three times dearer rate, then the Nutmegges.

This Tree that beareth these Nuttes, groweth in one of the Islands of the *Molucces*, which is called *Randano*. It is found also in diuers other places, as in *Banda*, *Bandornica*, *Herma*, *Tharod*, *Machedad*, *Lycamath*, *Cares*, and in *Zeylan*, which are the most fruitful Landes, and better then anie other. The people of the Countrey doe vse to gather them, some more in one place, then in another, according as they can get them: for, in the most parts of all the Islands, all things are in common, without any priuate claime. This is affirmed by *Gariel d'Uorta*, who trauielled himself into those parts.

They that be fresh, and not drie, withered or worme eaten, are the best nutmegs; likewise, they that were waighte,

malise, oyle, & abounding in moisture: so that by pricking them with a pinne or Needle, they send forth a sweete fauour. Nutmegges (according to the *Arabians* opinion) are hot and drie, in the second degree compleat: they are astringent, & (by champing in the mouth) doe make the breath sweet: they take awaie spottes and blemishes out of the face, sharpen the sight, and strengthen the Liver and stomacke: they diminish the Spleene or Milt, prouoke Vrine, stay the course and Flux of the Belly, expelling all Windnesse, and helpe greatly against the Disease of the Mother, proceeding of Frigiditie. In briefe, they haue the very same Vertues and properties, as the Clooues haue. Nutmegs doe yeilde a liquor or iuice, being freshly pounded, heated in a pan, and presently pressed: which iuice being let stand till it be cold, becommeth like virgin wax, and fenteth very sweetly. This vnguent is very soueraigne for cold Gowts, and to make a man gracious in the fauor of Ladies. Thus much haue I gathered concerning the Nutmeg.

Naturall properties of the Nutmegge.

A soueraigne Oynment made of Nutmegges.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

A Paradox purposely written in the defence of Warre, approving and maintaining it to be much more famous, honorable, & meritorious of commendation, then Peace.



Ecause many sufficient men haue (heeretofore) verie plentifully discoursed on the praises of peace among which, wee haue *Erasmus Roterdamus*, *Romulus Amasius*, *Claudius Ptolomeus*, and *Adriano Bentiuoli*; all of them (with others of no lesse elegance) hauing spoken foundlie, and to the purpose, as being Orators of no lesse learning, then fluent and eloquent in the tongues: the two first in *Latine*, and the other in the *Tuscan* language, all hauing discretely employed their paines: yet notwithstanding, al their defences bestowed on the behalfe of Peace, I cannot forbear to maintaine the contrarie, and

Such Authors as haue written in the defence of Peace.

Opposition made against the former defenses.

The apparant harmes and iniuries ensuing by Peace.

* A Field ren miles distant from Athens, where Theseus slew a terrible Bull.

* A long Mountain pulling from Leucadia, through the midst of Greece.

* A Towne of Bani a by Cythrus neere to Thibes.

* A Towne in the borders of Ionia, and an Ile called Adolias in Pontus.

Auncient customes for the habits of Citizens.

Worthy encouragement for Souldiers, and as great disgrace to Cowards.

and will approue with resolu'd courage, that they haue done mightie iniurie vnto themselves, in making such description of commendations, by multiplicitie of ydle arguments, which now I will not trouble my selfe withall, either to impropoe or confute. But so many one will I produce and aduertise yee of, as shall happen to my memorie, in fauour of honourable combustion & war, and appeare to the manifest discredite of Peace.

For the first of my reasons, I say that in the time of Peace, Militarie Discipline is lost, and commeth to nothing: which (neuertheless) hath bene at all times in reckoning, and allowed as a matter most necessarie, for Conquest, enlarging and consuetudine of Empires, Prouinces, and the verie greatest and chieffest iurisdiccions throughout the world.

Witnesses heereof, are * *Marathon Salaminus*, * *Thermopila*, * *Plataea*, * *Leucaea*, and many other places, not meanelly renowned by the Heroicall Actions of Armes. By the means of warre, *Horatius Cocles* was made immortal; and the three *Decei* helde for three Demie Goddesses. Hence arose the great & infinite praises (so sweetly sung and Celebrated by Poets, and our ancient Historians) of both the *Achilles* and honourable *Arcellus*. To whome, I would gladielie see who can be iustly compared, vnder Correction of whatsoever hath bene said by fore-named Authours, in honour of their Gowne-men, the onelie especiall louers and fauourers of peace.

We see also by experience, that (well-neere) all auncient Statues or Figures, both were and are formed in military habits. And it was not lawfull (by the customes of all elder and noble Nations) for a Citizen to weare any other Garment, then a party coloured coate: vntill hee had slaine, or (at least) vanquish't two of his Countreyes enemies. In this case, the *Carthaginians* had a most notable obseruation; for, looke how manie times a Soldier had bene scene in the face of the enemy: so many Plumes, helmets, or Horsles, should bee bestowed vpon each feuerall man: but contrary-wise, as often as they were absent from the field, so manie Larbes and Capons were sent them, as remembrances of their

cravenly cowardise. Likewise by publick agreement, it was not lawfull for any mā to marry, except hee had first serued in sundry foughten battailes, or performed some one or other honourable exploit, in the defence of his Countrey.

Let vs consider the great honor which Warre maintaineth euen to this verie instant, to such as either haue or do beare Armes for safety and defence of our holly Christian faith. In memorie whereof, Noble and famous Orders of Knighthood were aunciently established. As Knights of *Ierusalem*, of *hodes*, of *Malta*, of *Saint Iames*, of *Holie Lazarus*, of *Iesus Christ in Portugall*, of the Round Table, and of the Garter in England, with diuers other Dignities for Religious warfare, onely for the performance of meruailous and excellent Actions. Vnder contrary-wise, the mindes that were thus fired to haughty achievements, in the sloathfull times of peace, would too easily (euen of themselves) be conuerted to proud and insolent attempts.

To proue this true, that they which in the times of Warre, doe accomplish deeds of Vertue, and in the dull daies of peace fall into quite contrary behauiours, we may perceiue by great *Astir*, the Conqueror of the *Cymbrians*, when warre did set an edge vpon his true temper, he had not his equall for valour and prowesse: but, in the trifling times of peace, he was the most wicked and dangerous man in all the Countrey. In like manner, wee shall finde it for most certaine, that Peace queneth whatsoever is good in anie man; and quickneth or giueeth life vnto all such things, as are in him most hurtfull and damnable.

Let mee moue a question (in meere Courties) vnto such as are the greatest blamers and deprauers of warre. What can they call Hatreds, Quarrells, and Seditious, but the onelie true and perfect Instruments, whereby Nature ofentimes helpeth to performe manie verie lawdable actions? Ye may imagine, that it was not without very great reason, that VVarre (by the Latines) was called *bellum*, Fyre, Measurment, and Commodious: for such indeede is the true Nature thereof, albeit our newpittard gaine-sayers dooth affirme, that

Law for marriage.

Honour persecuted by deeds of Armes.

Orders of Knighthood to encourage the memory of Armes.

Examination of the several times of War and peace.

Peace the quencher of all goodnesse in men.

Concerning Hatreds, Quarrells and Seditions.

The name giuen to warre by the Latines.

it is meant in a contrarie fence. But if it were lawfull, to compare the losses in peace, with them that ensue onely by warre: the report would be pittifull, and the remembrance verie Tragical.

How many goodly Armies haue bin broken, defeated and destroyed, by the meanes (I will not say of peace) of truce onely? Which, though it bee VArres neereft Kinsman, yet it is sworne enemy vnto all Vertue and Valor. The strength and powers of Truce, ministers the meanes (euen as Peace doth) to lessen and impair Cities, Townes, and whole Provinces, by straunge Lawes and Ordinances: beside, it engendereth infinit secret hatreds, and vpholdeth Princes in roughnesse and feueritie against theyr Subjects. In time of peace, the dispositions of men, which (but for it) would be highly exalted with enflamed desire to expresse their brauerie and roialty do become sleepe, drowsie, pensue, slothfull, lasciuious, and effeminate.

But to proue that VArre hath bin fauoured and esteemed by our Lord God himselfe, tell mee (I pray wee) hee is not called by the Children of Israel, *The Great God of Battails, The Lord of Hostes and Armies*? Lookie in the Olde Testament, how manie mightie ouerthrowes and slaughters were executed in his Name, vppon them that were the Aduersaries of his people? Howe manie were slaine by *Moses, Joshua, Gedeon, Sampson*, and diuers other? Howe manie slew *Abraham, David, Iudas Machabees*, and they that wer in those times? What shall we say of Saint *Atchael* the Arch-Angell; who (euen in Heaven it selfe) made ticha sharpe Conflist against the Dragon? And, to continue on this discourse, euen to the New Law, if GOD had bene displeased with VArre, would hee haue commanded his Apostles to sel their cloaks, and buy each of them a Sword? If Saint *John Baptist*, had hated Soldiers, or Militarie Discipline, would hee haue appointed them this Law and Ordinance (when they demaunded of him, what way they should take, whereby to attaine to the conquest of their foules) *That they should content themselves with their Wages, and not rob or pille from the poore people*. Hee woulde then rather haue commanded them, to leaue that estate, and betake

them vnto some Hermitage; or else, to deale in some assayes of Merchandize, or in some such like employments. No, content your selues (quoth hee) in your Garrisons, with your ordinarie pay, and offer no shame, violence, or extortion, to any one. For your calling (which is the Art Militarie) will not let or hinder ye from your saluation: because manie of your profession, haue thereby wonne their safest security.

This in briefe, and in my conceipt, is that which blessed Saint *Iohns* words intended, if I bee no bad Paraphrast or Interpreter. If hee had bene willing to discommend VArre, yet he wold haue forborne it: perceyuing what pride and insolence was crept into rich mens mindes, during the pamping daies of peace and no way so loone to be cured or corrected, as by the worthy discipline obserued in warre.

How many haue bene obserued, of great Gentlemen, Merchants, Countrey-men, and of all conditions, who were woot to bee most proud and arrogant: suddenly to become kind and tractable, onely by meanes of the bridle of VArre? This is it, which deliuereth vs from a number of millaps by theenes ydle Vagabonds, Gamblers, Pipers, Players, young Rogues, Cozeners, Rustians, and High-way watchers. It serueth to whet and waken the spiites of Men, making their bodies to become more strong, light, nimble, patient; yea, and emboldened against all hard and sinister fortunes.

Consider the sweetnesse and delight which the *Cymbrians* founde in VArre, vsing it as the Conseruation of theyr Countrey: and when they went to fight, they woulde sing as chearefullie, as if they had bene going vnto a wedding. Imagine what pleasure was taken therein by furious *Hannibal*, Valiant *Marcellus*, Vertuous *epie*, Courageous *Camillus*, and that Victorious *Alexander*.

I say moreover, whofoeuer is ignorant in taking good order for publique assayes, there is no place or Schoole, wherein hee may more easily attaine thereto; then by noting the preparation and conducting of an Armie. Besides, whofoeuer knoweth not the deceptions, sleights, and trickes of ingenious prudence,

The implication of S. Iohns Baptists words to the Souliers, according to the authors interpretation.

Warre is the only bridle to many notorious insolencies and abuses.

The Cimbrians had great felicity in Warre.

Warre the Schoole for publique affaires, and ingenious prudence.

dence, or how to stand vpon his garde, to know what he should auoyd, and what he ought principally to followe: let him but liue in war a month or two for pleasure; and in that time he shall learn more then all the Bookes of Peace shall euer be able to teach him.

Furthermore, hee that couets to vnderstand the true Nature of inuincible obedience, strict diligence, incomparable vigilance, vnspokeable promptitude of heart, and inestimable strength of the bodie: let him but vouchsafe so much leysure, as (for a while) to follow a field well manned and prepared, there to obserue carefully, what hee may behold for his owne benefit. If hee finde not himselfe well satisfied; yea, & more then contented in verie few dayes, I will yeeld, and looke my credite in this cause. Which therefore I shall serue me to conclude withall, maintaining still that war is to be preferred before peace, as deely beloued, and with choicest praises commended. Beside, our Prayers should continually bee made to God, to create such chearfull hearts in our Princes, that wee may not any long time, remaine in want, of such a precious and vnualueable Iewell.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Of the Indian Beare: And of those Beares in their owne Native Countreyes, howe different they are in their severall Natures.



All kinds of Creatures haue their contraries appointed, to appeare their humilitie.

Nature hath verie many times expresse hie care and prouidence (as a dutifull handmaid attending on God) where there are any store of hurtfull creatures in some country, that may inteech the inhabiting of men, or Lienes of other beasts and animals, to engender some other of contrary kinds, to destroy the ouer-abounding of such harmefull things. As we may obserue in Serpents, which do deuoure vp Toads & Lizards: Serpents also themselves, are eaten by Storks, and many times they themselves

do feede one vpon another. Cats also do deuoure Rats, and so in diuers more beside. I speake this the rather, because we finde recorded in the generall historie of the Indians, that in *Quinta*, a certaine Countrey of the New-world, there are such extraordinary swarmes of Antes, that they consume the feeds and rootes of all Trees and plants. So that, if there were no Beares (which Nature in effect all fauour hath there appointed, and in great plentie) ther could not be any possibility of dwelling there, because they would make the Countrey to bee quite barren.

The Beare of this Region, liueth only (without anie other foode or Pastorage) by eating those Antes, whose beddes and Nests hee easily findeth, and so with his tongue (which is verie broad and large) hee is so quicke and readie in licking of them vp, that hee is onely nourished by them. There are also great store of those Beares, but they are not fierce, wild and harmefull, as those in other partes: for they will not set vppon men, neither mount vppon Trees, to deuoure the young sprouts and fruites, but are verie easily made tame and tractable by the Indians.

There is no need of plucking out their eyes, or boaring their lippes, to thruste Rings of Iron thorough them, onely to tame them. For euen of themselves, they are (well-neere) Domestical: and, if it were not for these Beares, neither men, and great store of other creatures, could not liue there: but they encrease in those partes so abundantly, that they suffice to destroy the plentie of Antes; in which respect, the Countrey may well account it selfe to be most happy.

I haue not well bene informed, whether it bee the Nature of the Beares in this Countrey, that (according as hath bene reported) the free Beare yeildeth or whelpeth a Male of Flesh, without anie forme or apparance of life: and that the Damme, onely by the Vertue of sucking, giueth it true shape.

Of this opinion, were manie Learned and graue men, as *Ariftole*, *Plutarke*, *Plinie*, *Ellanus*, and *Dr Bartas*: but it is a manifest error, as experience hath plainly declared vnto vs, because in manie enclosed places of *Germanie*, and of *France* also, Beares of both sexes

Quinta Region in the New-found World.

The Indian Beare is tamed on Antes only.

The Indian Beare is gentle and tractable.

The error of Aristotle and many others learned men beside.

Aaaa 3 are

Famous Armies destroyed by the meanes of truce.

Princes made rough and fierce to their people, by peace.

Warre, fauored and allowed by god himselfe, and what names were giuen him.

Examples alleged out of sacred Scripture, and they that were in the old Testament.

Examples out of the new Testament.

A frait obseruation by Nature.

Concerning teeth in young Infants, that they are not bred after their birth.

A view of young whelps in the Dams belly.

The testimony of Sealger.

How long time the Shee Beare goeth with her young and manner of her whelp.

are kept, which haue engendered young ones, verie well formed in all their members. For, it is an order, obserued by nature verie strictly in our terrestrial Animals, that in their passage out of the Matrice, they are fully compleated in all their parts, without any need of further forming, encreasing verie well in those three dimensions, length, largenesse, & depth.

It serueth to no purpose, to alledge, that Childrens teeth are engendered or formed after their birth. For I answer, that they bring them with them from the Mothers wombe: as I haue seene in the dissection of many young infants, newly borne and dead, whose gummies beeing opened in the pitres and hollowes of the Iawes, the Teeth haue beene plainly found.

But indeede, no outward appearance is made of them, vntill certaine monthes determined by Nature, in which time, they grow greater and stronger, & pierce their passage through the gummies. For mine owne part, in the Mountaines of Saint Claude, in *La franche comte de Bourgogne*, I haue seene a shee-Bearre laine: whose Belly being presently opened, three young VVhelses were there found, fully formed and hairy, and (as I thinke) verie soone to haue beene whelped, and that which is affirmed by eye-testimony, I hope hath no neede of further probation. *Sealger*, a great Physitian and Phylosopher, also affirmeth; That he being once at the taking and killing of a Shee-Bearre on the Alpes, the young VVhelses in her belly were found to be wholly formed, as I haue formerly iustified by mine owne sight.

Plinie saith, that the thirtieth day after her conception, the shee-Bearre deliuereth her young ones: but *Elianus* sayeth, within three monthes after, which is the more likely and credible, because all great creatures, do beare their burthens longer, then such as are small and little. VVhen they are brought into the world, they are about the bignesse of VVeazels: and there is good apparence, that they can be no bigger, because they are carried no longer time, as Kine doo their Calues, Mares their Foales; and other great Beasts their young ones; and these Shee-Bearres hath commonlie three or sue.

So soone as shee hath conceived, the commeth no more into the males sight. VVhen desire of coupling with the male is kindled in her, shee is so greatly affamed thereof: that she hideth her selfe in the remotest obscure places, and the male neuer seeketh after her. At length, being pressed by Nature, and desire of generation, shee commeth to finde the male, and tumbling and playing before him, lyeth directly vpon her backe; and so hee coupleth with her, even as men and women vse to doe. And this is the reason, why it should not bee accounted so strange, that Beares haue had actual dealing with VVomen, wandering thorow the Forrests and Mountaynes, and conceyued by them, as I shall declare more at large in the next following Chapter.

They helpe themselves with their Pawes and Feete, even as men do with their hands and feete; for, they can goe vpright along while together, and hurle or throwe stones with their formost Pawes, smite with a Staffe, and whatsoever else themselves will doo, as well as we.

They are almost continually troubled with paine and Ache in the head, and in such violent manner, that oftentimes (as madded therewith) they throw themselves downe from very high rocks their heads going forwardes, covering their eyes with their pawes, because their sight is verie feeble, and by covering their eyes, they seeme to find some ease.

They espie out such places, where Bees doe make their Honie and VVax, onely to make them angrie, and to the end, they may bee pricked and pierced by the Bees stings, both in their head, and about their eyes: whereby their sight is amended, and their head greefe much alluaged. They feede indifferently on all kinds of Foode, be it Fleish, Fruites, Hearbes, sprouts of Trees, and Honey. They will assaile and kill (if they can) all wild and favage Beasts; as Harts, Hinds, Boares; yea, and VVilde Bulles manie times.

The Shee-Bearre feeling her selfe to be bigge, or conceyued with yong (which most commonly is in the winter time) with-draweth her selfe into her Cae, which shee preparerth in a strong defended

How the Shee Beare coupleth with the Male.

Beares haue deale carnally with women.

Actions performed by Beares.

Beares troubled with head-ach.

Beares haue bad eyesight, and how they helpe it.

The feeding and hunting of Beares.

When the Female is bigge with yong.

How long time the Shee Beare fasteth, and of her coming forth of her Cae.

* Calves foot, Ramp, Starche, or Cucioe-pint.

Fables reported by Demetrius a Maffonia Ambassadour to Rome.

Nature hath giuen beastes or dugges to Shee Beares.

When a Shee Beare & her young ones are pursued.

fenced place, far from common resort, and well couered with earth, boughes, and branches, entring thereinto alwaies backward, because it should not be knowne, or found by Huntmen. There she remaineth forty daies together, without any food or sustentation; doing nothing else, but like her right paw, whereby she liueth all that while. Afterward, she commeth forth againe, and then eateth all the Antes she can come by: yet not for any nourishment (like to the Indian Beare) but onely to prouoke her to vomit, to the end that she may feed the better. Which when she hath done, she then seeketh after food, and because she hath continued the space of forty daies, and eaten nothing: her intestines are fast clunged together; so that, no meate can haue entrance, but is instantly cast vp againe, and therefore she eateth the Hearb called * *Aren*, which giueth dilatation and open (preeding to her bowels againe.

As for her VVhelses or young ones, they do not teate or sucke, like to other Creatures, because *Munier* reporteth (but I know not from whom) that one *Demetrius a Maffonia*, who was sent thence as an Ambassadour to Rome, declared for a certainty to some periculer Men of credit: that in his Country of *Maffonia*, there were great store of Beares, big in stature of body, and very fierce, that after their birth (for the space of foureteene daies) liued without eating any thing, continuing in so profound a sleepe, that nothing could waken them, no, though they were pricked and pierced very deeply. After that time is passed ouer, they do then awake, and fall to licking of their formost pawes, and liue (onely by this licking) till the Spring time, when they begin to come abroad with their Dammes, and nibble on tender Hearbs, as they see them do. Now, to speake vprightly, I can hardly beinduced to beleue this, because Nature hath giuen Beasts, or Dugges to Shee Beares, as I my selfe haue seene, and then they should haue their Milke in vaine.

Moreover, that if they be pursued by Hunters, hauing their young ones in their company, and they vnable to escape, in regard of their weaknesse: the Damme carryeth some on her back,

and one in her mouth, and so climbeth vp vpon a high Tree, to preferre her selfe and them in this manner. This maketh me to remember, that which is recited by *Elianus*, of a Shee-Bearre and two Lyons.

He saith, that he heard it reported by one *Eudemus*, that a Shee-Bearre of * *Pan-gau*, a Mountaine in *Thrace*, chanced to finde a Denne; wherein were young Lyon-whelpes, and neither the Sire or Damme there present, to defend them from this Shee-Bearre, therefore she killed them, & afterward departed thence. VVithin a short while after, the Lyon and his Lyonnesse returned to their den, bringing preyes to nourish their young VVhelses withall: but finding them dead, and gathering (by their sente) how they were murdered; they instantly pursued the Shee-Bearres foot by the smell, and discerning her a farre off, drew neerer and neerer still, deuising their best meanes, how to entrap her. Which the Shee-Bearre also perceiuing, and knowing her strength farre insufficient, to deliuer her from these displeased Lyons: forthwith shee began to climbe a Tree, and got vp to the very top thereof. These enraged Beasts seeing they could compass no amends from the murtheresse; tormented themselves exceedingly, and the Lyonnesse lying downe at the foote of the Tree, kept it as besiedged, to be reuenged on her Enimy. But the Sire or male Lyon, he ran vp and downe from Hill to Dale, making the Mountaines to tremble with his loud out-cryes, and all the other Beasts to be very fearefull. At length, hee lighted on a man a Wood-feller, who was hewing downe a Tree in the Forrest, and perceiuing the Lyon to make towards him with extremity of dismay, shee Axe fell out of his hands, and faine he would haue fled for his ownnesafety. The Lyon approaching neere vnto him, made signes of humble and gentle sawning on him, and in such pleasing manner, as we see Dogges to do: licking his hands and garments, oftentimes prostrating himselfe at his feete, even as if he implored his help in some vrgent occasion.

At length, he took him by the cloaths with his teeth, as if hee would bee his guide and conduct to some place, often patting

Elianus in lib. 3. cap. 30.

* A Promontory of *Thrace*

A strange History of a Shee Beare and a Lyonnesse.

Beasts discover the killers of their young ones, by their sente or smell that did the deed.

The Lionesse lyeth downe to beseege her enemie.

Admirable humanyty in Lyons, to doe themselves good.

The Lyon gi-
ueth direc-
tions to the mi-
to goe along
with him.

As expresse-
ing what losse
in nature he had
sustained, by
so euident a
testimony.

The She-Bear
disinured in
many pie-
ces.

The Beare
vish to eate
the flesh of no
beasts, but
such as he him-
self killeth.

Munster, ex
Demetrius.

A pretty Hi-
story, and no
way vnlike-
ly, of a mans life
saued by a
Beare.

patting his paw vpon the Axe, that the Wood-feller should take it vp againe: which the fearfull man being not able to comprehend (though the beast still vrged it by diuers perswasue signs) the Lyon took it vp with his teeth, and carried it himselfe. So, winding his taile about one of the mans legs, he conducted him, first to the place where the young whelps lay murdered, which was not far from the Tree whereon the She-Bear was mounted. Thither also he brought him, and the Lyonnesse seeing them comming, she arose (with chearful disposition) to meete them, equalling, or rather exceeding the Male Lyons affability to the Man. In briefe, both the beasts made such apparant signes to the Carpenter, that hee not only saw the She-Bear aloft on the Tree; but gathered also by their moanes, that these had killed their young Whelpes, and therefore they would haue him to cut downe the Tree; because, by no means else, they could be auenged on her. The man did quickly cut downe the Tree, & as it fell, so did the She-Bear: which was so sooner on the ground, but instantly they rent her in infinite peeces, returning many gratefull signes to the poore Carpenter, and conducting him safely to his former working place againe.

But returne we now againe, to the naturall disposition of the Beare. He will neuer eate the Flesh of any Beast, which he findeth dead, or readily killed for him. It is faide also, that if a man counterfeit himselfe to be dead, and retaineth his breath while he smelleth to him; hee will not doo him any harme. He diueth all Rats out of his Denne, and will not abide therein, if there bee but one left in it. He will neuer eate any Hony out of the Hiue, where he findes the Bees to be dead.

Munster declareth (by direction from the fore-named Demetrius) that a Beare saued the life of Man, in the very remotest and vastest Forrest of all *Asiatica*, in the yeare, one thousand five hundred and thirty, and after this manner. A man inhabiting in a neighbouring Village, went into the Forrest to gather Waxe and Hony: because in those Countries, the Bees vse to make their Hony in hollow Trees in the For-

rests, whereof there are no meane number, and hee thereby maketh his best benefit, that is most diligent in search, and getteth the greatest quantity.

The poore Countrey-man, standing with his Legges extended abroad in a hollow Tree, for his better gathering of his Hony-Combs: the slender hold (which supported his feete) chanced to breake, and downe he fell further into the hollow of the Tree, till hee was vp to the Chin in Waxe and Hony; destitute of all strength for helping himselfe, or hope of any succour, because no Passengers frequented that way (at least-wile, very sildome) that might heare his wofull complaints, so that he continued there for the space of two daies.

Now, if fortun'd, or rather, the especial Grace of God so directing, that a Beare came by the Tree, and smelling the Hony, climbed vp the Tree, and descended downe to the place where the poore man was. The Beare seeing fearfull when he beheld the man, turned to get vp againe out of the Tree: but the poore man caught hold on one of his himmost feet, and held so strongly with both his hands, that the Beare brought vp himselfe and the man out of the Tree, and both fell downe together on the out-side of the Tree, somewhat astonied with the fall, but no way hurt, the Beare returning into the Woodes, and the man to his home. Thus the Beare saued the poore Countrey-mans life, without declaring any signe of hurting or offending him.

Bachiles Ambrosius saith, that in the Northern Countries, there are white Beares, that liue both in Waters, and on the Land: beside, that either with hurling stones, or branches of Trees, or with their claws, they will break open the Ices in Rivers, and in the Sea, only to catch Fishes to feed on. Moreover, that they are not so malicious or harmful, as other Beares are, neither are lustfull, or seeking after women: As one, whereof I am now to speake, and whereby a Lady conceiued; after the manner of women, witnessed for truth, by *Joannes Saxoniensis*, in his large History, and *Joannes Magnus*, Arch-bishop of *Upsalia* in *Suetia*; & lastly, by Arch-bishop *Olaus*, his

The poore
Country man
in great dis-
tresse in a hol-
low tree.

When hope
is weak, the
heauen is dis-
tressed.

A very great
and memor-
able deliuerance.

Bachiles Ambrosius,
concerning
white beares.

Joannes Saxoniensis,
Joannes Magnus,
Episcopus *Upsaliae*,
et *Olaus Episcopus*,
Upsaliae.

his Succellour, who in his Writings auoucheth the very same, according as I have selected it from them in this ensuing Chapter.

CHAP. XL.

Of a Lady of Svvetia, that was conceiued with child by a Beare, and afterwards was enured thereon.

IN a part of the Kingdom of *Svvetia* or *Suecia*, there stood sometime a goodly Cattle, builded neere vnto a Mountaine, by a wealthy Lord, and one of great authority.

This Lord had a very faire Daughter, who walked abroad in an evening, accompanied with some other Gentlewomen, to take the open ayre in the Fields. As they walked together, pleasantly talking and discoursing; a Beare (by chance) had strayed abroad from the thickets on the Mountaine, of verie huge stature, fierce and terrible, making directly towards this faire troupe, who (in great feare) when they espied the Beare, fled, some one way, and the rest another, for their best deliuerance. The Beare laying hold on the chiefest Ladie of all the rest, lifting her forcibly vpon his backe: ran (so fast as he could) into the thicket of the Forrest, not meeting any resistance by the way, because the fore-said Ladies came forth alone of themselves, not hauing any man in their company.

Now, albeit the Beare had thus wandered abroad, in search of some prey, for appeasing his hunger: yet (referring the maine point herein, to Gods mercifull and omnipotent preferuation) the Beare, moued by some instinct of nature (sare differing from that in Beasts of the same kind) would not kill her for his foode, but carried her to his Cauer, which was in a very darke and deep valley. There his wonted, rough and sterne nature, became conuerted into lowlike embraces and carresses, which

were so extremely pursued and continued: that the Lady apprehended his lustfull intention, which, though it was monstrous and vnnatural, yet it qualified some part of her former feare. And, as she durst not (in this extremitie) resist the fury and power of the Beare, dreading each houre the losse of her life: so (questionlesse) much against her wil or liking, shee was enforced to consent, and endure such companying with him, as you may better imagine, then I expresse.

The Beare would daily issue forth of his den, hunt and kill all kinds of Beasts, and bring them home as food for himselfe and the Lady: who (in this vrging necessity) was glad to eat raw flesh, wilde Fruits, and some other foodes familiar to men; as Cheefe, Bread, and such like victuals, which he would get from the that kept Cattle in the fields, or such as traualled to Faircs and Markets. Her daily drinke, was Water of a cleare running Brooke at the Caves entrance, shadowed with a lovely thicket of young Trees: and thus she liued, in hope that (one day) God would deliuer her. Many times (while the Beare was abroad at his prey and purchase) shee purposed to make an escape thence: yet durst not attempt it, least hee should againe recover her, and then kill her; beside, she feared the rauensome fury of other sauage Beastes, whereof no meane store frequented the Mountaine.

As thus she spent some moneths in this haplesse manner, it fortun'd, that certaine Huntmen (pursuing their deligntfull sport ouer the Mountaine) with their Grey-hounds and Beagles, followed this Beare so mainly; that he being false into their snare, they there slew him. And although this was vnknown to the Lady, yet when she heard the voyces of men, and they appearing to be neere the Cauer: she came forth vnto them, to their no little dread and admiration. Yet looking more aduisedly on her, they perfectly knew her, and had heard of her losse, with generall supposition of her death: whereupon they conducted her home to her Father and Mother, who scarcely knew her, her complexion had been so greatly altered. In this time, Nature (who sometimes worketh wonderfull things, and

What kind of nourishment the Lady had in the Beares Denne.

The Ladies duces determination to escape from the Beare.

The happy manner of the wall-Ladies deliuerance from the Beare.

The Lady was brought home to her Father and Mother.

Behauiour of the Beare to the Lady while she was in his Den.

and contrary to common order) had disposed of the Beasts feed in her bodie; that she being growne great, and generally expected to be deliuered of a monster: it prooued to be a goodly Male Child, not any way pertaking in the Sires bestiall forme or appearance, fawing that his body was much more hairy all ouer, then is seene in other Children. He was carefully nurled, and the name of *Beare* imposed on him: but when he grew to mans estate, hee became so strong and powerfull, that euery one stood in great feare of him. The Huntmen that killed the Beare, his begetter, would often boast in his company, after what manner they had deliuered his Mother but hee was the Deathman of them all, saying, *Albeit, he had received such a fauour by them, yet notwithstanding, he stood bound in nature, to reuenge the death of his Father.*

This Man begat *Tragillus Sprachaleg*, who was a very valiant Souldiour and Captaine; and he begat *Vffen*, a man of high deseruing: of whom, the Chronicles of the Countries of *Dannemarch*, *Swenia*, and *Gothia*, doe make most large mention, for he was the Father of *Suegar*, who was King of *Dacia*; whereupon, all Histories doe affirme, that al the Kings of *Dacia*, and of *Swenia*, proceeded from this race, and all the fore recited Authours (who are of the same Countries) doe maintaine as much. Concerning my selfe, I haue seene many tame and domestick Beares, amorous of Women, and She-Bears to be thelike of Men, although their eyes

haue beene plucked out, and very few are ignorant of the truth in this case: therefore this history sufficiently approueth, that these beastes doe couple after the manner of men.

Now, let vs admit the Beare to be cruell and vile in all his actions; yet notwithstanding, Nature hath bestowed diuers medicinable properties, on some peculiar parts of his body. His head is held venomous, to such as eate thereof, and to procure raging madnesse: in which regard, the Inhabitants of these Northerly Countries, doe vse to burne those heads, and the Athes of them are exceeding good, for them that haue the Foule-ewill, or Felling-sicknesse, by often washing the diseased parties head, with Lye, made of the faide Athes or Cinders. If they be mingled also among Hony, it will cause Haire to grow againe, where it hath long time wanted: euen as the Fat or Grease of the Beare doth the like, when men haue lost their Haire; helping likewise the paines of the Sciatica, and other Gouts. Also his Fleth is wholesome to bee eaten, and hath no euill tast. The *Seythians*, *Getes*, and other Notherne Countries, doe fasten Beares heads on the Gates of their Citties and Townes, perswading themselves; that they doe preferre them, from being hurt by their enemies. Thus you see, what I collected out of good, ancient, and approoued Authours, concerning the Nature of the *Indian Beare*, and those of other Countries, better knowne to vs.

Sundry medicinal properties belonging to certaine partes of the Beare.

For the foule euill or falling sicknesse.

For refreshing lost haire, & helping the Sciatica and Gouts.

The Scythians, Getes and Notherne Nations.

The Lady was deliuered of a goodly Sonne, and he was named Beare.

Beare slew all them that killed the Beare his begetter.

The descent of Beare, according to the reporte in Chronicles.

The Kings of Dacia and Swenia descended of a Beare.

The Authors affirmation out of his own knowledge.

The End of the Eight Booke.



The Ninth Booke.

CHAP. I.

Of the Great Turkes Court, more commonly called (in these daies) the Court of the Great Signior: His Pompe, State, Officers, and Attendants; As also their daily Wages and Allowances, according to their degrees, and places of Service, &c.



We haue already spoken sufficiently (though briefly) concerning the Originall of the Turkish Empire, and in what manner they attained to such height and greatness: Our purpose therefore, in this present Chapter, is, to discourse onely of the Government, and Order observed in the Court, vsually tearmed by themselves, the *Porta* or Court of the *Grand Signior*; whereto I am the more willingly induced, because the Pompe, Might, and Maiesty thereof, may bee publicly discerned.

The Cittie of *Constantinople*, where in the Great *Signior Turke* (with his Court Royal) maketh his most residing; was in former times called *Bizantium*, and new *Rome*, containing now in circuit, about eightene Miles. It hath feauen small Hills, not of any great height, and it is rounded with old ruined walls,

being full of Houses, though none of the best, yet composed of Clay, wood, and some few of stones. There are many Groues or Thickets of Trees in the Cittie, vn-inhabited, consisting of Cipresse Trees, and diuers others there growing in like manner. In *Constantinople* is the *Serraglio* of the *Signior Turke*, which is a singular thing, & very great, as we shall relate hereafter. There is the *Serraglio* of Women, for the Great Signior; The *Serraglio* of *Tanissaries*; The Patriarke's Pallace; The Pallace of *Constantine* the Emperour, which is partly ruined; The Church of *Saint Sophia*, which was builded by the Emperour *Iustinian*, of admirable fine stone, and curious Marble, as yet (though very ancient and excellent) is to be seene, part whereof, the Great Signior employeth as a Stable for his Horses. There is also the *Moschea* of the *Sultane Mehemet*, which hath an *Amarato* (that is as an Hospitall or Almes-house) ioyned vnto it, wherein is entertained and lodged men of all Nations and Religions, that will enter into it, and there they are allowed three dayes acceptance and fobd, as Hony, Rice, Bread, Water, and a Chamber to rest in. There is belonging to this Hospitall, goodly Bathes; and rare Fountaines or Springs of Water, very delightfull to behold. There are also the *Moschees* of *Sultane*, *Batazet*, of *Sultane Selim*, and of diuers other Lords, which are very beautiful and costly builded; whereby it appeareth, that when they pleased, they knew how to make houses, and Pallaces most magni-

11 Serraglio of the Signior Turke.

The Pallaces in Constantinople.

The goodly Church of S. Sophia.

An Hospitall for people of all Nations, and three dayes entertainment.

Diuers other Churches in the City.

The great Signior maketh his most abiding in Constantinople, with some priuie discription thereof.

* A counting
or running
place for Hor-
ses.

The curious
Needle in the
Hippodrome.

The three
headed Ser-
pent of Brasse

The great Co-
lossus.

Antiquities in
passage thro-
w the city.

Gardens and
gouldy Hou-
ses. Private My-
cheas.

The hills of A-
sia, now cal-
led Nardus.

Castles Scu-
lari, Chalcidonia in
the Hellespont.

The five or
seare of Con-
stantinople ex-
ceeding de-
scription.

magnificent and sumptuous.

There is likewise the * *Hippodrome*, which is a place, where anciently they vied to breake and run their Horses, in the forme of a Theater or circle in the midst of which *Hippodrome*, there standeth a sharp Spire or Pinnacle, being an ingenious Piller, made in the fashion of a Needle, very faire, well wrought, and without any Lime or Morter: yet made of fine Stone, and framed in such manner, that it riseth about fifty fadome in height, observing still the true shape of a Needle, and resting vpon foure round Bals of Marble. There is also a Piller of Brasse, in forme of a Serpent with three heads: and a *Heracles* of Brasse, brought thither from *Hungaria*; and in the midst of all these, standeth a frame or deuise, made like a *Colossus*, of diuers kinds of beautifull Marble, whereon is curiously engrauen, the Histories of all the fore-named things; and others, that were wont to be in the Theater or *Hippodrome*. Thorow the City, there are diuers tracts or pathes of Antiquity, Arches, Colloons of Porphyry, Springes leitch from *Danubie*, &c other neere neighbouring Riuer: many Gardens with goodly Houses in them; many *Moscheas* be- longing to priuate Lordes, and great store of Bathes, annexed to the *Moscheas* of publike Magistrates, and other priuate persons.

On the other side of the Sea, and at the head of the *Serraglio*, are the hills of *Asia*, containing the journey of two miles, little more or lesse: which *Asia*, vnder one name only is now call'd *Nardus*, and there (on the shoaring bankes) are diuers little Castles, termed *Scutari*. Next, there is that which they call *Chalcidonia*, seated in a corner of the *Hellespont*; where diuers notes of Antiquitie are to be obserued, and (in many places) the foundation of ancient Churches many be seene, as well of Christians, as of the Gentiles, being now goodly places, and abounding in Fruits. The site or situation of *Constantinople* is such, as not only it exceedeth all description, equal to the due merit thereof: but also can as hardly be conceiued in thought, in regard of the beauty and delicate compofure thereof, so that (vndoubtedly) it may rather be reputed diuine, then otherwise, and whatsoeuer bee be that

shall behold it, will iudge it worthy to be preferred, before all other sit'd Cities in the world.

In the City, beside *Turkes*, there are *Towers*, being * *Marrani*, fled, or repelled out of *Spain*; and these are they that haue taught, and do yet teach, all kinds of Trades to the *Turkes*, and the most part of all the Shoppes and Boothes for Trades, are kept and exercised by those *Marrani*. There is a place named *Besselano*, where is bought and sold all kinde of Cloathes, and Turkish Commodities, Silkes, wollen and Linnen Cloath, Silver and Gold wrought into all formes, Bowes, Slaues, Horses, and all kinds of things else to be had in *Constantinople*, which continually are brought to this Market, and which is euery day kept open in full sale, except Friday onely. *Constantinople* is in *Thrace*, and the terminations thereof are in this manner. On the East, is the *Propontis*, and mouth of the great Sea, from the streights of *Hellspont*, to *Bosphorus Thracius*. On the West, is part of *Bugaria*, and part of *Macedonia*. On the North, *Basina*; And on the South, *Egeam Mare*, with part of *Macedonia*, which turneth towards the Riuer *Nessus*, anciently called * *Agasus Fluminis*. This most Noble City is inhabited with *Turks*, who (by the writings of diuers approued Authours, for confirmation, and many of the *Turkes* themselves also) had their Original from *Scythia*, which now is part of *Tartaria*, a Northerly Region, and deuided into two parts by the Riuer * *Tanais*; one part whereof is in *Europe*, & the other in *Asia*. That part of *Europe* is confined (on the one side) with *Pontus*, and on the other side, with the *Rhiphan* Mountaines, being backed aloft with *Asia* it selfe, and with the Riuer *Thapsus*. By *Ptolomie*, these two *Scythians* are named, the one, *Intra Jamnum montem*, and the other, *Extra Iamnum*, as is more at large else where to be seene.

This people, being parted from *Scythia*, as formerly hath been said, and beginning (in their own confines) to make commodities and irruptions, proceeding on still further: in short time they ouer-ruled a great part of *Asia*; but in regard they knew not how to maintain themselves vnder one Head or Commander, they could not make any firme

* A Nide-
name for his
dell Rengo
do Spania.

The Bishop
or chief Mag-
istrate place in
Constantinople.

In whatem-
ner *Constanti-
nople* is con-
sidered, the
limited and
sides.

* Where stood
a City of
Troy, built
by *Constantine*.

* A Riuer of
Scythia, par-
ring *Asia* from
Europe.

* In the lesse
of the lles
called *Baltica*.

The *Turks*
issuing forth
of their own
confines.

Othoman, a
man of bold
and sprightly
courage.

Othoman dis-
covered his se-
cret purpose.

Very liberall
and large pro-
mises.

The condition
accepted and profes-
sed.

The *Morcalogi*
defended
Michaelis Greco

The *Maler-
logi* of *Malto*
Grec.

The *Euracasti*,
id *Alram*.

Succession
diuerfied
after *Othoman*.

Orhanes,
Amurath 1.

Bairageth, 1.
Calapine.

Mahomet, 1.

firme or seild foundation. Which being well perceived and considered by one, who was named *Othoman* (a man of more condition then common base- nesse, being of high spright and valiant minded) he consulted with his owne thoughts, that if he could compass the arme and furtherance of some ingenious man that had authority: hee might easily haue the people and whol Country vnder obedience, and encrease the same as occasion shil serued. Hereupon, he discovered his priuate intention to three men, whom he thought more apt and conuenient for this business, then any of the rest: promising them, that if he could compass the hope he aymed at; both they and their offspring should be continued and maintained in such high state and dignity, answerable to so great a benefice as he receiued by them. Moreover, that not any one of their posterity, should be vnder-handed, or left to the mercy of Law, except they offended very grievously. The conditions were accepted by these men, and they conspired together against the chiefeft Soueraignty: in which progression, what by art, craft, threatnings, & much expence of blood, all was obtained to their full desire. These three men, one of them was named *Michaelis Greco*, made a *Turke*: of whom are descended the *Morcalogi*, & one of them (is at this instant) *Saniack of Bosfina*. The second was called *Malto Greco*, a Renegado: of whom also came the *Malerlogi*, and there is but one onely left of them, who is *Saniack in Grecia*. The third was *Anrami*, a Native *Turke*, the descendants of whom were termed *Euracasti*, and it is not knowie, whether any of them bee left, or no. When the Race and Family of *Othoman* failed, these other pretended right to the principalltie, and therefore they were very highly respected. This *Othoman* came to the Government, in the yeare one thousand, three hundred, or there-about, and liued in the regiment, twenty eight yeares. After whom succeeded *Orhanes*, who liued twenty two yeares in the dominion. Next, *Amurath*, who reigned twenty three yeares. After him *Batazeth*; Then *Cyrisclebes*, or (as others will haue it) *Calapine*, who liued sixe yeares. Next him was *Mahomet*, who reigned fouenteene yeares. Then

Amurath the second, who ruled one and thirty yeares. Then *Mahomet* the second, who reigned two and thirty yeares, and was called the first Emperour of the *Turkes* in *Constantinople*. Next, *Batazeth* the second, who reigned one and thirty yeares. Then *Selim*, eight yeares; To whom succeeded *Sultan Seliman*, who reigned forty seauen yeares: And after him, *Selim* the second, reigning byght yeares: Then *Amurath* the third, who reigned one and twenty yeares. Next to him, *Mahomet* the third, ruling nine yeares: And lastly *Achmeth*, or *Sichmet*, who came to the Empire, being but fouenteene yeares old; and reigneth yet at this present.

THE Great Signior hath a *Serraglio* in a part of *Constantinople*, at the two Seas deuision, which containeth (in circuit) about three miles: and therein is his chiefe Sear and Court, which is called the *Porta*. This *Serraglio*, because it was begun to be builded by the *Sultane Mahomet*: when hee eyed, hee would haue it leuelled with his *Moschea*, and that a thousand *Affers* should be daile paid towards the charges, which *Affers* doe amount to twenty *Ducaes*, and this payment is yet offered. In the said *Serraglio* are very many goodly Chambers, but one (above all the rest) appointed for the Great Signior, and wherein hee sleepeth, where doe attend fixe Youtthes (supposed by some to be *W'omen*) who onely doe awaite on his person. Of these fixe, two are appointed daily for seruice in the Chamber, and of the Signior, and by them at night time, the Office of Guard is performed, one standing at his head, and the other at his feete (continually vigilant) with two lighted Torches in their hands.

These two doe helpe in the morning, to put on the Signiors Garments, the vppermost whereof being called *Caslan*, hath two Pockets: into one whereof, the Pages doe put a thousand *Affers*, and into the other, twenty *Ducaes* of Gold euery morning, which *Moh*, if (in the day time) it bee not giuen away by the Signior: it remaineth to them that maketh him vneade at night, Bbbi for

Amurath 2.
Mahomet 2.

Bairageth 1.

Selim 1.

Selim Seliman

Selim 2.

Mahomet 3.

Achmeth, the
Turke or *Signior*
reigning.

1613.

Of the *Porta*
or Court,
wherein is
the great Signior
chefe State.

Sixe youtthes
that wait on
the great Signior
in his
Chamber, &
order of their
seruice.

The guard
and watch
of him in his
sleeping in
the night
time.

What Money he daily carrieth about him, being put into his pockets by his Pages.

The *Cafadar-Bafhae*, the Signior's chief Treasurer.

The six young Pages, and what belongeth to their severall Offices, and their wages.

Capagoffi Eunuch.

Cafadar-Bafhae, Eunuch.

Chilergi-Bafhae Eunuch.

Saraidar-Bafhae, Eunuch.

Twelve Eunuchs.

Five hundred young Women, who are Concubines to the great Signior, and kept in an especial *Serraglio*.

for he neuer putteth on those garments againe, neither weareth any twice, as is credibly affirmed. When he rideth abroad on pleasure, either to hunt, or any other sportfull exercise, beside the forenamed Money which he carryeth about him; the *Cafadar-Bafhae*, who is his chief Treasurer, rideth next behind him, who carrieth great sums of Money, which the Signior commandeth to be given away. The Offices of the forenamed fixe young Pages, are altd according to the Signiors will and pleasure. One of them is called the *Chincher*, that is he which carrieth the Pantofles of the Signior: The second, *Seilichner*, who beareth his Bow and Arrowes; The third, *Chicadar*, who carrieth his cloak or Mantle; The fourth, *Saraptar*, who carrieth his Vial of water; The fifth, *Schemelighi*, who beareth his Roole or seat; And the last is *Oda-Bafhae*, who is chiefe of the Chamber. These Pages haue firm and setled allowance of VVages; some fifteen, and others twenty, but the *Oda-Bafhae* thirty Aspers daily.

The *Capagoffi* Eunuch, that is he which is chiefe of the *Porta* or Court, hath threecore Aspers daily.

The *Cafadar-Bafhae* Eunuch, chiefe of all the other Treasurers, hath threecore and ten Aspers daily.

The *Chilergi-Bafhae* Eunuch, chiefe of all the other Dispensers or Stewards, hath forty Aspers daily.

The *Saraidar-Bafhae*, Eunuch of the *Serraglio*, when the Signior is in Prograce, hath fifty Aspers daily.

Twelve Eunuches, subiect, or at command of these fore-named, haue some ten, and some fifteen Aspers each man daily.

In the next place, we are to speake of five hundred young Women, from the age of eight, to the yeares of twentie, who are kept in a *Serraglio*, and are the choise delights of the *Grand Signior*. They haue ten and twelve Aspers daily each one of them, and are instructed in diuers Arts, according to their abilitie apprehension: but most especially in Reading, Writing, and Doctrinie of their Law or Religion, and in riding. Their Maisters or Tutours, are ancient *Talismani*, called *Cozza*, that is to say, Doctors of the Law.

These young Women, at the time of

Bairone, which is (among vs) the Feast of Easter, are all allowed Garments by the Great Signior, which are of Silke and of Cloath, without any forme of Livery. Their Head Attires are all of Gold, and they haue Semitaries and Bowes, like *Amazones*: but they neuer go forth of the said *Serraglio*, till they attaine to such yeares, as the Signior thinketh them apt for some Office, and then they are made eyther *Spacoglani*, or *Seilichneri*, or of some greater degree, according to their carriage, or grace that they haue won with the Signior. Euery tenne of these VVomen are kept by an Eunuch, called *Capoglani*, that is to say, chiefe of the younger Women, and euery one of them hath a night-Slaue, and toucheth not him that lyeth nearest him. They lodge in goodlie Roomes, like great and spacious Halls, verie full of lights, and their Eunuches doe sleepe in the midst of those Roomes. There is a Garden belonging to the *Serraglio*, containing in compass more then a mile, whereto appertaineth fixe and thirte Gardiners, called *Bostangi*, who are decayed and aged *Janissaries*: and these *Bostangi* haue (from three to five Aspers) each man daile, and euery one hath a Livery of Turkish Cloath, and a Shirt yearelie allowed him. When they depart out of the *Serraglio*, they remaine *Janissaries*, or *Solachis*, or *Capigi*, or otherwise, according to their qualitie.

The *Bostangi-Bafhae*, who is chiefe of the Gardiners, hath fifty Aspers daile allowed him, and many other royall fauours beside.

The *Protogero*, who is a Lieutenant to the Gardiners, hath twentie Aspers daily, and euery ten hath a chiefe, called *Boluch-Bafhae*. Out of this Garden, which is very great, welllaboured, and full of excellent Fruits of all sortes, there is yearely gathered such plentie: that the benefit made onely thereby, sufficeth for the Signiors expences in dyet, beside a good ouer-plus remaining for other vices. Neere to the Garden, doe two Foyfles or small Barkes continually attend, which are rowed by the Gardiners, when the Signior pleaseth to iollace himselfe on the Water, and the *Boluch-Bafhae* gouerneth the Helme.

There

Talismani Or Doctors of the Law, Schoole-Masters to the Concubines.

Offices bestowed on Concubines when the Signior pleaseth.

Eunuchs and Night-Slaves that attend on the Concubines in their Lodgings.

Bostangi, Gardiners belonging to the Womans *Serraglio*, and their daily allowance.

Bostangi-Bafhae chiefe Gardiner.

Protogero, Lieutenant to the Gardiners.

Boluch-Bafhae.

Foyfles for the Signiors recreation on the Water.

Asir-Bafhae, chiefe of the Cookes.

Casagir-Bafhae Maister of the Confectionarie.

Casagir-Bafhae, the chiefe Butler.

Mutpachemin, the chiefe Steward.

Janissarie Wood-carriers.

Sacca, water-bearers.

The Signiors daily expences for his women, &c.

His Stable of Horses in the *Serraglio*.

Capigi-Bafhae, Captaines of the Gates, who command ouer the *Capigi*.

There is one called *Asir-Bafhae*, who is chiefe of the Cooks, with fifty Cooks vnder him, that haue each man fiftie Aspers by the day, vnder Cookes four, who haue fixe Aspers; and fixe others, eight Aspers each man.

Casagir-Bafhae, is chiefe of the Confectionarie, hauing forty Aspers daile allowed him; and he hath thirty other Companions, who haue some fixe, or others fixe Aspers each man.

The *Casagir-Bafhae*, who is Maister of the Butlers, or chiefe Butler to the Great Signior, hath forty Aspers daile. Morning and Euening hee bringeth in his hand, the Cuppe which the Signior drinketh in, and hath an hundred *Casagirs* vnder him, who haue from thirte, to sixtie Aspers each man daile.

The *Mutpachemin*, who is the chiefe Steward, hath fortie Aspers daile, and keepeth a Clearke vnder him, that hath twenty Aspers daile.

An hundred decayed *Janissaries*, which with Carts doe carry Wood to the *Serraglio*, they haue from three, to fixe Aspers a man daile, and are clothed also.

Ten *Sacca*, which carry Water on Horses in Bouges, haue each man from three, to fixe Aspers daile.

The expences which is graunted by the Grand Signiors allowance, to his women and their Eunuches, with other persons, to the number of a thousand, or thereabout, amounteth to fixe thousand Aspers euery day.

There is a Stable in the *Serraglio*, with two hundred Horses for the Signiors person, and two hundred men to manage and keepe them, who haue from fixe, to eight Aspers each man daile.

Three *Capigi-Bafhaes*, who are Captaines of the Portes or Gates, that haue an hundred Aspers by the day, and are clothed yearely. Vnder them they command two hundred and fiftie *Capigi*, that haue each man from fixe, to leauen Aspers daile. Each *Capigi-Bafhae*, standeth obliged (with a third nuber of the *Capigi*) to keepe a Guard at the Gate of the Grand Signior, being changed still day by day. And when Ambassadors, or others doe come to kisse the Grand Signiors hand: all of them are presented with Garments, or else Mo-

ny, according to the degree of him that is brought to that honor.

A *Capigichebeshi*, who is as *Protogero* of the *Capigi*, and hath forty Aspers daile.

Four *Bafhaes*, called *Visirs*, that is, chiefe Councillers to the Signior. He that is greatest in authority, hath foure and twenty thousand Ducates by the yeare, and the other of them, haue fixteene and eighteene thousand yearely each man. They hold (beside) so much Land of him, as yeildeth three times more benefit, then is their allowance and prouision of Money: whereto are added the rich garments giuen them by the Signior; the great presents of Suiters, and others; beside the royalties held by their Offices, which are infinite.

These *Bafhaes* liue and goe clothed verie pompously, hauing Slaues, both Men and W women, to whom they giue Wages, Horfes, Garments, Head-attires of Gold, Girdles of Silver, according to such Office and degree, as they hold about them: and by these (with his owne prouision) is each *Bafhae* serued, euen as the Signior is serued by his attendants.

They haue fixe and twenty, or thirty Secretaries granted them by the Signior, who are men of good esteeme, and haue fixe and twenty or thirty Aspers each man daile, beside Slaues, some more, some lesse, according to each mans quality and estate. These *Bafhaes* doe go in and out to the Signior, about matters and occasions of State, & are they (in briefe) that gouerne and manage all things after their owne liking.

Next, there is the *Mophy*, who is the Interpreter and chiefe of the Law or Religion: And he is not troubled with any other matters, but in cases belonging to Religion, and concerning their Faith. His Office and Dignity is, as preferring the person of the chiefe Priest or Bishop.

Two *Cadi Leschieri Talismani*, who are Doctors of the Law for the Armie, one of Greece, the other of *Natoia*, and they hold very worthy Offices. They sit at the Court gate, and do proceed or go before the *Bafhaes Visirs*, albeit the other are more esteemed. They are Executors of the Lawes, and with consent of the *Bafhaes*. They place and displace the *Cadis*, who are as Porteflates and chiefe

Bbb b2 Magi-

Capigichebeshi, *Protogero* to the *Capigi*.

Bafhaes Visirs, chiefe Councillers and States-men to the great Signior.

Secretaries allowed by the Signior, to attend on his foure *Bafhaes Visirs*.

Mophy, the chiefe Priest or Bishop.

Cadi Leschieri Talismani, Doctors of Law for the Army.

Cadi, Maiors
or Potestates
through the
Land.

*Mechur-Ba-
shas*, as Mai-
sters of the
Horfe.

Disferdari, Mai-
sters of the
Rents & Re-
venues.

The great
Signors Vicar
and Lieuten-
ant in Con-
stantinople.

Cafsa, the
Treasure be-
longing to the
Signor.

Rofunamgi,
Masters, or
Clarke-
Comptrollers

Defnadar, whereof
weights of
Money.

Saraffieri, ban-
kers or Mo-
ney-Chan-
gers.

Magistrates thorow the Countries. They hold in Lands (each man) about seaven thousand ducates yearly, and do keep two hundred or three hundred Slaues severally: being also allowed by the Signior, ten Secretaries, and two *Mechur-Bashas*, who performe the Office of Cavallery, and live on the royalties, whereof they have good store.

There are two *Disferdari*, or rather, (as we vse to teame them) Governours of the rents and revenues. One of them hath the collection, & keeping of those accounts, which come from one third part of *Greece*: to wit, those parts which are towards *Danubie*; and next, from *Asia*, *Soria*, and *Egypte*, with Landes of ten thousand Ducates yearly, albeit, (with their royalties) hee vaileth three times as much. The other hath charge of the other two third partes of *Greece*, but when the great Signior goeth forth into the Field: he remaineth as his Vicar and Lieutenant in *Constantinople*, and hath fixe thousand ducates in lands, whereof he maketh three times the value, and their severally Offices are of great dignitie. They keepe vnder them fifty Clarke, with many coadiutores, who have care of the *Cafsa* accounts, that is, of the Signiors Treasure: and these Clarke are allowed wages by the Signior, from fifteene, to fifty Aspers each man daily. Also these *Disferdari*, each one of them hath 1000. Slaues, & the other five hundred: Likewise, the Clarke, they have from two, to twenty Slaues, each man allowed him.

Two *Rofunamgi*, Masters of the Clarke, that receive the Monies, and make disbursement thereof again when need requireth, who have xxv. assistants betweene them. These two men are allowed forty Aspers apiece; and the five and twenty have from eight, to ten Aspers each man daily.

Defnadar, whereof there are two, whose office is to weigh the Aspers and Ducates, with five and twenty Aspers allowance daily for the one, and thirtie for the other.

Six *Saraffieri*, as Bankers or Lombards, who know the true estimate of Gold and Silver, and have from ten to fiftene Aspers, each man daily.

Then there is a *Neflangi-Basbae*, who signeth the Commands, and publike

Writings, with the Signe or Marke of the Signior. His Office is, as Great or chiefe Chancellour, and he is a man of much reputation. He sitteth in the *Porte*, next to the *Beglerbey*, and hath eight thousand ducates of annuall Lands, beside very honorable places, with aboute three hundred Slaues.

There is a *Cafnadar-Basbae* abroad, or at large, as common Treasurer, with ten *Cafnadri* vnder him: himselfe hath fifty Aspers daily, and the ten other fiftene each man.

The *Deftermin*, who is as Surueyer of the Lands, and keepeth a Register of them all. He hath forty Aspers daile, and vnder him are ten Clarke, rewarded from ten, to fiftene Aspers daile each man.

Then there are fourescore *Mutaferrache*, who are as Demy-Lances or light Horlemen to the Signior, carrying their Lances alwaies, whensoever he rideth abroad, and acknowledging no other Head or Commaunder, but the Grand Signior himselfe onely. Afterward, when either by art or desert, any one of them can attaine so farre into his fauor; he is made *Agas*, that is a Captain. The meaneft of them have ten, and the better fort, fourescore Aspers a man daile.

There is a *Chians-Basbae*, who is chiefe of the Sergeants for the Army, and holdeth such credit with every man: that when he is sent by command from the Signior, to any *Basbae*, *Saniack*, or *Cadi*, with order, to cause the head of any one to be smitten off: he is obeyed, without receipt of any Letter by him, or commaundement in writing, and euen no otherwise, then as if the Signior himselfe were there in person, and commaunded it to be done. This man hath an hundred Aspers by the day, and keepeth an hundred Slaues vnder him, for whom he is allowed from five & twenty, to forty Aspers for each man daile.

The *Mechur-Basbae*, is Master of them, that display or spread abroad the Tents of Pavillions, and the Tapestry that covers the Floores in the Court, with such like busineses thereto belonging. He hath forty Aspers daile; one *Protogero*, and five and twenty Aspers allowance: three score *Mechters*, waged from five, to eyght Aspers

*Neflangi-Ba-
shas*, the Lord
high Chan-
cellor,

*Cafnadar-Ba-
shas*, Treasu-
rer at large.

Deftermin, Sur-
ueyer of the
Lands.

Mutaferrache,
Demy-Lan-
ces or Light-
Horfe-men.

Chians-Basbae,
as Sergeant
Master.

A very great
and epecial
preeminence.

*Mechur-Ba-
shas*, Master
of the Tents
and Tapistry.

Agas, Captains
of the *Janissaries*.

Chians, Vice-
gerent of the
Janissaries.

*Schumen-Ba-
shas*, Master
of the hunting
Hounds.

Zagari-Basbae
for the Beag-
les.

The number
of the *Janissaries*,
and their
allowances &
Commanders

The *Janissaries*
dictating toge-
ther.

How they go
to the Field
by hundreds.

Aspers each man, and their yearelie Liencies from the Signior.

The *Agas*, that is, Captaine of the *Janissaries*, who hath a thousand Aspers and more daily, and fixe thousand Ducats in Lands yearly. This *Agas*, when Court is kept, which is commonly twice or thrice every weeke, standeth obliged, to feede the *Janissaries*, with Bread, Rice, Mutton, Hony, and VVater. He hath a *Cheecaya* vnder him, or rather a *Protogero* of the *Janissaries*, who is as his Vice-gerent, and hath two hundred Aspers daily in ready Mony, and thirty thousand in Lands yearly. He also hath a Clarke of the *Janissaries*, called *Janissariafia*, waged with an hundred Aspers daile.

The *Sechemen-Basbae*, is Master of the Hounds for Hunting: he hath an hundred Aspers daile, and to the number of almost two thousand *Janissaries* vnder him.

The *Zagari-Basbae*, is Master of the Beagle-Hounds, being allowed fiftie Aspers daile, and hath about seaven hundred *Janissaries* vnder him.

There are to the number of twelue thousand *Janissaries*, that haue from three, to eight Aspers wages, each man daile allowed them. Every ten haue their *Oda-Basbae*, and euery hundred haue their *Boluch-Basbae*: but these chiefe Men of the tens and hundreds, do ride on Horfebacke, the *Oda-Basbaes* being allowed forty Aspers each man daile, and the *Boluch-Basbaes* sixtie, the rest of the *Janissaries* doe goe on foote, being clothed once a yeare by the Signior, in coorse Azure cloath.

Their dwelling is in two partes of *Constantinople*, freely giuen them by the Signior, wherein dwell they that haue no Wives; but such as be married, do inhabit diuers places of the City. For their liuing together in friendly manner, euery Man layeth downe his peculiar proportion; And they haue a Steward, and a Cooke, who make preparation of their dyet: but such as come short in stipend to the rest, are bound by obligation to attend on the other, and take their leauings. Every hundred of them, when they go to the Field, do carry their Tent or Pavillion: with them, being all Foot-men: and part of them Shot, other Halbardiers, and

some that vie the Seminary onely, euerie three Men hauing a Horfe, for carriage of their necessaries. When they grow into yeares, or (in some other respects) their seruice seemeth not pleasing to the Signior: they are cashiered out of the *Janissaries* Booke, and are termed *Assarici*, that is to say; Guards for Cattles; & then they haue Commanders appointed them for that purpose, who are called *Caftilians*, with equall allowance to the wages which formerly they had, so that no one of them falleth into distresse.

Some of them there be who speede so successfullie in the Warres: that they come to be made *Vanoides*, and exalted to great Dignitie. They begin the exercise of Armes when they be but young Lads, and are entrusted by the most expert: being chosen of healthfull disposition, strongly limbed, yet quick and agile, but (about all) courageous, and much rather to bee cruell, then any way pitifull. In these men consisteth the strength and full firmenes of all the Turkish Armies: because they are continually exercised thereto, and (altogether) become one sole body as it were, are (indeede) to bee feared and doubted.

Of *Janissaries* there are elected an hundred and fiftie *Solachis*, who are as Foot-men to the Signior, with allowance from fiftene, to twentie Aspers each man daile: and they go euermore about his person, at all times when hee rideth abroad.

Two *Solach-Basbaes*, are chiefe of the *Solachis*, and ride on horfebacke; being allowed thirty Aspers daile each man, and the *Solachis* are vnder obedience to the *Agas* of the *Janissaries*.

The *Agas* of the *Spaccogiani*, a very honourable Office, hath in Lands and day Wages, ten Duckets continually, and great store of Slaues, with a *Cheecaya* vnder him, or else a *Protogero*, who hath (betweene Lands and Wages) an hundred Aspers daile, beside a *Janagi*, that is, a Clarke, hauing thirty Aspers, and sufficient regalities.

There be of the *Spaccogiani*, who are young lustie men on horfebacke (for so meaneeth the Word *Spaccogiani*) three thousand, being waged from twentie, to fortie aspers each man daile, & euery

Assarici, keep-
ers of Ca-
stles.

Vanoides are
subordinate
Rulers or
Lords, aduanc-
ed by their
merits in fer-
uice.

Solachi Foot-
men to the
Signior.

Solach-Basbae,
Masters of
the *Solachis*.

Agas of the
Spaccogiani.

Janagi, scribe
or
Clerke.

Spaccogiani,
young Gal-
licks on Hor-
sebacke, and
their seruice.

Bbb 3 twenty

Education of
the *Spacchi*
from their
Child-hood.

twenty hath a *Boluch-Basbae*. These do
serue on Horse-backe, with five or
sixe Slaues, and as many Horses for
each man; giuing their attendance al-
waies (and lodging likewise) on the
right hand of the *Signior*. They are men
of sufficiency, ouer whom the *Signior*
appointeth no head or Controller, but
onely himselfe. They are first brought
vp or educated, in the *Serraglio* of yong
Boyes, and as they grow in yeares and
goodnesse, choyse is made of them, and
to they do attaine to this degree, which
serueth as a Ladder for them, whereby
to mount to much greater grace, fauor,
and preferment.

Age of the *Sil-
kichtari*.

The *Age* of the *Silkichtari*, who hath
thirty Aspers by the day, and vnder him
a *Protogero*, a *Cleark*, and a *Checaia*, that
are allowed thirty Aspers each man dai-
ly, and more.

The difference
betweene the
Silkichtari and
the *Spacchi*.

Of these *Silkichtari*, there are three
thousand, who ride on horsebacke like-
wise, and lodge on the left hand of the
Signior, hauing from twenty, to five
and twenty Aspers each man daily: with
four or five Slaues, and as many Horses,
beside Lands for their better main-
tenance. These men are educated in the
same manner, as the *Spacchi* or *Spacco-
glani*, and there is no other difference
betweene them: but that the *Spacchi* at-
tend on the right hand, and these on the
left, of the *Signior*.

Olofagi-Ba-
shaws, Com-
maunders o-
uer the Soul-
diers.

Two *Olofagi-Basbaes*, who are chiefe
of the Souldiours, with two thousand
Olofagi, that serue on the right and left
hand of the *Signior*. The two chiefe
Commanders, haue an hundred and
twenty Aspers each man daily, and the
other, from eight, to sixteen each man.
Moreover, the two haue vnder them, a
Checaia, a *Cleark* and a *Protogero*, with
Slaues and Horses, the one more, the o-
ther lesse.

Age of the
Caripoglani,
poore young
men.

Two *Agas*, Maisters or Rulers of the
Caripoglani (who are poore young men)
with fourecore Aspers of allowance for
each man. Their *Protogeri* haue thirte
Aspers, their *Clearks* five and twentie:
And they haue vnder them, about two
thousand *Caripoglani* (who are waged
from seauen to foureteene Aspers each
man) and they haue Slaues and Horses
beside.

Bracor-Basbae
chiefe Groom-
es of the
Stable.

Two *Bracor-Basbaes*, who are Maisters
or chiefe Quiries of the Stable, one a-

boue the other in Office. The better
hath five hundred Aspers by the day, &
the other two hundred; beside *Protogeri*
and *Checaiaes*, and others that are wa-
ged from thirty, to forty Aspers dailie
each man.

Then there are to the number of six-
teene thousand some tearmed *Sarachi*,
who make Bridles and Saddles; others
Ceisti, Seruants or Groomes of the Sta-
ble; others *Carmandari*, that attend on
the Mules; others *Denegi*, that waite
on the Camels; and *Caruigli*, that feed
the Heards of Horses in diuers places,
who are waged from two, to twentie
Aspers each mandaily.

Next there is betweene thirty and
forty *Peichi*, Foote-Poasts, or Lackies,
who were brought vp (from their young-
er yeares) in knowledge of the miles,
& dispatch much ground in short while,
and with wonderfull swiftnesse. When
the Grand *Signior*, is to ride abroad,
they are continually ready, because
they are employed fill in many busines-
ses.

Of elected and choyse Horses, there
are about foure thousand, for the per-
son of the *Signior*: which are ridden by
the youthes of the *Serraglio*, and by the
Eunuches, as a dailie practise and exer-
cise.

There is a *Zachergi-Basbae*, Maister of
the yong Hawks, and another *Zachergi-
Basbae*, Commander of all the Faul-
coners. The first hath an hundred and
fiftie Aspers dailie, and the other but
fourefcore; with their *Checaiaes*, *Proto-
geri*, and others, that are waged each
Man dailie, from ten, to five and twen-
ty Aspers. Vnder these, are about two
hundred *Zaniglieri*, one hundred wher-
of, haue onely tenne Aspers each man
dailie: but the rest hold Landes, or else
exemption from taxation, and follow
the fields as pleaserh the *Signior*.

The *Gebegi-Basbae*, is Maister of the
Armour, hauing threecore Aspers
dailie, a *Protogero*, and *Cleark*, with
twenty Aspers each Man dailie. Vnder
him are a thousand and five hundred
Gebegi, waged from seauen to foure-
teene Aspers dailie each man, and they
all goe on foot with the *Signior* to the
Field.

The *Tepe-Basbae*, is M. of the Musket-
tiers, hauing threecore Aspers dailie;

Sarachi, as
Sadlers.

Ceisti, Groom
of the Stable.
Carmandari,
Mulleter.
Denegi, Cam-
mellers.
Caruigli,
Herds for
Horses.

Peichi, Foote-
Poasts or Lac-
kies.

Foure thou-
sand choyse
Horses for the
Signior.

Zachergi-Ba-
shaws, chiefe
Faulconers.

Zaniglieri, ac-
cendans on the
chiefe Faulconers.

Gebegi-Basbae,
Maister of the
Armour.

Tepe-Basbae,
Maister of the
Musketters.

a *Protogero*, and a *Cleark*, with twenty
Aspers, each man dailie. And vnder him
are two thousand *Topci*, waged from six,
to ten Aspers, each man dailie going on
foote.

Arabagi-Basbae
Maister of the
Carriages.

The *Arabagi-Basbae*, is Maister of the
Carts, Waggon, and Carriages, ha-
uing fortie Aspers dailie, a *Protogero* and
Cleark, at twentie Aspers allowance,
each man dailie: & vnder him, are 3000.
Arabagi, waged from three, to six Aspers
each man dailie.

Meister Bas-
bae, Maister
of the Drums
& Trumpets.

A *Meister Basbae*, is Maister of the
Trompets and Drummes, hauing thir-
tie Aspers dailie allowance, a *Protogero*
and *Cleark*, at twelue Aspers a man dai-
ly. Vnder him, are a thousand and two
hundred *Meisters*, partly on foote, and
partly on horsebacke, from three to five
Aspers, each man dailie.

Imrelem-Ag,
the *Signior*'s
Standard-
bearer.

Imrelem-Aga, who carrieth the grand
Signior's Standard, hauing two hundred
Aspers dailie, and he is (beside) Captaine
ouer all the *Meisters*.

Arpaemin, Pur-
ueyer of grain
and Corne.

The *Arpaemin*, hee is Purueyer for
Corne, hauing a *Protogero*, and a Chan-
cellor: himselfe hath fixtie Aspers, the
Protogero thirty, and the Chancellor
twenty dailie. This *Arpaemin* hath xx.
persons vnder him, who are allowed
dailie amongst them, eight hundred Af-
pers.

Saraemin, Pro-
uider in ge-
nerall.

The *Saraemin*, is Purueyer or prou-
ider in common: for hee looketh to the
streets of *Constantinople*, and al the waies
whereby the *Signior* passeth forth to
Warre. He hath charge also of publick
Buildings, of Springs, Wells, and Wa-
ter-conduits. He is allowed fifty Aspers
dailie, and hath foure hundred men v-
nder him: among whom, is giuen a thou-
sand Aspers: hauing a *Protogero*, and a
Cleark also, with 38. Aspers, allowed
each man dailie.

Karatemin,
Steward of the
Signior's
commands.

The *Karatemin*, who is appointed to
deliuer the *Signior*'s commands in writ-
ing, and to receiue his house monyes:
hauing fortie Aspers dailie, and attended
with two *Clearks*, and two Ouer-seers,
with twenty Aspers dailie each man.

Dragman, the
Interpreter of
Languages,
or Maister of
the Ceremo-
nies.

The *Dragman*, who is Interpreter of
all Languages, which Office is as highly
reputed, as is the Vertue and Wisdom
of him that exerciseth it. He hath five
hundred Ducates in firme Prouision e-
uery yeare, besides, his enjoying as
much in Landes, and about foure times

as much in extraordinary fauours, be-
ing alwayes verie especiallie respected of
them.

*The Women Serraglio, differing from
the other.*

2. OVer and beside all the forena-
med matters, there is another
Serraglio of the *Signior*'s Women, con-
taining in circuit more then a mile and
a halfe: being richly furnished with di-
uers goodly Chambers, and other retire-
ments, wherein the *Signior*'s Children
are kept, seperately one from another,
with their Mothers, and a great number
of Eunuchs allowed for their keeping &
seruice. There is also the *Sultana*, that
is to say, the chiefe Mother, or the *Signi-
or*'s Wife, by whom he is said to haue
his first Child.

In this place also, are three hundred
young Damocels, brought thither Vir-
gins, and deliuered to the gouernment
of many Matrons: which Virgines, are
enfructured in all kinds of curious imbroi-
dery and workes: and euery one is allow-
ed from ten to twentie Aspers daylie, as
wages, and euery yeare, at the two *Bai-
ranes*, they haue costly Garments of silk
giuen them. Among these, hee maketh
choise (to his owne liking) of such as hee
will admit to his priuate companie: and
when he hath lien with any of them, hee
giueth her a rich head attire of Golde,
& ten thousand Aspers, placing hir then
in another lodging, separte from the o-
ther Virgins, encreasing still hir ordina-
ry wages.

To this *Serraglio* belongeth an *Aga*
of the Eunuches, who hath an hundred
score Aspers for him & his: three *Capigi-
Basbaes*, and a hundred Aspers amongst
their *Capigi*, *lanisaries* at the Gates: a-
mong whom are dailie giuen six hundred
Aspers. The *Sacates*, that bringeth in
Water, who haue in all forty aspers dai-
ly. These Damocels are thus seruiced and
enfructured, till they be five and twentie
yeares of age, the Matrons beeing their
Mistresses, and the seruants are the verie
yongest of them. When they are five
and twenty yeares olde, if the *Signior*
please to make no more vse of them, they
are then married to the *Spacchi*, and
som other of the Slaues about the court,
according to the qualitie and degree on
cyther

The great
Signior his se-
cond *Serraglio*
of women &
for his Chil-
dren.

The *Sultana*
or the *Signior*'s
wife.

Three hun-
dred Virgins
for the *Signi-
or*'s wife.

His reward to
each virgin
ouer her com-
pany.

Attendants
on the *Serrag-
lio*, and their
wages dailie.

How long the
Damocels con-
tinue for the
Signior's vse,
and what be-
cometh of them
after-
ward.

either part, and insted of the ones posse, another is admitted.

The Serraglio of Children.

There is another *Serraglio* neere to *Pera*, consisting of about four hundred Children, who are waged each one from sixe, to ten *Aspers* daily, and are clothed with Silke twice euerie year. These Children haue an *Aga* and *Eunuchs*, even as the great *Serraglio* hath, with *Capagi*, young *Janissaries*, and an hundred Maisters of diuers Artes and professions: amongst whom, are given eight hundred *Aspers* daily. They are not so Nobly borne, neyther of so seemelie preference or ingennity, as those that bee with the Signior: and yet neuertheless, many of them do attaine to greameffe: and choise is made among them of many, that are admitted to the great *Serraglio*. Especially, in *Adrianople*, called by some *Andrianople*, there is a *Serraglio* of three hundred Children with *Wages*, *Aga*, *Eunuchs*, *Capagi*, *Janissaries*, & two hundred Maisters, that haue amongst them, two thousand and eight hundred *Aspers* daily.

These children are of a third or more inferior quality; and therefore, are the more respectiue enstructed and restrained, even as all the rest (in ciuill manner) are of them, according vnto their spirit and behauiour, choise is also made for their further aduancement. There is likewise in the same Countrey, another *Serraglio*, newly made with a goodly great Garden belonging to it, and seated on the Riuer * *Mariza*: wherein there is about three hundred young *Janissaries*, who dispend each man yearly, a thousand and two hundred *Aspers*. They haue an *Aga*, allowed fortie *Aspers*, a *Protogero*, and a Clarke, each thirtie *Aspers* daylie. In diuers other places of *Adrianople*, there are Gardens, continually belonging (even as in *Deposito*) to a thousand and five hundred young *Janissaries*, selected out of these youths, as they grow to yeares and qualitie: hauing *Agas*, and Clarke on whom are bestowed fix thousand *Aspers* euerie year, or very little less.

There is then an *Aga* of the *Azamogiani*, called young vntutor or vnciuill *Janissaries*, that abide in *Constantinople*,

and haue three score *Aspers* dayly: there being vnder his command, about five thousand of these wilde-headed *Janissaries*, who are clothed twice euerie year, and haue Maisters for their instruction; among whom, is spent tenne thousand *Aspers* yearly. These do attend about the Ship-wrights, bringing them wood to supply their building, and diuers other attayres beside. Some practise Cookerie, and so become seruants to the *Janissaries*, whereby (at length) they attain to bee *Janissaries* themselves. Euerie fourth year, the Signiour sendeth into *Grecia* and *Natolia*, to take and surprize Children from the Christians, and then ten or twelue thousand of these men are sent out at a time, that doth bring verie many christian children back with them: who are then conueyed vnto further in * *Natolia*, towards *Bursia*, now called * *Mysia*, or into * *Caramania*, where they are brought vp in digging the Ground, because they may bee invnd to labour, and also to learn the Turkish Language. These Children are thus kept, three or foure yeares; and then sent out to allure other in like manner: being then giuen to the government and Discipline of the *Aga Azamogiani*. No wages or allowance is granted to these by the Signiour, so long as they abide in *Natolia*, because they are both fedde and clothed at their cost, in whose seruice, they delute the grounds, or doo any other labours for them.

I thought good to make mention (in this place) of all the *Serraglios*, because they are as appendixes on that belonging to the Signior, and reckoned in the whole expences, returned into the books of charge, belonging to the great *Serraglio* of the Signior. Into which accounts are also called the Moneyes laid out for cloathing (twice yearly) the *Basbaes*, the *Cadlescheri*, the *Differdari*, the *Beglerbeyes*, and the *Nessang-Basbaes*: which expences, allowed to them that be extraordinary, do amount to, and exceed the summe of a Million of *aspers* yearly.

Of the Arsenale, or Store-house of Munition.

There is also an *Arsenale* on that part of *Pera*, not of anie bigge

Attendants on the Ship-wrights.

Janissaries employed by the Signior for the stealth of Christian Children.

* A Countrey in *Asia* by the *Lejant*, bordering on *Trax*. * Now called *Naryngia*, in *Asia* minor, betweene *Peria* and *India*.

Aga Azamogiani.

All the *Serraglios* are limits or branches of the Signior's great *Serraglio*.

Charges allowed extraordinarily.

The *Arsenale* in *Pera*.

bigge or large circuit, which hath on the Sea-shore, to the number of ninetie two Arches, and containeth so little ground within: as not onely the Gallies, but also their other appurtenances, and Timber for worke, can hardly bee there placed. In this *Arsenale*, do about two hundred men labour ordinarily euerie day; who, with their Maisters and Overseers, haue daily two thousand *Aspers* among them. There are a thousand *Asapi*, who haue foure thousand *Aspers* among them.

Prati, or Workemaisters, to the number of fiftie, who when they are idle and labour not, haue sixe *Aspers* dayly, but when they work, twelue *Aspers* each man.

The *Emino* hath fortie *Aspers*, the Clarke five and twenty, with ten Clarke more vnder him, that haue an hundred *Aspers* daily. All these, when neede requireth, do performe their severall Offices. But if they intend badly vnto their Trades, or labour not effectually in the building of Gallies, whereby no such benefit ensueth on their paines, or like expedition as is vied among vs: if the fault be found by any Christian, he is well recompenced, and the other verie severely punished.

Of the Beglerbey.

A Commander ouer the *Arsenale*, and all the rest, there is one that is called the *Beglerbey* of the Sea, as much to say, as Lord of Lords, an Office newly created: for, in times past, he was alwaies wont to bee called Captain of the Sea. He that was *Sanick of Callipolis*, is and now the first that had the degree of *Cairedimbi*, was called *Barbarossa*, and afterward created the *Beglerbey*. To him is giuen the government of all the Nauie, and he hath in prouision euerie year (both in Lands and Ducates) fourtene thousand, collected on *Rhodes*, *Negropont*, and *Mytelene*, albeit he gathereth a double aduantage. There is not any other especiall man, appertaining to matters of the State, and charge of the Sea, that deserueth Annotation, and therefore comming to land affaires, I will proceed in this manner.

There is one called the *Beglerbey* of

Grecia, wherein is comprehended all the Countreys which the Great Signiour enioyeth in Europe. This *Beglerbey*, is the greatest of all the rest, hauing in Lands sixteen thousand ducates yearly, but his benefite amounteth to twice as much more.

Hee sitteth in the *Fortis*, behinde the chiefe *Basbae*, and is of great reputation with euerie one. He hath beside his flauies (which are about a thousand) a *Deferdaro*, Landed at three thousand Ducates yearly: An hundred Clarke, that keep the Bookes and accounts of the Landes, assigned to the *Sub-Basbaes*, *Cadi*, *Spachi*, and others; among whom, is yearly giuen ten thousand Ducats. Thirtie leauen *Sanicks*, who are al vnder his obedience: and haue each man from five to twelue thousand Ducats yearly.

These men, are distributed into the Prouinces, where they remaine so long as please the Signior; and are thence translated or changed (as hee thinketh good) into some other Prouinces. Their Office, is to gouerne the *Spachi*, to see them well exercised in Armes, and to be kept in due obedience. Foure hundred *Sub-Basbaes*, who haue in Landes among them, foure hundred thousand Ducats. Thirtie thousand *Spachi*, who are Souldiers on Horsebacke, diuided for best order of seruice: partly of the *Beglerbeis* of *Grecia*, and partly of all the *Sanicks* of *Grecia*. They haue (one by another) in Lands, two hundred Ducats, and each one of them, for euerie hundred of Ducates, is bounde to keepe a man armed on Horsebacke, with his Launce: and beside the saide armed man, they haue, some two, some foure, and others five Seruants and Horses. These *Spachi*, are all flauies to the Signior, and the sonnes of flauies, and of *Spachi*.

Next, there are twentie thousand *Timariotti*, who haue from tenne to fortie Ducates in Lands, each man yearly: but because their compensation is not to an hundred Ducates each man, they are not called *Spachi*. These haue a horse and two or three seruants for each man, seruing distributively to all the *Sanicks* of *Grecia*. That which they call *Timari*, is the assignation or appointment of lands, the Rents, Fees, or Reuenues of which assignations are deriued, partly from the Fee-farme, letting, or deuising: but the greater

Concerning the Beglerbey of *Grecia*, and his authority.

His dignity in the Court, & his attendants.

Sub-Basbae Cadi, *Spachi*, &c.

Sanicks.

The Office of the *Sanicks*.

Exercise of the *Spachi*, and their employment.

The Beglerbey and *Sanicks* of *Grecia*.

Timariotti, are such as liue vpon timars, holding Land in Knight-seruice vnder the Signior.

Timari, assignation of Lands, Livings, Farms of States, lately conquered by the Signior's Forces.

Workemen in the *Arsenale* and their wages in their severall degrees and places.

Care for furtherance of labour.

Beglerbey of the Sea is chiefe Commander in the *Arsenale*.

His authority and yearly allowance.

* *Galatia* or *Galatia* in *Gallogracia*, in *Asia* the lesse, lying to *Piergia* and *Lycia*.

Maisters for instructing the youths in the *Serraglio*.

* A City of *Thrace*, built vpon the Riuer *Itorus*. The *Serraglio* of *Adrianople*.

* In These, rising out of *Thrace* by *Adrianople*, into which Riuer the head of *Orphius* was cast.

Gardens belonging to young *Janissaries*.

Azamogiani, are young *Janissaries*, that be (as yet) rude and vntutored.

Archi, are
adventurous
ferocious on
Horific-backe.

What number
serve the Sig-
nor thorow
Grecia.

1 The Begler-
bey of *Natalia*,
and the places
vnder his com-
mand.

His place in
the Court.

2 The Begler-
bey of *Caramania*,
and his
command.

3 The Begler-
bey of *Anatolia*,
and his
command.

greater part, is from the tenths of all the
renewmes granted from the Turkes as
well as Christians, and from the leauies
which are five and twenty Aspers (*Per
poule*, as we vie to say) of the Christians
only, and from the impositions on cat-
tell, Trees, and other things, which taxes
are ouer and aboue those, that are paid
ordinarily to the Signiour. Sixteene
thousand *Archi*, those are aduentu-
rers on horsebacke, set downe thorough
the Countrey of *Grecia*, and bounde to
follow the warres without any pay; and
therefore are exempted from all taxations:
the Cities and Townes are tied to find
their prouision of victuals onely, from
place to place where they serue.

There are in *Grecia*, that is, thorough-
out the whole Countrey thereof in towns,
Villages, and other places, as well of
Turkes and Christians, enioyned to ser-
uice, about the number of threecore &
eight thousand.

Next, there are six Beglerbeyes in *Asia*,
and one by himselfe in Egypt. The first,
is called the Beglerbey of *Natalia* which
(in elder times) was *Asia minor*: he hath
fourteene thousand Ducates in Landes
annually, but hee maketh much greater
benefit thereof. Ths man hath vnder
him, and in his government, *Pontus*, *By-
thinia*, all *Asia*, *Lydia*, *Caria*, and *Lyca*;
all which Prouinces (vnder one Name
only) is at this day cald *Natalia*. His place
in the *Borta*, is next to the Beglerbey of
Grecia, and he hath (beside his own pro-
per Slaues) aboue a thousand more vnder
him; and twelue *Saniaks* landed from
four to six thousand Ducats each man;
Spachis, ten thousand; from five to ten
Aspers, each man daylie, besides much
more in Landes, and those serue vnder
him, according vnto euerie ones de-
gree.

The Beglerbey of *Caramania*, which
anciently was *Celicia* and *Pamphilia*,
with tennethousand Ducats in Landes.
Hee hath vnder him seauen *Saniaks*,
from four to fixe thousand Ducates,
each man in Landes. And fixe thousand
Spachis, from five to tennethousand
Aspers, each man daily beside their lands.

The Beglerbey of *Amasia* and *Tocato*
which was *Cappadocia* and *Galatia*, with
eighthousand Ducates in Landes. Of
Saniaks he hath eight from six to eight
thousand Ducates each man in Landes:

Spachis, foure thousand, from fyue to ten
Aspers daily each man, and lands.

The Beglerbey of *Aladula*, which is a
place betwene *Soria*, *Caramania*, and
Tocato, anciently called *Paphlagonia*, &
is the one halfe of the lesser *Armenia*. He
hath ten thousand Ducates in Landes, and
Saniaks seuen (sometimes four, & some-
times six) from four to six thousand
Ducates in lands: *Spachis* six thousand, from
five to ten Aspers daily each man & lands.
In this Prouince of *Aladula* it is sayde,
that when the Signiour was there, beside
the stipendarie men, thirtie thousand o-
ther persones were obliged to ride on
with him, at the charges of two villages
onely.

The Beglerbey of *Mesopotamia*, vnder
whom is the rest of *Armenia Minor*, and
part of the greater, the other appertay-
ning to the Sophie, and the *Cordi*, which
confineth with *Bagadeth*, or *Baldacco*,
anciently called *Babylon*. His Landes
amount to aboue thirtie thousand Du-
cates: and beside his owne slaues, hee
hath more then two thousand. Vnder
him are twelue *Saniaks*, landed from
four to fixe thousand Ducates yearelie
each man: *Spachis*, ten thousand, from
ten to fyftee Aspers each man daylie,
and verie well landed, because they liue
on the Sophies Confinyes, with whome
they haue continually bickerings.

The Beglerbey of *Damasco*, *Soria*, and
Iudea. Landed foure and twentie thou-
sand Ducates. Hee hath aboue two
thousand slaues, and twelue *Saniaks*
vnder him, Landed from fyue vnto se-
auen thousand Ducates: *Spachis*, twen-
tie thousand, with Aspers from tenneth-
ousand, to fyftee each man daylie, and good
Landes.

The Beglerbey of *Cairo*, whose iurif-
diction extendeth so farre as *Amech*,
that is in *Arabia*, and the Arabians are
possessed by the Signiour, in the same
manner as hee is possessed of *Albania*,
where hee challengeth no such obedi-
ence, as all other States and Countries
doe yelde vnto him of his owne: yet,
Arabia Felix is nowe in farre more sub-
jection to him, then the other. He hath
thirtie thousand Ducates in Landes, and
Slaues aboue foure thousand. Sixteene
Saniaks. Landed fix vnto eight
thousand Ducates each one of them;
and sixteene thousand *Spachis*, from
fifteene

4 The Begler-
bey of *Aladula*,
and his com-
mand.

The Signi-
our being in *Ala-
dula*.

5 The Begler-
bey of *Mesopo-
tania*, and his
command.

6 The Begler-
bey of *Damascus*,
Soria, and his
command.

7 The Begler-
bey of *Cairo*, &
his large ex-
tendure.

Lords vnder
no controule.

* A Region in
Asia, situat-
ed with the
Hill *Caucasus*.
* People of
Syphian in Asia,
* Mountain
people both
the Armeni-
ans.
* In the edge
of Macedonia
by the Euxine
Sea.
* *Syria*.

The whole
Country of
Natalia.

The *Saniaks*
are warlike
men and of
great account.

The *Saniak*-
bey of the
Beglerbey for
Grecia, accord-
ing to their
names and
places.

fifteene, to twentie Aspers daylie each
man.

Betweene *Amech*, and the Countrey
of the Sophie, there are some Arabian
Lords, that owe no obedience to anie
bodie. The rest of the Sophies land, con-
fineth on *Mesopotamia*, wherein is *Mal-
daco*, passing *Mesopotamia*, the Sophie
also confineth the plaine of *Nasium*,
then toucheth *Eslum* and *Ersun*, which
are principall places in *Armenia Maior*,
and confine with the *Hybers* and *Geor-
gians*. In these *Armenians*, both the great
and lesser, are many of the *Cordi*, peo-
ple living in the Mountains, yet warlike
and Martiall: those of the greater *Arme-
nia* being in obedience, partly to the Sig-
niour, and partly to the Sophie, but those
of the lesser, not to any one. * *Trabisonde*
confineth with the *Georgians* and *Mun-
grellis*, and part of the *Hybers*, which peo-
ple were anciently called *Colebians*. * *A-
zemia*, which in elder times was *Asyria*,
belongeth to the Sophie, and hee is the
absolute Lord thereof.

In this *Natalia*, I mean in the whole
Country which the Signiour possesseth in
Asia, Cities, Townes, and Villages be-
longing both to Turkes and Christians,
are seauenty two thousand, besides them
in Egypt, whereof there are great store.

Of the Saniaks.

THE *Saniaks* assuredlie (as I
haue alreadye saide) haue go-
uernment in the Prouinces,
committed vnto them by the Beglerbey,
and are men of much reputation and
great esteeme, especially in warlike oc-
casions, whom I will also set downe, by
the names of those places, which are gi-
uen and assigned vnder their regiments.

First, the Beglerbey of *Grecia*, apoin-
teth his *Saniaks* to these places: first to-
ward *Solonich*, & then follow the other
of *Cassa*, and of *Silistria*, *Nicopolis*, *Pradin*,
Samandria, *Serua* and *Belgrada*, *Saurnich*,
Bossina, and *Ersch*, which is *Serua*, and
called a Dukedom; *Scutari*, *Valona*, *Ia-
uina*, *Carlat*, *Lepanto*, *Morea*, *Negropont*,
Tricia, *Callipolis*, *Chrichelissa*, that is,
forty Churches, *Visa*, *Cirmis*, *Choslan-
dill*, *Va'cirin*, *Prisdren*, *Oria*, *Alasazsar*,
Elbasan, *Voimug*, *Cinghene*, and *Taisazza*.
These are thirty, which were wont to be
five and thirty; but the fyue are vnited to

the propinquent places, as *Philippolis*,
Sophia, *Dyrachium* or *Durace*, *Albania*,
and *Scopia*.
Natalia, that is *Asia Minor*, hath *Pontus*,
thimia, *Lydia*, *Caria*, and *Lyca*. The *Saniaks*
of this Beglerbey, are in *Chiothia*,
ebia, and the rest in *Chiothia*, as *Boli*, *Ca-
stamon*, *Anguri*, *Cangri*, *Therschiell*, *Ma-
teffeli*, *Aidinel*, *Hallaice*, *Buga* and *Ma-
nesia*, which appertaine to the Sultane
Mustapha, the Signiours first borne son,
and which place is half hemd in with the
sea.

Amasia and *Tocato*, that is *Paphlagonia*,
Galatia, and *Cappadocia*. The *Saniak* of
the Beglerbey, is in *Amasia*, and the rest
in *Chiorina*, *Gianich*, *Charassier*, *Sajum*,
and *Trabisonde*.

Caramania, that is *Cilicia* by the midst
of *Cyprus* and *Pamphilia*. The *Saniak* of
the Beglerbey is in *Giogna*, and the o-
ther stretch into *Naranda*, *Asar*, *Eschif-
sar*, *Versogeli* and *Sinualsar*.

Aladula, that is *Armenia Minor*. The
Saniak of the Beglerbey is in *Amaras*, &
those of the other, in *Sarmussacii*, *Albi-
hanocrasii*, *Adana* & *Tersis*.

Dierbeck, which is *Mesopotamia*, and
part of *Armenia Maior*, for the rest be-
longeth to the Sophie, and to the *Cordi*.
The *Saniak* of the Beglerbey, is in *Di-
erbeck*: and the rest haue their abiding in
Characmis, *Argui*, *Tolich*, *Cassanchief*, *Me-
ridin*, *Charput*, *Mussul*, *Ersun*, *Payburt*,
Eyblis and *Maxianucasii*.

Soria and *Iudea*. The *Saniak* of is in
Damascus, and the other in *Melathia*, *Di-
nighi*, *Antep*, *Antiochia*, *Aleppo*, *Tripoli*,
Chama or *Aman*, *Camps*, *Scopetro*, *Ierusa-
lem*, and *Gazara*.

Egypt, with part of Desert *Arabia*, to
Alceden & *Almach*, with all *Arabia Felix*,
where are many Arabian Lords, which
are partly at the deuotion of the Grand
Signiour, and partly to no bodie. The
Saniak of the Beglerbey is in *Cayro*, &
some other places.

All the fore-recited *Saniaks*, Begler-
beyes, Bashaes, and other Officers, haue
Landes and Vvages (as hath bene saide)
firmly in ordinarie pay: and get much
more extraordinarily, liuing chiefly by
the benefit of their slaues, whom they
must of necessity cloath, and allow some
Wages to keepe them from stealing.
Vvhat the Rents and Returnes of this
Signiour is, may be considered by the
mighty

The *Saniak*-
kuts belong-
ing to the
Beglerbey of
Natalia.

Saniaks of
the Beglerbey
of *Amasia*.

Saniaks of
the Beglerbey
of *Caramania*.

Saniaks of
the Beglerbey
of *Aladula*.

Saniaks of
the Beglerbey
of *Dierbeck*.

Saniaks of
the Beglerbey
of *Soria* and
Iudea.

Egypt and the
Saniaks of
her Beglerbey.

A briefe Sum-
mary of all
the fornam-
ed Officers
and Offices.

Yearly Re-
venues com-
ing into the
Grand
Signior.

mightie expences he is at daily, the whiche reuennues is collected of the *Cars* or impositions, proceeding fro those subiectes that are not Turkes, yielding yearly a Million and a halfe of ducates. The Customes or towle for cattell, yeldeth eight hundred thousand Ducates; and the Metall Mines afford sixe hundred thousand Ducates.

There are infinite other Customes and payments, imposed on Salte, Com-mands, dead folkes goods, giuists, the reuennues of Egypt, besides other Mo-neyes, Rents, and Tributes, which are so much, as not only do supplie the expences ouer and aboute the Landes and readie Moneyes, and bringing daily in to the great *Casnar* or Treasure, aboute twelve thousand Ducates, besides other great aduantages, and ouerplus summes of Moneyes. And it is supposed, that the least reckoning of the ordinary reuennues, may be aboute fyfteeen thousand Millions of Gold: Five whereof onlie enter into the *Casnar*, but the other ten remaine for the Ministers of the warres employments.

CHAP. II.

Of the lawfull meanes, whereby to compass the esteeme and reputation, of being truly and excellencie Courageous & valiant.

A demand made to Augustus, in what hee worthy an-
fwere.



T was demanded of *Augustus*, in what hee could best obserue the valour of a man of war. *Thus* (quoth he) *when his effort and endeuour, hath relished (in common) with that of his Fellowes, but that some perticular matter appeareth in his attempt, which is no way due to the Armes general victory, wherein himselfe fighteth vnder the Captaynes charge, yet as if himselfe were no chiefe in respect.* Such a man among the *Albanians*, was *George Castriot*, who hadde to deale with two of the verie greatest, and most dreaded Princes of the East against whose iniustice he opposed himselfe on-

George Castriot, furnished Scanderbeg.

ly, and manie times wonne verie goodly victory ouer them: yea, and compelling them sometimes to require peace, yet without anie other aide, then his owne perfect valour, accompanied with Diferetion and Equiry. Vvith yet (neuerthelesse) at length hee lost, both to his owne ruine and all *Albania*, by the enter-mises and medlings of the Pope, and of the Byshop of *Durace*, who constrained him (iniuriously) to breake his faith promised vnto Mahomet the second, being at that time in Warre against the Venetians.

He could freely anouch, that (as naked and all alone) hee vnderooke warre against the Great Signior, and that hee did it onely by the bright beautie of his courage: which could no way gather apprehension of surmounting, fighting in so iust a cause as the Christians generally quarrell against the Turk. And he might also as freely confesse, that the losse of his estates and of his sonnes (which hee had not till after his death) was onlie continued in the wombe of a Popes and By-shoppes rashnesse, who more enflamed with spleene, then strengthened with men of armes, ouer bare the modestie of this poore Lord, who died in a weake estate, yet not wholly troden downe; but in leaving nothing to his heires, whereby to make a fresh reply vpon Mahomet. Hee ruined Christianity in *Greece*, thorough the insolencie of these two men of the Church, who were more apte to command a fedition, then anie way to appease it, and had more Cowardise in giuing bad counsell to their friends then courage to helpe them out of the losses bredde by them, euen as in a fourle of infallible and vnderstandable misfortunes. Whereinto also they threw *Hungary* headlong, hauing counselled a young King vmadly to violate peace with the Great Turke: who (thorough this error onely) is at this day victorious, and remayneth possessor of the *Hungars* whole estate; & afterward fell vpon *Austria*, where hee hath (almost) as great a share as the Emperour. And he, though endued with perfect valiancie, hath had much payne and care to repaire those wide gaps and breaches, which these rash & presumptuous men made, without any necessitie or ouer profitable consideration vnto Christendome, but well-neere to the vi-

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The Pope & Bishop of Durace medled in Warre matters.

The freedom of confession imposed on George Castriot.

Christianity ouerthrowne in Greece, by two Church mens meanes.

Further harmes that ensued by them, in Hungary, and else where.

Leonides, King of Lacedemon, shaine at Thermopylae fighting against Xerxes.

ter subuersion of the Eastern people in those parts.

Leonides also is one of them, to whom iustly may be attributed the glorie and perfection of intire man-hood, confidering, that without any curious inquisition for himselfe, eyther of good or euill, and carelesse of any intention for praye or misprision: he vnderooke to oppose himself (at the *Thermopylae*) against great king *Xerxes*, the astonisher of the world, who had filled all *Greece* with horreur and affrightments, both of Soldiers and horses, hauing no lesse prouision (beside this equipage) of power & fighting men on the Sea, which they did nothing else, but merely suite and beate with their Oares, euen as if hee would haue compelled the insensible Elements, to the vnderstanding and fauouring of his enterprizes.

All which notwithstanding, the worthy *Leonides*, accompanied onlie with foure thousand men, fought against him with such sprightly resolution and Vertue: that he left vs more matter and subiect of amazement, then capacity of imitation. I must fend ye amongst the Greekes, there to admire the whole History, which is the most remarkable in al Antiquity.

Brasidas must not be forgotten, who trauesied the Campe of the enemy, at the siege of *Metone*, and by a necessary endeauro, accomplished and woon immortall Fame and Renowne, which serueth yet (to this day) for a common Prouerbe, by the wonderfull perfection of his courage, whose picture is plentifull among the Greekes, only with this Motto.

Be as valiant as Brasidas.

Hyspermenes, Captaine to *Darius*, is worthy to holde ranke amongst them, that not onely had a beame, but an entire Starre of true valiancy. For, his Master, and the fortune of all *Asia*, bowing vnder the yooke of Great *Alexander*, he would not yeeld himselfe vnto the Conquerour, though his Castle was no longer holdable, the Cittie of *Susa* beeing brought in subiection to the *Macedonians*, to whom he made this answer. *I do not resist against Great Alexander with any hope to overcome him: but only to Com-*

Darius conquered by Great Alexander.

A noble City betwene Persia and Babylon, where was the sumptuous Vallance of Cyrus.

quer mine owne misfortune, which may suffer me to dye, yet not at the discretion of any other, then of myselfe, who would force the fortune of your Master, if hope were answerable to my dutie. Yet, all that I can hope, is now not lawfull, because the royal Darius is dead.

Hyrtius Mela, purchased most signale glorie, in perfection of courage, when seeing the Cittie wherein he dwelt, called *Praneste*, wholly destroyed from the toppes to the bottome, and by his Guest *Sylla*, who (in the right of Hospitality) graunted him both grace and life: hee valiantly made refusal with this exclamation against the Tyrant. *It is possible, O thou most barbarous and cruel of all men, that thou wouldst be so bloody to thine Hostie, as to let him live, after so many cruelties which thy rage hath exercised on an innocent people? Thou art not pittifull to me, but onely to afflict me more, & wouldst bestow life on me once, so make me thereby dye a Million of times. Ait thou shaine my Companions, Fellow Cittizens, kindred and Friends, and wouldest thou now compel mee to live? Speaking these words, hee stabbed with a Poniard, *Marius Latrius*, the principall Instrument and Organ of *Syllas* cruelties; yea, the only Authour and motiue of *Pranestes* ruine.*

To whose *Athes*, this good and Famous Cittizen, sacrificed his owne life, by the death of the dearest Friend vnto the Tyrant, who instantly commanded, that hee should be massacred & throwr into the common Sinke, or Lay-fall of the City.

Quintus Curtius, that Honourable Romaine Knight, did a dede of absolute and respectiue manhood. For, when he had Learned from the Oracle, that the wide gaping Gulfe in the middest of *Rome*, which infected the Cittie with pestilence and most noysom aires, could no way be closed againe, but by the Voluntarie leaping of a man into that infernall and darke downefall, hee gladly threw himselfe thereinto, for to end the Romaines miserie, and sauing the liues of infinite people of all degrees. The Inscription on his Brasen Statue was thus.

*The City Praeneste of Latium in Italy.

The courageous words of Hyrtius Mela to Sylla.

Hyrtius Mela slew Marius Latrius, the cause of his Citties overthrow.

The memorable act of Quintus Curtius, for the deliverance of his Country.

Cccc This

His Statue of
Brasile yet
standing in
Rome.

*This was the acceptable Sacrifice to
the Goddess, and the Saviour of his
Country. This was the Heroe to the
vertues of the chiefeſt Romaines,
and the ſcandal of al cowardly men.
This was he that could not die, but
by being profitable to the lives of his
Fellow-Citizens.*

Domitian re-
fused from a
dangerous
Elephant.

A Noble na-
ture in a true
hearted Soul-
dior.

Fulvius Nafſus
an honoura-
ble Romaine.
"A Lake in
Hetruria.

The lives of
many prefer-
red before a
ny care for
his owne.

Matius Scen-
la, a perpetu-
all mirror to
all poſterity.

Cicero Cepio, made his manly courage to appear, in a matter worthy to be observed. For, when he beheld a huge mightie Elephant, stouping and make offer to feize on Domitian his Captaine: he preuented him quickly, by throwing himselfe vnderneath his bellie, which he slaid with so many strokes of his Poniard, that the Elephant being faynt with paine, violence of his wounds, and losse of blood, fell downe dead, and with his fall, crushed him also to death, who made no spare of his owne life, to speede his Generals with safety.

Fulvius Nafſus, was carefull to winne himselfe faire reputation in Arms, when the Romaines his Companions and war-fellows being vanquished by Hannibal at the Lake of *Thrasymene*, and flying away like Cowards, hee stept betwene their pursuite and attaint, allowing them time for running, by making a wall, as it were, of himselfe and his horse in a narrow passage, where the flight of the one side, and following of the other, was merely logd vp. The death of his horse was frightfull and terrible to the Horses of his enemies, and a safegarde also for himselfe, that he could not suddenly bee surprized by many *Numidians*. So that, thorough his long resistance, euen vnto death, he saued the remainder of the Romaines liues, that fled from forth their owne field of battell.

The valour of *Matius Scenola* cannot be confuted by eternitie of ages. For he (all alone) amazed a victorious Prince, ready to possesse himselfe of Rome, which must needs haue yielded in verie few dayes, or be compelled to render or ruin it selfe, by falling into the *Tarquin* handes, and the people of *Hetruria*, verie desperate enemies.

This braue and Courageous *Scenola*, (without any communication of his

desseigne) threw himselfe into his Enemies Army, not as a friend, but as an open enemy. He fought for King *Porſenna* in all places of the field, he found his Royall Paullion, and slew the intendant on his affayres, as guesing by the riches of his habite, and the honour generallie done vnto him, that it had beene the King himselfe. Heereupon, hee was apprehended, and brought before the King *Porſenna*, who suddenly conuerting rage into admiration, and admiration into pardon, sent backe Noble *Scenola* to Rome. And which is much more, he raised his siege, as being fearefull, that some other courage, more fortanfull than that of *Matius*, should make a second attempt, and so proouee to bee his death indeede. But what gratitude did *Scenola* returne for this high fauor? that you shall perceiue by his owne wordes, which are these: *Sir, for the kindness I haue receiued from your Maiessty, I purpose neuer to rest vntill thankfull. Let me then tell ye, that there are yet in Rome, foure hundred gallant young men, who haue protested they will kill you, or else to lose themselves in the aduenture.*

Androcles the *Samian*, made the most aduantageable essay in Courage and perfection of valour, that anie of vs can desire to accomplish. For, being prisoner vnto *Eupolemus* the great Pyrate, who (vnadvisedly) had tolde him, that the verie next Night, hee purposed to surprise the Citie of *Samos* (as doubleste the enterprise would haue beene infallible, because all the ablest fighting *Samians* were restrained in *Peloponnesus*) hee preuented him halfe a day before, by giuing him so strong a blowe with a Candelstick vnder the eare, that so dyed the losse of his Countrey, and he together that had intended it. A matter questionlesse exceeding beleefe, that a man to saue a Citie, and the Inhabitantes, would run into such a certainty of death, whereto hee merely prostituted his life, because hee would not behold the place of his birth and Natiuitie, in the mercie of such an infamous and outrageous Pirate.

It is in such actions (you my braue masters, & dainty sweete perfumed Courtiers, that true courage makes it selfe to be seene: and not in committing affrontes and impudencies in our publicke streets,

He flew the
Secretary to
King Porſenna,
as taking him
to bee the
King.

The granulation
of *Matius Scenola* to
Porſenna.

Eupolemus the
proud Pirate,
that intended
the subuerſion
of *Samos*.

The worthy
adversaries of
Selenus to
his Parasites
and Flatterers.

To such as
are rather
dishonour to
Princes
Courts, then
any credit at
all.

A noted hu-
mour in ocer-
any idle
Gallants.

A deuile how
to be benefi-
ciall both to
Princc and
Country by
care, forward-
ness, & manly
behaviour.

The vidual
braasdoe of
Scipio Affricanus.

The worthy
adversaries of
Selenus to
his Parasites
and Flatterers.

streets, in bawdy-houſes, yea, and in the frequent company of our best friends. We are like to Lyons, that make no acknowledgement of their fostering nurses, Gouernors or Guardians, if the colour and fashion of their garments be neuer so little changed. If all their humors that keepe vs company, do not iumpe and correspond with ours; immediately one is an Ass, another a Nouice; this fellow hath no complement, that neuer came where courage was; either hee is too fad, or too merrie, or else he hath no taste of our Court ayre: these are our most familiar discourtings; yea, and (many times) all that we can say. Make a little better search into your felues henceforward, for som such faire occasions to appear in, and that our outward shewe may not be by starts and passions, but on well formed and compleat designs. Regarding aduisedly, wherein we may be profitable to our Prince and Countrey; and thereon immediately resolve, to effect some such one thing or other, as may be worthy each of the other. Let it appeare (then) that we are Captaines indeed, lest we be not reckoned worse then filly Soldiers; and let it be seene, that we are necessary helps then, when men would iudge vs vterly vnprofitable. Let it be noted, that we haue courage then, euen when it faileth in our fellows: and yet without accusing them of any cowardise but only by attempting and executing more then they. Let vs then (in good earnest) performe the *Rodomontado* of *Scipio Affricanus*, who was wont to say: *I seeke not to be known to man by man, but I would only make my selfe known to al the world.*

Selenus hearing and perceiuing, that every man boasted and flattered him, that he was worthy to inherit the fortune and vertue of *Alexander*, returned this answer, *You should bid me forsake the credulity, which you haue conceived of my valor, and then you would quickly emptie mee of courage in aspyring, when you but make me to remember Alexander, who performed more then a man can thinke, or anie way is able to do.* He also said, *Asia is yet the same field of battaile, where his Captains disputed about his heritage: but no man was to be found, that could answer his deservings.* Let vs strive to imitate the valiancy, and necessary courage of *Bertrand du Guesclin*, who conquered the fortune, enuy, ha-

zards of war, and furie of the victorious. Let vs read the histories of such as (heretofore) opposed themselves, against the good successe and vertue of the English men. Let vs not make esteeme only, but forme in example and singular study the valor of those ancient knights, that made this State of ours inuincible, and drev it out of decayed ruines, yea, out of a bottomlesse gulfe, wherein it appeared to be sunk, and (welneere) wholly swallowed in dooing so, it is not to be feared, that although we were no more then peticuler men, or Gentlemen, or Captaines, or Soldiers, yet we should attaine to worke woonders, and to arrive before the eyes of Commonweals, of Empires, Monarchies, and of their Princes, by whom (at length we should be admired, fought for, acknowledged, and recomenced, according to our owne wishes, and contrarie to the mediocrity of a wel gouerned hope. About all our courage declares it selfe, notcheable by a weak man, or one that is not so valiant as our felues; provided, that it be stil vnder our own charge, and can command in some such case, where it may well come off with dutie discharged. Otherwise, it will happen to vs, as *Sophocles* said:

Who lea his furious tongue walke liberally,
In checking some & censured quality:
And hath no reason but his owne bare braine,
Must looke himselfe to finde the like againe.

I haue seene some to misprize their own companions so mainly, that they offered much iniurie to Armes, and to the whole companie, whereof themselves were but poore dependants, seeming more in outward shew, then inward substance. For, a Vertuous Souldier, or he that is a man indeed, should alwayes bee comforted with iudgement, to supply the defects of such as are lesse then himselfe, and say; that although they bee not qualified in some one kinde, yet in some other, they owe nothing to him. One may bee a worthy Senator on Horseback, another on foote, euerie way equall to him, and so likewise in the other degrees of Manhood.

The cie is the most excellent part of the countenance, yea of the whole body: and yet notwithstanding, if a man were composed of eyes only, he would rather be a monster, then any piece of perfection &

Bertrand du Guesclin a famous Souldior of France.

Practise and example are the best means of good men, and to renowne their names to endless posterity.

Courage cannot be reproved by weaknesse.

Sophocles in *Trag.* of *Antig.*

Of a vertuous Souldior and man indeed, how he maketh his best appearance.

A very excellent comparison.

Cccc2 excel-

What kind of men are to be counted.

When Ignorance is not to be reckoned as a vice.

Of taking offence or displeasure.

Homer in Lib. 1 de Odys.

The picture of a constant wife man.

The words of noble Brasidas.

excellence. Let vs neuer note then, whether a man be inferiour to vs in anie one vertue: but rather consider, that manie other Vertues are needfull for vs, which we bestow no paines to purchase. Let vs expresse contempt of vile and detestable men, that serue as spurs to whoring, Sodomy, Flatterie, and softnesse, which (among vices) are not onely enemies to true and perfect valour, but to the generall society of men, and Authours of scandall to all Nations. Ignorance is not to be counted as a Vice, when it is accompanied with simplicitie and natural care for the auoyding of euill. But misprision of Vertue, and disdayne to compass it, is not onely an odious brutality amongst true men: but (which is much more) a crime punishable by fyre and sword, and all other inflictions Customarily due, to the perfluence of foule and guilty offenders or euil doers.

There is no necessity, that a valiant man should be apt to spleene or offence, through the riots of a Court Minion, of a Buffone, or of some young Sir, that hath not as yet learned how to be silent, or when to speake to purpose. A Gentleman of courageous perfection indeed, should bee of the humour of inuincible Hercules, of whom Homer deliuereth testimony in the first Booke of *Odyssees*.

He made no more account of frowards words, Than of the Flee, thatilly harme affords.
He suffered (in all) from common kinde:
And Fortunes frownes with him were as the wind.

Hee ought likewise, in all his other actions, to correspond with these precepts.

The constant wife, is euer like himselfe,
And neare shrinkes courage at the losse of selfe:
The death of Children cannot make him eye,
But, when help faile, Hope doth the place supply.

He should not conceite, that he is to deale with some small enemy, but rather to crie out with courageous *Brasidas*, of whom we haue alreadie spoken. *O God, there is not anie thing of so weake power; but, if it darst defend it selfe: it could finde means whereby to preferre it owne life.* Hee vied these words, in regarde of a Mouſe that bit him by the Finger, as he thrust his hande into a Fraile of drye Figges.

Demetrius being at *Thebes*, aduisedly noted a man that was Lame of all his

Members; and of whom, a Court Musk-Minion, made a subiect of scornfull Laughter, saying: *This is not he, that hath (in this day) seraid our victorie, for Nature hath made him a Cripple. It is true (answered Demetrius) but how dost thou know, whether reuenge and disdaine haue any other weapons then hands onely, considering that mine hande doe no seruce at all for the surprizing of this Cittie?*

That the mea-
sures of fillet
creature is not
to be despised

CHAP. III.

Of those meanes which Princes ought to obserue, for being well attended vpon by Gentlemen and valiant Captaines of true perfection.



Princes that seeke the Conseruation of their subiects, and to leaue peaceable estates and dominions vnto their Children, ought Religiously to ordaine (next to the establishment of Iustice) that lawes should be allowed to periculer families, whereby children may bee educated euen from their infancy, as destinated to the inclination of such Artes, as (by manifest experience) their nature is subiected vnto, by the secret power of the more or lesse great blessings of God, and as it pleaseth him to extend or shut vppe his graces in one more then in another. Yet notwithstanding, as accommodating the diuers inclinations of men, to perfect that great harmony which maintaineth the world, and combineth human societie with so strict a bond, that (as it often cometh to passe) the very greatest haue neede of the meaneſt mens help, & al sciences, yea, euen the silliest, do tend to one selfsame end, by diuers precepts & contrary manners, yet all for the seruice of nature. For otherwise it would fall out, that common weales would conuert into deserts: and men (being apt but to one exercise only, how excellent soeuer) should haue no commerce together, but only in words & vfe of the Elements, which being wholly contrary (as it seemeth) in that common

Lawes for the
education of
Children, euen
from their
Infancy.

The blessings
of God not
limited to a-
ny bounds or
measure.

No one ex-
celle, how ex-
cellent soe-
uer, is fit for
all men.

Hesiodus his
verses, thus
translated out
of Greeke.

The instituti-
on obserued
by the great
Signior for
youth.

How young
Boyes are
tended by di-
ligent Mai-
sters.

The pursuite
of feuerall in-
clinations.

For Warre.

For making
of Ships and
Gallies.

Philis, Reli-
gion, & Law.

concord, for fortifying and maintaining this great building; and the lesser also, which boasts his owne mirror and liuely figure: doth teach vs, that wee ought to haue a generall vertue of profiting: and yet neuertheless, that it is necessary therein to make vfe of different effects and proprieties. This was well knowne to *Hesiodus*, when he said:

The very darkeſt ſullen night,
Helpes Nature with as deere delight,
As the brighteſt Sun-ſhine day,
That the Gods moſt honor may.
They both moſt neceſſary be,
Healthfull alike in each degree.

Let me then tell ye, that neuer (throughout all the ancient Monarchies) was the like inuented for the institution of youth; as the Discipline vſed by the Great Signior, towards the *Amasogians* and children of the tribes. The only euill (which is great, in regard of God, yet litle according to his estate & manner of governing) is, in that Christians are compelled to renounce their Religion, to embrace that of *Mahomet*, which (at this day) is the verie greatest, and most respected in all the East. Take off this defect, and then there is not any thing (I say) in the world, neither did all former ages euer afford the like. For you may behold in *Constantinople*, a *Caravani* or numberlesse troope of yong Boies, that are carefully tended by Maisters of all estates in al such things as they are most apt vnto, without any constraint of Nature, and for the space of a yeare, they are permitted all kinds of exercises; to the end, that becomming iudges of themselves, each one may afterward pursue his owne instinct, and best inclination. Some are found to be fit for warre, and they are as quickly recommended to Maisters meete for such instruction: yet with so great an obseruation, that time shall rather bee wanting, then care of their employment. Such are noted to please themselves, in the composing of ships or gallies, with paper sailes, and packe thred tacklings, or anie other husse, more assidue to their yong fancies, then others they are forthwith bestowed in the Sea *Arſenale*, & instructed in al affaires fit for the sea. These docible and debonaire spirits are differently employed: some to Philisck, others to priest-hood, & some beside to iudiciary seruices. Finally, such as are of so grosse temper, that

no faire apprehension shineth in them, are employed in Gardening, a middle fort in Architecture, Painting, & Horology. They that seeme wholly disgraced by nature, are instructed in Carpentry, Taylory, and twilling of Cables, making of sailes and many other mean offices: which are by their aptnesse (in them) very gracious in the great Signiors respect, & begeth them both lands & perpetual penſions.

It is necessary in a Christian Oeconomia, to make the like practise, as we plainly behold in the fabrick of man. If we look vpon our bodies, or those of beasts, wee may perceiue many members to haue their distinct operations; without the intrusion of any others office, or that the enuy of inferiours discontent themselves at the dignity of their superiors, or any of them (either through discord or partiality) do refuse to lend one another their assistance. It behooueth I say, that in well ordered Commonweales, but especially among Christians, the same course should bee kept and maintained one with another: and although our charges and estates are different, yet that wee should euermore continue vnitied in our spirits; and with a iust desire, to supply the defects of our associates, and also to assist them. For it is very requirith, that we should be all like to trauailers, wandering by diuers wayes, yet all to arrive at one haven in the end.

But about all, a King ought to constrain his Nobility, to cause yong Gentlemen to be instructed in good Letters, for Capacity of administering the great and soveraign Magistracies of his kingdom: for thereby must needs ensue, that dignity will be more venerable, iustice in better respect, and iudgements more legitimate. We may see (to our shame) that at this day, the greater part of Magistrates in all our Parliaments of *France*, receiue their originall from plaine *Pebleians* and Yeomen, who neuer could haue honour so liuely imprinted in their brows and souls, as they that naturally are heires, to I know not what admirable and holy vertue, which (with no meane advantage) appeareth rather in yong spirits of Nobility, then in them of the thirde ranke, who alwayes haue but feeble Conceptions, and neuer eleuate or rayſe their thoughts, except it bee to euill, as either to sedition, or infamous and dishonest

Gardening,
Painting, and
Clocke-ma-
king.

Our Christi-
an rule or di-
position, com-
pared to the
body of man,
or of Beastes.

Gentlemen
in Christian
Common-
weales.

The stronger
are to support
the weaker.

The especial
Office and
duty of a
King.

The disgrace
of France at
this present
day.

Owles are no
way to bee
compared
with yong
Eagles.

The words of
Sunne bright
Nobility.

Of presidents
and Councel-
lors in the
Cortes of
Kings.

Base gripple
Slavery, is
always en-
emy to Geni-
lity.

A great error
in the Genry
of these daies.

Many are
made capable
of warre, a-
gainst their
naturall incli-
nation.

What spirits
are repared
for Warre,
by peraking
in the degrees
of hate.

again. Whereto wee may adde, that their courages are cowardly, standing amazed and confounded at the smallest accidents; neyther are they so apt to outstand tumults and ciuill inconueniences, as Sun-bright Nobility, which euen of it selfe is engirt with some celestiall flame, that cauleth the vulgar people to apprehende more in their opposition against them, then in thousands of poore spirits that are of their owne quality, whose fathers at the best, were but Farmers, keepers of Granges and Dairies, which they helde at a certaine price, and annuall Rent.

Nobilitie then doth shame to it selfe, by not seeking to appeare in the venerable authority of the Senate; considering that Presidents and Councillors in Courtes Soueraigne, seeme to be voluntarie Tutors to the Prince, and as Noble Guardians to his innomable Greatnesse. By this means they would free them from the gripes of a hyge heape of wretched Officers, and they should neuer be subiected to the mercenary iudgment of their subjects, who mistake themselves verie suddenly, and dispose both of the liues and goods of Gentlemen drawn into action: euen like to their Shop-keeping fathers, in their esteeme of paltry wares. In this manner, the King should haue a more found, sure, and strong election of men meete for warre, which now adayes hee cannot haue: because Gentlemen doo (indifferently) employ all their fonnes to such trades, as is impossible in conueniency for them, considering the dissimilitude of their natures, repugnancy of their humors, and contrariety of their spirits, which is more or which is lesse apt vnto one office then to another. I doubt not, but at length thorough the great scarcity to be found of martiall minded men: all sorts of Gentlemen will not know howe to appeare in the diuersitie of warre hazards, whither they be ciuill or strange.

Yet I may verie well say, that there are many carried thereto, contrarie to the first conception of their *Genius*, who (neuertheless) being apt to diuers things: can accommodate their spirits therto, albeit it is much lesse natural to them, then something els. This is the reason why *Aristotle* saide, that lukewarme water was cold, in regard of that which is boiling, and yet esteemd hot, in consideration of

that which is ycie. This is asmuch to say, as that the moderat spirits of gentlemen, peraking in the thirde or fourth degree of heat, may serue for warre. If so much better then should they be apt and profitable for the assayres of State and policy. Such also, as incline to the fourth or fifth degree, do perake of an influence more strong and pregnant for war, then anie other exercise else. This is to bee discerned in the Nature or cale of our infancie, which telleth vs by our yongest carriage, what will be the inclination of our most folide age, and inciteth, nay, merely exalteth vs (with a certaine violence) to acknowledge that which shall (one day) be either necessary or profitable at the least. According to the saying of *Hesiodus*.

All Infant Pleasures, Plays, and Toyes,
All youthfull Apish tricke and toys;
Our Cradle-power, which breaks no bands:
Our first essayes in ripper houres,
Our weaknesse, strength, or what else ours,
As in a painted Table stand;
For following years therein to see,
What good or bad success will bee.

Hesiodus, concerning our
years of infan-
cy, expressing
thereby, what our
first age will
be.

Princes and great Lordes ought to instruct their Pages in such exercises, as do best answer vnto the condition of true Gentlemen, and should make no vse of their seruice, in seruile, base, or abiection occasions: as in these daies they do, without any care of government, or prescribing them some honest forme of conduction. I protest, as I see the carriage of these ill taught times, I had much rather place my son or Kinsman, with a Spittle Maister, or Hospitall Keeper, then with a Prince: considering how badly Pages are entertained, and so slenderly entrusted in anie vertuous actions, as wee cannot distinguish them from common Lackeyes, but by the outward appellation, being else employed for all vses; euen all one, with the verie foulest condition Varlet of the house. One while they are Gourmands, by some Groom of the Chamber; another while beaten by a Scullion of the Kitchen: and beaten they bee at euerie moment, but not to any good purpose; and more for Ceremony, then with any vertuous intent of their Correction. They are baselie reputed, and badly nourished, whereby they constrain them, yea, and of themselves are merely constrained to forget and

How Princes
and Lords
should educate
their Pages.

Pages very
hardly distinguished
from common Lackeys.

The little
care and respect
that
Gentlemen
haue of their
Pages.

The Page is
here put to
the Lackies
Office.

These are
rearmed our
gracelesse
Gallies,

The maine &
chiefest inconvenience
about all o-
ther.

Of Gentle-
men, still in
the Princes
sight.

and decline, from their owne first faire and naturall disposition, to sharke and get by vnlawfull meanes, such things as are most needfull for them. Some teach them how to be dissolute at their Table, for a Trencher can be no sooner offered: but it is presently swept ouer with the Nails and Fingers; yea, with the whole hand, and tongue too sometimes. Afterward, perhaps Nature beinge carfe halfe contented: poore Youthes, they trot after their Galloping Maisters, who rid a great deale of ground in a very short while, wher their Pages follow not so fast with their feet, as with frequent and disordered passions. By which meanes, Youth neither do or can learne any thing among them, but forgetfulness of vertue and good manners, by the example of indiscretion & folly in their Maisters.

Moreover, we may see our streetes crowded with a heap of young Gentlemen, who haue much ado to maintain themselves: and yet they must haue attending Pages, to trudge with Tokens or Loue-scripts, to Madame or Mistris *Mammy-better*. And then come they posting after, euen through the chiefest parts of the Citie, not shaming to let the world see their gracelesse insolence. Now, the very great hurt of all, consisteth in this, that the whole multitude of Pages (as well those about Princes, as them that follow great Lords and lesser Gentlemen, being themselves ill bred, and worse discipline:) are compelled to bastardise their naturall splendour, by putting on a new habite, of disordered, shamelesse, and monstrous behauiour: that (afterward) they looke rather like wilde and barbarous *Albanians*, then any true borne Gentlemen of blood. By which meanes, Common-weales are afflicted, Kinges lowly serued, Magistrates scarcely obeyed, the Lawes dispised, and confusion embraced.

Beside, a Gentleman brought vp out of the Princes eye, beginneth to grow disdainfull of him, when hee once apprehendeth (and maliciously enough) that he is not in any obligation to him: he waxeth proud, and such a man soone forgetteth all proportion and measure. The very highest degree of such a mans seruice, is to domineere and rule, to

mount into the Seat of his Maister, Lord, or Prince: for, whatsoever hee seeth beneath, or on either side, is nothing to him, and the World (all this while) honoureth none more, then such a man.

Howbeit, the Paganes did euermore acknowledge, that Generositie is more familiar with good, then vicious men, and that valour is more domestick and naturall to a man than is temperate, peaceable, and milde, then the proud and ambitious, who is of the condition of a weake stomack, which couseth more meat, then it can resolute and digest. Princes ought to be respectiue, of such a rich and sanctified education, and not admit such ouerture to the designs of Gentlemen; ouer greedie and countous, in aspiring daily to some nouell degree, yet no one of them seeing the way, by the eye of his owne power, or Iustice of his merit. Thus all runs wrong, for God blesteth no Mans actions, but his that doth well, & with-draweth his eye from wicked inclinations: who will haue no other King, then the State, or any Law, but such as may bring him in some benefit. Vertue is the *Primum mobile* of courage, that seemeth (by his owne power) to attract all things to it selfe, that is required in the perfection of valour: which is onely borne to be entrusted, and entrusted to serue, and (by seruice) to ytild it selfe not onely beneficall, but necessarie also.

Princes in these daies, are faultie of too little care, that Nobility should be more forward in the exercise of vertue: and themselves also doe lend most employment, to such as are more commended to them, then fit for vs. Vertue giueth no more hire to the intercessions of a Courtier, made honorable and rich altogether; then to one of her owne breeding and bringing vp. Hence should arise all the Officers of a Crowne, and hence are aborted all the Creatures of a King, that leaneth wholly to passion, & nothing to vertue. He ought then to hold the list in his owne hand, to fore-see each man in his profession and degree, and hence he will deriue: that his Financiers or Cherker-men, shal bee without fraud; his Councillours free from partialitie, and his Gouernours voyde

The nature of
an ambitious
man.

The Pagans
opinion, con-
cerning Ge-
nerosity.

An especiall
duty imposed
on Princes.

What ende-
uors are be-
lieued of God.

Vertue the
only first
mouer of
Courage.

The over-
much neglect
of Princes in
these daies.

The check-
rule should
be held in the
Kings owne
hand, for the
election of his
followers.

voysde of faction. All their ayme and scope, will be to iustifie by their effects, the good choyse and lawfull election, which the Prince hath made of such persons. And although they should come somewhat short of merit, yet would they stretch their endeavour, to deserue the voyces of the honestest Men, and the grace of their second Creator.

When a Man of Honor is aduanced, the people doe looke on it with a pleasing eye, and discernce (therein) the wisdom of their Prince: who instantly is exalted to admiration; from admiration, to intire loue of his Subiects; and from thence to the blessing of GOD, who plaubly entertaineth the fustriages of the Common-weals suppliants, for the health and preseruacion of their Prince. Contrariwise, all is in disorder,

when bad men hold the best places of credit: then the people mutiny; the Princes iudgement is scandalized; common affection cooleth; the curse of God embraceth, and bringeth the latest cauer that cleaueth to this euill. Above all, I wish that he, of whose seruice a Prince shall make vse, should haue the feare of God before his eyes, without which: all Wisedome will easily be conuerted into craft; valour into violence; Iustice into Crueltie; Pollicy into Monopolies; and without which (I say) all those things which heauen hath best bestowed on vs for the best, will only be Instruments of the worst. With-

out this, our very affections, are as so many violent torments, and cruell Hells both to the Soule and Body, and our reason is nothing else, but meere trumpery and deceipt. O what infusions could I wish to some *Machiuelists*, who maintaine, that such as bee bound to Conscience, reason, and Lawes, are no meete Seruants to attend on Princes: but that flattery is to be preferred, both above Lawes and Nature.

If it be so, that those blessed Quires of Gods Booke, do beare witness, that *No Man can serue two Masters*. Commanding vs also else-where; *To feare God, and honor the King*: it is then a matter very euident, that the most part of all other Seruants, doe yeilde nothing else but eye-seruice only. And this is the reason, that Kings are euill serued

farre off, and betrayed in secret. They that being Seruants to their King, will also do seruice to God; they euermore walke after one manner. They serue to content their Conscience, and not they eye of their Maister. They propose God before their eyes, as both the Beholder of their actions, and searcher of their hearts. They waite for his grace and Wages: being assured of recompence and reward on his part, when they doe their dutie, although it bee to vnthankfull Maisters. This is the Seed from whence Kings should gather all hope, of being maintained, strengthened, and well serued. From hence ought they alwaies to chuse their Councillors of State, and al the, to whom they will communicate their power and authority.

The Prince that desireth to accomplish all these things, both for the quiet of his owne Conscience, and happy administration of his Estate: must be sure to haue no Flatterers about him, vnprofitable persons, Loue-Brokers, voluptuous and Epicurian Courtiers, that make the publike Purse, serue for the expenses of their pericular Luxurie, gurmmandize and pomp, while (in the mean time) the virtuous, and such as haue deserued much better of the State: remaine far enough off, slenderly known, without Grace, and without Honour, (I meane no other, then that of their owne proper merit) who neuertheless are (oftentimes) inestimable, and more worthy of administration; then of the blind and briske (let mee not say faint-hearted) fauours, which the Princes of these times vse towards some young Gallants, that smell more of Ciuets, then the Cannons Powder, and much more of the Woman, then Man: yet vnworthy of eyther Sexe, their depraued Natures are so highly subiect to infamous Vices, which funder them frō those common proprieties, that do let vs know a Man, to be truly a Man, and a Woman, truly a Woman. I am perswaded, that it was of them, which that Great Man spake, on the *Grecian Theater*, saying:

You Swinish men, that haue no other este,
But onely for such food, as you prepare
To gorge your foule polluted tumies withall:
Meere Swine you are, and such your actions all.

Like
A Mierour for
many, that
dare not be-
hold it.

Such as serue
God and their
Prince.

The Seed
that yieldeth
Kings the best
encrease.

Especial ob-
seruations for
a Prince, that
would be ser-
ued with good
men indeed.

These are
Carpet Squa-
res, not
Knights fit for
a Field.

Like them you run, such is your leaden pace;
Nor Soule, nor reason shined in your face.
Stabled you are within the Courts of Kings,
Not fit for Councell, Armour, or such things
As to your Natures are contrary quite.
Easily you can faire Ornaments disgrace,
Therefore you fit not such a royall place:
Kings looke themelues, that doe in you delight.

But why do I seeke to enstruēt Gentlemen, seeing they strue (as much as possible that they may) not to be- hold any lawfull action: because their Soules should bring no iudgement against themselves for the excellencies which they haue committed? It is enough for them, to make some essay of that which is written in *Saint Iohn*, to wit. *That if all Testimonies of Scripture, and lawfull imitations doe faile vs: yet notwithstanding our Conscience, and Nature is selfe doth sufficiently shew, what is our dutie.* Looking thorow all Windowes of Equity, Iustice, and Reason; Pagane Authours tooke knowledge, yea, and did set down in Writing: that there were Furies, who inflicted reuenge on the iniuries, as also on the finnes of Men, which is nothing else, but the torments of vile and wicked Consciences.

This is the worrne whereof the Prophet *Esay* speaketh; it is the W orme (I say) that neuer dyeth, but byteth and teareth without intermission. These are the Tapers and Torches, which terrifie and burne our hearts: This is that which is called, the remembrance of our wicked and abominable liues. *Epicurus* himselfe, being an enemy to the Deitie, could yet confesse, that the very great paine of such as sinned, was, that they had sinned: for the punishment of wickednesse, is wickednesse it selfe. The Man that is attainted with this great scruple in his Soule, is of no worth, neither can be valiant, or come any thing neere to that happy quality. For he that is a perfect knight indeed, ought not onely to win the Conquest of his Enemies: but must also triumphe ouer the Passions of his owne Soule, which must be cleane, and exempt from all vnlawfull desires, or absurd and base villainies. That which was presented to the Emperour *Theodosius*, is well worthy to be followed by him, in whom I would decypher perfect valiance, as thus.

Though in rich *India*, or a further Land,
Thou wast adored, and dost o're men command,
Although the *Medes* and *Arabs* roupe to thee:
Yet, if not iust, valiant thou canst not bee.
Thou art no Man, if terror sway thy Soule,
Nor can be valiant, if weakne thoughts controule.
Such follies leaue thee to thy selfe alone,
In torment, fadned, and deliquishing moone.
But when thou dost o're-maister fond desires;
Then thy faire Soule to her true pitch aspires,
And makes thee meet for Kingdomes, or all Nations;
Hauing once conquered thine owne private passions.

Verue doth meane fight, but for successe,
If then baste thougths the Soule of Man possesse,
And be not crod downe, at their first arise:
In suffering them, the greatest perill lies.
Then boldly check thy inward dull conceits,
Shun those deepe blames that on neglect awaites,
Let not the Lawes reprocue thy care and heed:
Shalt thou be a Man, in name and deed.

This other of *Clandian*, is very little different.

If diuision, which is tearmed valiance,
Be not in verue: then vs impudencie.

Knights of greatest courtesie, Capitaines most remarkable, and Kings of highest fame, did euermore accompany their Armes, and strengthen them by a gentle and liberal knowledge in Vertue: whereby they could best decipher such about them, as were most or least apt for Warre seruices, making distinction of their valour, according to the circumstances and ordinary manner of Souldiours; were it in apparrelling themeluss for fight, or in firming the breaches happening in their Field, or in exercising and applying themelues to some other seruice, conuenable to the time, place, and commandeement giuen them. By this meanes, Men of merit addressed themelues vnto the Prince, who made profession to be careful and respectiue, of euery particular wife and hardy mans courage, and vpon good note thereof: to render double recompence, that is to say, by benefits, and by iust commendations. For hee must neuer hope to see virtuous Men flourish, or their actions in true appa- rance: if they be not recompenced, and some way satisfied.

The Prince that desireth to finde valiancy in his men of Warre, ought to imitate the discipline of *Alexander Sene- rus*, the *Romaine* Emperour: who would haue his Souldiours to be well armed, wel enstruēt, and continually to haue some Mony in their Purses, but (by no meanes) of that humour, as *Aphrates* the

The present,
giuen to the
Emperour *Theo-
dosius*.

Verue hath
always bin
the best
ground to
builde all ac-
tions on.

The eye of
the Prince to
be fixed vpon
each mans
due worth
and merit.

The Warre-
discipline of
*Alexander Se-
nerus*, Empe-
rour of Rome.

Epistates of contrary mind to Alexander Statues.

Julius Cesar concerning his Souldiers.

The saying of Thucydides.

The Great Turke ordering of his Souldiers now adayes.

Tartarians continually in pay with the Turke.

The only encouragement of Souldiers, when they are well payed and respected.

the Capitaine wished his Warre-followers to be, to wit; avaritious, amorous, and full of voluptuousnesse. For he was wont to say, that as they were persecuted by those three violent passions; even so would they prostitute themselves, and forsake all perill, to satisfie their own desires, and the free compassing of their base desires.

True it is, that *Cesar* wished his Souldiers, to have faire and rich Armes, because they might have the more occasion to be knowne, for auoyding the shame of flight; & not to fight so much for the worth of their Armes, as for their liues. But he was deceived, considering as *Thucydides* saith. *The valiant Man is alwaies himselfe, and his vertue appeareth much more, when he is disadvantaged and afflicted: then when he strengtheneth himselfe with some apparance, if it be not necessary.*

The Great *Turke*, who continueth (even at this day) the Military Arte of the *Romaines*, and causeth it to be much more observed, then the *Spaniards* doe, (who are in very deede, but Apes of the *Turkes* conduct) hath so admirable an observation: that a troupe of an hundred thousand men, do resemble rather a peaceable Congregation of people, assembled together to heare a Sermon; then an Army to fight against the World. The Great *Turke* (I say) is euen more accompanied with an incredible multitude of valorous men, which he winneth out of *Tartaria*, and atreat his Wages and endlesse pay; like as the *Switzers* are in *France*. He helpeth himselfe also with the Souldiers of *Mysia*, of *Europe*; of the *Albanians*, sometimes called *Epirotes*; of the *Thessalians*, now called *Enlaues*; and of the *Arabes*, that teame themselves *Alarbes*. All these glorious Nations (for their Armes) are so certified by the *Othomans*, that there is no day ouerpasseth them: but they doe receiue some honourable and notable reward and respect, from the Generals of the Turkish Armies, who employ them at euery moment, in verie great and perilous enterprises, wherein (nevertheless) all these Men do carrie themselves, with such prudence and iudgement, as is not to be a little wondered at.

New and fresh Armes is provided

them, vpon the quickest and suddaineſt returne, and albeit their successe hath not answered to the premeditated designe: yet, in the very least performance of well doing, they are not left vnacknowledged, but ved, as if the attempt had bene happily ended. Hence ensued those great Stratagems at *Modon*, *Chaly*, *Siger*, *Schafforin* in the *George*, and at *Trauelis*. In all which places, they surmounted the valour and fortune of the *Romaines*, the hardnesse of the *Parthians*, and the cunning and industry of the Christians; whose troups resembled Carauans of Goates, that make motion with their mouths on all things indifferently, how profitable or hurtfull fouer they be.

The *Perſians*, who seeme to be more ciuillized then the *Turkes*, and yet (notwithstanding) are lesse proud and capable of great matters, doe shut vp their Children of good Birth, in certain places of the Field-Country, which they call *Spitaf* *Kier Belti*, that is to say; *The entrance into the Signeury of vertue*, where they haue Maisters to instruct them, according to their inclinations: but at the charges of their Parents, vntill such time as it may be known, whether the Youths will afterward be beneficiall to the *Sophy*, or no. For thenceforward, they are taken and maintained at his expences, to the number of two thousand, and are then called, *Spiters Kieram Sophis*, that is to say; *Children of the Signior Sophy*.

These people, whom we tearme barbarous, and their Kings, called Tyrants by vs; I feare shall find (at the latter day) more grace in the grace of the Soueraigne Iudge: then the Princes and people of *Europe*, who make no account, or verie little (at the most) of the Youth that is vnder their Empire, or the order and discipline Oeconomall of the State, which is much lesse observed with them. I will not I say then among the common people of *Asia*; but euen among the *Toupinabons* & Magistrats, who doe instruct their Children in the Historie of their Ancestours, the Father telling to his Sonne; what fights they haue had against their Neighbors; what victories were obtained; and the routes which they endured. All these things are deliuered with fatherly exhortations,

Good will wanteth not though successe offendeth times failth.

Comparison of the *Perſian* with the *Turke*, and the education of their Children.

Children of the Signior *Sophy*.

Christendome hath lesse care of youth than Heathen Nations haue.

Instructions of Pagan Fathers to their Sonnes.

The care of the *Parthians* for their young Nobility in former times.

Comparison of the *Parthians* as *Asiatics* with the *Romaine* *Cesars*.

The ambitious ambition of the *Othomans*, for enlarging their Dominion.

The writing and confitment of the *Pagans*.

hortations, to continue them in well doings, for publike benefit, and to shew themselves ielous imitators of their fore-goers, who (they tell them) are in Heauen, full of Glory and Triumph: because they continually maintained the cause of their Country, and defended their poore Cottages, from the inuasions of their ordinarie Enemies.

In former times, the *Parthians* had such diligent care, for husbanding the Spirits of their young Nobility, that the more part of their Lawes discouraged on nothing else. By which means they were inuincible, and euermore equall to the *Romaine* Empire, yet there was more Soueraignety, and lesse Barbarisme, in the commaundes of the *Asiatics*, their Kings: then in the Empire of the *Cesars*, who were (almost all of them) so abominable, as all the Vices of the World, did beget their most monstrous qualities, from the imperfections of those Tyrants of *Europe*.

Finally, they lost *Europe* at length, yielding it to the transport of the *Mahometanes*, who keepe it (at this day) more strongly, then we doe the rest. And, if we observe no better discipline, then that which now wee doe: it is to be feared, that before many yeares passe ouer our heades, the *Rheme* will scarcely serue for Frontiers to the *Othomans* Monarchie, who extend the Threds of their ambitious couerousnesse, not onely vpon *Germanie*, which can hardie defend it selfe; but on the rest of Christendomes happinesse; yea, ouer all that is further off from the East, then the East is from their felicitie, and the West from ours. Because it is impossible, yea, almost vniust, that the hand of God should bee succourable to such, as observe no Equity; but concerne his Lawes, despise Soueraigne Magistracy, making themselves in all, and by all, vtterly vnworthy of his diuine blessings, which must be fought for with humble and lowly harts. The *Paganes* themselves do confesse.

The Goddes, by prayers are satisfied, When some iust Soules are applied, To satisfie their Deities: For general iniquities.

Ouer and beside all, the onely meanes to haue men valiant, is, to make no ac-

count of Cowards, and such as are but prating companions, nor to admit them (in any manner whatsoever) to any Offices and dignities of War: though (in these daies) the quite contrary is practised: for Regiments are given to simple Clearks, that surrender them againe the very same day; Treasurers places are bestowed vpon impudent persons, and the

Princes lodging is kept by such, as scarcely are any found well-willers. All degrees are valued by Money, buying & selling are openly allowed, so that there is no recompence or respect made of true valor; onely hee that hath where-withall, may be a Governour in some place, which he may likewise set againe, to the most-giuer. In all the Empire of the *Turke*, which is more (by halfe) then the *Romans* had: there are but 216. Forts or Holds, which also are seated on the Frontiers, as well of the Sea, as of the firme Land. At euery three yeares end, the Governours are changed, or receiue new power to bee longer continued. They can receiue no other dead-payes, then the Soldiers of the old bands, who being ouer-spent in war, or laden with wounds, or crazed by age: are to be receiued into the *Grand Signiors* Fortresses, where an honorable pension is bestowed on them, which they tearme *Timar*. Hereby ensueeth, that all men are made vife of in this bright Monarchie, for such as are aged people, gouty, or lame, do keepe the walles, while the younger doe fortifie the Prince and his Lieutenants in the Field, hoping (one day) to haue entertainment in those Fortes. By this means, Souldiers are neuer in miserable quality in the great *Turks* iurisdiccions, which maketh them the more hardy & valiant: knowing, that (in their retreat from seruice) they shall neuer want, by any difcommodity (whatsoeuer) happening to them.

For, beside those Fortresses on the Confinnes of *Asia*, and *Europe*, there are five *Mosques* in *Notolia*, some whereof were builded by the *Mahometane* Emperors, and others by their *Bashas*, and the least reuenues belonging to any one of them, is forty thousand Ducats of annuall Rents. There is a publike Schoole, where the poore are instructed, and beside, there is a verie goodly House, well fitted with most exquisite Bathes, where,

The onely meanes to be assured of such as are valiant men.

All degrees and Offices passe current for money by buying and selling.

The *Turke* Fortresses, and Governours of the.

All men are made vife of in this bright Monarchie, for such as are aged people, gouty, or lame, do keepe the walles, while the younger doe fortifie the Prince and his Lieutenants in the Field, hoping (one day) to haue entertainment in those Fortes.

Five *Mosques* in *Notolia*, for young and old, that none may be seene in poverty.

where, all that are billeted by the *Age*, Colonel of the Infantry; are nourished, maintained, and well tended, being sickly, weake, or aged, and all things are so well ordered, as no one can be wearie, or dislike of their entertainment, or iudge it other then it ought to be.

The beflowing of honourable charges for the wars.

All honourable charges of men for the Warres, are imparted to such, as haue best reputation among the Souldiours. If at any time some offence be committed, vnworthy of the former opinion conceived of mans valour, he is dismissed from his authority: yet without any infamous note, or desperate hope of being againe reintegrated, by course of time, which moderateth all things, and changeth the counsels and humours of Princes, who appeare (by an indifferent chastisement) to haue satisfied both the Law and their owne lenity, in one selfe same subiect.

Alra-Bashee repelled from his place, and *Sinan-Bashee* advanced thiereto.

Thence came it, that *Bashee-Abra*, hauing disordered himselfe in the *Georgie*, was repealed and disgraced, and *Sinan-Bashee* placed in his stead, who succeeding in the room, of a Man ill handled for his faults: stood bound (by all these considerations) to behaue himselfe to well, that the Great Signior could receiue no mislike in his cariage, for hee regained what his Predecessour had lost, beating and chasing the *Persians* with so large an vny of vengeance; that his Military seruices performed in the vpper *Asia*, were little indebted to the of *Alexander* the Great, although he was of no such temper. Longtime after, returning home with triumph and victory, in the Cittie of *Constantinople*: he was slaine by a Foole, that begd an Almes of him, and which *Sinan* made himselfe ready also to giue him. Wherein may bee obserued, that this great and fortunate Mirour dyed, in doing the Office of a Christian, and not of a Tuske, that is to say; in giuing an Almes, and rendering Iustice to the *Porta*. After his death, the other was admitted to his charge againe; and then hee redeemed the iniuries formerly received, by such worthy actions of seruice, as surmounted the obliuion of his first defects.

Sinan-Bashee being dead, *Alra-Bashee* was readuanced.

I referre now to your owne iudgements, if these people (which we call

barbarous) may not iustly (and in good earnest) make vs blush, considering, that the greater part of them, which hold great charges among vs in these daies: doe declare themselves vtterly vnworthy of them, and because there is no punishment for them, men are as little regarded, as a Varlet of the Chamber. Hence ensueth it, that the Prince is miserable, and confusion is so great among his Followers, that were it not for the huge throng and multitude of Noblemen, which ardently accost and company him, to couer this imperfection: within short while we should be buried in the State ruines, which in the end must needs fall out, if no better order be prescribed for Souldiours, and some endeavour vsed, for maintaining daily a sufficient number, that may serue as a bound or banke, against the tempestuous billowes of Strangers, who doubtlesse will triumph ouer vs continually, vntill we haue provided for this important necessity, wherof (notwithstanding) no account at all is made.

Though it bee most true, that the Romaine Empire began to loose itselfe, from the day when Military policy was violated, for afterward, they that durst not so much as dreame of *Italye*: made no doubt at all to assault it, yea, and to force it, to the shame and confusion of them, that contemned the order religiously obserued by their Predecessours. The infamous corruption in State Councillours of Princes, was the only cause thereof: yet some others are perswaded, that the vniuersall generous ruine, ensued particularly to them; when they sold their Country to their enemies, as *Ennas* and *Antenor* did, of whom (I think) they are descended. For all was set to sale for Money, both the offices of Magistrats, and seats of Iudges.

And euén so it is in these daies, honours of Warre cannot be had, without such manner of commerce, so that (at length) publike commodity will be brought into a monstrous Chaos, the first Sepulcher of the Elements. Armes will be made subiect to Money, euén as they were among the Romaines, whose *Prætorian* troupes sold the Empire for good ready Money, as bringing it to the common Out-cry, fairest offerer, and latest

Barbarous Nations may iustly make vs blush at our behauiour.

Danger of Buriall in the ruines of the State.

By what means the Romaine Empire began to confound itselfe.

The infamous corruption in Councillours of Estate to Princes.

Warre honours are battered, bought and sold, euén as they were among the Romaines.

The saying of an *Affrican* Prince concerning Rome.

Rad men thrust better deterrours out of all taint and respect.

The Authors Conclusion and wish, to the Nobilitie of France.

The vertues of other Princes, ought to be a spur to ours in these daies.

latest Purchaser. So that, it may be said of France, as a Prince of *Affrica* was wont to do of Rome: *Oh goodly City to be sold, if any man had Money enough to buy it.* And very certaine it is, that if the King of Spain had neuer so little intelligence in this Kingdome, as hee hath had too much: he should not neede to desire it. He can forme Creatures enow heere, to be buyers for him, and (it may bee) that haue long since bought the Pillers of the State, with Monies meere for so glorious an exploit. We are all carried thither, the Market beginneth to open, the Traffiques hope is not a little, neither is there any danger in the desseign, for impunity raigneth generally. The wicked doe thrust good men out of all fauour, accounting them vnprofitable Members, and desirous of no Name, among such a number of strange *Cabalists*, who thinke France to be no better then a Mart or Staple; where gaine is preferred before Honor; Money before Merit; an Enemy before a Friend; a Seruant before the Son of the Family; and a Seruant, before a Domestick borne.

Behold what may be said, on the behalfe of perfect valour, and the solid or necessary means, for the gaining of worthy men: to make Kinges triumph, perpetuate their estates, and leaue eternitie to their Monarchies. My hearty wish and desire is, that some benefit may eniue by my poore trauaile (as infallibly will) to our *French* Nobility, if this may be communicated (how little focuer) to the eyes of their fouls, which hauing heretofore been eleuated to the honest search of vertue, and especiallie that which should be most familiar with them: will render them absolute in the perfection of this discourse, wherof I count more to be the God-Father, then the true Father indeed. Because all the wonders of honor, grace, and valiancy therein alleaged, haue bene selected from the Oracles and Miracles of the only renowned Princes in the World, of whom I haue figured the very fairest conditions. To the end, that ours of this Age, may commendably enuy such glory, and go as far beyond theirs, as they did all other what focuer.

CHAP. IIII.

Of Wifedome, Prudence, and Policy; and what difference is betwene them. Also, a consideration of the difficulties & dangers, incident to masters of State.



Because our present intended discourse, may stand cleare from obloquy and detection: we wil first declare what Wifedome is, and wherein it consisteth. For Pollicie being but (as it were) a branch thereof; it shall therefore be conuenient, first to consider the nature of the root or Tree, that thereby we may know the property of the branch. And to this end, it is to be considered, first whence wifedome is, and afterwards, what it is: whereby it will appeare, that true wifedome, and (consequently) true Pollicie, can no way stand with wickednesse.

For the first, it is euident, by the doctrine as wel of the best Philosophers, as of our holy Scriptures; that wifedome is the especiall gift of God, which *Plato* taught, not onely concerning absolute wifedome (consisting in the speculation and knowledge of diuine things) but also of ciuill or political Wifedome and Prudence: which he saith. *Is neither giuen to man by nature, nor taught by Philosophy, nor got by industry or experience.* And therefore in his Book of Political Lawes, he craueth it of Almighty God as his especiall giue, acknowledging: *That no humane wit can (without his particular inspiration and assistence) ordaine sufficient lawes for the gouernment of a Commonwealth, as partly hath bene elsewhere approved.*

This also our Scriptures doe abundantly teach, deriuing all wifedome from Almighty God, as from the Fontaine thereof, saying. *Omnis sapientia a Domino Deo est, All Wifedome cometh of the Lord. Et a Deo profectus est sapientia, &c. Wifedome came from GOD, and it shall abound in the mouth of the faithful man, and the gouernor or Lord of all will giue it thee.* And againe, *Fons sapientia verbum Dei in excelsis. The Fontaine of wifedome*

Dddd

Pollicie is but a Branch of wifedome.

Wifedome the especiall gift of God, according to *Plato*.

Plato in Lib. 4. de Legib. et in Minor. Wifedome not giuen by Nature, nor taught by Philosophy, nor got by industry.

Eccles. i. 1. 6. God the only Author and giuer of wifedome, according to the Scriptures. *Eccles. 1. 13.*

James. 3. 5.
1 King. 3. 9.Salomon and
Ishai the sonne
of Nethai ob-
tained wis-
dome of God
by Prayer.
Eccles. 3. 17.Plato in The-
age, et in Epist.
ad Symonem.
What wis-
dome is, ac-
cording to
Plato.A soule defi-
led with sinne
nor capable of
wisdome.
Wisd. 1. 4.
Eccles. 1. 33.What wis-
dome is, and
wherein it
consisteth, ac-
cording to
our sacred
Scriptures.
Ishai 8. 13. 13.
et 28.
Eccles. 19. 10.True wis-
dome con-
sisteth in the
fearre of God,
and the ex-
ecution of his
Law.

is the word of God on high. That is to say, the Son of God, who is therefore called *Sapientia Patrie*, The Wisdome of God the Father. For this cause S. James aduertieth vs. *Si quis vestrum* (saith he) *indiget sapientia, postulet a Deo, & dabitur ei.* If any of you lacke wisdome, let him aske it of God, and it shall be giuen him. And Salomon craved it of Almighty God, and obtained it. And Iesus the Son of Sirach laudeth of himselfe. *Cum adhuc iunior sum, &c.* When I was yet yong, or euer I went abroad, I desired wisdome openly in my prayer. And I profited by her, therefore will I ascribe the glory vnto him that giueth me wisdome.

Seeing then true wisdome is (according to the opinion both of Philo-
sophers and Diuines) and especiall gift of Almighty God: it must needs follow, that it haue no communication with sin and wickednesse, or with any thing offensive to God. And therefore Plato (with all his followers) doe teach, that for as much as true wisdome is nothing else, but (as it were) *The light of the chiefe and true good* (that is to say, of Almighty God) reflected vpon the soules of Men: no Soule defiled with sinne, is any whit more capable of this light of true Wisdome; then the ayre (being ouer-cast with Clouds) is capable of the Sunne. And this Doctrine of Plato agreeth notably with our holy Scriptures, which teach, that *In maleuolam animam, &c.* Wisdome wil not enter into a wicked soule, nor dwell in the body that is subiect to sin. And therefore it is said, That God giueth wisdome to such as feare him.

This will be more euident, by the consideration of what Wisdome is, and wherein it principally consisteth. Therefore, first to speak of the Doctrine of our holy Scriptures, and after, of the opinion of Philosophers: Iob hauing asked, *Where is wisdome found, and where is the place of vnderstanding?* Answereth himselfe, saying; *Ecce timor Domini, ipsa est sapientia, & recedere a malo intelligentia.* Behold, the feare of Gods is wisdome it selfe, and to forsake euill is vnderstanding. Thus saith Iob; which the Preacher confirmeth, saying, *Omnis sapientia timor Dei, et in omni sapientia dispositio legis.* The feare of Gods is all Wisdome, and the performing of the Law is perfect wisdome. That is to say (as we read in the Greeke Text) *Faciens operatio legis, The doing & working*

of the Law signifying: That all wisdome consisteth in the feare of God; and in the execution of his Law, which is as much to saie, as in the keeping of his Commandements, whereof three reasons may well be giuen.

The first, because hee which feareth God, & fulfilleth his commandements, hath the ground and principall part of wisdome. for in all his actions he principally respecteth two things: the one, the glory of God (for which; Man and all other creatures were chiefly ordained) and the other, the eternall good of his owne soule, which most importeth him. For, as our Saviour saith; *What shall it profit a Man, though he should winne the whole world, if he loose his own soule.* Therefore the Preacher saith well, *Sapientis est anima sua sapientis: He which is wise, is wise for his Soule.* The second reason is, for that he which feareth God, and keepeth his commandements, doth therein work wisely, not only for his eternall good, but also for his temporall and worldlie good: Seeing thereby hee consecrath himselfe, in the protection and fauor of him, who is the Author and Giuer as well of the one as other, and hath an especiall care of such as feare and serue him. For, as the Psalmist saith, *Oculus Domini super metuentes eum; The eyes of the Lord are vpon them that feare him. Et aures eius in preces eorum, and his cares are open to their prayers.* Such also is his loue towards them, and the regard he hath of them, that, as our Saviour saith; *Hec numbreth the very haire of their heads. Et custodit* (saith the Psalmist) *omnis ossa eorum; he keepeth all their bones, to the end, that there shall not any one of them perish.*

Therefore, as no man is, or can be counted wise or happy, who (by contempt of Almighty God, and breach of his Commandements) exposeth himselfe to his indignation, whereby both he and his may vtterly perish: so he likewise, that by the feare of God, and obseruation of his Law, obtained his continuall fauour and protection, is not only truly wise, but also truly happy. Vvich Aristotle himselfe acknowledged, who teaching, that true wisdome and felicity, doe chiefly consist, in the contemplation of God and heavenly things: affirmeth the wisest man to be the happiest of al other, because he is most grate-
full

The principal
part of wis-
dome, to re-
spect in all
things the
glory of God,
and our eter-
nall good.

Mat. 25. 14.

Wisd. 37. 18.
He which
feareth
God, is wise,
for his tem-
porall good, and
why.Psalms 33. 18.
Psalms 34. 14.Math. 10. 30.
Psalms 34. 9.No man is
wise in ex-
posing himselfe
to Gods in-
dignation.Arist. in Ethic.
lib. 10. Cap. 2.
Idem Ethic. 10.The law of
God, is the
rule of all pr-
udent actions.The difference
betwixt wis-
dome and
Prudence.The object of
wisdome.The definition
of wisdome.Cicero, in Lib. 1.
de Offic.
August. in lib.
14. de Trinit.
Cap. 1.
The Office of
Prudence.
Basilin princip.
Prætor.
Arist. Moral.
Nicom. Lib. 7.
Cap. 5. & Ethic.
Lib. 6.
The. Aquin. 2. 2.
q. 17. a. 2.
Cicero de nat.
Dier. Lib. 2.
August. Lib. 8. 3.
quæst. 1. 1.
The definiti-
on of Pru-
dence.Arist. in Lib. 6.
Ethic. Cap. 4.The end of
every action
must be pru-
dent, must
needs bee
good.The meanes
of every pr-
udent action,
to be good
and iust.Arist. in Ethic.
lib. 10. Cap. 1.

full to God, best beloued of him, and protected by him continually.

The third reason, why the feare of God, & the keeping of his commandements, is true wisdome, is: because the Law of God is the true rule, whereby al prudent actions are to be measured, for it comprehendeth in it selfe, and teacheth all true vertue and goodnesse, without the which, there can be no true Prudence, as shall appeare by the circumstances due and requisite thereto, according to the Doctrine of Philosophers. Wherein to be noticed, that though Wisdome and Prudence (in common speech) are commonly confounded: yet therein is betwixt them this difference, that Wisdome hath for her object, not only humane, but also Diuine things. And therefore is defined, both by Philosophers and Diuines, to be *Scientia diuinorum humanarumque rerum, et eorumque illarum rerum sunt causa.* The knowledge of things diuine and humane, and of their other causes. Vvheras the office of Prudence, is duly to consider, and well to direct humane affaires, and is called by Thomas Aquinas, *sapientia in humanis rebus, Wisdome in humane things*: consisting, as Cicero and S. Augustine teach, in the knowledge of *Things good, bad, & indifferent*, and is defined, *Rerum expectandarum, fugiendarumque scientia, The knowledge of things to be desired or fled.* Or as S. Basilie saith, *Eorum qua agenda et non agenda sunt cognitio; The knowledge of those things which are to be done, or not to be done*: whereto three circumstances are principally required.

The first is, that the end of every action bee truly good, which Aristotle teacheth, to be the first & principal circumstance requisite to Prudence. And he affirmeth, that whosoever applyeth his wit to worke for an euill end: although he haue neuer so good success therein, yet he cannot be called true wife or prudent, but crafty and subtil.

The second circumstance is, not onlie that the end of every action bee good; but also, that the meanes to attaine to that end, be correspondent thereto, that is to say, that they be all good and iust, yea, well and iustly done. To which purpose, Aristotle preferreth circumstan-
ces, of due time, place, and manner, to be considered in every Prudent action.

Teaching withall, that whosoever say-
leth in any one of the circumstances: is
not vertuous, nor (by consequent) pru-
dent, because Vertue & Prudence are fo-
iointed, that the one cannot possibly be
without the other. Macrobius assigning
(out of Plato) six parts of Prudence; ac-
counteth circumspection for one, which
(he saith) consisteth in consideration of
the circumstances of every action, that
the same be most lawful good, and iust.
Vvhereupon Saint Basilie saith, *Quisquis
prudenciam recte scitatus fuerit, &c.* (Who-
soever followeth the rule of Prudence truly,
he shall neuer swerue from vertue, nor fall in-
to vice.) The third circumstance to be
considered in every prudent action, is;
that whereas there are certaine degrees
of goodnes in things, some being good,
others better, and one the best of all;
(wherto all other things are to be refer-
red, which is called by the Philosophers
Summū bonū, The chiefe good; And also
Finis bonorum, The end of al good things) it
is (I say) especially required in Prudence,
to make a true estimate of the worth of
every thing, & not only to reiect things
absolutely euill, or of euils, to chuse the
least (as the Lacedæmonians said, he had
done, that married a very little wife) but
also of good things to chuse the best:
preferring those things which are abso-
lutely good, before all other goods
whatsoever, and making the chiefe
good, the scope & end of all his actions.

Now then, seeing these three circum-
stances are requisite to true Prudence,
to wit; to chuse a good end; to practise
good & vertuous means; and to esteem
every good thing in the degree that it
deserveth: it is euident, that who fea-
reth God, and keepeth his Commande-
ments, performs all these three things,
not only in every particular action, but
also throughout the whole course of his
life, tending in al things to goodnes and
vertue, vying al iust & vertuous means,
and esteeming every thing according
to the true worth thereof. For, he pre-
ferreth the Soule before the body; eter-
nall things before temporall; the goods
of the body, before the goods of For-
tune; and the goods of the mind before
them both. Finally, he referreth and di-
recteth all his actions, and the whole
course of his life, to the seruice and glo-
ry of God, whom both diuines and Phi-
losophers

Vertue and
Prudence lo-
iointed, that
they cannot
be seperated.Macrobius in
Saturn. lib. 1.Basil. in prin-
cip. French.Cicero de finib.
lib. 1. 2. 3.
1. 4. 2. 3. 3.
Offic. lib. 2.
Prudenc præ-
ferreth the
greater good
before the le-
sser, and the
chiefe good
before all o-
ther.
Plutarch, de a-
mor. Prætor.
Arist. Nich. lib.
6. Thom. Aquin.
2. 2. 1. 2. 7. ar. 1.How he that
feareth God,
practiseth the
three chiefe
pointes of
Prudence.

Apoc. 1. 8.
Arch. Micap.
Lib. 1.
Trismig. in-
penn. cap. 3.

A difficulty
propofed con-
cerning other
parts of Pru-
dence.
Arch. Eub. lib.
8. Cap. 9. et 10.

The fuffici-
on of the diffi-
culty propo-
sed.

No man is so
wise, that he
always know-
eth what is
conuenient
for himselfe.

The light of
Gods grace
necessary for
the perfection
of Prudence.

Eccles. 11. 16.

Prouer. 4. 18.
19
The wisest
worldly men
are as it were
blind-fold.

Psalm. 19. 8.

lofophers do teach; *To bee the beginning
and end of all Creatures*, as partly hath bin
before declared.

But here (perhaps) some will say, that
there are necessarily required to Pru-
dence, certain other parts, which I haue
not yet mentioned: As sagacity of wit,
a good memory, and a sound iudgment,
whereby wise men do prudently con-
fider, iudge, counsell, ordaine, and exe-
cute, and that these partes (as *Aristotle*
teacheth) proceede partly of a naturall
hability, and partly of long experience.
In which respect, he most approueth
the iudgement and counsel of old men.
Whereupon it followeth, that it suffi-
ceth not to Prudence, to feare God, and
keepe his Commandments: except a
Man haue (withall) the other partes a-
bove mentioned, which many good &
holy men want, either in respect of som
natural defect of Wit, Memory, and
Iudgement, or for lacke of experience.

For the better satisfaction hereof, one
thing is to be considered, to wit, the na-
turall imbecility of mans wit, which is
such in the wisest worldly man that li-
ueth that he knoweth not what is con-
uenient for himselfe, and much lesse for o-
thers, whereby he seeketh (many times)
that which turneth to his owne ruine.
Therefore, the most necessary part, for
consummation & perfection of human
Prudence, is some supernaturall and di-
uine light, to illuminate the vnderstan-
ding of men, to moue and incline their
wills to make choice of that, which may
be most conuenient for the and others.
Without which light, the wisest world-
ly men (I mean such as haue most excel-
lent talents and parts of nature, and are
wicked withall) are but like to blinde
men, and go (as it were) groping in the
dark. Wherefore the Preacher saith, *Error
and darkness are appointed for sinners*:
that is to say, ignorance and blindness
are committal to wicked men. And a-
gain. *The way of the wicked is as the dark-
nesse, and they know not where they fall*.
Whereas on the contrary side, *The way
of the righteous* (that is to say, of those
that feare God, and keepe his comman-
dments) *shineth as the light, that shineth
more and more vnto the perfect day*. And for
this cause, the Psalmist saith of the Law
of God; *That it is a pure and bright, and
shineth light to the eyes*. That is to say, the

light of grace, whereby the naturall
good abilities of Gods Seruants are en-
creased and perfected: doth allo prosper
their actions, so farre forth, as God Al-
mighty thinketh it necessary for their
good, his glory, and the execution of his
will. Whereunto I adde, that also the de-
fects of nature may be, and many times
are, supplied by the light of Grace, in
such sort, that Gods Seruants do many
times, attaine to performe all the parts
of Prudence, though they haue no na-
tural ability for the same, such being the
effectes of Grace, that it perfecteth hu-
maine nature: which although it aspire
and tend to perfection, yet it cannot
possibly attaine thereto, without some
supernaturall help. And for the better
prooffe of the matter in hand, I will lay
down some examples of Gods seruants,
who, notwithstanding either their nat-
urall defects & imperfections, or their
want of experience: haue (by the con-
duct of Gods grace) most wisely be-
haved themselves, in most important ma-
ters. Who seemed more vnfit to vnder-
take the iudgement of great causes, then
Daniel, whiles he was a child of 12. years
old (as *Theodore* testifieth) or, as other
ancient Fathers affirm, not much older,
and therefore no lesse vnripe in experi-
ence, then in yeares? And yet neuerthe-
lesse, being assisted by the spirit of God,
he confounded the adulterous Iudges
in the cause of *Susanna*, which he most
prudently determined. Besides, the
Scripture witnesseth, that God gaue
such profound knowledge and wisdom,
not only to him, but also to *Ananias, Mi-
sael, and Azarias*, while they were all
Children: that they far surpassed all the
wise and learned *Chaldeans*.

And was there cuer any glorious en-
terprize, more wisely continued, more
courageously attempted, or more he-
roically performed, then the ouerthrow
of *Holofernes*: slaine by a holy Woman,
no lesse timorous of nature, then weak
of iudgement, and void of experience,
through the infirmity of her Sexe?

Againe, what sufficiency was there in
Moses, for the performance of so great
a charge, as Almighty God laid on him:
first, in his ambassage to *Pharaoh*, and af-
terward in the government and con-
duct of his people, thorow so manie
kind of daungers and difficulties? This
was

The good abili-
ties of nature
are encreased
and perfected
by Grace.

The defects
of nature
may be, and
often are, sup-
plied by the
light of grace.

Examples of
discerning, who
grace supply-
ed natural
defects.

Daniel being
but a Child
of twelve
yeares, iudged
the cause of
Susanna. Dan. 13.
Theodore testifi-
eth, that he
was a child
of 12. yeares
old.

Susanna being
but a Child
of twelve
yeares, iudged
the cause of
Susanna. Dan. 13.
Theodore testifi-
eth, that he
was a child
of 12. yeares
old.

Judith hero-
ically and wife-
ly per-
formed a
glori-
ous en-
terprize.
Judith. Cap. 1.
9, 10, &c.

Moses being
but a Child
of twelve
yeares, iudged
the cause of
Susanna. Dan. 13.
Theodore testifi-
eth, that he
was a child
of 12. yeares
old.

Officiation.
How God sup-
plied the de-
fects of *Moses*.

Exod. 18. 19.
20. 1. 2. 3. 4.
&c.

God concurr-
eth with his
seruants: some
times imme-
diately, and
sometimes by
means of o-
thers.

1. Sam. 16. 13.
14.
2. Sam. 2. 4.
David direct-
ed and guided
in all his Go-
uernment by
Almighty
God.

1. Sam. 7. 8, 9.

David grate-
fully acknow-
ledged Gods
assistance.

was acknowledged by *Moses* himselfe,
who conf. feth his owne insufficiency
and weakness, saying to Almighty God;
Quis sum ego, &c. Who am I to be Lord? That
is to say, what is there in mee? *Thou I
should go onto Ithraab, and that I should
conduct the Children of Israel out of Egypt?*
And againe afterwarde, being vnder the
discouragement, with the consideration of
his want of eloquence and utterance, &c.
of his other infirmities; he desired to be
excused, saying. *Obsecro Domine, mitte
quæ miserrunt es, & faccech thee, & Lord; send
else whom it please thee.* Whereupon God
did not only promise him his owne con-
tinuall assistance: but also appointed
Aaron to help him, and to speak for him
to the people in all occasions: promising
withall, to be the mouths of them both.
Besides, *Iethro*, Father in Law to *Mo-
ses*, did also afterwarde (by Gods great
providence) teach him a notable point
of pollicy, for government of the peo-
ple. Wherein may be noted by the way,
how sweetely Almighty God guideth
his Seruants concurring with them, and
mouing them sometimes immediatly
by secret inspiration, and sometimes by
the help and meanes of others. Where-
by, *Moses* being (as it seemeth) altoget-
her vnskillfull, and vnexpert in matters
of State: did, neuertheless, many yeares
most prudently and happily gouern the
people of God, as well in warlike, as in
other ciuill affaires.

In like manner, if we consider either
the yeares of the education of *David*,
when (being very young) he was called
from the Sheep-coat to the Court, and
shortly after appointed King. If we
weigh withall, his wife, victorious, and
glorious government for forty yeares
together: we must needs confesse, that
the same proceeded of Gods assistance,
and not of his own sufficiency, whereof
Almighty God aduised him by *Nathan*
the Prophet, saying. *Ego tu, ite, &c. I
tooke thee from the Pastures, when thou
followedst thy flockes, and made thee King
of my people of Israel. And I was with thee and
assisted thee in all things: whereoeuer thou
didst go, I kild all thine enemies before thy
face, and haue magnified thy Name among
the great ones of the earth.* Thus spake the
Prophet *Nathan* in the person of Al-
mighty God: and this *David* himselfe,
(who best knew himselfe, & the fauours

which God had done him) gratefully ac-
knowledgeed: calling almighty God *His
Protector*, his stay, his refuge, his buckler or
shield, his strength, his hope, his glory, and
humbly beseeching him in all his occa-
sions; to illumine him, to protect, and de-
fend him, to direct his course, & to guide his
steps. I omit diuers other examples for
breuities sake, seeing by these is suffi-
ciently appeareth, how true that is which
the Psalmist saith. *Lex Domini: spem meam
præstat paruum*, *The Law of God guideth
wisdome to Children*. That is to say, to
simple and ignorant men, & the reason
is, for that the Law of God containeth
the precepts of all true Wisdome, and
Prudence: teaching vs, what is our du-
ty to God, to our Neighbour, to our
Superiors, Inferiors, & equals: what we
to command, how to obey, & how to
direct our intents and our actions;
how to liue, how to die, & lastly, how
to arrive (after the storms and tempests
of this life) at the secure port of eternall
felicity, whereto true wisdome direct-
eth and addresseth her whole counsell.

And this is not only to be vnderstood
of the written Law of God, that is to
say, the holy Scriptures of the Old and
New Testament (in which as Saint
Chrysostome saith, *Non est fides sine apu-
culis, &c. There is not a fable, nor a speck
as a title, wherein there is not hidden some
great treasure*) but much more it is to be
vnderstood, of the Law of God vn-
written, infused into the hearts of Gods Ser-
uants. Whereof Almighty God said by
the Prophet: *Dabo legem meam, &c. I will
give them my law in their bowels, and I will
write it in their hearts*: Which vnwritten
Law, is (as S. *Augustine* saith) nothing
else, but *ipsa presentia Spiritus Sancti, &c.*
*The very presence of the Holy Ghost, &c. by
whom Charity is spread and printed in our
hearts, which charity is the consummation
of the Law, and end of the Commandment.*

Thus saith S. *Augustine* of the infused
law of God, which doth not only teach
men true wisdome (as doth the written
Law) but doth also giue it them: mak-
ing them the temples of God, and ha-
bitacles of the Holy Ghost. By whose
Grace, the good Talents of many Ser-
uants of God are encreased and perfec-
ted, their defects supplied, their infirmi-
ties cured, the eyes of their vnderstan-
ding illuminated, and their iudgements
directed.

Psalm. 17. et
14.

Psalm. 17.
16, 15, 14
133.

Psalm. 109.
How the law
of God guideth
wisdom.

The written
law of God
fall of all
wisdom.
Chrysost. in Psal.
14.

The infused
Law of God.
Ierem. 31. 33.

August. in Lib.
deps. et Lib.
Cap. 21.

The infused
Law both tea-
cheth and gi-
ueth true
wisdom.

The parts of true Prudence.

The first conclusion.

Eccles. i. 15. so. The feare of God is the beginning & perfection of Wifedome, and why,

All humane wifedome is not it selfe lame and vnperfect,

The wisest worldly man is a foole in that which most imports him.

How the seruants of God are wise.

Why the simplest seruant of God is wiser then the wisest wicked man.

directed. By meanes whereof, they are replenished with heavenly Wifedome, and enabled to performe all the parts of true Prudence, to wit; to deliberate maturely; to iudge soundly; to counsel securely; to ordaine and commaund exactly, and execute effectually. And so they worke in things, no lesse perfectly then happily, being moued and led by the onely Author of wifedome and happinesse: in whose hand ate the hearts of all men, and vpon whose wil, dependeth the successe of all actions whatsoeuer.

Therefore I will inferre hereupon certaine conclusions. The first, that, as the Preacher faith, the feare of God is not onely *Initium & radix*: *The beginning and roote*; but also *Plenitudo sapientie*; *The consummation and perfection of Wifedome*. For those that sincerely feare God, haue (consequently) the light and helpe of his grace, whereby they may, and many times doe arrive to the perfection of Wifedome and Prudence: whereas otherwise, there is no possibilitie of attaining thereto, all humane wifedome being (of it selfe) lame and imperfect, vncertaine, and subiect to infinite errors. So that, wicked men, though they haue neuer so good partes of wit and iudgement naturally, and may by the force and meanes thereof, doe many things prudently and wisely: yet, forasmuch as they alwaies play the Fooles notably, in that which importeth them most, to wit; in thinges pertaining to their eternall good or euill, and do also erre very blindly and absurdly (many times) in temporall affaires; they neuer haue any perfection of wifedome, nor can be counted truly wise.

Whereas on the other side, the Seruants of God, who haue alwayes good naturall partes, and the light and helpe of grace withall, do not onely worke most prudently alwaies, in matters that concerne their eternall good or euill: but also deale in all things whatsoever, with farre more light, certaintie and securitie, then wicked Men, of like good partes and Talents naturall. And althogether the Seruants of God haue (sometimes) some naturall defects of wit and iudgement; yet forasmuch, as such also doe alwayes discharge the partes of true Prudence, in matters which import the

most, and may haue also, and many times haue (with the helpe of grace) such a supplement of their naturall imperfections, that all of them may, and many of them doe, performe the Office of prudent and Wise men in all affaires, which wicked men neither do, nor possibly can doe: I will therefore conclude, that the perfection of humane Wifedome, consisteth in Gods grace, and that the very simplest Seruant of God, may more truly be accounted Wise, then the wisest; I meane the subtillest and craftiest wicked Man whatsoever.

This the Royall Prophet acknowledged in himselfe, comparing the Wifedome and Prudence which God had giuen him, by the obseruation of his commandments; with the Wifedome and Prudence of his Enemies, and of the wisest Worldlings, saying, *Super inimicos meos, &c. Thou hast made me (O Lord) wiser then mine enemies, through thy Commandments or Law, and I haue understood more, then all they which taught me. I am wiser then the aged, because I haue sought to keepe thy Commandments.*

The second Conclusion is, that (as the Booke of Ecclesiasticks signifieth.) *Non est sapientia nequitia disciplina, & non est cogitatus peccatorum prudentia. The knowledge of wickednesse is not wifedome, neither is there prudence whereas the compassell of Sinners is.* For, seeing true Wifedome consisteth in the feare of God, & in the obseruation of his Commandments: nothing that is offensive to God, or contrary to his Law, can stand with true Wifedome. And againe, seeing in Prudence and Morall Vertue are so conioyned, that they cannot be separated; yea, and that not onely the end of euery prudent action, but also the meanes must necessarily bee good and virtuous: it must needs follow, that whatsoever is vicious, impious, or wicked, is excluded from true Prudence. In which respect, Prudence is called in the Scriptures, *Scientia Sanctorum*. And therefore Salomon faith, *Principium sapientie timor Domini, & Scientia sanctorum Prudentia. The feare of God is the beginning of Wifedome, and the knowledge of holy things is Prudence.* Hereupon also follow two other Conclusions, concerning policy. The one that no true policy can admit

The perfection of humane wifedome consisteth in Gods grace.

David's acknowledgement in himselfe.

Psalme. lxx. 3.

The second conclusion.

Eccles. 19. 11. Nothing that is offensive to God, can stand with true wifedome or Prudence.

Prover. 9. 10. Prudence called in Scripture the knowledge of holy things.

The third Conclusion.

No true Policy admitteth any impietie.

Policy a part of Prudence. Prudence divided into three partes. Personal Prudence. Oeconomical Prudence. Politicall Prudence.

Politie cannot disgiue from Prudence.

The fourth Conclusion.

All humane politie is vnperfect and defectiuous, without the light of grace.

The imprudence of those that presume to meddle in matters of State, without any regard of Gods assistance.

admit any impietie, wickednesse, or offence, of God. The other, that all policy humane (without the light and helpe of Gods grace) is vncertaine and defectiuous. And for the better vnderstanding hereof, it is to bee considered, that as Prudence is a part of wifedome: so Policy is a part of Prudence, and that Prudence also is diuided into three partes: The first, Personal; the second, Oeconomical; and the third, Politicall. Personal Prudence consisteth in the speculation and practise of such thinges, as belong onely to particular men. Oeconomical prudence, respecteth all thinges belonging to household affaires. And Politicall prudence is that, which considereth matters appertaining vnto commonwealth, and this kind of Prudence is properly called Policy.

Therefore, as Prudence (being a branch of Wifedome) cannot disgiue from the Nature thereof, no more then the branch from the Nature of the tree; so also, Policy being a part of Prudence, must needs bee conforme and agreeable together; in which respect, euery Politicall Art must needs bee prudent, and euery prudent Art (concerning Commonwealth) must needs bee Politicall. Whereupon it followeth, that seeing true Prudence excludeth all wickednesse and impietie, true Policy also dooth exclude the same.

And againe, seeing true Wifedome and Prudence are the especiall giuifes of God (as I haue shewed) and that without the light and helpe of Gods grace, all humane wifedome is full of imperfection, obscurity, vncertainty, and error, it followeth also by the like consequence, that the like iudgement is to be giuen of all humane policy, to wit: that it is (of it selfe) imperfect, vncertaine, obscure, and erroneous; and to be perfected, assured, rectified, and guided by the light of grace, which is the point that I haue especially laboured to proue thoroughout this whole discourse.

Therefore, to conclude this Chapter, I cannot but lament and wonder at the imprudence of two sorts of men. The one is of those, who make no doubt to deale in matters of Policy & State, without any care or regard of Gods help and assistance; yea, and with offence of god. V. hereby they expose not onely the mat-

ters (which they mannage) to dangerous errors, yea, and to all euill successe: but also, the Princes whom they Councell, and the Common-wealths where they gouerne, to Gods indignation, and consequently to viter ruine, as hath bene formerly proued.

The other sort of impudent men (in my fancy) are those, who are so far transported, eyther with conceit of their own wit and sufficiency, or with a desire to deale in great matters, that they aspire to nothing more, then to meddle in matters of State, yea, and boldly embarke themselves in the very greatest that doe occur, before they haue any experience or practise thereof in the world, or haue so much as reflected vpon the Naturall imbecility of mans wit; and the weaknesse of humane policy, or of the insuperable difficulties and dangers incident to matters of State, which are such, as do many times, ouerthrow & disgrace the most wise and expertest Negotiators.

And therefore it happeneth verie often to those, who so greedily and vnadvisedly feeke such employments, as it doth to man, that (in faire weather) putteth himselfe to Sea, in a little Boate or Frigot for his recreation; and vpon the sudden there ariseth a storme which carrieth him into the miene Sea, and so tofeth him too and fro: that he not onely loseth all the pleasure which he expected, but also escapeth verie hardly with life. And therefore, with many a sigh and heauy grone, he looketh back to the Land from whence he came; but neuertheles is forced to go whither the winds and tempest carry him, and perhaps perissheth in the end, by violence of the storme. Euen so I say, it fareth manie times vnadvisedly in matters of State: for, within a while, they find themselves so perplexed, that they desire to returne to their former repose and quietnes. But yet they are forced to goe, whither the course, streame and current of theyr affaires doth carry them; yea, and sometimes perish amidst the manifold dangers, which commonly doe accompany State-matters, the practise whereof may well be compared to the practise of Phisicke. For, although some Physitions exercise their Science, with more iudgement

The imprudence of those that presume to meddle in the greatest matters of State, without experience.

What happeneth to those which vnadvisedly feeke great employments.

Expectation of pleasure endeth often times in paine.

The danger of dealing in matters of State.

The practise of matters of State like the practise of Phisick.

Young Statists marre many matters before they make one.

He is the wisest that erreth the least, but he the least that erreth the most.

Dangerous for very young men, to deale in matters of State.

Plutarch in his Treatise, whether an old man should deale in matters of State.

ment and better successe then others yet none is so skillfull and fortunate, that he can alwayes warrant the cure of his patient, and young beginners many times kill three, before they save one. Euen so, young Statists, how expert soeuer they be, can neuer warrant the good successe of their plots and designments: but (for the most part) at the first do marre many matters, before they make one. Inform much, that I account him no lesse happy then wise, who can be the wiser not only by other mens errors, but also by his owne. And, as I hold him for the wisest man, which erreth the least: so I take him for the happiest & best at ease, who meddeth the least, or not at all in matters of State, seeing there was neuer any that dealt in many, but he erred in some. And sometimes we see, that the least error worketh both his ouerthrowe who committed it: and also, the ruine of whole Kingdoms and Commonweals. VVherefore, I conclude with the Spanish Prouerbe, *Aquel Rey, que nunca vio Rey, fue a King that neuer sawe King*. That is to say, hee is a happy man, who neuer had to deale with the affaires of Princes or State matters.

I speake not this, to debort or diswade all men from the dealing with matters of State, which is a thing so necessary for the seruice of God and Princes, and for the good of a Commonwealth, that it is both honourable, yea, and highly deserving, when it is done with circumstance conuenient and requisite thereto. But my meaning is to signifye with what great consideration and circumspection all men ought to vndertake such Negotiations. especially young men, who haue not had any experience or practise thereof, and therefore cannot haue the mature and ripe iudgement, which is necessary thereto. For which cause, the Athenians did ordaine, that no man (vnder fifty yeares of age) should bee called to giue aduise in the affaires of their Commonwealth. And although a man may be (as verie manie are no doubt) sooner ripe and able, to mannage any matter whatsoeuer: yet reason and experience teach, that the younger a man is, and the lesse practise he hath, the more he is like to erre. VVherefore I craue thy patience (gentle Reader) while I set downe heere a few general Rules for yong beginners,

as well for their instruction: as also, for the discouery of the difficulties, which occurre in the gouernement of a Commonwealth.

CHAP. V.

Certaine general Rules or Aduises, no lesse pious then Politicall, for the instruction of such as desire to manage matters of State, and haue no experience thereof, to the end, that they may deal therein with lesse danger, and diffculty.



First, hee that meaneth to apply himselfe to matters of State, must see that his intention be cleare & pure, that is to say: that hee bee

not moued thereto by vainglory, ambition, couetousnesse, or any vicious or vnlawfull desire, because they are ouerweake foundations to vpholde waighte affayres, being accompanied not onely with the offence of God; but also, with passion; whereby mans iudgement is blinded, and many times drawn to error. And therefore, the chiefe and principall intention of a Statist ought to bee, the seruice of God and his Prince, and the publicke good of his Country, whereto euery man ought principally to direct & leuell all his actions, which otherwise, cannot be truly vertuous and wise, nor yet haue the assistance and blessing of Almighty God, which for the good successe of all mens affaires, is most exquisite. For, as the Royall Prophet sayeth: *Nisi Dominus adificauerit domum in vānum laborauerunt qui edificat eam. Except the Lord do build the house, they labor in vaine which build the same.*

This foundation being laide, any Negotiation, be it neuer so waigthy and important, may be built thereon, for foure reasons. First, for that a mans reason and iudgement being free from passion and selfe loue, he shall the more clearely and soundly both deliberate and worke in all occasions. Secondly, for that it is most likely, that Almighty God (seeing his

A pure and good intention necessary for a Statist.

Whether the intention of a Statist ought to be.

Psalm. 127.

The commodities of a good intention in vnderstanding matters of State. Fewer effect all Reason.

good and holy intention) will concur & co-operate with him in all his Negotiations.

Thirdly, though it would not please Almighty God (for his secret iudgements) to blesse and prosper his actions: yet vndoubtedly, his good intentions shall not faile of their due recompence and reward.

Lastly, for that in case hee fall into the great difficulties and dangers, which are incident vnto dealing in matters of State, yet he shall haue the comfort and consolation of a good and cleare Conscience, which as the Poet could say, is *Murus athenicus, A Brazen Wall*, and the most assured Anchor in all the stormes and tempests of this life. *Quae etiam obruta delictis, fidei Seneca, which euen when it is oppressed or ouerwhelmed, dooth then delight.* Thus much concerning the first rule.

Secondly, it shall be conuenient for a yong Statist, well to weigh and foresee the difficulties and daungers, which he may (by all likelihood) incur by dealing in matters of State, either thorough the nature and condition of the matters which he is to handle, or thorough the treachery and perfidiousnesse of those, with whom he is to deale; or thorough the malice and emulations (either publicke or priuate) which in Courts neuer want; or thorough the jealousy of Princes, who (as Comineus well noteth) *Do easily suspect and distrust their best Seruants, in matters concerning their State.* Or lastly, thorough the vncertainty of the successe of businesse, which is in no mans hand to warrant, as hath bin sufficiently proued. Byall which meanes, we see (many times) most important matters miscarry to the great grief, disgrace, yea and vtter ouerthrow of the Negotiators, especially if they haue not foreseen the same. VVhereas, by consideration and foresight, they might perhaps haue preuented inconuenience; or, at the least, haue bin better armed, to beare theyr misfortune with patience.

Therefore, *P. Narch* worthily comparreth imprudent and vnadvised Negotiators, to one that should fall (before he were aware) into a Coal-pit or Mine; where, though perhaps hee escape with life: yet commonly hee receyueh some hurt, or (at the least) is wonderfully asto-

nished and amazed, not onely with the fall, but also with the obscurity and horror of the place, which, to those that go in of purpose, and with resolution to endure it, is nothing so offensive or noyesome.

Thirdly, he ought alwayes to obserue three things. The first, is the imbecility and weaknesse of mans wit: the second, the vncertainty of the successe of all mens actions. The third, the prouidence of God, in the disposition of all humane affaires. These three things I say, euery Statist should haue continually before his eyes, to the end, that seeing his own infirmity, and vncertainty of the successe of all his designments, hee may consider his danger, as well of error in his determinations, as of euill hap in his actions; and consequently, haue recourse to the remedies ordained for the same, by the prouidence and mercy of God. According to the aduise which old Tobias gaue to his son, for the direction of his whole course of life, to whom (amongst manie other notable precepts) hee gaue this. *Aske Counsel alwayes of the wise, and despye not any counsel that is profitable. Blesse thy Lord God alwayes, & desire of him that thy wayes may bee made straight, and that all thy purposes & counsels may prosper.* Thus said Tobias, or rather the Holy-Ghost by his mouth, aduising notably two things, necessary to be practised of all men, for the remedy of their naturall imbecility, to wit; to aske counsell of wise men, and to craue the assistance of God. Because we are neither so absolute of our selues, but that we neede (in all things) Gods helpe and assistance; neither yet so gouerned and guided by Almighty God, that we ought to contemne the helpe of man, such being the course of his diuine prouidence in humane affaires, that hee doth his will not only in men, but also by them, and with their co-operations. In which respect, Saint Paul did not tick to call himselfe, and the other Apostles, *Adiutores Dei, The helpers of God*, in the conuersion of the Gentiles.

Therefore, as it were great folly, pride, and presumption in man, so to trust in himselfe, or in humane Wisdome or power, as to neglect the prouidence and assistance of God: so wer it on the other side, extreme negligence, yea, and a tempting of God, so to relye vpon him,

Three things to be considered of Statists.

The counsell of Tobias to his Sonne. Tob. 4. 18. 9.

Two things to be practised of all Statists.

1. Cor. 4. 9.

Extremely folly in man, to trust wholly in humane wisdome & power. A tempting of God, to contemne his prouidence & assistance.

The force of sudden leare.	<p>accompanied with sudden terrour and feare : doth open the way to small force, and enable the fame to worke great effects. And therefore <i>Ambrosius</i>, one of the Tyrants of <i>Sicily</i>, hauing but a few Soldiers, and exhorting them vnto the speedie and sudden inuasion of <i>Carthage</i>, said: <i>In repentino metu non modicum uictoria momentum. Sudden feare will be of no small moment and importance, for obtaining of the victory.</i> Which was proued to be true by the event, and is daillie seene by the experience of surprizes, camifadoes, and all other sudden enterprises of warre.</p>	<p>in another.</p> <p>Now then, it is conuenient for every one, as well to weigh his owne Talents, and how they fort with the businesse in which he is to be employed. As if he be to perfwade, whether hee haue the gift of vtterance and eloquence. If he be to pacifie Couenants and Conuentions of Leagues or Marriages; whether he be a Lawyer. And if he be to treat on matters of warre, whether hee be a Soldier, and so in like cases. For otherwise, hee shall prouue, <i>Asinus ad Liram, An Asse ut an Harpe</i>, as the Prouerbe saith, and not only disgrace himself, and them that vse him: but also, loose his labour and businesse.</p>
In what cases delay is necessary.	<p>To conclude this aduise, one generall rule is to be held, that to temporize or delay time is neuer good, but in three cases. The first, when matters are not maturely consulted, and well digested: wherein (neuertheless) al due diligence is to be vsed, least time and opportunity of action, bee lost and spent in consultation.</p>	<p>Who they are commonly that undertake greater matters, then they can procure.</p>
The first case.	<p>The second case is, when there is some iust and important impediment of the execution. The third, is in cases of extremitie, which surpasse a mans power and wisdom to helpe; for then the only remedy is to temporize and win time, which produceth many accidents, that could neuer be foreseen or imagined, and discouereth foueraigne remedies, for the most desperate diseases. And therefore <i>Pericles</i> was wont to say, <i>Time is the wisest Councillor that is.</i> Thus much for the fourth aduise.</p>	<p>A young Statist should not make his selfe Iudge of his owne sufficiency.</p>
The 2. case.	<p>Fiftly, let every young Statist consider, and measure his owne ability, to the end, that he do not undertake any matter about his reach or capacity: for no man (how excellent soeuer he be) is so perfect, that he excelleth in all things. And therefore the Poets faigned, that the Goddes themselves had not all gifts alike; but that some excelled in one, and some in another. And the Apostle saith, that God distributeth his gifts vnto men, diuersly. <i>Diuidens singulis prout uult. Distributing them to euery one as pleaseth him</i>, to the end we may haue need one of another. And this also, common experience teacheth; for some excell in depth of iudgement; others, in sharpnesse of wit; others, in eloquence; others in memory; others, in Science and learning; and of them, some in one kind, and some</p>	<p>Better for a Statist to acknowledge his owne defect, then to accept a charge which he cannot perroume.</p>
The 3. case.	<p>to the end we may haue need one of another. And this also, common experience teacheth; for some excell in depth of iudgement; others, in sharpnesse of wit; others, in eloquence; others in memory; others, in Science and learning; and of them, some in one kind, and some</p>	<p>Exod. 31. 1.</p>

Instruction both to Princes and Subiects.	<p>gaue him an assisstant, to wit; his brother <i>Aaron</i>, who being verie eloquent, might speake for them both. Whereby, not onely Subiects, which are to be employed, may learne to consider and acknowledge their owne defectes: but Princes also may learne so to employ their Subiects, that one may haue the partes another wanteth, and supply each one the defectes of another.</p>	<p>miner notheth of <i>Lewes</i> the eleventh King of <i>France</i>, that he was wont sometimes when hee sent a great Ambassadour, to giue secret Commission (apart) to some meener man in his company, vising the other for a shew, and for matters of complement; or perhaps to the end, that he should beare the greatest part of the embassage charges, as commonly greaten do, rather then for the dispatch of important affaires. And the like of both these examples may well be practised by Princes, when they send great Ambassadors, and especially when he that is chief in commission, is raw & vnexpert. And therefore, it shalbe conuenient for such a one, to consider the fame, to the end, that hee may the better looke and regard his owne carriage, and procure (as I haue already said before, to haue about him, wife and assured Friends: least otherwise, his owne assisstants, may let him commit some grosse and absurd errors; and so handle the matter, that all the Negotiation, shall turne to their owne Honour, by the discouerie of his inbecility.</p>
A yong Statist ought to begin his practise with small matters.	<p>Sixty, it shall not be amisse (in mine opinion) for a young beginner to enter into his first practise, with matters of small importance, and to proceede vnto greater by degrees, as his experience and ability shall growe and encrease. Like vnto the wife Phytition, who when hee begetteth to practise, taketh easie cures in hand, and medleth not with inueterat and dangerous diseases, vntill hee hath got both experience and credit. And so would I with a young beginner in matters of State, to flye businesse of great weight and difficulty; and rather to procure at first, some honorable Commission or Embassage of congratulation, or condoling, including some ouerture of an important treaty, rather then to deale in the treatie it selfe, which requieth great practise, Experience, and Wisedome.</p>	<p>The danger of associating in Commission, when they are not sincere friends.</p>
A yong Statist like to a Philosopher.	<p>And, if hee be employed in any such treaty, I would with him to be contented, rather to be a second or an assisstant, then chiefe in Commission, and so to growe (for a while) like the Vine or Iuy, by the support of another tree. Or, if his dignity be such, as cannot admit a seconde place; then, to procure (so much as may be) to haue such assisstants, as are not only men of founde iudgement and Wisedome, but also his sincere friends. Such being commonly the emulation and ambition in Courts, that he may otherwise make account, that his owne associates and Companions, will curiously obserue euery little error of his, and take advantage thereof for their owne better credits.</p>	<p>And this hee may feare, not onely in his associates and fellows in Commission, but also in his followers and Seruants: among whom, some one of more spirit and talent then the rest, may seeke to make aduantage of his matters weakness. As chanced to an Ambassadour (whom I knew) whose Secretary noting in him some negligence in the dispatch of aduises; when occasion required, presented commonly his Masters Letters with his owne. Besides, being employed by his Maister, to procure aduises and intelligences, he concealed the most important matters from him, and wrote them himselfe to some principall Councillours, whose good grace hee gayned so farre thereby, that they procured his aduancement at his home returne; whereas, the Ambassadour himselfe, was helde altogether vnworthy of further honor and preferment, and liued euery after in disgrace.</p>
A yong Statist compared to the Iuy Tree.	<p>To which purpose is to be considered that the <i>Lacedemonians</i> vsed to choofe such to send on their Embassages, as were either publicke, or at least of secret enemies: to the end that one of them might serue as a spie ouer the others actions. And the like may still be vsed, and is (no doubt) many times. And <i>Phillip de Ca-</i></p>	<p>Seauenty, I would aduise a young beginner, not to charge himselfe with many matters at once, as some do; that that cannot endure to see any man employed; but themselves, vvhich are not so lowly, that some one or two busineses succeeding it (as commonly among many some do)</p>
The practise of the Lacedemonians in great importance, being a businesse, as in the 1. b. Polit. 1. cap. 7.	<p>gave</p>	<p>Many matters not to be undertaken at once, by a yong Statist.</p>

A yong Statist like to a man of a weak Stomack.

An advertisement to the Favourites of Princes.

The danger that the Favourites of Princes doe incurre by lian-
ned of the people.

Polidur Virgil,
in Hist. Aug.

Secrecy in
matters of
State, most
necessary.

do) they receive more disgrace thereby, then reputation or thanks for all the rest, though they succede neuer so well. Therefore, it is wisdom for anie man (especially for such as be Nouices in affaires of State) to take but few matters in hand, and to dispatch them well. Like to a man that hath but a weak Stomack, who is to take heede, that he neuer overlay it with quantitie: nor yet to peller it with diueritie of meates, because one thing willer and hinder the digestion of another.

And this I wish to be considered especially, by such as are the fauourites of Princes, who (manie times) desiring to haue al in their owne hands, do not like to charge themselves with much more, then they can attend to dispatch in due manner and season, to the exceeding great detriment, as well of particular men, as of the State ingeneral. Whereby also, they expose not onely themselves, but their Princes likewise, to such hatred of the Nobilitie and people, that thereon doth follow (manie times) commotions, and rebellions, insumuch, that their Princes are either forced to abandon them to their enemies, or else to perish with them. As to omit forraigne examples, we haue scene by experience in England, in the times of King *Edward* the second, and King *Richard* the second against whom, the Nobilitie and Commons did take Armes, for the hatred they bare to their fauourites, *Pierce Gausson*, the two *Spencers*, *Robert de la Vere*, Earle of *Oxford*, and others their Adherents: vpon whose persons they discharged their fury, euersing all kind of cruelty on them, except vpon the Earle of *Oxford*, who laued his life by flight into *Holland*, and ended his dayes in banishment. And heere to also may partly be ascribed, the vnfortunate endes of both those Kinges, who were afterwards deposed, and cruelly and Treacherously murdered.

Eightly, nothing is more necessary in handling matters of State, then Secrecy, I meane matters intended and consulted, before they come to execution: for, they are like to a Mine, which luying any vent, is wholly frustrate, and of no effect. Therefore, *Ieter* King of *Arragon*, being demanded of *Pope Martin* the fourth, what hee meant to do

with the great Fleet, wherewith hee afterward recouered Sicily from the French, made this aunswere vnto him: *That if he thought his Shirts did know it, hee would burne it.*

But, because I am to speake of this point of Secrecie hereafter, I will heere onely giue a generall rule to be helde and practised by yong Statists: which is, not to communicate anie important matter of State, to any man whatsoeuer; except he is to be employed, or his counsell to be vfed therein. For, whoeuer sayleth in this point, is not fit to handle any matter of importance, nor shall euer haue credit with Princes, who esteeme nothing more in their Seruants, then Secrecy. Insumuch, that a Prince in these dayes (whom for some respects I forbear to name) caused a faithfull seruant of his (whom he also loued dearly) to be killed, for feare he should reueale a secret, which (by chance) hee came to know: whereby we may perceiue, howe dangerous a thing it is, to be pertakers of Princes secrets. And therefore, *Plautus* the Comedian, being willed by King *Lysimachus* to aske some fauour of him, beseeched him to doo him what fauour else he pleased, so that he imparted none of his secrets vnto him. And thus much for this point.

Ninthly, a yong Statist is to haue especial care, to auoide all kinde of vnlawfull employments, as to be an Instrument: fany wickednesse for his Princes seruice: for, beside the offence to God, (who will assuredly punish the same sooner or later) he may well thinke, that his Prince also will neuer after trust him, howeouer hee be satisfied with the seruice for the present. For, Princes manie times are contented, to take the benefit of a seruice done by euill means, and yet (euer after) holde suspected, and hate the enuious and malicious nature and disposition of him that did it: for, they make vfe of such men, no otherwise then as of poyson, onely to scue theyr turne, though they detest the malignitie of it. And therefore, *Augustus Cesar* was wont to say, *I hate the Treason, but I hate the Traitor*. And all wise Princes hold it for a rule, that where there is no bridle of Conscience, and feare of God, there is no fidelity towards man to be expected.

A generall rule to be helde concerning Secrecy.

Princes esteeme nothing more in their seruants then Secrecy.

Dangerous to be pertakers of Princes secrets.

Plautus in his Treatise of talking too much.

Vnlawfull employments by Princes to be auoied.

Plautus in his Apopheg of Kings and Captaines.

Princes love the Treason but hate the Traitor.

We

He that is talke to God, will not be true to man.

Polidur Virgil, in Henry 5.

When Princes are wise and learne to know themselves.

Princes sometimes disauow their commissions after the fact.

Gods iustice vpon euill instruments.

Isidore in his 11.

Isidore in his 11.

We read, that *Constantinus Cesar*, father vnto the Emperour *Constantine* the Great, hauing commanded, that all such christians as would not adore his Gods, should depart from his seruice: did (neuerthelesse) banish all those that denyed their Faith, and retained the others in his seruice and fauour. Whereof hee gaue this reason: *That those who had so little Conscience as to be false vnto their GOD, could not be true to him.* And *Henrie* the first, King of *England*, presently after his Fathers death, banished from the court all such as had bene Councillours, Instruments, or Companions of his ryots before, perswading himselfe, that they were not to be trusted about his person. And so it commonly falleth out, when Princes are wise, and enter into due consideration of themselves, and of their consciences.

But such other Princes, as giue themselves ouer vnto detestable Vices and sinnes, and maketh no Conscience of anie thing, do not onely disauowe theyr owne Commissions, after that some Wicked acte is committed by their order: but also vfe to picke quarrelles, or to take verie small occasions, whereby to make away the Instruments of their owne Wickednesse, eyther to rid themselves of the suspicion, reproach or infamy thereof, or for the ialousie which they haue of the maligne Natures of their Instruments; or for feare they may discouer their practises if they liue; or sometimes for some other respects, God so disposing (by his most iust Iudgements) to make them onely seruie for the Executors of his Iustice vpon those, who preferred their owne seruice before his.

So did *Alexander* the Great at his fathers Obsequies, command publicke Iustice to be done vpon those, whom hee himselfe had secretly employed for to kill him. So did *Tiberius* the Emperour, disauow his Commission giuen vnto a Soldiour, to kill *Agrippa*, telling him, that hee should aunswere the matter before the Senate: As hee did also put to death *Seianus* his great fauourite, and Instrument of much mischief. And in the like sorte, dealt *Cesar Borgia* with a fauourite of his. And so also haue some in these our dayes, by diuers and sundrie deuises, bene made awaie in many

seuerall Courtes and Countreyes, when they had serued the appetites of some great personages, whome (for iust respects) I will heere forbear to Name. Vvhich may serue for an aduertisement and warning vnto all men, to take heed how they suffer themselves to be employed by any man, in matters which are vnlawfull and offensive vnto GOD, *Es felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cantum, Happpie is hee, who can take heede by other mens harmes.*

The tenth aduise which I giue vnto a yong Statist, is, that if his Prince doo him the honour, to make him of his Council, to consider well, what is the dutie of a Councillor, to which purpose, I will also set downe some Rules. Wherein neuerthelesse, I meane not to frame an exact Councillor, as *Cicero* did an Orator, and *Xenophon* a Prince, and *Castiglione* a Courtier; neyther yet do I take vpon me, to aduise old Councillours, whose experience must needs surpasse mine. But onely to giue some aduertisements, vnto such as haue not anie great experience or practise in matters of State. And forasmuch, as it requireth some larger discourse, then were fit and conuenient to prosecute in this Chapter, it shall serue for the subiect of the next.

CHAP. VI.

Other Generall Rules for a yong Statist, aduanced by his Princes fauour to be of his Councillor. *What hee is to consider in himselfe, in his Prince, and in the matters that are to be consulted: And first, concerning the Councillor himselfe.*



HE poyntes which (in my fancy) are principally to be considered by a yong Councillor, though they might be diuided

Eight into

Happpie is he that taketh heed by another mans harmes.

Of the dutie of a Councillor, more at large to be handled in the following Chapter.

The points
there to be
considered in
a yong Coun-
cellor, reduc-
ed to three
heads.

Eight points
to be consid-
ered in the
Councillor
himselfe.
A Councillor
ought to be
truly vertuous
and Religi-
ous.
Good death af-
fist and illu-
minate good
men in mat-
ters of Coun-
cill.
Numb. 3, 4, 5,
6, 7, 8, &c.

Vertue giueth
reputation to
the possessor
therof.

Ambrose de O-
fic. lib. 2. cap. 10.

Where ver-
ue and wis-
dom con-
curre all
good coun-
cell is to be
expected.

Ambrose. libid.

The dignity
of vertue is
such, that eu-
il men beare
respect there-
to.

into manie members, yet may be well re-
duced to three heads. The first, concern-
ing himselfe; the second, concerning
his Prince, and the third, touching the
matters that are to be consulted. Of all
which I will say somewhat, with such per-
spicuity and breuitie that conueniently I
may.

As for that which toucheth himselfe,
he is to regard chiefly eight points. The
first, that he procure by all good means,
not onlie to haue the reputation of ver-
tue and religion: but also to be (indeed)
truly vertuous and Religious, for two
causes: The first, to obtain thereby the
assistance of Gods grace, which howe
necessarie it is, for the illumination of
mans vnderstanding: appeareth in our
former Chapter of true Vifedome,
Prudence, and Pollicie, to bee the ef-
peciall giuistes and graces of Almighty
GOD, and no otherwaies to be obtain-
ed, but by the obseruation of his com-
mandements.

The other cause, why it behooueth
a Councillor to bee truly Religious
and Vertuous, is, for that such is the
force of Vertue, that it giueth credite to
the possessors thereof, and dooth make
them more easily to bee beleued: and
their counsell the better accepted. And
therefore wee see, that all men of discreti-
on and iudgement, do demaund Coun-
cill rather of those that are reputed wife
and vertuous, then of wicked men, who
onely haue a reputation of Wifedome.
For, as Saint Ambrose sayeth; *Where
Wifedome and Vertue are conioyned, Ma-
gna erit confistorum salubritas, There is all
good and whole some counsell to bee had.
And all men (saith he) are willing to heare
the wife and vertuous man, as well for the
admiration of his wifedome, as for the loue
of his vertue.* In which respect also he
saith, that men addresse themselues com-
monly for Counsell, to those who are
more vertuous then themselues. *For
no man (saith he) hath reason to thinke him
who is inferior vnto himselfe in manners,
to bee his superiour in Wifedome and coun-
cell.*

Furthermore, such is the dignitie and
authoritie of Vertue, that euil men beare
a reuerend respect thereto, and stand (as
it were) in awe of good men. Wherof
we haue an example in Herod, who al-

though he held Saint Iohn Baptist in pri-
son, and would not followe his counsell
in the matter of his Diuorce: yet, for the
reuerence which hee bare vnto his
Vertue, hee consulted many other things
with him, and followed his aduice
therein. And, as the Holy Scripture
sayth also, *Metuebat eum, Hee feared
him.*

And no doubt but wife and Vertuous
Princes, much more esteeme and re-
spect the counsell of wife men that are
vertuous; then of others, of equal wit
and iudgement, that are vicious and
wicked; knowing that, as Salomon sayth,
*Confusio impiorum fraudulenta, The Coun-
cels of the wicked are fraudulent.* And
that hee who hath no care of his Con-
science, and dutie towards God, will
haue no lesse care of his dutie towards
men.

The second point, is, that hee also
giue satisfaction vnto the worlde of his
wifedome, by the good and wise govern-
ment of his family. For no wife Prince
can thinke him a fitt man to Councill
him, or to gouerne vnder him, that can-
not gouerne himselfe and his owne Fa-
mily. And therefore, Basilisse the Em-
perour aduised his Sonne, to choose
those for his Councillours, who hadde
giuen proofe and experience of their
Wifedome, in the good conduct and
direction of their owne priuate af-
faires.

Whereuppon also, Saint Ambrose
sayeth, *Audoncum putabo, quimibi con-
fissum, qui non dat sibi? Can I thinke
him fit to counsell me, that cannot counsell
himselfe?* For, hee that is a Foole in
his owne businesse, can neuer bee wife
in the businesse of other men. And there-
fore Saint Paule declaring the dutie of a
Bythop, requireth, that hee bee such a
one, as gouerneth well his owne family.
For, *quis (saith he) domui sue pacem
necit, quomodo Ecclesia Dei diligenter
habebit. If a man cannot gouerne his owne
house, how shal hee gouerne the Church of
God.*

The third point is, that in all his spee-
ches and Conference with his Prince,
hee vse all sincerity, truth, and playne-
nesse, without Flatterie. For, although
the common Proverbe say; *Obsequium
amicor, Veritas odium parit; Flattery getteth*

Mark. 6. 10.

Prouer. 11. 9.
The counsell
of wicked
men is euer
more fraudu-
lent.

A Councillor
ought to haue
great regard
to the govern-
ment of his
Family, and
priuate af-
faires.

Ambrose in Lib.
2. de O. fic.
Cap. 112.

No man fit
to counsell ano-
ther, that
cannot coun-
sell himselfe.
1 Tim. 3. 1. 5.

A Councillor
ought to a-
uouise all flate-
ry
Tertius in Austr.

Princes that
haue all,
want one to
tell them the
truth.

Flattery the
ruine of Prin-
ces States.
Quint. Curtius.
in Lib. 8.

How a Coun-
cellor ought
to admonish
his Prince of
his error.
Plutarch in his
Treatise of
Flattery.

Who they are
that common-
ly use those
themselues in
admonishing
or contradict-
ing their
Princes.

Arrian, in Lib.
8. de rebus A-
lexand.
Vnto a reasonable
liberty of
speech odi-
ous to Princes

neither friends, and Truth hatred: yet, as
there is nothing more pernicious to
Princes the flattery; so (by consequent)
there is nothing more vnfit to be vied of
Councillors. Whose office is, and
especiall care should bee, to vindicate
their Prince in all things, wherein he is
any way deceived, and to labour there-
in so much the more, by how much the
lesse other men do it. Seeing one of the
greatest infelicities of Princes, is, that
all, or most Men flatter and soothe them
in all things, and few or none dare deale
sincerely or plainly with them. In
which respect Seneca saith; *Quid omnia
possidentibus desit? Ille qui verum dicat.
What wants he that hath all? A Man to tell
him the truth.* Which therefore the
faithfull Councillor should doe, for
otherwise, the Prince shall liue in con-
tinuall error and ignorance of his
owne Estate, and especiall of his im-
perfections, yea, and in great perill
of ruine. For, as Quintus Curtius
saith. *Regum opes, &c. The States of
Princes are oftener overthrowen by flattery,
then by force.*

Neuertheless, if the Councillor
haue occasion to admonish his Prince,
in any error or fault of his: he ought to
doe it with great discretion and mode-
ration. Vling (as Parisatis, Mother to
Cyrus, was wont to say) words of Silke,
and launcing the fore (like a good Chi-
rurgion) with such dexteritie: that hee
may cure it, and not exasperate his
Prince, and make him lesse capable of
his good counsell. Those that offend
in this kind, are commonly such, as pre-
sume ouer-much, either on their owne
wits and power; or on their Princes
weakenesse; or on his ouer-great fa-
uour and familiarity; or on the neede
that he hath of them: or else perhaps,
are of nature seuer, insolent, and pas-
sionate, for such sometimes doe forget
themselues, yea, and take a pride in con-
tradicting or admonishing their Prin-
ces, with lesse duty and respect, then
were conuenient.

Such a one was Calisthenes, of whom
Arrianus writteth, that he made him-
selfe odious to Alexander the Great:
*Tam ob intemperatiam liberatam, tum ob
superbiam suam. Both for his vnreaso-
nableness of speech, as also for his proud
folly.*

Such a one also was a Philosopher
that liued in the Court of Dionysius the
elder, a Tyrant of Sicilie. For, where-
as the Tyrant (being delighted with his
owne Poems) was wont to impart them
publickly to certaine Philosophers,
which liued in his Court, to haue their
opinions: there was one among the
rest, who could not flatter, nor endure
the vanitie of the Tyrants humour; but
told him plainly, that his Verses were
nothing worth, and that it was a shame
to heare them. Where-with the Ty-
rant was so offended, that he comman-
ded his Guard to take him presently a
way, and to carry him to the Mines, to
worke there among other condemned
persons.

Afterward, the same Philosopher be-
ing released, & returned to the Court,
at the suite of his Friends: it chanced,
that the Tyrant caused a certaine Po-
eme of his owne, to be read againe in
the presence of him, and all the other
Philosophers, commanding them to
speake their opinions thereof. All the
rest extolled the worke to the Skies;
some praying the inuention, and o-
thers the vaine and grace of the Verse,
euery one striving who should com-
mend them most: vntill it came to the
turne of this Philosopher, who, in stead
of giuing his censure, called suddenly
to the Guards of the Tyrant, saying;
*Come Masters, carry me away to the
Mines, for I cannot endure this extreme
folly.* The Tyrant being (as it chanced)
in a good humour, tooke it not ill: but
was content to put it off to a sile, and
laughed well at it.

But this Philosopher seeking to auoid
Silla, fell into Charibdis, for, by flying
bale flattery, he fell into another extre-
mity, to wit, impudent insolency, which
is no lesse vnfit and absurd for Coun-
cillors: who are to imitate the discreet &
prudent modesty of Hephæstion, Coun-
cillor to Alexander the Great. For, al-
though he alwaies admonished Alexan-
der discreetly and freely, as occasion ser-
ued; yet he euer did it in such sort, that
it seemed rather to be Alexanders will
and pleasure he should so do, then that
hee challenged any such right to him-
selfe.

The like stile ought a Councillor to
vse, in contradicting or admonishing his
Prince.

Plutarch.

A pleasant
example of a
true Philoso-
pher, and the
Tyrant Diony-
sius of Sicily.

A bold, plain
and resolute
Philosopher.

The discreet
modesty of
Hephæstion
Councillor to
Alexander.
Quint. Curtius.
de reb. g. filia
Alexand.

In what manner Princes are to be spoken too and admonished.

All speech proceeding of passion, insolency, or of contempt, is odious to Princes. A wound at a friends hand better then the kisse of an enemy. Prover. 27. 6.

How a Counsellor ought to speake to his Prince, and of the kisse of an enemy.

Counsellors by consultancy, are pertakers of their Princes faults.

Plutarch in The misse.

A Counsellor ought to be constant in his opinions.

Prince, observing exactly his disposition and humor, because no man is always disposed alike, either to receive contradiction, or to hear of his faults, especially in the presence of others. And therefore, fit time and place is always to be chosen for that purpose, and some plausible preamble to be used of the Princes praises, for some good parts of his which (in such case) is no flattery, but a spur to Vertue, and may serve for a preparative to the pill of admonition, which hee meaneth to give him. So that hee deliver it in so good times, and with such dutifull respect, that the Prince may perceive, it proceedeth not of passion, or of a spirit of contradiction, or of audacious insolency, or of contempt (all which are to Princes most odious, but of intyre love and affection, for so will hee (if hee be wise) take the admonition in good part, and say with *Salomon*, *A wound at a Friends hand, is better then the Kisse of an enemy.*

To conclude, a Counsellor may hold this rule, to speake alwayes in this manner freely unto the Prince himselfe, although it be of his errors, but neuer to others of him, otherwise then in his honour and commendation. And though the Prince bee neuer a whit the better, for the admonition, yet it may suffice his Counsellor, to haue done his dutie, and not to be pertaker of his Princes fautes, as otherwise he should be, if he should not (in all dutifull manner) advise and admonish him, as occasion should require. And therefore, though he should feare to incur his displeasure for his plainnesse, yet he ought to discharge his conscience, and to say as *Themistocles* did to *Euribades*, who took vp a staffe to strike him from his free speech: *Strike mee so, that you heare me hereafter.*

Finally, a Counsellor should not expect, that his Prince should alwayes follow his advice, nor assist himselfe much if he do not. For, though Princes give unto their Counsellors great libertie, to say what they will: yet they do reserve a greater to themselves, that is to do what they list. And thus much for the third part.

The fourth point that a Counsellor is to consider in himselfe, is that it behooveth him to be graue and constant in his opinions, for lenity and inconstancie is a

most euident signe of folly. And to this end, it shall be necessarie for him, maturely to deliberate, and fustly to consider the matter propounded, before hee deliver his opinion. For, as *Seneca* saith, *Sunt duo contraria consilio, festinatio et inertia*, Two things are contrary to Councell, Haste, and Anger. And againe, *Deliberandum est diu* (saith he) *quod statimendum est semel*. The thing that is once to be determined, is to be deliberated by Iessure. And to the same purpose *Aristotle* saith, *That a Iust man ought to councell slowly, and to execute speedily*. Therefore, hee excludeth verie young men from councell in matters of State. For that (saith he) *their naturall heat maketh them over-haste and headlong, in giving their opinions*. Besides, by reason of their want of experience, there doth not occur to them many reasons or difficulties to be considered: in which respect, they resolve easily and speedily, and with lesse judgement. Whereas ancient men, both by reason of their colder humour, and also of their greater experience (which minisheth vnto them more matter of discourse, and more doubts to be resolved) do determine slowly, and with far more judgement. So that speedy resolutions, are arguments of weaknesse of witte, or want of iudgement; and therefore, to bee shunned of all Counsellors, as one farre more proper vnto Women: whose Councell (men commonly say) is neuer to be taken, but vpon a suddaine, whereof I shall declare the reason hereafter.

The fift point, is, to auoyde the other extremitie opposite to lenity, to wit; Obstinacie and Wisfulness, which is no lesse vnfit for a Wile Counsellor, then the other. For, obstinacie is euer more accompanied with contempt of others mens Opinions, and contention, and is therefore a verie great Enemy vnto Resolution, which can neuer be taken, where Obstinacie and Contentious men, do meete together in a Council.

This Defect, proceedeth commonlie, either thorough great Pride and Presumption of a mans owne witte, or else, of a false conceite, that manie men haue, that it is a shame for a Wile man to change his opinion, which is farre otherwise. For although a wife man ought

Lenity and inconstancy, an euident signe of folly, *Seneca in Tragedijs. Ibidem. Arist. in Ethic. Lib. 6.*

Why young men are not fit to giue councell.

Why old men resolve slowly and maturely.

Wherein councell is to be taken on the sudden.

Obstinacy in opinion vnfit for Counsellors.

From whence obstinacy in opinion proceedeth.

Folly for a wife man not to change his opinion, when there is iust cause.

Seneca in lib. 4. de beneficijs Cap. 34.

A necessary exception to be vnderstood in the opinion of a wife man. Ibidem.

Plutarch in Lib. 9. de Rep. Cap. 9.

A wife man compared to a good Gamester by *Plato*.

In what case a wife man may change his opinion.

While the chief and fundamentall reasons of the designement doe stand, the councell is not to be changed.

Time alwayes affordeth new difficulties.

nor to doe it lightly, and without great reason; yet, when there is sufficient cause, it were great shame and folly not to do it. And therefore *Seneca the Stoick*, who, according to the opinion of those of his Sect, held; *That a wife man neuer changeth his opinion*: expoundeth it in such sort, that hee includeth in the opinion of a Wife Man, a necessary exception, to wit; if nothing happen that may alter the case. And therefore hee also saith, that, *It is the property of fooles, to assure themselves (ouer-much) of their counsels and determinations*. And that *a wife Man knoweth, what sway error beareth in the affaires of Men; How vncertain all humane things are; And how many accidents hinder good and wise designements*. Whereupon hee concludeth; *That it is no shame for wife men to alter their opinions when occasion requireth*. And *Plato* compareth a wife man to a good Gamester, *Who doth accommodate his play to the chances of the Dice*. And so (saith he) *should a wife Man accommodate his counsels and course of life to the occasions, which changing and varying with the time, doe often require new deliberation*.

Neuertheless, it is heerein to be considered, that this change (with the occasions) is conuenient only, when the occasions change the fundamentall and chiefe reason of the first resolution. For whereas in all matters of councell, many reasons may concur to one end, whereof some may be more important then other, and some one (perhaps) the ground and foundation of the rest: it falleth out other-whiles, that change of times and variety of occasions, doe alter some considerations and circumstances, and not the grounds and fundamentall reasons of the matter, in which case, the resolution is not to be changed. For otherwise, men should be like Weather-cocks, which change with every winde: seeing time alwayes produceth some new difficulties, and changeth some part of the reasons in all matters, that require any long time for the execution. Whereupon, there may follow some alteration of circumstance in the designement; though the resolution may stand good for the principall.

Wherefore, it were great reuerence and lenity in any Man, to condemne o-

ther mens counsels, because some of the Motiues that induced them thereto, haue failed, or because the successe hath not (in the beginning) answered their expectations. As may appeare by the wife *Phocion of Athens* who hauing dissuaded the *Athenians*, from a certain enterprize which succeeded well, and being reproached therewith by some of his Adversaries, said: *I am right glad of the good successe, yet nothing repenteth me of mine opinion*. This he said, partly, because he fore-saw a bad sequell of their good beginning (as after it fel out) and partly, because a wife man dishateth his part and duty, if his councell be wel grounded vpon good and sound reasons, although the successe be not so good as he expected. Considering, that the cunct of all mens counsels is onely in the hands of God, and cannot assuredly be fore-scene; but much lesse warranted by the wisdom of Man.

To conclude this point, a Wife man ought alwayes to ground his opinions and counsels vpon reason, conscience, and Iustice: that whatsoeuer succedeth, he shall haue no iust cause to repent or retract the same. And therefore *Aristides*, hauing said to *Dionysius* the Tyrant (who demanded one of his Daughters in marriage) *That he had rather see her burned, then married to a Tyrant*: would neuer retract or recall his words againe, although it did cost him the life of his Sonne. For, when the Tyrant had slaine his Sonne, and asked him, whether he was still of the same minde, concerning the marriage of his Daughter? He answered. *Although I am sorry for that which hath happened to my Sonne; yet I doe not repent me of that which I haue said*. Which constancy of *Aristides*, *Plutarch* greatly commendeth: *As proceeding* (saith he) *of a notable and compleate vertue*. And thus much for this fift point.

The sixth point necessary in a Counsellor, is Secrecy, whereof I haue said somewhat before, and heere add: That Counsellors must vnderstand, that their mouths are sealed vp by their Princes, as *Hephestions* mouth was by *Alexander* the Great, who hauing shewn him a secret Letter, said nothing else to him, but tooke off his sealing Ring, and put it to his lippes. This (I say)

A Counsellor not to be condemned, because some of the motiues haue failed.

Plutarch in Timoleon, et in Phocion.

A good beginning hath many times a bad sequell.

Counsellors grounded vpon reason, conscience, and Iustice, neuer to be repented.

Plutarch in Timoleon.

The constancy of *Aristides*.

Secrecy most requisite in a Counsellor.

Plutarch in Alexander.

(say) a young Councillour must understand, to passe betwene his Prince and him, when his Prince doth him the honour, to make him of his Councillor, or to treat with him of matters of State. Whereof secrecy is (as *Valerius Maximus* faith.) *Optimum & tutissimum vinculum, the best and surest bond.* And therefore it was so much esteemed among the *Persians*, that they honoured *Silence* for a God. And such was the care and respect that the *Romains* had thereto, that when King *Eumenes* came into the Senate, to demand assistance against King *Persus*: it was neuer understood (as *Linus* witnesseth) either what he said, or what any answered, vntill the warre (which the *Romans* made at his request) was ended. Such being the secrecy of the *Romaine* Senators (though verie many in number) that, as *Valerius* faith, it seemed, that *Not so much as one Man heard, that which was committed to the eares of so many.*

Neuertheless, great discretion is to be vsed herein: for a Man may as well be ouer-secret in some cases, as too open. I haue noted sometimes, that some great Princes and Councillors, for fear of discovering their designements, haue eyther forborne to take sufficient information and instruction, of such as could best informe them, and might haue bene trusted, whereby they haue gone blindly to work: or else they haue sought to inform themselves in clouds, by such darke and obscure questions, that they haue bene falsly and ill informed. For the parties with whom they conferred, making a false coniecture of their drift, and answering them according to their owne sense (for otherwise then they would haue done, if they had knowne their meaning) haue abused them against their wils.

Again, some there are, who intending to be very secret, play, as a man may say, wily beguile the eies. I knew a Councillor, who being commanded by his Prince, to giue him his opinion in a matter of exceeding great importance and secrecy: thought to informe himselfe of some circumstances so cunningly, that his meaning should not bee so much as guessed at. But the party with whom he treated, being of an excellent iudgement, presently vnderstood it, and

though he answered him to his great satisfaction: yet, not thinking himselfe any way bound to secrecy (because the Councillor neither had taken his oath, nor his word, nor had shewne any confidence in him for that matter) wrote it to a great personage, with whom he had correspondence, by which means, it was (within a month) to be published, that it came into the *Gazetta* of *Rome*, & from thence was published throughout Christendome, as the Councillor himselfe hath since told me. So that, in seeking information by Riddles, & obscure questions, two inconueniences may be feared: the one, to receive a false information; and the other, to discover the designement against a mans wils.

Therefore, to prevent these inconueniences, that when information must needs be taken (as in some cases it is absolutely necessary, especially for enterprises to be made in forraign countries, unknowne to him who would lay the plot) it shall be conuenient, if a sufficient enformer may be found, who is knowne to be of sincere conscience: to deale plainly with him, & to shew confidence in him, taking (neuertheless) his oath for secrecy, to binde him the more, and to vse other meanes of courttesie and benefits to oblige him; yet to do this with the leaue of the Prince, for the Councillors better discharge. But when such a confident and sincere enformer cannot bee had; my opinion is, that although it shall be good, to vse all possible meanes, to vnderstand what may be learned, without discovering the intention: yet neuertheless, no great foundation is to be made of an information taken by such a meanes, except it be of a matter of fact, wherein, no man (that knoweth the truth) can falsly enforme, except he will willfully lye. For, in matters of discourse, depending vpon the iudgement of the enformer, be hee neuer so wise: small reckoning is to be made, while he doth not fully vnderstand the intention of the propounder. Thus much concerning the first point.

The seauenth point, which a Councillor should consider in himselfe, is, that in the deliberation of all matters whatsoever: he be cleare and free from all passion and peticular affection, that

An example to a very good purpose in this case.

Information by Riddles.

How informations are to be taken in important matters.

When a confident informant is not to be found.

An information little to be esteemed, when the Informer doth not fully vnderstand the drift of the propounder.

A Councillor ought to be free from passion and peticular affection.

Soft in Cattle: Passion and affection doe binde the iudgement.

Justin lib. 19.

Envy maketh a man enuious to his owne good.

Patriarch in his Apology of Kings and Princes.

Councillors should leaue their quarrels at the Councill Chamber doore.

Respects of other mens grieues in Councils.

is to say, from all respects, eyther of loue, hatred, or enuy to any. And this I say, for wise Princes are wont, exactly to obserue the humours and dispositions of their Councillors, & to make small account of the aduise or persons of such, as they finde to be subiect to any of the foresaid imperfections. And with very great reason, for, as *Salust* faith. *Non facile animus, &c. The mind doth not easily see the truth, where passion and affection beareth sway.* Beside, passion not only blindeth the vnderstanding of Man, but also dooth so corrupt his will: that although he see the truth, yet he will not embrace it. Which *Iustine* obserued very well in King *Antiochus*, for, when *Hanniball* had counselled him to invade *Italie*: his Councill (faith *Iustine*) was reiected, partly, because the chiefe Councillors and Fauourites of *Antiochus* feared, that if it were admitted, *Hanniball* might grow in more credite and fauour with *Antiochus*, then they; and partly, because *Antiochus* himselfe doubted, least his owne glorie might (in some part) be obscured, if he should be thought to doe any thing by *Hannibals* aduise. So pestilent is the passion of enuy and emulation; that it maketh a Man (sometimes) Enemie to his owne good, no lesse then of the publique.

Therefore *Aristides* of *Athen*, being sent Ambassadour with *Themistocles*, who was his Enemy, willed him at their departure out of the Cittie: that they might leaue all their emulations behinde them at the Gates, least their priuate passions might hinder the publique good of the Common-wealth. And so in like manner, all Councillors that haue any peticular quarrels, or disgusts among themselves: should leaue them at the Councill Chamber doore, when they enter in. And the like may also be said, of therespets of priuate friendship, or of other mens greaues and fauour with the Prince: which respects are (many times) no lesse hurtfull in Councils, then Enie or Hatred. For they make men conceal their owne iudgements, because they will not disgust some Friend or great Man, that holdeth a contrary opinion. In so much, that it falleth out many times, that some fauourite of the

Prince, hauing once vttered his conceits, albeit none of the wifest: carryeth after him all the rest without contradiction, and to the best opinions are either concealed, or not so well debated as were conuenient.

For the prevention and remedy of this inconuenience, the wise *Cosmo de Medices*, Duke of *Florence*, and *Phillip* the second, last King of *Spaine*, vsed to propound their most important matters to their Councillors, first by Writing, commanding them: to set down their opinions also in Writing, with their reasons, and not to communicate the same with any other. Afterward, if they thought it needfull, they assembled them in their presence, to heare them debate and defend their owne opinions; which proceeding (in my fancy) was very prudent. For so, every Councillor gaue his opinion freely, without passion, or respect to any other. & (for his owne honour and reputation) defended it so far as reason would baire him, whereby, matters were thorowly debated and discussed.

To conclude this point, Councillors must say of all peticular respects, as *Popilius the Romaine* (being sent Ambassadour to King *Antiochus*, his old friend) saide vnto him of their former animity: *Facessis priuata amicitia, &c. Forswell priuate friendship, when publique matters are in hand.* This (I say) should Councillors, when they come to the Councill-Table, both say and practise, laying aside all priuate and peticular respects, eyther to one or other, or vnto themselves. As hauing nothing else before their eyes, in all their deliberations; but the publique good; to wit, the seruice of God, their Prince, and their Countrey.

The eight and last point, which I would with a young Councillor to consider, concerning himselfe, is: the daunger of punishment, both humane and Diuine, which he shall incur, if he seduce or corrupt his Prince by euill Councill. Because the Prince himselfe, if euer he haue the grace to see his owne error: cannot but hate and detest the Author and Councillor thereof. As did King *Henrie* the first, who repenting the riotous course of his youth: banished from the Court, all those which had

A prudent practise of the wise *Cosmo de Medices*, Duke of *Florence*, & of *Phillip* the second, last King of *Spaine*.

The freedom of euery Councillors opinion to be giuen

Justin lib. 24. Priuate friendship not to be respected, when publique matters are in hand.

What Councillors ought to haue alwayes before their eyes.

The dangers that Councillors incur, by giuing euill counsell to their Princes.

Euill Councillors shall sometimes to their Princes.

had misled and seduced him, as I have partly noted before. And though he escape the disgrace and punishment of his Prince: yet he may justly feare the hatred of the people, and his owne destruction to ensue thereof, as I have also signified before (vpon another occasion) in *Pierce Gauslone*, the *Spencers*, and other Councillours of King *Edward* the second, and King *Richard* the second.

To whom I may adde *Emson* and *Dudley*, put to death by King *Henry* the eight, in the beginning of his raigne, to satisfie the importunity of the people: who demanded Iustice against them, for the euill counsell they had giuen to King *Henrie* the seauenth, in matters of exactions, impositions, and pecuniarie penalties.

And *Plutarch* also noteth, that the Councillours and Favourites of *Apollodorus*, *Phalaris*, *Dionysius*, *Nero*, and other Tyrants, were racked, slayed, burned, and other-wise most cruelly tormented by the people. And *Isidore* (saith he) for that he which corrupteth or seduceth a Prince, deserueth no lesse to be abhorred of all men: then one that should poison a publique Fontaine, whereof all Men must drinke.

Seeing, that vpon the Princes example and authority, dependeth on the good or euill estate of all his Subjects. And therefore, hee which misleadeth the Prince, doth notable iniurie to the Common-wealth: and oweth the penaltie therof, as well to the people, as to the Prince himselfe. In which respect, *Plutarch* also noteth of *Tigellinus*, a wicked Councillor and Corrupter of *Nero*, that the people (after the death of *Nero*) made continuall instance for his punishment: as for publick debt due to the Common-wealth, which at length they obtained of *Otho*, Succellour to *Galba*.

But though neither the Prince nor the people, doe exact this debt of a wicked Councillor: yet hee shall be sure to pay it eternally to Almighty God, if he respect not, and satisfie his Iustice otherwise. For, if *Net one*; they which doe euill, are worthy of death (as the *Apostle* saith) but also those, *Qui consensunt facientibus*, which consent thereto: much more guiltie are the Councillors of euill, who are either the principall Au-

thours thereof, if they inuent it; or abettors and associates in the highest degree, if they approue and ratifie it. And therefore, how hatefull such are to Almighty God, it appeareth by the examples of *Achitophel* and *Haman*, the one Councillor to *Absolon*, and the other to *Ahasuerus*, whose wicked counsels God did not onely Frustrate and Infusate, as the Scripture speaketh: but also punish most exemplarily in this life, making the one of them his Instrument, to execute Iustice vpon himselfe, and turning the wicked counsell of the other, to his owne destruction. Also the like may be obserued in Gods iust punishment, vpon *Cardinal Wolsey*, and some other Councillours: of latter times.

And *Phillip de Commines* seriously noteth, how a Councillor vnto the Duke of *Bourguinde*, called *Monsieur Contay*, having giuen cruell Counsell vnto the Duke to put to death certaine Hostages of *Liege* lived not long after. Which some (who were present, and heard him) did in a manner prognosticate, saying; *That they would warrant him, he would not live a yeare to an end*. Which (saith he) fell out to be true, for he dyed within a short while after. Thus then it appeareth, how true the Latine Proverbe is: *Consilium malum consuli perisimum*. Euill Counsell is worst to the Councillor. This shall suffice for those points which a yong Councillor ought to consider in himselfe.

CHAP. VII.

What a Councillor ought to consider in his Prince: Namely, his Conscience; his Commodity; and his Reputation.



Councillor is to consider in his Prince, (principally) three things: his Conscience, his Commodity, and his Reputation. Of which three, I place a Commodity in the midst, because it is to be ballanced and weighed with both the other:

other: seeing, nothing can bee truelie commodious, which is not agreeable to both, and no temporall commoditie can recompence the losse of eyther of them.

And first, to speake of Conscience. The word Conscience is diuerly understood, and commonly taken for an Act, consisting in the application of our knowledge to our actions. For that, *Conscientia* is *Scientia cum alio*, Knowledge with another thing. In which sense, Conscience may erre, when we erre in Knowledge, or apply our true Knowledge erroneously to our actions. And therefore I will not treat of Conscience heere in this sense; but onely as it is the first natural habite in the Soule of man, which neuer erreth. And so Conscience is the *purest and highest part of reason*, whereby we doe naturally discern betwixt good and euill, reiecting the euill, and approving the good. Wherevpon groweth remorse and repentance in our Soules, after an euill act; and contentment, after a good. In which respect, *Origen* saith, that Conscience, is *rector & pedagogus animæ*, &c. The Governour and pedagogue of the Soule, whereby it is diuerced from euill, moued to good, admonished, reproofed, and chastised.

Saint *Basil*, as *Thomas Aquinas* noteth, called it *Naturale indicatorium*, The Natural facultie of iudgement. Whereof *S. Augustine* speaketh, when he saith, that there are in the Soule of Man, Certaine infallible rules, true and incommutable lights of vertue, whereby every one conceiveth and iudgeth truly, of the general principles of the office and dutie of Man. *S. Christostome*, speaking of Conscience, saith. *Almighty God hath placed it in the Soule of man, as a Iudge, which is ever vigilant, and attentive to his actions, incorruptible, inexorable, inflexible, and searching into his very cogitations and intentions*. Whereupon it followeth, that after any sinne or offence is committed, a mans owne Conscience iustly iudgeth and condemneth him, without any other Accuser or Witnesse, then himselfe.

Lastly, *Thomas Aquinas* calleth it *Lex naturalis*, A naturall Law, or the Law of Nature, by the light whereof, the verie *Painims* know those things which are commaunded by the Law of God, as

the *Apostle* testifieth, saying: *The Gentiles who haue not the Law* (that is to say, the written Law of God) *doe by nature the things contained in the Law, they haue not the Law, are a Law unto themselves*. Which shew the effects of the Law written in their Hearts, their Conscience also beeing witness, and their thoughts accusing one another, or excusing in the day of iudgement. Thus saith the *Apostle*. Whereby it appeareth, that those which liue according to the rule of reason, the Law of God, and the Law of Nature (which are alwaies conforme one to another) doe according to Conscience: and on the contrary side, those which decline and swerue from any of them, do against conscience.

Now then, forasmuch as eternall felicity dependeth, vpon the integritie & purity of Conscience, in which respect our Saviour saith; *Beati mundo corde*, &c. Blessed are the cleane in heart, for they shall see God: it followeth, that nothing can be truly commodious, which is contrary to Conscience. For, whatsoever hindreth our greatest good & commodity, that is say; our Salvation, and draweth vs also to the greatest miserie that can be, to wit; to eternall damnation: the same is not good and profitable, but mischieuous and pernicious. For, as I noted (else-where) out of our Saviours words; *What doth it profit a man to gaine the whole world, if he loose his soule*? And therefore Saint *Augustine* saith very well, that hee which counselleth a Man contrary to his Salvation, hath *Pallium consulentis*, & *venenum perimentis*; The Cloake of a Councillor, and the poison of a Killer.

Whereupon it followeth, that the first and principall thing, which euery Councillor ought to regard, is, that his counsell be so grounded vpon Conscience: that God be not offended, nor his Princes conscience wounded therewith, which latter were (of it selfe) no small infelicity, though God should not otherwise punish the euill act. For, as on the one side, There can be no greater happinesse in the life of Man, then the tranquillity and quietnesse of Conscience, as *S. Augustine* saith: So, on the other side, there can bee no greater miserie or torment, then *Noctæ, deque sum gestare in peccatoressem*, To carrie day and night, the

preable to the Law of God. Rom. 2, 14, 15, 16.

Who doe according to Conscience, oraga nifi Conscience.

Math. 5, 8. Nothing truly commodious that is against Conscience.

Mat. 16, 16.

August in Psalm. 119.

The principall thing that a Councillor ought to regard,

No greater happinesse in this life, then to anquility of Conscience.

August de ci. in Lib. 21.

Iunior.

Polid. Prigil. and John. Strigil. in Hen. 5.

Euill Councillors hatefull to the people, and punished by them. To Stone in Hen. 8.

Plutarch in his Treatise that which Tyrants should conuerse with Princes.

The wicked Councillors of diuers Tyrants notably punished.

A wicked Councillor liue to one that payeth a publique Fontaine.

Plutarch in Otho. The punishment of a wicked Councillor, is a debt due to the Common-wealth.

The danger of eternall damnation to a wicked Councillor.

Rom. 2, 1.

1 Sam. 7, 13. Heister. 7, 6.

Haman and Achitophel punished by Almighty God in this life for their wicked counsell.

Phil. Com in Com. du Roy. Louis 11, 148.

What Commines noteth of a Councillor to the Duke of Bourguinde.

Isidore. Euill Counsell worst to the Councillor.

Isidore. Euill Counsell worst to the Councillor.

Isidore. Euill Counsell worst to the Councillor.

Isidore. Euill Counsell worst to the Councillor.

A Councillor is to consider in his Prince, his conscience, commodity, and reputation.

Isidore. Euill Counsell worst to the Councillor.

Isidore. Euill Counsell worst to the Councillor.

No greater
misery, then a
tormented
Conscience.

The worme
of conscience
biteth at one
time or other.

Christ in 16.
Luc. 12. 47.
Why the
king of Con-
science is fre-
quent, and
not continuall.

Gregory in Job.
21.
Simeon shutes
the eyes, and
punishment
opened thit.
Job. 21. 19.

Gen. 42. 31.

Nicholas in
Lib. 2. Cap. 40.

Guiccard in
Lib. 1. Cap. 22.
Nunc. 6. 7. 9.

Remorse of
Conscience
breedeth ha-
red of the
council and
of the
Councillor.

Guiccard in
Lib. 1. Cap. 22.
Nunc. 6. 7. 9.

Testimonie of a Mans wickednesse in his owne breast.

And although Princes do not alwaies (at the first) feele the pricke of Conscience, while the pleasure or commoditie of wicked counsell is yet fresh: neuertheless, afterward they are stung, and vexed therewith at one time or other. Such being the Nature of the Worme of Conscience, that though sometimes it seem to sleepe: yet otherwhiles it gnaweth and biteth bitterly, as Saint Chrysostome witnesseth. *Leuit. if it were continuall, it should not bee supported, and if it were not frequent, it might quickly be condemned or forgotten.* But howsoever it may seem to sleepe in prosperity, it neuer faileth to prick and sting in adversity, giuing testimony to wicked men, of Gods iust iudgement vpon them.

For, as S. Gregorie saith; *Culpam claudis oculos, & pena aperit: Offense, or sin shutes the eyes, and punishment openeth them.* To which purpose also, Job saith; *Cum reddiderit Deus, tunc scietis: When God shall reward him, according to his desires, then he shall know it, that he hath sinned.* The Children of Jacob, being taken for spies, and detained in Egypt: fell presently into account of their sin, in telling their Brother Joseph, saying; *Mérito hoc patimur, &c. We suffer this worthily.* And Mauritius the Emperor, seeing his Children slaine before his face, and himselfe also designed for the slaughter, acknowledged Gods Iustice, saying; *Iustus es Domine, &c. Thou art iust & Lord, and thy iudgement is right, and full of equity.* The like may be noted in Alphonsus King of Naples, of whom I haue formerly spoken, and infinite others, whom I omit for breuities sake.

And this alwicked Councillors ought well to consider and feare, in respect of the hurt that may ensue thereby, as well to themselves, as to their Princes: because the worme of conscience breedeth not onely remorse, & repentance of the euill act; but also hatred, both of the council and the Councillor. As it did King Adiliane, the first Monark of England, after the entrie of the Saxons, who being seduced by the bad council, and false suggestions of one of his fauorites: banished his Brother Edwin vniuilly, commanding him to bee sent to sea, with onely one Seruant, and in a Boat

without Oare or saile, wherein he perished. Which when King Adiliane vnderstood, he fell into the account of his owne offence, and so much repented it, that he not onely tooke vpon him seuen yeares hartie contrition: but also grew by little and little, to detest and abhorre his fauorite, who had counselled him thereto, in so much, that in the end, he did cut off his head, taking occasion vpon certaine words of his. For he being his Cup-bearer, and coming one day to giue him drinke, in a sollemne publique Feast: chanced to stumble with one foote, and yet to recouer himselfe with the other, saying; *So one Brother helps another.* Whereupon, the King remembering the losse of his Brother, was so moued therewith: that hee caused him presently to be taken and executed.

Furthermore, a Councillor is to consider, that counselling his Prince against his conscience: he endangereth not onely his Princes Soule, but also his temporall state, exposing him and it to the iust punishment of Almighty God, vpon whose will dependeth the States of all Princes, as I haue largely proued already. Beside, no man knoweth, for how small an offence, in the sight of man; God may punish a Prince in his person or State. *Moses*, for a little distrust in the promise of God, dyed before he entred into the Land of promise. King *Saul* was reiectd of Almighty God, and dispossessed of his kingdom; for refusing some part of the spoile of *Amaleke*, at the request of the people, contrary to the commaundement of the Prophet. *Dauid* was punished with the losse of 70000. of his Subiects, for numbring them. And *Ezechias* for his vaine glory, in shewing his treasure to the Ambassadors of the King of *Babylon*: was threatened by the Prophet, with the spoile of his Pallace, and captiuitie of his posterity, which afterward was fulfilled.

But of al other acts against conscience, for which God punisheth Princes and their States, none are more pernicious to State: then such as are committed, with intention and hope to benefit the State. For, how little soeuer some of them may seeme to be in their owne nature: yet they haue one circumstance, which doth greatly aggrauate them, and maketh them very haynous in the sight

A memorable
example of
Adiliane, and
his Cup-bearer.

How a wicked
Councillor
endangereth
the State of
his Prince.
No man knoweth
for how small an
offence, God will
punish a
Prince in his
person or
State.

Numb. 16. 14.
1. Reg. 15. 11.
Deut. 1. 33.

Example of
Moses, Saul,
Saul, and Ezechias.

1. Reg. 20. 13.
14. 15. 16. 17.

No wicked
counsel more
pernicious to
State, then
that which is
giuen for the
benefit of
State, and
why.

God doth
iustly turne
Machiavellian
policies to
the overthrow
of the contri-
uers.

Prophet. 10. 4.

An example
of Pharaoh.
Exod. 1. 16.

Exod. 17. 36.
Exod. 14. 18.

An example
of the Israelites.
Isaiah. 11. 17.

Angell. Treat.
40. in Ioan.

Isaiah in 1. 17.
An example
to the Christian
States.

Isaiah.
54. in 23.

of God, seeing that wicked policies do commonly proceed, of distrust or lacke of beleefe in the prouidence of God. For no man, who sincerely belieueth; that all States depend vpon Gods will and prouidence; can with any reason perswade himselfe: that any thing which is offensive to god; may be good for it. And therefore no man will, for any thing God, who of his iustice punisheth him many times, when by the same means whereby they offend him: God doth often turne the wicked policies of Machiavellians to their owne overthrow, ordaining that (as S. Iohn saith) *Quis timet impiam veritatem infernam; Tunc et ipse in uicem manifestabit, in uicem suam.*

So it fell out to Pharaoh, who fearing least the Children of Israel might multiply ouer-much, to the daunger of his State: oppressed them wrongfully, and commanding that their Male children should be cast into the Riuer, as soone as they were borne. Neuertheless, the more they were oppressed, the more they encreased and multiplied: and, through the special prouidence of God; *Moses* was saved downing, and nourished by Pharaohs owne Daughter. And by his ministry, the Children of Israel were deliuered, Egypt spoiled, and Pharaoh himselfe with all his Army drowned. So it also fell out to the Ienes who fearing least Christ (if he should haue any time) would draw for many to beleefe in him, that the Pharisees might easily destroy their Nation and temple, for want of people to defend it: the Ienes refused to kill him, and to deuy vpon themselves & their temple, the contradiction which they sought to prevent. God so disposing, for punishment of their wickednesse, that the Pharisees afterward vterly destroy their Temple and Countrey, as I haue amply related before. And Hecyporus saying thus notably saith; *That while for feare of losing their temporall State, they continued the eternal; they lost both.*

Also, the like Iustice and iudgement of Almighty God, may be noted in King *Attilas*, who fearing that his Daughters illue might depine him of the Kingdom: thought to prevent it, by the marther of her Sonne *Cyrus*, commanding *Attilas* to destroy him as soone as he was borne. But God so

disposed, that the Child was saved, contrary to the expectation of them both, and that afterward, he dispossessed *Attilas* of his Kingdom, with the assistance of *Harpagus*, whom *Attilas* had made the Instrument of his wickednesse. So also it happened to *Amulius*, who thinking to assure his owne State, by the murder of his two Nephewes, *Komulus* and *Remus*: caused them to be layed forth in the Woods, when they were new borne, to the end, that they might be deuoured of wilde beastes, or perished in the water. Whom (neuertheless) it pleased God to preserve them, and by the means of *Numulus* to dispossesse *Amulius* of his Kingdom.

But to speake of Christians. In the time of the Emperour *Valentinian* the third, *Attila*, the *Scythian*, and King of the *Huns* (who called himselfe *Flagellum Dei; The scourge of God*) invaded the Romaine Empire, with an Army of eleauen hundred thousand Men, and haue already possided himselfe of *Pannonia*, (called *Hungaria* our first) passed thorough *Germany* into *France*, vntill all kindes of cruelties vpon all sortes of Christian people, threatening vnto ruine and destruction, as well to Christian Religion, as to the Romaine Empire. Whereupon, the famous Capitaine *Attila*, being assailed with *Theodorice*, King of the *Goths*, and chiefti other Princes; presented him battaile in *France*, not farre from *Orleans*.

In which battaile, there were slain an hundred fourescore thousand on both sides; and *Attila* ouerthrowne in itselfe; so that he had no meanes to saue his owne person, but by retreating himselfe into his Campe, where hee fortified himselfe. Neuertheless, hee night haue bene either slaine or taken, and Christendome thereby deliuered of a most potent Enemy, if *Attila* would haue done his endeuour thereto. But hee preferring reason of State, before true Christian zeale, and Gods seruice (spared him, fearing lest if he were vterly ouerthrowne: the *Goths* (who had already conquered all *Spain*, and a great part of *France*) would be far more dangerous to the Romaine Empire, being then freed from the feare of *Attila*, who was comon enemy to both. For which respect, hee suffered him to escape with

Plutarch in Romulus.
An example of King Attila.

Paul Orlin.
14. in 1. 17.
Attila, King of the Huns, that was called Flagellum Dei.

An hundred
a douce
the Huns
land them
in France

The famous
Attila, King of the Huns, who had already conquered all Spain, and a great part of France.

the Reliques of his Army into Hungary: which (by the iust iudgement of God) turned as well to the destruction of *Ætius*, as to the great danger of the Empire. For *Ætius* being returned most triumphant to Rome, fell shortly after into the disgrace of the Emperor, who suspected that he had spared *Ætius*, to the end, to make himselfe Emperor by his assistance, whereupon he slew *Ætius* with his owne hand. And *Attila* having (within a while) repaired his Army: was more terrible and noisome to the Roman Empire, then he had bin before. For he came into Italy, putting all to Fire and sword: he razed *Aquileia* to the ground, tooke *Pavia*, sacked and destroyed *Milaine*, and marched towards Rome to besiege it. Which he had done; if he had not bene diuerted from it by Pope *Leo* the great: who going himselfe in person to him, perswaded him to desist from his enterprise, and to retire himselfe into Hungary, which he did presently. But to return to *Ætius*; we see here in the bad success of his policy, & how it turned to his owne destruction, when he preferred reason of state, before conscience, and the seruice of Almighty God.

Here to I may adde some others of latter time, of whom I haue also spoken before, vpon other occasions; as *Cæsar Borgia*, the Mirror of *Machiavels* Prince: who determining to poyson Cardinall *Cornetti*, poysoned his own Father and himselfe. In like manner, the Queen of Hungary, thinking to maintain her selfe and her Son, in the vniust possession of that kingdom, against *Ferdinand*, then King of the *Romains*, and afterward Emperor: craued ayde of *Solyman* the great Turke, by whom, both she and her Son were depriued thereof. Here by it may appeare, how dangerous and pernicious all Councelles or attempts against conscience, are to State, in respect of the offence of him, on whose will depend all States, and who, as *Iob* saith; *Apprehendit sapientes in astutia eorum*, &c. Overtaketh the wise Men of the World in their owne craft and subtilty, and the counsel of the wicked is made foolish. Therefore it may be truly said of *Machiavellian* Princes, and their wicked Councellers, as the Prophet said of the King and Councellers of *Ægypt*. *Stultii*

Principes, &c. The Princes are Fooles, and their wise Councellers haue giuen foolish Counsel; the Lord hath cast among them the Spirit of giddinesse, and hath made them stagger and erre in all their works, like a reeling and vomiting drunken Man.

As for reputation, which is also called Honour, Estimation, Fame, Good Name, or Credit, no small regard is to be had thereto, when there is any question of the Princes commodity: considering, that of all externall goods, it is the principall and most precious, and (as *Thomas Aquinas* affirmeth) *Most like to the goods of the minde*. Wherevpon *Salomon* saith: *Melius est bonum nomen, quam diuitia multa*, A good Name is better then great Riches. Which is most euident in matter of State, for that reputation conferreth the States of Princes many times, no lesse (or rather more) then wealth and force.

In which respect, *Tiberius Cæsar* was wont to say, as *Tacitus* noteth. *That although the deliberations of all other men, doe commonly consist in the consideration of utility and profit: yet the State of a Prince is such, that he ought principally to respect Fame and Reputation*. And the reason is, for that the losse of reputation, is not only the signe, and (as I may say) the preamble of a Princes fall: but also the occasion thereof many times. Because, therewith decayeth and falleth (commonly) the affection of friends, and the respect, feare, and obedience of Subjects, whereupon followeth the subuersion of States.

Now then, whereas the reputation of Princes consisteth especially in foure things, to wit: Wisdome, Valor, Vertue, and Power: all counsell (tending to commodity) is to be weighed with the estimation thereof, for nothing that may impair the honour of the Prince in any of these, can be accounted truelie commodious for him. Therefore *Phillip de Comines* aduiseeth, touching the Princes Wisdome, that if he be not verie wise, and of good partes: great care be had, that Strangers be not admitted to his presence, especially to treat with him, least the discouerie of his imperfection in that behalfe, may blemish his Reputation, and animate his Enemies to contemne him. For the French Historiographers affirme, that

Elay. 16. 9. 10

The reputation of the Prince greatly to be regarded of Councellers, and why.

D. Thom. 114. 73. Ar. 1. 61. Prouet. 141.

Cornel. Tacitus, Lib. 4. Annal.

The danger of the losse of a Princes reputation.

Wherein the reputation of a Prince consisteth.

Phillip de Com. Cap. 57.

De Hallen in Charles la Sage.

that the opinion which men had, of the Wisdome of *Charles* the fit, King of Fraunce, called the *Wise*: auayled him more against the English, then his force, in so much, that the dispatches which he made in his Chamber, were more feared then his Armies in the Fielde.

The like also is to be said, of the opinion of Valour in a Prince, which maketh him no lesse redoubtable vnto his Enemies, then beloued of his Friends and Subjects. Whereas the opinion of his effeminacy or baseness of mind, maketh him contemptible to all men, and often causeth the depoultion and destruction of Princes: as it did to *Sardanapalus*, the great *Assrian* King; to *Chilperick*, King of Fraunce; to *Wesigotus*, the Emperor, and to many others beside.

And as for vertue (wherein I include Religion also) *Aristotle* teacheth, that the onely reputation and opinion thereof, is a notable stay and prop to a Princes State. In respect, that all Men commonly conceiue, that a vertuous and religious Prince, is in the fauour and protection of Almighty God. And therefore *Achior*, chiefe Captaine of the *Ammonites*, counsell'd *Holophernes*, when hee made Warre vpon the Children of *Israel*: *To informe himself, whether they had committed any great offences towards their God, whereby they might loose his fauour*. Assuring him, that otherwise it would bee in vaine to assault them, because their God would defend them. And the like conceit it seemeth, that *Leolin*, Prince of Wales, had of *Henrie* the third, King of England, for when certaine Bishops (who were sent to treat with him, to reduce him to his obedience) threatned him with the Kings great power and forces: he answered. *That he feared more his Prayers and Almes giuing, then his Armes*. Meaning, that hee doubted, least in respect of his Piety and Charity, God would protect and assist him: and that otherwise, he would little esteeme his force and power. So much it importeth a Prince, to haue the reputation of vertue and Religion, which serueth for a Bridle to his Enemies, both Domestical and Forraigne, to with-hold them from all attempts against him. Beside, it

causeth that his faults and errors are eyther not beleued; or more easily excused, and the blame thereof laid vpon his Councellers.

And for these causes, *Machiavell* also counselleth his Prince, to procure (by all means) to haue the reputation of a religious, iust, and veruous Prince: though he teach him withall, to bee a most wicked Tyrant. Wherein I cannot omit by the way, to note the absurditie of his doctrine, notably repugning and contradieting it selfe. Seeing, he will haue his Prince to seeme a Lambe, and be a Wolfe; and to make shew of a Saint, and yet to be a Deuill indeede. Which is more possible, then, as the Comical Poet saith; *Camurratione insaniure*; To bee made with reason. For all feigned things (saith *Cicero*) fade and fall away like Fleuvers, and nothing that is dissembled, can long last. Where our Sauour himselfe also confirmeth, saying expressly of Hypocrisie. *Attendite, &c. Beware of the Leauen of the Pharises*, That is to say, of Hypocrisie. For nothing is secret that shall not be reuealed, nor any thing hidde that shall not bee knowne.

And this is more euident in dissembling and hypocriticall Tyrants, then in any other sort of Men. Because, so violent is the staine of tyranny; that it breaketh through the weak and cloyen Walls of Hypocrisie, and discouereth it selfe to the World. Such being the State of publike persons, and especially of Princes (whose actions are subiect to the eyes and censures of all Men) that their least fautes cannot passe, eyther vnknowne, or vncontrouled of the people.

As *Plutarch* affirmeth, notably aduising Princes, to haue an especial regard vnto all their actions: because their very least defects or imperfections are noted. Which he confirmeth with examples of diuers Princes; as of *Pompey* the Great, noted of singularity, for scratching his Head with one Finger; *Lucullus*, censured to be ouer delicate in his Dyet; the famous *Scipio*, blamed for much sleeping; and *Cæsar*, for going ill guarded. What shall wee say of tyrannicall Actes, such as *Machiavell* commendeth in his Prince: I meane Murthers, breach of promises, and

Flit 2 oaths;

The reputation of valour in a Prince.

Indis. in Lib. 1. Prouet. 141. 140.

Arif. in Lib. 5. Poit. The reputation of warre and Religion.

Judith. 5. 10. 11.

Mathews Pa. in in Luc. 12. 3.

Piety and Charity great beauties in a Prince.

Machi in Princ. Machiavell aduiseeth his Prince, to seeke to haue the reputation of Religion and Vertue. The absurdity of Machiavels Doctrine.

Tercet. in Enuoch.

Cicero de Offi. Nothing that is dissembled can last long.

Math. 16. 6.

Tyrannie cannot be hid or concealed.

The least defects of Princes are commonly noted and knowne to their Subjects.

Plutarch in his Enuoch. aduiseeth for that, that manage matters of State.

No hypocrite can suffice to counter Tyranny.

Hypocrite encreaseth the hatred of God and man against a Tyrant. Job. 30, 37.

The reputation of true & not of feigned virtue requisite in any Prince.

What true virtue in the Prince worketh in the subjects.

Where are the effects of vice in a Prince.

Concerning truth and fidelity in any Prince, in his Oaths, promises and word.

Falshood and deceipt, dangerous and damnable.

oaths, frauds and deceipt, and all kind of in-Iustice can any man of reason think, that the same can be covered with any Cloak of Hypocrite? Or can a people be so simple or senselesse, as not to know and see a tyranny, when they behold the manifest effects, and see too heauie a weight thereof in themselves? Therefore, what else can follow of Hypocry in a Tyrant, but that his Subjects shall hate him much more, and the sooner conspire his ouerthrow, as of one no lesse odious to God then to man? where by the Scripture shall be fulfilled, which saith; *The heauens shall reueale the iniquity of the Hypocrite, and the Earth shall rise against him.*

Now, concerning the reputation of Vertue, which is necessary for the conseruation of a Prince: it must be grounded vpon true vertue, and not vpon vain shewes, & hypocritical dissimulations. For, as true Religion, Iustice, & Vertue (ioyned with princely power) do engender in the Subjects admiration, respect, reuerence, & loue towards their Prince: euen so impiety, in-Iustice, and intemperance in him, do breed in the Subjects either hatred, or contempt of his person. For of the crimes of impiety and in-Iustice (as perjury, deceipt, and crueltie) proceedeth hatred; and of the vices of intemperance (as lasciuiousnesse, drunkennesse, and such like) is engendered contempt, whereof I purpose to discourse more at large hereafter. Neuerthelesse, I think good to say somewhat more in this place, concerning one speciall vertue, very requisite in a Prince for his reputation: to wit, truth, fidelity, and constancy, in the exact obseruation of his oaths, promises, and word. Whereof I am the more willing to treat, because *Machiavell* alloweth and commendeth all manner of falshood, deceipt, treachery, and perury in a Prince, when he may hope to gaine, or to benefit his state thereby. But how impious and absurd his doctrine is in that behalfe, yea, and how pernicious to Princes & their States: it will the more euidentlie appeare, if we consider, how dangerous and damnable all falshood and deceipt is to any Common-wealth, for the conseruation whereof, nothing is more necessary then truth and fidelity, as well in the Prince, as in the people.

Therefore *Cicero* teacheth, that *Fidelitas*, which we may call *Fidelity* (consisting, as he saith, in *Veritate*, and constant performance of wordes, Promises, and Covenants) is *Fundamentum Iustitie*, *The Foundation of Iustice*, which is the effectual prop and stay of State. In which respect, he calleth it; *Commune omnium pradium*; *The common defence or refuge of all Men*. And also saith, that *Nulles vehementius rempublicam continet, quam fides*. *Nothing doth more firmelie vnitte and hold together the Common-wealth, then Fidelity*. And *Valerius Maximus* calleth it; *Venerabile nomen, & certissimum humana salutis pignus*; *A venerable and Diuine power, and the most sure pledge of humane securitie*. And the Romaines so much esteemed it, that they builded and dedicated a Temple to it, as to a Goddesse, in which Temple, all Leagues, Truces, Couenants, and important Bargaines, were publically made and sworne: which were so religiously obserued, that whoeuer brake them, was held for a cursed and damned Creature, and unworthy to liue in humane societie. And with great reason, for, if falshood and fraud were permitted to haue course in Common-wealths: what Traffique or Commerce with Strangers or Friends? What assurance in Leagues with Foreign Princes, in Contracts and Marriages, in Promises and Bargaines, and in buying and selling? What Loue? What Society? What Common-wealth? Which consisteth in the communication of Commodities one with another; and flourish so much the more, by how much euery one tendereth, and desireth the publique good, more then his owne: in which respect, it is called *Respublica*, that is to say, *Weale-publique*. And therefore, if trustie and faithfull dealing should faile among Men: there would beno more ciuill society amongst men, then amongst Tygers and Beares, Foxes and Wolves, Cats and Dogges.

Which the Apostle insinuateth notably, when he exhorteth the *Epheſians*, and (in them) all other Christians, to vie all Sincerity and truth one with another, because wee are all combined in one Mystical Bodie. *Propter quod* (saith hee) *deponentes mendacium, &c.* *Therefore, laying aside all lyes, let euery*

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Cicero in Lib. 1 de Offi. Wherein Fidelity consisteth.

Idem, pro Sen. Ref.

Idem, Lib. 1 de Offi.

Valer. Max. in Lib. 6, Cap. 6. *Disiunctio*, in Lib. 1. Tit. *Lini*, in Lib. 2, et 3.

If falshood & fraude were permitted amongst men, no Common-wealth could stand.

Respublica, the Common-wealth or publique good.

euery one speake the truth to his Neighbour; *Quoniam sumus inimici membra*; *Because wee are all Members one of another*.

Hereupon it followeth, that fidelity is not only necessary in the Subjects, but also in the Prince, for the conseruation of the Common wealth. For, seeing nothing is more requisite, for maintenance of the Politicall body, the vniou of the head with the members thereof, that is to say, of the Prince with the people, and nothing more necessary thereto, then their trust and confidence one in another, which cannot be, where there is no fidelity: It followeth, that nothing is more requisite, for conseruation both of the Prince and people, then fidelity in both; without the which, neither can the subjects assure themselves of their Princes protection, nor the Prince be satisfied of his Subjects Loyalty.

And to speake here particularly of the Prince, it is to be considered, that the want of fidelity and sincerity in him, is most dangerous: not onely vnto the Common-wealth, but also to himselfe. As it will be euident, if we weigh the force and effect, of the good or bad example of the Prince, and how potent a Motiue it is, to induce his Subjects to vertue or vice. Seeing, as *Salomon* saith, *Qualis est Rextor Civitatis, tales sunt habitantes in ea*; *What manner of Man the Ruler of the Citie is, such are they that dwell therein*. Therefore (I say) that as the example of the Princes fidelity, doth redound both to the good of the Common-wealth, and also to his owne security (because the people doe learne thereby, to be not onely faithfull vnto one another, but also dutifull and loyal towards him) euen so, the example of perfidious and double dealing in him, doth worke the contrary effect, and teacheth his Subjects to be no lesse faithlesse and treacherous toward him, then fraudulent and treacherous one to another, which may turne as wel to his destruction, as to the hurt of the Common-wealth.

But perhaps some *Machiavellian* will say, that although the Prince (for his owne commodity) do vse sometimes to violate his faith: yet he may so severely punnith it in his Subjects, that no in-

conuenience shall followe of his example, eyther to the Common-wealth, or to himselfe. Whereto I answer, that the Prince cannot (with reason) expect that the severity of Lawes, or other politike means, shall repleate any vice in his Common-wealth: which shall be anie way Authorized by the example of his owne practise. For as the Poet saith.

Totus componitur or his Regis ad exemplum, necesse est utere sensus Humanos edicta videntur vna regentis.

That is to say, *All the world is framed after the model of the King, and no Lawes or Edicts can so much moue the minde of men, as dooth the life of the Governour*. Which *Plutarke* confirmeth notably, saying: *That euen as a Squire or rule may be straight in it selfe, before it can make other things straight: So the Prince, who is (as it were) the ale of his Subjects, ought first to rectifie himselfe, before hee go about (by Lawes or other meanes) to rectifie his Common-wealth*. For, be that is falsling (saith *Plotarch*) *is not fit to upholde others, nor hee that is ignorant, to Teach; nor he that is incorrigible, to Correct; nor he that is himselfe disordered, to put others in order*.

Thus saith he, giuing to vnderstand, that a vicious Prince, who seeketh to make his Subjects vertuous by rigor of Lawes, laboureth in vaine, like to one, that buildeth with one hand, and pulleth downe with the other, and so destroyeth more in one day, then he can builde in many. For so do the bad example of the Prince, corrupt more in a day, then his Lawes can correct or amend in a yeare.

This the ancient *Romans* so well considered, that their Magistرات & Senate were most exact and punctual, in the obseruation of Oaths and promises due to their very enemies: for the regarde they had, not onely to Iustice, and to their owne reputation: but also the consequence of their good example in the Common-wealth, as vpon other occasions; I haue formerly promoued, by the examples of *Marcus Cato*, *Regulus*, *T. Fabricius*, & *Sparticus Postumus*, Consuls, and of *T. Mutius* and *Q. Emilius*, Tribunes of the Temple.

The Prince is bad example, who weigheth good & Lawes.

Claudius.

Plutarch de discipl. na. principum.

The Prince is the ale of his subjects.

A bad Prince who maketh good Lawes, but teacheth with one hand, and pulleth downe with the other.

The *Romaine* Senate and Magistرات must exact in the obseruation of Oaths and promises.

A heavy and
tatefull ex-
pectation.

severe punishment, not onlie in the world to come, but also in this life, if he repent not?

This may appeare by manifold examples, whereof I will alledge some out of approved Authors, both ancient and Moderne, to shew the impious absurditie of *Machiavels* doctrine, allowing perfidiousness and perjury in a Prince, as necessary sometimes for the benefite of his State.

Gen. 49, 7, 8.
Simeon and Levi cursed by their Father Jacob, for violating their league with *Sivims* and *Hemors*.

But first, to speake of our holy Scriptures. We read in *Genesis* that *Simeon* and *Levi*, the Children of *Jacob*, were cursed by their Father at his death, because they had violated their league made with *Sichem* and *Hemor*, whom they destroyed with all their City, contrary unto their promise and covenant. *Maledictus* (saith *Jacob*) *Juror eorum, quia peritiam, &c. Cursed be their furie, because it was obstinate.* And prophesying further of the temporal punishment, which God would inflict upon their posterity for the same, he added, *Dividam eos in Jacob, & dispergam in Israel. I will divide them in Jacob, and disperse them among the Children of Israel.* Which was fulfilled afterward, as Saint *Ilierom* witnesseth, for that their Tribes had not their habitation apart, as the others had: for the Tribe of *Levi* was distributed in divers Cities, amongst the other Tribes, to bee their Levites and Priests. And the Tribe of *Simeon*, had their dwelling with the Tribes of *Juda*, &c. (as the Hebrews affirm) served for School-Masters in all the other Tribes, and got their living only by teaching Children.

1 Reg. 11, 7.
Iosabab, 12. Swore posterity punished for his breach of league with the *Gabaonites*.

In like manner, the punishment of God was notable vpon King *Saul*es posterity, for his breach of League which *Iosabab* made with the *Gabaonites*. Wherein it is to bee noted, that although the *Gabaonites* craftily circumvented *Iosabab*, and induced him by fraud and deceit to make league with them, putting on their olde shooes, and torne cloaths, and affirming, that they were a people dwelling in a farre Country, and that being moued with the fame of his victories: they were come so many dayes journey to meete him, that they had worne out their shooes and cloaths in their voyages whereas they dwelt not farre off, and in the very Land of promise, which GOD had giuen to the Children of *Israel*. Ne-

The great reward that *Iosabab* had of his Oath and league with the *Gabaonites*.

vertheless, when *Iosabab* discovered their deceit, he had such regard to his Oath, that hee would by no means violate it. But answered to the Children of *Israel*, when they murmured against him. *Iuramus eis* (saith hee) *We have sworn unto them, in the name of the Lord God of Israel, and therefore wee may not touch them, lest the wrath of God fall upon vs, if wee breake our Oath.*

This faith *Iosabab*: whereby we may learne, how great is the Obligation of all iust and lawfull Leagues, or other Covenants passed by Oath, and how daungerous is the breach thereof, in respect of Gods iust and severe iudgements, vpon the offenders in that behalfe. Whereof the experience was scene, about three hundred yeares after *Iosababs* time, in the breach of that league by *Saul*. For the which, the Children of *Israel* were afflicted with three yeares famine in *Danids* time, and seauen of *Sauls* Children and family, were deliuered into the hands of the *Gabaonites*, and hanged by them in punishment of *Sauls* offence.

Furthermore, we read in the Booke of *Machabees*, that *Andronicus* a Favourite of King *Antiochus*, was by the iust iudgement of God, and the commandment of *Antiochus* himselfe, shamefully put to death: euen in the verie same place, where he had killed *Onias* the Highpriest, who had rendred himselfe vnto him vpon his promise of security. Also the examples heereof, are verie notable amongst the *Ethiops*, who obserued (diligently) the iudgements of God, vpon traitorous and perfidious persons. And therefore

when *Tissaphernes* the *Persian*, made war against the *Grecians*, and brake Truce, which he had made with them for three months, *Agessilaus* reioyced greatly, saying, *We are beholding to Tissaphernes, for making the Godes his enemies, and our friends, therefore let vs boldly giue him battell.* And so he did, and gaue him a great overthrow.

Plutarch also recounteth a notable historie, of *C. Cominus* King of *Lacedemonia*, who hauing made truce with the *Argians* for seauen dayes: set vpon their camp in the night, and taking them vnprovident by reason of the truce, made great slaughter of them. But being reproched with his breach of promise and oath, he iested at it, saying, *That hee swore Truce*

Iosabab, 9, 12.

The obligati-
on or lawfull
league.

The iudge-
ment hap-
pened 100 yeares
after, in *Sauls*
time.

2 Reg. 11, 2.

1 Mac. 4, 38.
Antiochus pun-
ished for his
Treachery to-
wards *Onias*.

How the *Py-
rrius* obserued
Godes iudge-
ment vpon
perfidious
person.

Polien, lib. 1.

Plutarch in
Agessilaus,
Lib. 1.
Gode notable
iudgement
vpon *Cleome-
nis*, for his
perjury.

A shamefull
repulse giuen
by women.

Plutarch in
Dion,
Calpurnius pun-
ished by *Al-
mighty* God
for his periu-
ry.

Matters in
controversie
decided by
Oaths at the
Tombs of
Martyres in
the primitive
Church.

August. Epist.
137.
What Saint
Angustine at-
tained of his
knowledge.

A notable ex-
ample of a
Noble man of
England, mu-
tually punished
for his periu-
ry.

for the dayes, but not for the nights. But so it fell out (saith *Plutarch*) in punishment of his falsehood and periuery, that it serued him to no purpose. For whereas, he assailed the *Cittie* presently, hoping for to take it with all facility, hee had a shamefull repulse by the women which dwelt therein. And afterward falling furiously mad, he tooke a Knife, and ripped vp his owne body, from the very heele to the heart, and so dyed laughing.

The same Author also signifyeth, that one *Calpurnus*, being iustly charged with a conspiracie against *Dion* of *Sicilie*, and hauing denied it with manie solemn Oaths in the Temple of *Ceres*, was (by Gods iust iudgement) slaine with the same Dagger wherewith *Dion* was killed before by his consent. I omit diuers other examples, which might be alledged out of prophane Historiographers, to adde a few out of Christian & more Moderne Authors.

The severe iudgements of God vpon men, for the sinne of periuery, haue been alwayes so incident among Christians: that the custome was in the Primitive Church, to decide matters in Controversie by Oaths, at certaine holy places, and the Tombs of Martyrs, where Almighty God did ordinarily extend his Iustice vpon periured persons. Which Custom (as Saint *Angustine* witnesseth) was in vire in his time, at *Millan*, whereof he saith, *Nos nominus Madio'ani, &c. I my selfe haue knowne in Mil'ane, at the Monimories of Saints, certaine Theefe, who went thither with intention to decieve by periuery, was compelled to confesse his Thefe, and to restore that which hee had stolne.*

But of this matter, we haue a most famous and authentick example in our owne Histories. *Elfred* or *Aelfred*, a Nobleman of England, in the time of King *Adelstane*, conspired against him with certaine others: and being accused thereof, sto. vpon the deniall, and because the prouers were not sufficient to conuince him, he was sent to Rome (as the Custome was then) to make his purgation by Oath, at the Altar of *S. Peter*, where he swore contrary to his Conscience, and presently fell down before the Altar, and dyed within three daies after. Vpon aduertisement whereof, King *Adelstane* gaue all the Lands of *Elfred*, to

the Church of Saint *Peter* in the Abbey of *Malmesbury*, by his Letters Patents; wherein, after the graunt of the sayde Lands, he declared the whole matter as it passed.

Also some yeares after, in the same age, *Lotharius* King of *Austrasia*, which contained all *Lorraine*, *Flanders*, &c. some part of *Germany*, *Burgundy*, and *Francia* came to *Rome*, accompanied with his Nobility, in the time of *Adrian* the second, because he had bin excommunicated, for his diuorce fro his lawful wife *Theutperga*, and married with *W. I. rada* his Concubine. Now he was content, for his purgation thereof, to receive the blessed Sacrament at the hands of Pope *Adrian*, together with his Nobility, which he did, protesting for his part, that he stood cleare of those things wherewith he was accused, which also his Nobility affirmed. But, as they departed from *Rome* homewards, there hapned such a strange disease among them, that *Lotharius* (hauing scene the death of most of his Noblemen) before he came to *Lucca*, fell sicke there himselfe, and died within a few dayes after at *Placentia*, so that of all those that receyued the Sacrament with him, there liued not any one to the yeares end.

And nowe to returne vnto our owne Country. Earle *Godwin*, Father to King *Harold*, hauing procured the vntimely death of *Alfred*, Brother to King *Edward* the Confessor, denied it continually with solemn Oaths; and especiallie once, when he dined with the King. At what time, occasion being offered to speake of that matter, he took a piece of bread, and prayed to God, that the same might be his last, if he were any waye confensing or priuy thereto. And so eating the bread was choaked therewith, and died there in the Kings presence.

It is also obserued and testified by most of the old Historiographers of our country, that the overthrow of King *Harold* by *William* the Conqueror, was a iust punishment of God vpon him for his periuery, the Story is briefly thus. *Harold* being in *Normandy* with Duke *William*, in the time of King *Edward* the Confessor, promised for to assis him after the Kings death, in his pretence to the crown of *England*, which he also confirmed by solemn Oath. Whereupon, Duke *Wil-*

*Guilf. Mal-
mish de gest.
Reg. Ang. Lib.
1. cap. 6.*

*Regim. Chron.
Agemius.
S'gu de Reg.
117. An. 849.
Nunc. Chron.
an. 161.
Baron. an. 868.*

*Henry Huetend
in 11. Lib. 6.
Iugulipus 1171.
Angl. 111.
Folde. Hist.
Angl.
Periury nota-
bly puni-
shed in Earle
Godwin, Fa-
ther to King
Harold.*

*King Harold
slaine by
Duke William
the Conque-
ror in punish-
ment of his
periuery.*

liam affianched his Daughter to him, and because he was not then of yeares to be married: he tooke *Harolds* oath, to performe the marriage within a certain time after. But when the time appointed for the mariage came, and *Harold* shewed no care to perform any part of his promises, the Duke sent Messengers vnto him, to request of him the accomplishment thereof. But he, in stead of giuing satisfaction to the Duke: derided his Messengers, causing some of their Horses tails to be cut off, and others to be lamed. Also, afterward, when King *Edward* dyed, he practised not onely to exclude the Duke from the Crowne: but also procured it for himself, pretending that his promise to the Duke, was made for feare, & therefore it could not binde him.

When the Duke was entred into *England* with his Army, and solicited him by Messengers, to haue care of his conscience, representing vnto him the seuerie iudgements of God on perjured persons, offering to come to some reasonable composition with him: he made no account thereof, neither yet of the admonition of his owne Brother *Guth or Girth*. Who aduised him seriously before the battaile, to retire himselfe, and leaue the conduct of the Army to him and others, who were not bound to the Duke vpon any oath or promise: least otherwise, GOD might suffer them all to bee quite ouerthrowne for his cause.

Whereto hee answered; *That he would put it in venter, and that God should be the iudge thereof.* And to giuing the battaile, was slaine himselfe, and all his Army ouerthrowne. And although the said Conquest might seeme to be a punishment of God vpon the whole Realm, for the peoples sinnes: yet the particular disgrace, which happened to King *Harolds* person, may well bee thought to haue proceeded (by Gods iust iudgment) for his perjury, and so the English Chroniclers, which wrote in that age, doe signifie: *As iugulphus, William of Malmesbury, Henry Huntendon, Mathew of Westminister, Matthew Paris, and Roger Houedon, who speaking of the victory, saith. Vere & absq. dubio, Dei iudicio a scribenda est, qui pueniendo, scelus perijurij, ostendit*

se Deum nolentem iniquitatem. Truly and without doubt, it is to bee ascribed to the iudgement of God, who punishing the sin of perjury, declared thereby, that hee is a GOD, who doth not like nor allow of iniquity.

But to come neerer to our time, *Phillip de Comines* noteth the manifest Iustice of God, in the disgracefull death of *Charles*, the last Duke of *Bourbondy*, thorough the treason of *Compagnio*, an *Italian*, shortly after that the laide *Charles* had betrayed the Count *S. Paule*, and sent him Prisoner to *Lewes* the eleauenth, King of *France*; notwithstanding, that he had giuen him safe conduct to come into his Country.

Furthermore, I cannot omit *Caspar Borgia*, though I haue spoken of him diuers times before. For, as *Machiuanil* worthily maketh him a Mirour for his Tyranny, in respect of his manifold vices: so he may as worthily be proposed for an example of Gods Iustice, in regard of the manifold iudgements of God diuersly extended vpon him. And particularly, in the punishment of his perfidioussesse and perjury, whereby hee had deceived and ruined diuers other principall personages: As *Liuerotto*, *Vite Iocco*, *Pagolo Priso*, and the duke of *Grauma*, whom he caused to be strangled; after they had rendered themselves to him vpon composition, and employed themselves faithfully in his seruice. Wherein Gods Iustice may bee noted, (by the way) in *Liuerotto*, who (a little before) had cruelly and trayterously murdered his owne Vnckle, and diuers other principall Citizens of *Fermo*; hauing inuited them to a banquet in his owne house.

Which perfidious treachery of his, God punished (as it seemed) by the treachery and perfidioussesse of *Caspar Borgia*: who also receiued the like measure himselfe, by others. For, whereas he had taken an oath of forrie principall personages, to assist him after his Fathers death: he was forsaken of them all, and putting himselfe (afterward) into the handes of *Henando Gonzales*, Governour of *Naples*, vpon his safe conduct; he was also betrayed by him, and sent Prisoner into *Spaine*, as cleare where is signified.

The

The words of Roger Houedon, an ancient Chronicler.

Phil. de Com. Cluau. du Roy Louis. Cap. 8. & 91.

Charles Duke of Bourbondy worthily betrayed.

Caspar Borgia punished iustly for his perfidious Treachery.

Guiccardini Lib. 8. Hij.

Liuerotto having trayterously murdered his Vnckle, was trayterously murdered himselfe.

Idem lib.

Regard of Oath and promises victoriously forgotten by Harold.

Duke William honourable proceeding with Harold, at his entrance into England.

The vnathilitied answer of Harold to his kind Brother Girth.

The ancient Antiquaries that asouch this History.

Swiss. du. 1579 Another example of Christen, King of Denmark and Norway.

Olus. Magin Lib. 8. Cap. 59.

Christen expelled from his kingdom by his owne subjects, and afterward paysoned in Prison.

Maffier. Geogr. Lib. 4.

Martin du Bell. lib. 1. 1579. The Duke of Bourbon slaine at the siege of Rome in punishment of his perjury.

The like Iustice of God may bee noted also in *Christen*, King of *Denmarke* and *Norway*, who married a Sister of the Emperor *Charles* the first, in the time of *Henry* the eighth, King of *England*. This *Christen* besieging *Stockholme* in *Swetia*, took it by composition, binding himselfe to certaine conditions, not onely by Oath, but also by receyuing the blessed Sacrament. Which conditions, he obserued for some few dayes, till hee had the Caste, and all the strongest places of the towne in his owne hands, and that hee had furnished them with men and munition. But then, inslitting all the Noblemen and Magistrates to a Banquet, to the number of ninety foure persons: he imprisoned and after kild them, with a great number of the Citizens. And finding, that verie manie escaped him, by hiding themselves, he promised (by Proclamation) life and libertie to all those which were left aliue, whereupon they all shewed themselves, and were all miserably slaine. But within a while after, he was driuen out of his kingdom by his owne subjects; and when hee hadde wandered from Countrey to Countrey in all poverty and misery for the space of ten yeares, he was receiued again by some of the chiefe Nobility, who although they promised him obedience and assistance vnto their handes and scales, yet they tooke him prisoner vpon his entrance, and (within a while) paysoned him in prison: thus was his perfidious falshood iustly repayed with the like. After whole depodition and death, his Vnckle *Fredericke* a worthy Prince, was chosen King of *Denmark*.

About the same time, the Duke of *Bourbon*, being fled from *Frances* the first King of *France*, so the seruice of the Emperor *Charles* the first, Emperour, and made by him Governour of *Milaine*: he so exasperated the people by his exactions and crueltie, that they rose against him.

Infomuch, that to pacifye them, he bound himselfe by Oath to certaine conditions, praying withall to Almighty God, that in case he did not exactly performe them, he might be slaine by a bullet, in the first occasion of warre which he offered. Neuerthelesse, hee fell afterward againe to his former course, without regard of his Oath, and being with-

in a while after) made Generall of the Emperors Army in *Italy*, he was tumultuously carried by his Souldiers (against his will) to the siege of *Rome*, where he was presently slaine with a peece of Artillery of his owne, negligently discharged by his Souldiers, and so payed the penalty of his perjury, according vnto the iudgement and sentence which hee had (prophetically as it were) giuen against himselfe.

Now then, I with all *Machiuanilians* to consider heere three things, which are euident by these alledged examples. The first, how detestable all perjury and perfidioussesse is in the sight of God. The second, how dangerous it is to Princes, in respect of Gods wrath, which may fall vpon them and their states for the same, through the feuerity of Gods Iustice; against which, no humane policy or power is able to defend them. The third, is a necessary consequent of these two; to wit; that all *Machiuanian* remedies (consisting partly in humane prudence and diligence, and partly in force, and strength of Guards, Garrisons, Fortresses, and such like) are most fruitles and vaine when God is offended, and will punish for sinne: Whereupon it followeth also, that the aforesaid remedies are (in like manner) insufficient to protect a perfidious Prince from the danger of humane punishment, which is comely but a sequel and effect of the iust iudgements of God. In whose hand are the hearts and willes of all men, and wherewith hee slaine his Instruments, to execute his Iustice vpon Princes, when they deserue it.

Besides, it is euident enough in true reason of state, that although there were no danger at all of Gods wrath: yet these and such other *Machiuanilian* policies, are not only insufficient to prevent or remedy the inconueniences, which Wicked Princes incur by the hatred of Men, but also do (many times) encrease their dangers, and helpe to precipitate them to the vtter destruction, wherof I shall haue better occasion to speake hereafter.

In the meane time, this shall suffice, for so much as concerneth the Vertue of fidelity in a Prince, with this conclusion. That because the danger which growth vnto Princes by fraud and deceit, proceedeth

Pauus Iulius de expug. urbis Rome.

Three things to be considered and noted of Machiuanilians in the premises.

The insufficiency and vaine policy of Machiuanian policies, for the defence of a wicked Prince.

Concerning the danger of men hatred, that may be a means to further detriment.

*Cicero in Lib. 1.
de Offic.*
A Councillor
should holde
for a ground,
that nothing
is profitable,
that is not
honest.

(shall well discharge his dutie, if in al consultations, he hold the knowne Axiome of Cicero for his ground, to wit : *Nihil est utile quod non sit honestum*, Nothing is profitable, that is not honest. Vvhich point Cicero discoufseth, and teacheth notably in his Offices.

CHAP. VIII.

What a Councillor is to consider in the matters which are to be consulted.

Concerning
matters to be
consulted.

It is necessary
for a Coun-
cellor to know
the state of
forreigne
Princes.

A Councillor
should be
courteous and
affable to
strangers, and
why.

A Spanish
Proverb to
good purpose.

The wisest
man may
learne some-
thing of the
simplest.

pose: therefore the trouble (in this case
is to bee borne with patience, in respect
of the benefit that he may reap thereby.

The other thing necessary for a counsellors better information, is to procure frequent aduises and intelligences, by Letters from all parts, of the State, humors, and disposition of forraign Princes; of all changes and innovations in their Courts and Countreys : Of the Mariages and Alliances of them, their Children, and their most powerful subiects : Of Ambassages too and fro, and their Treaties : Of prouisions and preparations for warre, both by Sea and Land, and their intentions therein : Of all Taxes and impositions laid vpon the people, or other leauies of Monies : Of the diuisions that fall out amongst the Nobility or common people, and of their discontentments: Finally, of all matters that may tend to the establishment and strengthening, or to the weakening and innovating of our Princes States. For, although a Councillor shal by this meanes, heare manie vntruths : yet hee shal verie often receiue aduise of important matters, whereof he may make good vse and benefit.

30 And being a man of iudgement, and
having intelligence with manie, he may
easily discern truths from falshoods, by
conferring their aduises together, espe-
cially, if hee take order that his Intelli-
gencers doe not know of one anothers
employment.

40 Finally, he shal by this meanes, not only iudge better and more clearly of all matters occurring for his Princes seruice, but shal also make himselfe much more grateful to his Prince, by his diligence : and be more intrinsical with him, by occasion of his frequent aduices of forren newes, which Princes are alwayes most desirous to heare. And thus much for the first point.

Secondly, a Councillor is to consider, that in all matters of Council, 3, things are especially to be respected, as *Thomas Aquinas* (following *Aristotle*) noateth. The fyrst, a due end. The second, convenient means. And the third fyr time and season, that is to say, that the end and means be not only lawfull, iust, and honorable in themselves, and in their owne Nature: but also to the person, state, and power of the Prince. For, if there be

A Councellor ought to procure frequent intelligences out of for-
reigne Coun-
tries, and of
what matters

What benefit
a Councellor
shall reape by
frequent in-
telligence; al-
though hee
may hear ma-
ny vntruths.

Three things
especially to
be respected
in every mat-
ter.
The Aquin. 22.
Q. 51. Aristot.
in 1st 6 Ethic

Chap.8. Of State-Consultations.

any inconuenience or disproportion in any of these, I meane, if the meanes bee not contented for the obtaining of the end, or, if the end or meanes be impossible, or about the might and power of the Prince, or base, or any way vnfit for his state and person, or if the councill be giuen out of due time and season, especially too late: it looseth all grace, & cannot be accounted either good or prudent.

To this purpose I say, that according to *Platoes* rule, he who is to give his opinion of any matter, *ought first to understand & know fully the state of things at the circumstances*. For mans judgement is grounded on his knowledge, and guided thereby, *Some one little circumstance winnowe may wholly alter the case*. Inasmuch, that a simple man may iudge more wisely thereof, than a far wiser man that knoweth lesse. And the reason why wifemen do not alwaies iudge with like wisdom and prudence in all causes, is, because they do not understand them like

But to proceed, the state and circumstances of the matter being once fully knowne to the Councellor, he is then to passe to the consideration of the inconveniencies, difficulties, dangers, discommodities, & commodities therof, which may minister different arguments, *Pro et contra*, in the discussion wherof, the prudence of a Councellor is especially seen.

And here I note by the way (though perhaps I may seeme to digresse from the matter) that some men, who haue great viuacity and sharpnes of wit, to find out inconueniences to foresee dangers, and to propound obiectiōns, doubts, and difficulties, haue no maturity of iudgement to clear and decide them, or to find out remedies. And some others, who are of more found iudgement, are lesse sharpe of wit. Again s^r. me who are of good capacity, haue so lecke charge, that they are dismaid with euery difficulty, and therefore cannot easily resolve on anye thing.

¶ Whereas some others of lesse capacitie and more courage, resolve more easily in any occasion. So that we may say with the Poet, *Non omnia possumus omnes*, we cannot al do al things. And therefore *Phil. de Commes* obserueth very wel, that it is conuenient for Princes to haue many counsellors, to the end, that one of them may supply the defects of another. *For the wisel* (saith he) *erre oftentimes either through*

passion, or through hate or affection, or through the indisposition of the persons, especially after dinner. And if any thinke, that such ought not to be made Councellers; it may be answered that we are a men. And whosoever will have none to be of a Princes counsell; that erre at any time in speech or opinion; or are otherwise mooved, and led with passion or affection; hee must seek them in the same; for in each none such are to be found. Thus said he, who was himselfe at graue and wife Counceller, which I note herebye by the way to the end, that young Councellers may learne, neither to assure themselves much on their owne opinions, nor rashly to condemne others of their fellow Councellers, if they erre and be deceived sometimes.

And to prosecute this digression yet a little further, I also adde, that it is necessary for a Prince, to haue his Councell compos'd like mans body, that is, of men of different complexions & humors, to the end, that the Chollerick heate, and hasty fauor of some, may be tempered with the Flegmatick coldnesse, and slow resolution of some other, and that the pinacy of some ruens anguine spirites, may be somewhat deprefsed and counterpoized with the maturity of some others meancholy iudgements, which *Aristotle* holdeth to be the founde in matters of State. Whereby the whole bodie of the Councell, may be reduced vnto a perfect temperature, so that the predominant qualitie therein be found in most, or in some at the least, which may helpe to correct the peccant and offensive humors of the rest, restrain the superfluity of ouer flowing conceits, cleare doubts and difficulties, and satisfie Obiections which proceedeth (manie times) from them who are not able to resolve them, yet ferue to great purpose in Councels, to whet the wits, and open the vnderstanding of men of iudgement. This I haue thought good to touch by the way, that the young Councell or whom I aduise, may vnderstande somewhat, as well of the Nature and Condition of a Councell, as of the Office and duty of a Councillor.

But now to return to the consideration of matters to be consulted, it is requisite, that a Councillor do prudently weigh and compare the discommodities with the commodities, & inconueniences with

All Council-
lors ere at
one time or
other.

A Princes
Councill
ought to be
composed of
men of diffe-
rent humours

The mellow-
cholly judge-
ment most
found.

S: *Arist. in Prob.*
sect. 30. quæst. 1.

To what the
wit, and open
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Consideration
of matters to
be consulted

the remedies, the difficulties & dangers, with the possibility and probability to overcome them. And not to rectify a verie commodious and honorable designement, because it is costly, or some way difcommodious or difficult and hard, or some way dangerous. For as the proverbe saith; *There is no commodity without difcommodity, nor any thing honorable, which is not difficult.* And therefore, it is to bee foreseene and provided, that the commodities may outweigh the damages, that the gaine quite the cost, that euerie inconuenience haue a due remedie; that euery difficulty be some way facilitated; that euery important danger may be probably prevented or escaped; that of commodities (which cannot be had together) the greater be chosen; and of inconueniencies (when all cannot be auoided) the least be admitted. All which being foreseene, and probably provided for, anie important action whatsoeuer, may be determined, counsell'd, and vnder-taken, notwithstanding some dangers may be incident thereto. For he that will not take paines to cracke the Nut, cannot eat the kernell, and he that will hazarde nothing, shall win nothing: *for nouit venter (saith the Prouerb; nouit haue.*

Yet this is to be vnderstood, that the danger bee not ouer-great, which may partly be provided for, if it be foreseene, that the greatest danger rather doth concerne some circumstance of the matter, then the principall partes, or the whole body of the plot; that the benefit expected, exceede the losse which may bee feared; that no certaine thing of moment be aduantaged, for a thing vncertain. For

better one Bird in the hand, then two in the bush; that of matters doubtful, which cannot fully be resolved, the lesse doubtful, or more assured be preferred. And finally, that the hope of benefit be grounded vpon probable reason, and sufficient meanes to attaine the same, and not vpon chance, which is so vncertain, that no man may safely build any important matter thereon. And therefore, *Tiberius Caesar* helde it for a ground, as *Cornelius Tacitus* witnesseth, *Non omittere caput verum, neque se in casum dare, Not to let slip the first opportunity, nor to adventure himselfe or his estate vpon chance.* That is to say, not to hazard himselfe or his state in any enterprise, when he hath not suffi-

cient probability of good successe.

For, although the euent of all plots that are put in execution, is casual, depending vpon the will of God; yet it is a wise mans part, to do that which lieth in him, to assure it by all probable and conuenient meanes, and then to leaue the rest to Gods disposition. For otherwife, hee should tempt God, and offend him by his negligence: and therefore, without this probability of assurance, no matter of importance ought to be attempted by a wise man. Except in desperate cases, when the necessity is great and so sudden (as sometimes it falleth out to be) that there is no time or place for discouise. For, then there is no remedy, but to trust only to God and a mans good fortune, which falleth out many times better, than by humane discouise can bee expected or imagined. As it did to *Tullius Caesar*, who finding himselfe vnable to giue battel to *Pompey*, because his forces were not arrived, and being (in the meane time) constrained to go to sea in a litle Frigate, in such stormy rough seas, that the Pilot would not passe forth, discovered himselfe, and bad him set sail and go forward in any case, because he carried *Caesar* and his fortune: which succeeded well, for thereby he escaped at that time, and afterward ouerthrew *Pompey*, and became Emperor of the world. But this he did, because he had no other remedy, thinking it better to put himselfe to the mercy of the seas, then of his enemie.

And in such desperat and sudden exigents, when there is no time and place for wisdom and discouise, the counsel of some woman or simple fellow, may be better then of the wisest man. For that (as *Aristotle* sayth) som such being by the gift of God, born fortunate, and following the impulse and motion of nature, may aduise or execute more happily, than men of great wisdom, who pondering all things in the ballance of reason and discouise, do not followe many times, a fortunat motion in themselves, nor happily couise of others, because they see not some good and probable or reasonable ground for the same whereby they forgo and loose their good fortune. And this is the reason, why the common Prouerbe saith, *That a Womans Counsel is neuer good but vpon the sudden.* For when Women counsel according to their first motion, they

What euery wise man should very diligently obserue.

In extremities a man must trust to God and his good Fortune.

Of Julius Caesar, and his Fortune. Plutarch in Iulio Caesar.

In extremities the counsel of a simple man may be better, and wiser. Aristot. de bona Fortuna.

Why a womans Counsel is neuer good but vpon the sudden.

they may counsell fortunately, either by chance, or by some naturall impulse or motion: whereas, falling to discouise of reason, or to deliberation, they liidom or neuer counsell wisely, through the infirmity and weaknesse of their iudgement. And to this purpose, *Aristotle* allegeth the old Prouerb, *Fortuna fauet stultis, fortuna fauoreth fooles,* as I haue signified before, concerning this point.

Heerupon I conclude two things. The one, that except in case of necessity, a wise-man ought to leaue nothing vnto chance, that may be any way assured by reasonable meanes, in respect of the danger that may ensue thereby. For, although dangerous counsels (grounded vpon hope of good fortune) please well sometimes by meer chance, yet they proue most commonly pernicious. And therefore, the Wiseman sayeth wisely: *Qui amat periculum perit in illo, He that loveth danger, shall perish therein.*

The other Conclusion is, that seeing men are many times put to such sudden extremities, that they haue no time or opportunity to aduise themselves, or to consult with others: it is most necessary that they arme and provide themselves against the same, by frequent Prayer, and by daily recommending all their actions to almighty God, the author and giuer of all good successe. To the end, that he may (in such cases) guide, protect, and prosper them: and this I hold to bee the soundest aduise, that any counsellor can giue to his Prince. Thus much for the second consideration.

The third, shall be to ponder and examine diligently, not onely the present state of the matter, and the immediate or next sequel thereof: but also, what may be like to succeed from time to time: and especially, what may be the conclusion, or (as I may terme it) the vpper of the whole. For many times it falleth out, that designments prosper well for a while, and yet ouerthrow the authors or attempters in the end: not so much by Fortune or chance, as by ouer-sight in the counsellor or contriuer thereof. For hee being deceived with the appearance or hope of some present, or neere commoditie, fore seeth not, or else neglecteth some future and finall disgrace. Much like vnto the sick-man, who following his owne appetite, eateth or drinketh some

one thing, which refresheth and contenteth him for the present, yet augments his disease, or killeth him in the end.

In this point, all wicked and *Machi- willian* Counsellors faile for the most part, which do often succcede well for a time, thorough Gods permission, for secret causes best knowne vnto his Diuine Wisdom: but in the end, do destroy Princes and their States, partly thorough the iustice of almighty God, and partly by the error and negligence of the Counsellors: in true reason of State as shall be more at large prouoed hereafter.

In the meane time I adde for the present, a fourth Consideration to the same purpose, to wit, that a Wise Counsellor ought to weigh the Commodities of euery thing, with the stability and security thereof: and not to aduise his Prince with a fewe yeares present pleasure or benefit, to purchase manie yeares future paine or difcommodities. But, rather to endure some disadvantage or damage for a time, when thereby he may attaine to some stable and permanent good afterward.

And this he may learne by the counseil that Nature holdeth in human affaires, ordaining Motion for rest, business for repose, Labour for ease, and payne for pleasure. In which respect, a Wise-man laboureth when he is young, to rest in his Olde age, and taketh a loathsome Potion, or bitter Pill, to recouer health, and willingly endureth all Temporal misery, to attaine in the end to eternal Felicitie. This (I say) not onely Nature, but also true Wisdom (which always followeth the course and steps thereof) doth teach us no lesse in matters of State, then in all other humane affaires.

Therefore by the same reason, a counsellor ought also to preferre a certain and durable commoditie, though it be lesse, before a greater, that is (short and vncertain). To which purpose, *Theopompus* King of *Lacedaemonia*, answered the Queen his wife very well, when she lamented to him, that he would leaue his royal authority lesse to his children, than he had received it, because he had obtained a greater Controller of Kings, called *Agrius*, (a quack-hee) than he had the greater.

Some improvident Counsellors compared to sicke men.

Wherein Machiwillian counsellors faile for the most part.

Commodities to be weighed with stability and security.

The course of Nature to be followed in the deliberation on matters of State.

Wherein his Teacheth whether a Prince ought to be learned.

The greatness of Princely authority to be measured by the Stability thereof.

What is chiefly to be considered concerning Stability

True Stability is Eternity.

Sufficient rules cannot be given in particular concerning matters of State.

become it shall more firme and sure. Thus sayd he. wisely measuring the benefit of Princely Authority: was so much by greatness, as by surety and stabilitie; whereto all the Councelles and endeauiours of Wise Councellours and Statists ought chiefly to tend: yet with this consideration, that although of worldly things, some are more stable and permanent then others: yet there is no true stability in any of them; and that therefore; all Wisemens Councelles are especially directed, to the attaining of Heauenlye things, wherein is true stability and eternity. Thus much for considerations to be had in generall, concerning matters to be consulted.

And, forasmuch as sufficient Rules cannot be given in particular, concerning the same, in respect that the affaires of State are infinite and variable, by reason of the infinite occasions & accidents which fall out daily to be considered (all which may require different considerations, according to the different Nature and quality of the matters, and the sundrie circumstances of times, places, and persons) I haue therefore thought good (for examples sake, and the instruction of young Statists) to handle and debate heere, some one matter of State, by way of discourse. And because occasion is offered oftentimes, to deliberate about the maintenance of a Ciuill Warre in a forraigne Country, I will set downe mine Opinion, what aduise a yong Statist may safely giue, concerning the same.

CHAP. IX.

For the better instruction, and more particular information of a yong Councellour, concerning matters to be consulted: a matter of State is debated, so wit; What is to be considered in a deliberation, touching the maintenance of a Ciuill Warre, in a forraigne Country.



Whoever shall giue aduise concerning the maintenance of a Ciuill warre, in a Forraigne Country, it shall be convenient for him (in my

fancy) for to consider principally these points following.

First, the Equity and Iustice of the cause, as well on his Princes part, to wit; whether it may be iust and lawfull in him, to giue the assistance demanded: as also, whether their quarrell, which demand the same, be lawfull and iust, or no. For, if Iustice and Equitie want in eyther of both, no commodity that a Prince can receiue or expect, can counteruail the dishonor, danger, and damage which he shall assuredly incur by the offence of Almighty God. *Quasi spiritum Principum; & terribilis est apud Reges terra. Who taketh the spirit of Princes away is terrible to the Kinges of the Earth.* And will assuredly exact the penaltie thereof on him, or perhaps on his state, or on both, sooner or later. Which is the chiefe and highest point of state, to be considered in all deliberations of princes, seeing the utter destruction and ruin of them and their estates, proceedeth principally from the offence of God, as hath bin more at large before discussed.

It is also to be considered, what good and iust motives his Prince may haue on his own part, to giue the succours demanded, which may be reduced to four causes. The first, when he may thereby do some notable seruice to God, which is alwaies in it selfe not only honorable but profitable, as it were money put to interest, in respect of the reward which hee shall assuredly receiue at gods hands for the same howsoever it succeed for the present.

The second case is, when he is bound by Oath, promise, or gratitude, to succour the party that craueth his aide. For in such case, the omission thereof (when it may iustly and conveniently be done) were both offense to God, & also, dishonorable and dangerous to a Prince, as well in respect of Gods punishment for his periury as also for the bad example, and iust occasion he should giue vnto others his Allies and confederates, yea, and to his owne subiects to forsake him in his necessity.

The third case is, when the Prince of whom the succour is demanded, hath a iust pretence vnto a forraigne Crowne or State, for the obtaining whereof, he may hope to haue a party, by maintaining a iust quarrell in the same State or Country. Wherein respect is to be had, that

The equity of the cause to be considered two ways.

Psalme. 76. 14.

The highest point of State to be considered.

Iust motives on the Princes part to giue succour.

Some notable seruice to God.

Obligation by oath, promise, or gratitude.

A iust pretence to a forraigne Crowne or State.

A forraigne warre not to be grounded principally vpon hope of a partie.

A lamentable example of Sebastian King of Portugal, Hieron. euseb. de vita reg. di Portugal. lib. 4.

A very indistinct and vniuersally dangerous.

A perillous resolution in a Prince.

A forraigne warre to be maintained, to auoid a domesticall.

that the Princes own forces be sufficient for the execution of his enterprize, that he shall not neede to relie. further vpon his partie; then onely to facilitate the same. For, if his hope of good successe, eyther in obtaining his pretence, or in conferring or maintaining it afterward, doe chiefly depend vpon the good will, fidelity, and strength of such a party: he buildes (as a man may say) vpon the Sand, and puts in aduenture his labour, charges, and reputation.

Hereof wee haue had a lamentable example not many yeares past, in Sebastian, King of Portugal, who hoped to make himselfe King of Marocco, vnder colour to restore thereto Muley Mahomet, whereof he made so sure account; that he carryed a Crowne with him, to crowne himselfe King there. Not considering, that his aduersary Muley Alucuo (who was in possession of that kingdom) was not onely most valiant for his person; but also able to put into the field for his defence, about 100000. Horse and foote.

Against whom neuertheless, King Sebastian undertook the enterprize, with an Army of 13000. Souldiours, or there about, the most of them vntaunted: beside, neither he himselfe, nor any that did commaund the Army vnder him, had euer borne Armes before. In so much, that he trusted (as it seemed) to the conduct and forces of Muley Mahomet his Confederate, who when hee came to tryall, was not able to bring to the field 2000. men. So that, aduenturing with so few, to fight with about 40000. Horse, and 20000. Foote, and (as some say) a farre greater number: his Army was presently enclosed on all sides, and so oppressed with multitudes, that he lost both the battaile, and his life. So perillous a thing it is for a Prince to ground any designment of a forraigne Warre eyther on the weaknesse of an Enemy, or on the strength of a Confederate, and not vpon sufficient forces of his owne. But to proceede.

The fourth case is, when to auoide some imminent danger, or inuasion or Warre at home, or other great vexation: a Prince is forced to holde his Enemy occupied in his owne Countrey, by supporting there a iust quarrell against him. Wherein, though he spend

largely, without fear of loss, in respect of the present security which hee purchaseth, and exemption from greater expences and danger at home: neuertheless, it shall be Wise to doe for him, (in my iudgement) to practise the counsell which Alcibiades the Athenian gaue to Tissaphernes in like case, to wit. *Not to giue greater succor, then may suffice to keep the warres in a foote, as well to gain time, which often remedeth the greatest inconvenience; as also to extenuate and weaken both parties, in such sort, that whether the warre end by victory or composition, they may haue no ability to assaile him.* Which he may well feare, though the party which he assisteth should prevail.

For this purpose, it is to be considered, that Ciuill diffentions end many times, to the cost of the Forraigne Prince who maintained them: whether they end by victorie of the enemy, or of his Confederate, or else by their composition. For, his enemy, if hee overcome, remaineth more irritated, and more obliged to seek reuenge then before. And his Confederate, if hee vanquish the other, and succeed him in his State: is more like to prove an enemy then a friend, especially, if the quarrell of the other was not personall (that is to say, proceeding of some petticular iniurie done to his person) but a quarrell of State, as commonly it is, for in that case, whoeuer shall be Governour of the same State, will be his enemy, notwithstanding, any benefit receiued. For experience teacheth, that respect of gratitude for benefits past, lieth inuileth, when it is any way encountered with reason of State.

Which (as Guicciardin saith) *finde ogni partito, North (with Princes) overweigh all other considerations.* And is so variable, according to the variety of occasions, and successe of affaires: that it changeth daily, and of a Friend this day, maketh an enemy to morrow. In which respect, the Leagues & amities of Princes, is commonly very vntrue, bee the obligation neuer so great.

Moreover, it commonly falleth out, that the party whom a forraigne Prince helpeth to aduance, remaineth his debter for the charges bestowed in his succour: wherevpon it followeth many times,

Good counsell of Alcibiades, concerning the maintenance of a forraigne warre.

Ciuill warres end to the cost of the Forraigner that maintained them.

Respect of gratitude encountered with reason of State, lieth inuileth.

Guicciardin, North, August. Reason of State very variable.

Many lent to maintain a forraigne warre in danger to be lost.

Edward the
blacke Prince.Poldar. Virgil.
in Hist. Angl.
Lib. 19.Places or
Townes giuen
in payme for
suppely make
expences of
friend.Composition
of deuised
parties ag-
ainst the
forreigner.The Barons
warres in
England.
Poldar. Virgil.
in Hist. Angl.
Lib. 19.
Paul. Armit.
in Philip. 2.Phillip. Duke
of Burgundy.
Poldar. Virgil.
in Hen. 5. Cap. 6.

times, that the Creditour looſeth both his Friend and his Money. For, if he truſt to bare promiſes of repayment, he is in danger to be ſerued, as was Edward the Blacke Prince, who going in perſon (with a great Army into Spaine) to ſuccour Peter the King of Caſtile, vpon his promiſe to repay him all his expences (was after the victorie) ſo delayed and deluded by him, that hee was faine to returne without any ſatisfaction. By meanes whereof, hee was conſtrained to lay ſuch impositions vpon his owne Subjects in Aquitaine, for the payment of his ſouldiours: that they rebelled, and hee loſt the greateſt part of that Country.

And put the caſe, that hee haue any places or Towns deliuered him, in conſideration of his expences, or his better ſecurity, which any Prince that giue ſuccour to Forraigners) hath reaſon to ſeeke: then his friend many times (for reaſon of State) becomes his Enemy, to recover thoſe places which he gaue him before. And ſo it falleth out commonly, when ſouereign ciuill wars and diſſentions come to end, by composition of the parties deuised who willingly agree, and ioine themſelves againſt the Forraigner that maintained their diſunion. Eſpecially, if he haue any hold or footing in their Countrey, though it were at the firſt with their owne conſent, whereof I wil allege a few examples, as well Antient as Moderne.

In the Barons wars in England, in the time of King John, Lewes the eight, then Son to Phillip the ſecond King of France, aſſiſted the Barons againſt their King, and being called by them into England, and proclaimed King thereof: was ſhortly after (by common conſent, as well of them, as of al the other Engliſh) driuen out againe.

Alſo Phillip, Duke of Burgundy, to be reſented on the Duke of Orleans, & on Charles the ſeauenth, while hee was yet but Dolphin: called Henry ſixth, King of England into France, & aſſiſted him firſt to make him Regent, & after to crown not only him, but alſo Henry the ſixth his Son, King of France in Paris. Yet in the end, he made his peace with King Charles aforeſaide, and helped him to depriue the Engliſh of all that, which either they had got by his meanes, or other-
wile.

In like manner, Charles the eighth, King of France, was moſt earnestly ſollicit to the Conqueſt of Naples, euen by the Neapolitans themſelves: who, neuertheleſſe ſhortly after helped to expel the Garifons and forces which he had left ther, notwithstanding they had receiued great benefits of him.

In this age alſo, the late Queene of England, of glorious memory, gaue ſome ſupport in the firſt troubles of France, to her great charges. But when peace was made in the year of our Lord 1562. they all ioynd againſt her, to recouer Haure de Grace from her, which they had before giuen her, for aſſurance of the Mony, by her lent them.

And laſtly, notwithstanding the coſtly ſuccours of Men and Mony, that the French Catholikes receiued from the Catholike King of Spaine: yet they forſook him almoſt all in the end, and ioined with his and their aduerſe partie, and made War againſt him, to recouer of him ſome few Towns in the frontiers of Flanders, which they had giuen him before, for his and their ſecurity.

Therefore, although theſe things doe not alwaies ſucceed in this manner, yet ſo farre as moſt commonly they do, and that nothing is more vncertaine, then that which dependeth on the will, affection, or gratitude of other men, or vpon reaſon of ſtate, which varieth and changeth daily, according to the variety of occaſions. I hold it for a ſpeciall point of prudence in a Prince, to take the ſureſt way, to wit, not to engage himſelf too far, nor to adventure more, then he careth not to looſe, in the maintenance of a ciuill Warre in a forraigne Country: except, when either the ſervice of God, ſome juſt obligation, or the conſeruation of his own ſtate doth neceſſarily require it. Thus much concerning the behaue of the Prince that is to giue the ſuccour. Furthermore, great conſideration is to be had, of the State and condition of the parties which demand it: as, whether they be able to ouercome their aduerſaries, or (at leaſt) to ſtand and maintaine their quarrell, with the aſſiſtance which they craue, or may be giuen them. For otherwiſe, it were great impudence in any Prince, to vndertake their maintenance: but rather to endeavour by way of treaty

Charles 8. King
of France.
Phillip Comm.
in Hen. 8. Cap.
2. & 39.Elizabeth Q.
of England.Phillip the ſecond
King of Spaine.Nothing
more vncertaine,
then
that which
dependeth
on the will
of men, or
reaſon of State.Conſiderati-
ons concern-
ing theſe
which denie
ſuccour.Concerning
Townes or
States con-
federated.The motives
or ends of
leagues to be
conſidered.Phillip de Com.
chron du Roy
Charles Cap. 13The common
ends of the
French league.The particu-
lar ends of
many in the
French league.Diversity of
ends cauſeth
the diſſolu-
tion of leagues.A few vnder
one head is
ſtronger then

ty (betwixt them and their aduerſarie) to compound the quarrell, and thereby to make himſelfe gratefull to both parties.

And for as much as it many times falleth out, that the ability and power of the party which craueth aſſiſtance, conſiſteth not in the ſtrength of ſome one potent and absolute Prince, but in the force of many Princes, Townes, or States, confederated and leagued together: it is in ſuch caſe ſpecially to be conſidered, how, or vpon what reaſons, the ſaid partie is vnitd.

To this purpoſe it is to be noted, that in all confederacies and leagues, where in many do vnit themſelves: the confederacies are moued thereto, either with one motive or end (as in the Cantons of the Switzers, or in the League which the Pope, the King of theomaines, the King of Spaine, the Venetians, and the Duke of Aulaine, made againſt Charles the eighth, King of France, for the defence of Italie.) Or elſe they are moued thereto with diuers and ſundry motives, ſome with one, and ſome with another.

As for example, in the late French League or vniſon, ſome entered onelie for conſeruation of the Catholike Religion (which was the common and pretended end of all that partie) others entered for particular reſpects: as either for paſſion or ambition, or for the friendſhip of ſome one Man on the one ſide, or hatred of ſome one on the other, or for hope of future gaine, or for preſent profit and commoditie, or ſuch like.

Now then, thoſe that are led by particular reſpects, doe not (for the moſt part) remaine any longer in any league, then they may hope to obtaine their deſires. And when they are perſwaded, that they may ſooner obtaine the ſame, by adhearing to the aduerſe partie; they are eaſily induced thereto: and hereupon followeth commonly, the diſſolution of ſuch leagues and confederacies. For which cauſe, the ſtrength and power of any leagues, is not to be meaſured ſo much by the multitude of confederates, be they neuer ſo great and potent: as by their concurrence and agreement in one and the ſame end. For, as a few vnder one head, are ſtronger then many, vnder many and different heads;

as Phillip de Communes noeth very well: ſo a few principall perſons or Townes, vnitd together for one and the ſelfe ſame cauſe, are to be repared far ſtronger, and more like to ſtand; then verie many (though much more potent) if they haue many and different ends.

Therefore it much importeth a Prince, that ſhall ſupport a Forraigne League, to diſcouer (as much as hee may) what end or motive induced the Heades and principall Confederates, to make their entrance. Whereby he ſhall the better diſcerne, what their force and ſtrength may be, and how they are like to ſtand, and to maintaine their quarrell. For, if they haue al but one end, they may be repared the ſtronger: but if then ends be diuers, they cannot long ſtand. As wee haue ſcene lately in the French League, which, notwithstanding the great ſuccours (both of Men and Mony) giuen them by the Catholike King: diſſolved rather of it ſelfe, then by any forces of enemies, by reaſon that many of the Gouvernours of Townes, and chiefe Pillers thereof, conſidered not in one end with the whole league.

And therefore, when they receiued ſatisfaction for their particular deſires, or ſaw themſelves out of hope thereof, they eaſily changd their party.

To ſuch Leagues (I ſay) vnitd onely in exterior ſhew, and not in one common end: I hold it not ſecure or conuenient for a Prince to giue ſuccour; except he be moued thereto by ſome imminent danger of inuaſion, or other great damage. Which he may feare to receive from the enemy occupied, as I haue ſignified before, while he neither prepares for his better defence at home, or at leaſt may winne time; which in all extremities is to be fought; and often remedie the very greateſt diuiniens.

Moreouer, ſo farre as theſe ſuccours demanded or giuen, conſiſt commonly either in Money, Men, or in both, and that it may import a Prince (for the furtherance of ſome juſt pretence, or obligation of his own, or for ſome publique good) to employ not only his forces, but alſo his Mony largely, to maintain and ſupport a Forraigne League: I wil adde ſome what concerning the ſame, to the end, that a young Statist may

many vnder
different
heads.
Poldar. Com.
in Hen. 8. Cap.
2. & 39.Necessary for
a Prince to
diſcouer the
end of the
vniſon
conceded.The diſſolu-
tion of the
French league
through the
diuiniens of
ends.In what caſe
a Prince may
ſupport a
forraigne
league, not
vniſon in one
end.The ſuccours
demanded,
conſiſt, either
in money, men,
or in both.

may the better vnderstand, both what to aduise, and also how to deale therein.

Therefore, first concerning the bestowing of Money, I say, that although it cannot be denied, but that Money may doe very much in all busineses of this quality. (For, *Quidnam mortalia peccata cogit auri sacra fames? What doth not the desecrable hunger of Gold compell Men to do?*) Yet ordinarily, the effect that Money can worke, is but to dispose the wils and mindes of Men to the desired end. Which disposition (neuerthelesse) in some that receiue the Money, is none at all, in others very little, and in most very doubtfull, and to be suspected. For those to whom thou giuest thy Money, either are thine enemies, or thy friends, or else neutrall. If they be thine Enemies, commonly they take thy Money, to impouerish thee, to enrich themselves, and to employ thine owne Money against thee, when they shall see time.

If they be thy Friends, thy Money worketh little; because their own good will and friendship, bindeth them more vnto thee, then thy Money can doe. If they be neutrall, & become thy Friends for the profit they haue by thee: their friendship will last no longer then the profit continueth. And when they may think to get more by thine enemy, then by thee: they will be his friends for the same reason, that they were thine. And although they shall haue neuer so great benefit by thee; yet they will periwade themselves, that thou seekest thine own Commoditie, and not theirs, and that thou art beholding vnto them, for that they doe vouchsafe to take any thing of thee.

And forasmuch, as the hunger and desire of Money, doth encrease with the possession and vse thereof: the more thou giuest them, the more they will desire. For, as *Cicero* saith; *Fit deterior quis accipit, & ad idem semper expectandum parator; He which taketh or receiveth Money, is made worse thereby, and alwayes the more ready to expect the like.* So that, if thou doe not euer giue them, when, and how much they shall expect or demand of thee: they will hate thee more for that which thou dost not giue them, then they haue loved thee for

that which they haue receiued already. For, as *Seneca* saith. *Pecunia nota ingratus est, dati immemores meminisse negati, adeoque rara & repentes gratias ferunt da & frequentes querela. It is an old and notorious ingratitude, to forget a benefit receiued, and still to remember a benefit denied. Whereupon it followeth, that thanks are rare and cold; and Complaints, feruent and frequent.*

I speake not this, for that I thinke it not conuenient to negotiate with Money, to gaine and entertaine the affections of men: but to signifie, that it is to be done with great consideration. For, as *Pliny* saith. *Inconsiderate largitionis comes penitentia est. Repentance euer accompanieth the inconsiderate imployment of Money.* Therefore to say some-what of this point, my opinion is, that it is conuenient for any man, that doth negotiate with Money in a strange Country: to haue his Purse alwayes open, for such as are true Friends to him and the League, as well to gratifie them, and to recompence their good wils and good Offices; as also to helpe their necessities, and to enable them to uphold their partie.

And those may be accounted true Friends, whose end is eyther the common end of the whole League: or fo dependant thereon, that it cannot be otherwise obtained, but by the good successe of the League. And to such, Money may euer bee securely giuen, when their necessities, or the publike good of the League shall require it. But vnto others, little or nothing is to be giuen (in my fancy) except it bee to buy of them some important places; or to recompence intelligences, or seruices already done. And therefore it shall bee conuenient, to vse all diligence (as before I haue signified) to discouer the true Motiues, that induced euery one to whom Money is to be giuen, to enter into the League.

And in case it may seeme needfull, to aduenture some what, to entertaine some few principall men, though neutrals, or suspected, to diuert them from compounding with the enemy: it shall bee conuenient (in my fancy) to giue them largely, and more then the Enemy is like to giue them, and precisely to accomplish what else shall be promised. For

Seneca in Lib. 2. de ira. Ca. 14. A benefit receiued, soon forgotten: a benefit desired, remembered euer.

Plin. lib. 7. Epist. Monie to be bestowed with great consideration.

Liberalitie to be vsed towards mine friends, and who they are.

How money is to be bestowed vpon suspected persons.

Remembrance still to be had of the motiue.

Of entertaining some few principall men.

The danger of breach of promise.

Example of the league in France, witnessed by the Author.

Money and forces concurring, doe worke great effects.

The Oracle in Philip of Macedon.

No trust in affections bought with monie.

Cicero in Offic. Lib. 2.

A man corrupted with monie, will be faithfull to no man.

For otherwise, they will acknowledge no Obligation, and when the Enemy shall giue them more, they will follow him: and if promise bee not kept with them, they will esteeme themselves to be mocked, and (for very disdain) will passe to the Enemy: and of all this, I saw daily experience in the time of the League in France. There the Catholike King bestowed many Millions, in Pensions, in entertainments, which many receiued, and after became his open Enemies. Some of them, because they were not punctually paid their entertainments; Others, because (as they pretended) promise was not kept with them in other things; And some others againe, either because they could not haue whatsoeuer they demanded, or because that others had more then they.

But how much soeuer shall be bestowed vpon one or other, there is no security or assurance, in negotiating with Money alone: except the same bee eyther accompanied, or shortly seconded with sufficient forces, which concurring therewith, may worke great effect. And therefore the Oracle saide to *Philip of Macedon*: *Habitu pugna argentatis, & omnia vincies: Fight with sinured shields, and thou shalt ouercome all:* aduising him thereby, to imploy Money and Forces together. For, as for negotiation with money alone, the longer it continueth; the more danger there is, both to loose the Money and the businesse. For no trust is to be had in affection bought with Money, and not grounded on reason & vertue. In which respect *Philip King of Macedon*, saide very well to his Sonne *Alexander*, who sought to gaine from him the goodwils of the *Macedonians*, with guits and bribes. *What mischief (quoth he) persuadeth thee to thinke, that those will bee faithfull to thee, whom thou hast corrupted with Money?*

This much for this matter, wherof much more might be said, if the question were reduced to peticular persons and Countreys; which might minister other important considerations of difficulties, according vnto the Nature, strength, or weaknesse of the places, and the conditions and abilities of the persons, who were to bee succoured or impugned. Which I forbear to pro-

secute any further, to passe to another matter meaning to debate, whether the remedies which Politiques reach, against the daungers and inconueniencies growing of wickednesse be sufficient (in reason and true policy) to assure the State of a wicked Prince. By occasiō whereof, I will examine diuers principles of *Machiuiilian* Doctrine, and shew the absurditie thereof. To the end, that the young States, whom I labour to informe, may vnderstand as well what to auoyde, as what to embrace in matter of policy, and that a Princes State cannot be assured by wickednesse.

CHAP. X.

Another Question is debated, for the further enstruction of a young States, to wit: whether a Princes State can be assured by wicked policy? By the occasion whereof, many principles of *Machiuiilian*, and of the Politiques his followers, are examined and confuted by reason of state without the consideration of Gods Iustice.



O Man that is endued with reason, will denie, that wickednesse in a Prince, maketh him hatefull to his Subiects, and (consequently) endangereth his Estate. Which all *Machiuiilians* and Politiques knew so well; that the greatest part of their policy, consisteth in deuising remedies against the same. To the end, that their Prince may bee securely wicked, that is to say, that he may purchase and enjoy all Worldly pleasures and commodities, *Pecunia & uicis*, By right or wrong: without danger of any reuenge of Man, and not fearing the wrath and Iustice of God, because they beleue not, that there is a God, (or at least that he medleth not with the affaires of Men.

First let vs see some of their Remedies. One of the principall (according to the Doctrine of their Maister *Machiuiilian*)

The Arguments propounded in the ensuing Chapters.

Wherewith consisteth the greatest part of *Machiuiilian* policies.

All to be compassed by right or wrong.

Machiuiilian de princip.

How money is to be bestowed in the maintenance of a forreigne league.

What effect money may worke.

Money is giuen to such as eyther are friends, enemies, or neutrall, and in what nature it worketh with eyther of them.

The desire of money encreaseth with the vse and possession thereof. *Cicero in Offic. Lib. 2.*

Machiavell is, extremity of all mischief and wickednesse, which *Machiavell* teacheth to be far more secure for a Prince, then mediocrity betwixt vertue and vice. Therefore he would have his Prince to be, either the best man living, or the worst: that is to say, either to be a Saint or a Deuill. Whereof his reason must needs be (if he have any) that he which

Machiavell would have a Prince to be either a Saint or a Deuill.

Machiavell's ability in finding a remedy to a disease, by curing the cause thereof.

Excessive wickednesse expoleth a Prince to excessive hatred *Cicero in Offic. Lib. 2.*

No force or power can sufficiently resist the hatred of many. Politiques seeke abundantly to remedy hatred by feare.

Feare concurring with hate makes it more dangerous to him which is hated, and why.

both hate and feare, do deliberate, and execute with much more maturity and consideration, and (consequently) with lesse danger to themselves, and more to their enemy. So that, while the Prince doth adde feare to the hate of his Subjects: he redoubleth both his own feare, and also his owne perill. Whereupon the Tragical Poet saith.

Qui sepra duro laeus imperio regit, Timet timentes, metus in autorem vedit.

That is to say. He which governeth by severity and cruelty, feareth those which feare him, and the feare turneth upon the Author or cause thereof. And, as *Seneca the Stoick* saith. *Nesse est ut multos timeat, quem multo timet. He must needs be in feare of many, whom many feare.* Also *Cicero*, following *Ennius* the Poet, saith notably thus. *Quem metunt odervnt. &c. Men hate him whom they feare, and every one desireth the destruction of him whom he hateth: And no force or power of Empires bee is new so great as can long stand, if it be prest with continuall feare of the Subjects.* Thus saith *Cicero*, declaring the danger that groweth to a Prince by hatred & feare, which are the most forcible and vrgent Motives that may be, to move a people to conspiracies, as well among themselves, as with forrainers: both to deliver themselves of the feare, as also to discharge their hatred & ire upon their Prince. Wherefore *Aristotle* doth reckon hatred and feare, among the principall causes, of the destruction of Monarchies and tyrannies.

But heere say the *Machiavellians*. For, this cause hath the Prince his Guardes, Armies, and Fortresses, to defend himselfe from all attempts, both Forraigne and Domestical: besides the vigilancy and pollicy which he useth, for the prevention of conspiracies; disarming and impowering his Subjects; forbidding their assemblies and publike conventi- ons; and all other meanes, which may breed love, trust, and confidence among them. Terrifying the (oftentimes) with the frequent shew of his Guardes and Garrisons, to make them servile & base minded; suffering them to be vicious & dissolute of life, to make them effeminate: nor permitting them the use of Schooles, or other meanes, whereby they may become learned, wise, & pollicke. Employing his spies every where, for

The Prince adding feare to the hatred of his Subjects redoubleth his own feare and danger.

Seneca Trag.

Feare turneth upon the Author.

Cicero in Offic. Lib. 2.

Hatred and feare are the causes of conspiracies.

Aristotle in Polit. Lib. 5.

Machiavell remedies vrgent conspiracies, declaring according to the rules of their Doctrine.

for the discovery of every mans intention. Nourishing divisions among the greatest, to counterpoize one with another. Suspecting all men, be they never so much bound to him. And finally, cutting off (by one means or other) all those whose power, courage, or wit, he may thinke to be dangerous to his State: whereby he (shall be secure from the dangers which may grow to his person or State, by the hatred of his Subjects.

Whereto I answer, that if *Machiavell*, or some other Politicke in these our daies, had bin the first inventors of these policies, and that they had never bin yet tried it might with more reason be supposed, that there were, or might be some assurance therein for a wicked Prince. But seeing all this, or whatsoever else *Machiavell*, or any Politicke doth teach, for the conservation of a Tyrant, hath bin practised in all times & ages, by Tyrants and wicked Princes, who (nevertheless) have al, or the most part of the perished by the hatred of men: who seeth not the insufficiency thereof, for the assurance of a Prince in wickednesse?

Can *Machiavell* or any other Politicke, teach more to this purpose, then we find written above 2000. yeares ago by *Aristotle* in his Politiques? Who shewing the meanes, whereby Tyrants seeke to preferre themselves and their states: minimalist to *Machiavell* and his fellows, al the matter and substance of their wicked policies. Which nevertheless, were not approved by *Aristotle*, as sufficient for the conservation of tyranny: but venterily rectified by him. In which respect, he declareth how vniuersal tyranny is, and exemplifieth the same in all tyrannical state, which had bene before, or in his time.

Shewing how speedily they all perished, excepting only four: whereof the first continued 100. yeares, the second 73. and sixe months; the third, 33. and the fourth, 22. yeares. And the cause of the long continuance of the first and second, he ascribeth to the moderate and iust government of the Tyrants, who though they got their States tyrannically, and held them by usurpation (in regard whereof they are called Tyrants) yet they governed with such moderation and Iustice, that they were greatly beloued of their Subjects.

To which purpose *Aristotle* also ob-

serueth, that the state of a Tyrant is so much the more sure: by how much more moderate it is; and nearer to his iust government of a King. Wherein al *Machiavellians* may note, both by the doctrine and experience of *Aristotle*: that the extremity of wickednesse and tyranny, is the high way to carry a Prince headlong to his destruction, notwithstanding all their preventions aforesaid. Whereof some part are most necessary for the conservation of any Princes state: as Guardes, Garrisons, Fortresses, vigilance of Councellers, diligence of Spies and Intelligencers, as also such other parts of those policies, as are conformable to reason, Iustice, & conscience. But the rest, I mean those points of hindring love and confidence among Subjects, immoderate pillaging and poulling them, making them effeminate, ignorant, & base minded, nourishing debate amongst great persons, and cutting off such as are more eminent in credit, power, courage, and wit, then the rest: these I say, and all such as are against charity, Iustice, and Conscience, are against all true pollicy, and to farre from helping a Tyrant, that they help to ruine him, as heere in this Chapter shall appear, concerning some of these points in peticular, and some in general.

And now to speake of some of them. What can be more contrary to the reason of State: then to hinder trust, confidence, and love among the people, without the which there can be no Commonwealth? For, without love & confidence, there can be no fidelity; & without fidelity, no Iustice; and without Iustice, no Commonwealth, as you have read in the necessity of fidelity in the Prince. For this cause, all ancient Lawmakers, and founders of commonwealths, have ordained in all Countreys and Cities, publike Feasts, Playes, and assemblies, where the people may meet together: not onely for recreation, but to make them also known one to another. To the end, that of their conuincation, may grow love and friendship, and the same redound to generall unity, for the conservation of peace in the whole Commonwealth. And therefore *Aristotle* saith, that friendship is: *Maxima bonum ciuitatis*. The greatest good: that can be to Commonwealths. For saith he, by means

Hhhh

Arist. Ethic. Cap. 12.

Machiavellian policies contrary to the doctrine of *Aristotle* and his experience.

What is to be feared, and what is to be feared, in the doctrine of *Aristotle* and his experience.

Doctrine concerning confidence and love.

Why politike Feasts, and Playes are ordained.

The benefit of love, the friendship, in Commonwealths.

Aristotle in Polit. Lib. 2. Cap. 2.

Plutarch in
Solon.What Com-
mon-wealth
Solon liked
best.The loue &
vnion of mem-
bers of the
politickall bod-
dy, most ne-
cessary for the
conservation
thereof.Seneca in Lib. 2.
de Ira. Cap. 3.Why Machi-
uillians doe
thinke, that
fractions a-
mong subiects
are good for
Princes.A Machiui-
an Prouerbe
and principle
confuted.

thereof, they shall be free from sedition. Also, so an esteemed this amity and vnion of minds, to be so necessary for the conseruation of humane Society, that, being demanded, what Common-wealth was best, and most like to continue: Such a one (saith he) wherein euery Man doth take the injury which is done to another, to be done to himselfe. And to the same purpose he made a law in Athens giuing leaue to euery one, to take vpon him the iust quarrel of any other, and to demand reparation of the wrong, as if the matter concerned himselfe. Which constitution of Solon, Plutarch commendeth greatly. As a means (saith he) to accusom the people, to feele and redresse the grieues & injuries one of another, as being all members of one body. Whereby he may vnderstand, that the vnion and loue of the political body (that is to say, the Common-wealth) is no lesse necessary; then the combination of the parts in the body naturall. Which Seneca teacheth notably in these words. *Ut omnia inter se membra, &c. As all the members and parts of mans body, doe agree together for the conseruation of the whole, which also redoundeth to the good of euery part in particular: So all men ought to agree to the benefits one of another, because we are borne to liue in societie, which cannot be conserued, but by the agreement and loue of the parts thereof.* Thus saith Seneca.

How then can it stand with true pollicie, or reason of State, to hinder this vnion and loue of the people, or to sow and nourish factions among them, and especially among great personages; whereby feditious, tumults, and garboyles may grow in the Common-wealth? Yes, say the Machiuiillians, it standeth notably wel with the reason of our Princes State, who seeketh not the generall good of the Common-wealth: but his particular benefit. And therefore, forasmuch as the vnion and friendship of subiects, may enable them the rather to conspire against him: it is good pollicie & reason of State for him, to maintaine factions among them, according to the old saying. *Si vis regnare, diuide.* If thou wilt reigne, make diuision.

Thus say they. Of whom I wold gladly learne, how they can (in this case) seperate the perill of the Common-wealth, from the perill of the Prince, to make

this good pollicie for him? Can the body be in danger, without the perill of the head? Hath it not bin seen many times, that some priuate quarrell, growne at first betwixt meane personages: hath after passed further to a multitude, and (from them) come to be general to the ruine of a whole State? And therefore, Plutarch wisely comprehend feditio to a little sparke of fire, which falling into straw, or other dry matter in some corner of a houle: setteth the same on fire, whereby (in the end) a whole Towne is burnt. In which respect, he counteth it for one of the most speciall pointes of political Science: to take away all occasion of feditio, and when it groweth, to appeale it quickly.

Aristotle also teacheth the same verie seriously, affirming, that *Sedition is the chiefe cause, of the mutation and subuersion of Common-wealths.* Shewing how many waies it may rise, and how it may be remedied, & that it is alwaies dangerous, but then most pernicious, when it groweth among great personages. And therefore he aduiseeth, to remedy the same (if it be possible) in the very beginning, because: *Principium dicitur esse diuisionis.* The beginning is saide to be the one half of the whole. And little feditious at the first, grow after to be great, especially among great men: *Whose discord (saith hee) draweth the whole Common-wealth after them.* Whereby it may appeare, how dangerous and absurd is the counsell, which Machiuiillians giue to their Princes, to norish factions in their Common-wealth, & especially among great personages: as if Princes were omnipotent, and had the harts and wils of all men in their hands, to moue, sway, incense, or temper in such manner and measure, as it shall please them, which only is in Gods hand and power to do. So then it is euident in this case, that the Machiuiillians expose their Prince to manifest danger, without any assurance, or sufficient probability of remedie, which in matter of State is most absurd.

The like may also be said, of their other pestilent pollicies before mentioned, consisting in all kind of cruelty, iniustice, and wickednesse: whereby they make their Prince most odious to all men, and (by consequent) do draw them into manifest dangers, from which they are

The good &
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Factions in
the Common-
wealth dan-
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Princes.Plutarch in his
enfrustrations,
for such as
deale in mat-
ters of State.Aristo in Polit.
Lib. 5. Cap. 2.
3. & 4.Sedition a
principall
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subuersion of
States.

Idem Ibid. 24.

Factions a-
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The hatred of
subiects most
dangerous to
Princes, by
the exaspera-
tion of all
Ages.Cicero in Offic.
Lib. 2.The danger
of hatred ex-
emplified by
Cato.
Ducers of the
first King of
Rome ruined
by hatred.Vit. Lilius. Dec.
1. Lib. 1.Examples in
the Empire of
Rome & Con-
stantinople.
Sedition Tran-
spired.
Julius Lam-
probus.
Sperthianus.
Julius Capito-
linus.
Lampadius.

are notable to warrant or defend them by all their pollicies. As it may appeare by the experience of all ages & former times, vnto this wherein we liue, seeing all Histories doe testifie, that the more wicked and tyrannical Princes haue bin, and the more they haue incurred the hatred of men: the sooner they haue bin ruined; some by open rebellions of their subiects; some others, by their general description in fauour of strangers; others by secret conspiracies of a lew; and others also, by the desperate attempt of some one man, notwithstanding all their pollicies, power, force of Guards, Armies, Fortresses, or other humane meanes.

This point Cicero proneth, by the examples of Phalaris a most cruell Tyrant, whom all the people of the Agriguntines oppressed in a general tumult: and of Alexander, the Tyrants of Pharis, killed by his owne craft: And of Demetrius, King of Macedon, forsaken of all his subiects, in fauour of King Pyrrhus. To whom we may adde Romulus, the first founder of the Romain Empire, who hauing made himselfe hateful to his Senators: was murdered by them in the very Senate house. As L. Tarquinius Priscus, his third Succesor, being odious to the people for his In-iustice, and fraud towards the Children of Ancus Martius, whom he deprived of their Kingdome, though he was left their Tutor by their Father: was slaine by two Shepherds. In like manner, Tarquinius Superbus, the seventh and last King of the Romaines, who vsed all the tyrannicall pollicies aboue mentioned, violated all Lawes humane and diuine, for the conseruation of his estate: was neuertheless driuen out of his kingdome by his subiects, and the name of King and kingly authority, abolished among the Romaines (in hatred of him) for the space of 500. yeares.

And if wee looke into the Romaine Empire after Julius Caesar, we shall finde, that neither pollicie nor power, could defend many Emperors of Rome & Constantinople, against the hatred of Men. As, to omit many others, who perished vpon other occasions: it may appeare by (a) Julius Caesar himselfe, (b) Caligula, (c) Claudius, Nero, Domitian, (d) Commodus, (e) Digius, Iulianus, (d) Caracalla, (e) Opi-

lius Maerinus, and his Son Diadumenus, (f) Helioabalis, Alexander Severus, Iulius Maximus, (g) Gabeus, (h) Philippus, (i) Aurelianus, (k) Constantine the first, (l) Gratian, Valentinian the third, Basiliscus, Zeno, Mauritus, Phocas, Heraclion, with his Mother Martina, Constantine the second, Justinian the second, Philippicus, Constantine the sixth, Nicephorus Stauratus, Leo Armenius, Michael the Son of Theophilus, Nicephorus, surnamed Phocas, Iohannes Zimisces, Michael Calaphates, Stratioticus, Michael Parapinacius, Andronicus Comnenus; and diuers others, who hauing incurred the hatred, either of their Subiects in general, or of some particular persons, were some of them paylozed, and others violently slaine, either by the fury of the people, or by their Nobility, or by their own Guards and Soldiers, or by their wives, Concubines, or seruants, or by other particuler men. Besides some others of them were deposed, and eyther confined into Monasteries, or deprived as well of their eyes and noses, as of their Empire. And one among the rest, to wit, Zeno, a most cruell and crafty Tyrant, was put into his Sepulcher alive (by the consent of his Wife) while he was drunke, or, as some write, taken with a fit of the falling sicknesse. Being also so hated of his owne Seruants and Guards, that when hee came to himselfe, and cried for help out of the sepulcher: no man assisted or pittied him, and so he died raging, and tearing his flesh with his teeth, as it appeared afterward when the Tombe was opened.

And although euery one of these was not so subtile, nor so pollicitic, nor yet so wicked, as Machiuiill would haue his Prince to be yet: it is euident in them all, that the hatred of Subiects is most pernicious to Princes. And in some of them it appeareth manifestly, that no humane power, or wicked pollicie, can warrant and assure them the State of a Prince generally hated: seeing that diuers of them before named, excelled not only in imperiall power, but also in subtile craft, perfidiousnesse, perjury, deepe dissimulation, cruelty, and all such kinde of wickednesse, as Machiuiill requireth in his Prince. As (to omit others, for breuities sake) the last whom I named of the Emperors of

† Theodosius
Poliss.
1. Scam de
rebus
† Prilior
1. Flaccus Pa-
pissus.
† Eusepius
Lecius.
† Iohannes Bap-
tista, Egestius,
Zonarus.
† Nicetas Com-
nates.

Zeno a most
cruell and
crafty Tyrant
buried alive.Cicero in
Comp. Tullius
Aduers. 7. c. 3.
Ioh. B. p. 116.
Egestius in
Zenose.The hatred
of subiects
is most per-
nicious to Prin-
ces.Epilic. Ioh. Bap-
tista.

Con.

Niceas Chri-
stian in Andro-
nicus Comen-
Lib. 1.

Constantinople, to wit; Andronicus Comen-
nus, was so eminent and egregious in
all tyrannicall Policy: that Egnatius
worthly calleth him; *Calidissimum mor-
taliū*; The most crafty of all Mortal men.
Of whose manner of government I wil
say somewhat briefly, to the end it may
appeare: how little security a Prince
may haue by wicked pollicies, against
the hatred of men.

The History
of Andronicus
Comenus,
Emperour of
Constantinople,
an egregious
Pollicique.

This Andronicus, hauing with great
art and subtilty, obtained to be Turdur
to the young Emperour Alexius, Son to
Emanuel: made himselfe (thortly after)
his Companion in the Empire, procu-
ring the death of the Emperesse, Mother
to Alexius, and of diuers others, whose
liues hee thought to be prejudiciall to
his pretence. Within a while also, hee
caused the young Emperour himselfe to
be murdered, notwithstanding, his for-
mer oath of fidelity; follecnely confir-
med with receiving the blessed Sacra-
ment. And being then Emperour alone,
and finding himselfe to be hateful to his
people: he practised all the tyrannicall
Pollicies, that could be deuised for his
owne conseruation. He guarded his Pal-
lace and person, with strong Guards of
barbarous Strangers, and the most de-
perate Fellows that could be found,
who could neither speake nor under-
stand the language of the Country: and
he had (beside) every night at his cham-
ber door, a huge Mastiue dog, so ferce,
that he durst fight body to body with a
Lyon, or with an armed man on horse-
backe. He was also provided of wicked
Instruments, for the execution of his
will in all cases: as Spies, Promoters,
and false witnesses, whereby many No-
blemen were slaine, imprisoned, or ba-
nished. Yet for no other cause, but for
that he feared, that either their credit
with the people, or their power, or their
wealth, or their wit, might prouee in
time dangerous to his State.

Idem Lib. 1.

His Guards of
barbarous
strangers, and
his great dog.

Idem Lib. 1.
His wicked
Instruments.

Idem Lib. 1.
His care of
the admini-
stration of
Iustice in all
things which
did not con-
cerne his per-
ticular bene-
fit or pleasure

Neuerthelesse, knowing right well,
that the more his Empire flourished in
Iustice, the more it would be his honor,
benefit, and security: hee shewed full
especiall care thereof, that hee excelled
many notable Princes therein, not on-
ly providing for the election of iust and
wise officers: but also severely punishing
those, who eyther did, or permitted any
wrong to be done, to the meanest or

poorest subiect he had. Beside, he ordai-
ned, and gaue most liberall Allowance,
to all Magistrats for their maintenance,
to the end: that they should not haue a-
ny need or pretence to take bribes. And
such as were proued to be corrupt, he
punished so exemplarily: that (within a
while) no Magistrate durst take so much
as a present of any man, though it was
neuer so voluntarily offered. He shewed
himselfe affable and courteous vnto the
poore, and seemed full of pity and com-
passion, whensoever hee heard their
complaints, and did them exact Iustice.
Furthermore, he tooke such order, for
the reliefe of the necessities of the com-
mon people: that all kinde of victuals
were most plentifull and cheape; the
ground well tilled and mannured, the
Countries well inhabited; Villages and
Citties much augmented, & the Com-
mon-wealth greatly enriched.

Such was the care hee seemed to haue
of Iustice, and of the publique good,
which (neuerthelesse) he respected no
further: then it might turne to his own
perticular benefit or pleasure, whereof
he preferred the consideration, before
all things else whatsoever. For, as he
provided the Common-wealth of notable
Magistrates: so he furnished his
Court with wicked Councillours and
Iudges, voyd of all conscience, who ex-
ecuted his will, vpon all such as incurred
his dislike or suspicion. Some they bani-
shed, spoiled others of their goods; de-
prived others of their ciies; murdered
others secretly, and condemned many
publickly, vpon false pretences, of whom
(neuerthelesse) hee himselfe would seem
to haue great compassion. As for exam-
ple, vnderstanding that one Iacius, a
Noble-man, had taken Armes against
him in the Island of Cyprus: hee picked a
quarrel against two of his own trustiest
Seruants and Fauourites, because they
were great friends to the other, causing
them to be accused of Treason, con-
demned, and executed. And when suite
was made vnto him, after their deathes,
that their Bodies (which were hanged
vp) might be taken downe and buried:
hee seemed so much to pittie their case,
that hee shed abundance of teares, la-
menting that the sentence of the Iudges,
and the feruencie and authori-
tie of Law, must needs ouer-weigh his

Idem Lib. 1.
Hee supplied
and made
away his most
familiar Ser-
uants.

Idem Ibid.
His kindnes
and affability
to the poore
and providing
for plenty of
all things.

He furnished
his Common-
wealth with
good Magi-
strates, and
his Court
with wicked
Councillours
and Iudges.

Idem Lib. 1.
Hee supplied
and made
away his most
familiar Ser-
uants.

His deepe
compassion
and feigned
pity.

Idem Lib. 1.

His horrible
cruelly crafti-
ly couered.

Andronicus
had the Quin-
tessence of
Machiavels
pollicies, long
before Machi-
uel was born.

Idem Ibid.

His daily
feares and
suspitions.

His Sorceries
and witch-
craftes.

his desire, and the affection that he bare
them. And when they were touched
with any sort of offension: not onely they
themselves, but also all the whole kind
and families: were condemned and due-
ned, to the end, that none should be left
of their race to reuenge it. The which
(neuerthelesse) hee seemed rather so per-
mit, and suffer to be done, then himselfe
to ordaine it. For he caused his Iudges
and Magistrats, to giue those senten-
ces by publique Edict; with plausible
preambles: shewing their care of the
Emperours person, and referring it not
to his commaundement; but to diuine
inspiration, as a thing necessary for the
seruice of God, and the good of the
Common-wealth.

Heere now I appeale to any Machi-
uillian, whether Andronicus had not the
Quintessence of Machiavels Pollicy, long
before Machiuel was born? And whe-
ther he wanted eyther desire, wit, or
wickednes, to conserue his state against
the hatred of men, if it had beene possi-
ble to haue done it by wicked meanes?
Therefore, let vs see the end, which was
such, that it may well serue for an ex-
emplare warning, to all Machiuiilian
Politicques.

While Andronicus gouerned in this
manner, his cruelty and in-Iustice did
purchase him more hatred, then the good
that he did for the publique, could recom-
pence. Which filled him every day with
new feares, suspitions, and ielosies: es-
pecially, after that he was pressed with
warres by William King of Sicily. Who
hauing ouerthrowne some of his armies,
and taken Thessalonica, and other townes
of importance: marched towards Con-
stantinople, wherewith the people began
to take courage, and to discouer their
hatred to Andronicus daily more and
more. This did put him in such feare of
Conspiracies, that hee consulted with
Sorceres and Witches: especially with
one Sethus a Magitian, who deined by
a Balon of Water. And one day, when
Andronicus desired to know the name of
his Successor, Sethus shewed him in the
water, the two Letters, *I* and *S*, whereby
he & his Councillors coniectured, that
it should be Iacius, who had rebelled a-
gainst him in the Island of Cyprus, as be-
fore hath bin declared. Neuerthelesse,
forasmuch as there was another Iacius

(first named Angelus) at the same time in
the Court, a man of so quiet a Spirit,
and so small courage, that Andronicus
himselfe did no way suspect him: one of
his speciall Councillours suggested to
him; that it were good to commaund the
said Iacius Angelus, to be taken and put
into prison, to preuent the worst. Left
(saith he) we may seeke the Piper abroad in
the field, when perhaps we haue him in our
bosome. And although Andronicus seem-
ed (at the first) to contemne Iacius, as
a man no way to be feared: yet at last it
was resolued by him and his Councill,
that he should be taken. And for that
purpose, Stephanus, one of his chiefe
Councillours and worst Instruments,
went himselfe (with certain of his catch-
poules) to the house of Iacius, who de-
fending himselfe: killed Stephanus, & re-
presently (with his sword bloody in his
hand) through the Market place, to take
Sanctuary in the chiefe Church: the
towne, imploring (as he went) the aid
of the people, declaring what hee had
done, and why. The people flocked after
him to the Church, pitying greatly his
case, and commending his act, and at
length, their courage encreasing with
their multitude: they began to embol-
den one another: first to defend Iacius,
and afterward to make him Emperour.
Which being propounded to the whol
assembly, was accepted of them all:
thogh hee himselfe neither desired it, nor
so much as dreamp of it, but thought
himselfe well payed, if he could saue his
life. This resolution being taken among
them, they proclaimed him Emp. first
in the Church, and after in the Streets:
which was approued with generall con-
sent of the Nobility, and all the people
of the City, who came to yeild him o-
bedience, and to assist him. Andronicus
seeing himselfe forsaken of all his Sub-
iects, durst neither trust to the strength
of his Pallace, nor of his Guards, nor of
his great Dog: but fled away in a Boat,
and was shortly after taken, and brought
backe laden with Iron Chaines. Hee
was scorned and reuiled by the people;
his haire of his head and beard pulled a-
way; his teeth stricken out; his right
hand cut off; and (a few daies after) one
of his eyes pulled out of his Head.
Then was hee vtpon a scabb'd Camel,
apparelled ridiculouslie, and carried
H h h h through

How he was
ouer reached in
his Sorce-
ries.

Wickednesse:
neuer want-
ing as wicked
Councill.

How his wic-
kednesse turn-
ed to his
owne ouer-
throw.

Iacius feasting
to loose his
life, was sud-
denly made
Emperour.

Andronicus
forsaken of all
his Subjects.

This reward
and miserable
end of Andro-
nicus
Tyranny.

of Westminster writeth, *Exosum se prauit, &c. Made himselfe baselul to them, as well for the murder of his Nephew Arthur, as for his adulteries, tyranny and exactions, the continual seruitude wherein he kept England, and lastly, for the war which his desires procured. In respect whereof, Vis alenius meruit lamentatione deplorari: He deserved not to be lamented for a little of any man.* Thus saith he, I forbear to alledge many other notable histories vnto the same purpose, because I do holde it needlesse in a matter so euident.

What then shall we say of *Machiavell* pestilent Precepts, for the preservation of a Prince already infected and poysoned with wickednesse? Can wee saie ought else, but that while he seeketh by one poyson to expel or remedy another, hee poysoneth him double, and killeth him our right? For, a wicked Prince, adding (as *Machiavell* aduise) wickednesse to wickednesse, and cruelty to cruelty, doth accumulate vpon himselfe, hated vpon hatred, which, as I haue declared, will breake out sooner or later to his ouerthrow.

Neither can the *Machiavellian* help his Masters cause, by saying, that such wicked Princes as haue perished by the hatred of men, haue committed some error or other, which they shoulde or might haue foreseene and auoided. For, the imbecility of mans wit and power is such that no man liuing, is able to foresee and prevent all the dangers and accidents, which may occur in the affairs of men, to the ouerthrow of their designments. As hath bin already proued by the examples of the absurd errors, as well of the wisest Senates and Councelles, as of most politticke men. Whereupon, it followeth, that the Prince which exposeth himselfe vnto the generall hatred of all men, incurrth many notable dangers.

For, euen as Townes of Warre, or Fortresses which haue no enemy neere, do, or may commit many errors (in matters appertaining to their defence) without danger; but being besieged by their enemies, are sometimes surprized by occasion of their least ouer sight or negligence. Euen so, it fareth with Princes, who so long as they are generally beloved, are little or nothing preiudiced by many errors which fall out in their Go-

uernment, but being once (as I may terme it) besieged with the hatred of their Subiects and Neighbours, they are ruined sometimes with the least error, which they or their Magistrats do commit.

For, the hatred of men when it is generally, may bee compared to a swelling Sea, which enuironing a Ship on euery side, dooth otherwhiles ouerwhelme it with the impetuosity of Waues, and sometimes againe entereth in at euerie leake or rift, and so sinketh it. In like manner, the generall hatred of men, doth not only ouerthrow a Princes state, by potent and powerfull attempts: but also by taking aduantage of euery little error or accident, which may helpe to ruine it.

And therefore, forasmuch as the weakness of mans witte, and the varietie of times and occasions, do produce alwaies some dangerous accidents in the States of Princes, either by their errors or otherwise: whereupon their industrious & watchful enemies (especially at home) may take aduantage: it followeth, that no Prince generally hated, can liue long in securitie, bee he neuer so Diligent, vigilant, or suspicious of all Men, as *Machiavell* would wish to haue his prince to be.

Who could vse greater vigilancie or diligence for his owne conseruation; or be more suspicious, then *Alexander* the Tyrant of *Phares*? Vho though he loued his Wife *Thebes* verie dearly, yet neuer came he to her chamber, but he caused both her Coffers and her selfe to be searched, to see whether she had any weapon hid in her Garments. And yet neuerthelesse, hee was killed by her, in the end.

Could any man bee more proud for his safety, then was *Claudius* the Emperor? He would neuer goe to any banquet, but where his owne Guardes and Souldiers seued the Table; and neuer visited any sicke man, whose Chamber was not searched before by some of his Guardes, euen to the vetric beds and bedstraw, and yet he was poysoned at last by his owne Iaster, whom he neuer suspected. What should we say of *Domitian* the Emperor? Hee was so fearefull and suspicious of all men, that hee made the walles of his Galleries where he vsed to

Euery little error of a Prince generally hated, is very dangerous.

No Prince generally hated, can liue long in securitie.

Cicero in 1. lib. de Offi.

No vigilancy sufficeth against the hatred of all men in general.

Suetonius in *Claudio*.

Idem in *Domitiano*.

walke, to be set full of bright and cleare Stone, cald *Phengites*, wherein he might see whatsoeuer was done behinde him: and neuerthelesse, he was murdered by his owne Chamberlins.

Many such other examples might be alledged of Princes, who besides their great Guardes and Armies, for defence of their person, vsed all human diligence also, being ialous and suspicious of all men: and yet neuerthelesse, were overreached, sometimes by those whom they most feared; and sometimes by those whom they least suspected, or best trusted. Where to I adde (as I haue elsewhere noted, and cannot repeat too often) that sometimes the most proud and politticke Princes, are (through the imbecility of humane wit) ouerthrowne by their owne policies, that is to say, by the verie same means whereby they seek either to benefit themselves, or to hurt and destroy others, as hath sufficientlie appeared by many feuerall famous examples.

But what securitie can a wicked prince haue by Guardes, or other humane providence and diligence, seeing sometimes, that the wisest and best guarded, being aduertised of some imminent danger, either haue not the hope to vnderstand it, or the wit to beleue it? So it happened to *Julius Caesar*, who, as he was going to the Senat, receiued a memorial, wherein the Conspiratours against him were discovered, and being willing to read it presently, because it import ed him greatly: was so troubled with the presse and importunity of suiters, that he could not attend vnto it, and so was slain the same day in the Senate house. *Archias* also, a Tyrant in *Thebes*, being invited vnto a Supper, where his death was conspired, receiued a Letter from a Friende of his, containing an aduise of the Conspiracy. And being requested (by him that brought it) to read it out of hande, for that it concerned matters of great importance: made aunswere, that it was then no time to negotiate, and so laying it aside, was slain within two houres after.

In like manner, *Charles* the last Duke of *Burgundie*, who, as I haue declared before, was slain at *Nancy*, by the treason of *Campobachio* an Italian: was aduertised and fore-warned thereof, by *Lewes* the

eleuenth, King of *France*. Neuerthelesse, perswading himselfe, that his aduertisement proceeded either of malice to *Campobachio*, or out of a desire to deprive him of his most necessary and trustie seruant, he would not beleue it, but loued him the better for it. Beside, one that was priuie to the conspiracy, being condemned to die for another matter, and determining to reueale it vnto the Duke, thereby to obtaine his pardon, made sute vnto him to speake with him, promising to aduertise him of some thing, which it imported him greatly to know, but the Duke would not bee treated so much as to heare him, for the man was executed, and the Duke slaine within a few daies after.

Now then, I would gladlie knowe of *Machiavell* and his followers, what securitie they can promise their Prince in wickednesse, seeing it is euident by the reasons and examples alledged, that the extreme hatred, which extreme wickednesse draweth vpon them, doth (notwithstanding all their power and policy) worke their ouerthrow by so many means as hath beene declared? As by open Rebellions, or the generall infection of a whole people, by enterprise of a few by the attempt of some one man, by the disloyalty and treachery of a false wife, fained Friends, fauourites, Subiects, & Guardes, by the defection of Soldiers, in fauour of some enemy foraigne or Domestical, by the negligence of Officers and Ministers, by the casualty of all humane affaires and designments; & lastly, by the errors whereto all humane wit and policy is subiect, which to Princes (that be generally beloved) are nothing so dangerous. All which meanes, the strongest, mightiest, and most polittique Tyrants haue bin ouerthrowne at one time or another.

So that the absurditie of *Machiavell* is most manifest in true reason of state, seeing that, in counselling Princes to wickednesse and tyranny, vpon confidence of humane force and policy, hee expotheth them to an assured danger, and doth not giue them any certaine or probable remedy, but rather heapeth danger vpon danger, by encrease of cruelty, and of all Tyrannical impiety. Insomuch, that it may be saide to *Machiavell* Prince, as *Dionegen* said to a Disciple of his, whom

When an euill is declined, there can be no prevention.

How many wayes a wicked Prince is endangered, without any means of auoyding the perill.

Machiavell expotheth his Prince to an assured danger, & giueth him no probable remedy.

Plutarch in his *Treves*, sheweth how to know whether a man haue profit in vertue.

The stone Phengites.

Most proud and politticke Tyrants, ouerthrowne sometimes by those whom they most feared, and sometimes by those whom they least suspected.

Another danger proceeding of humane imbecility.

Example of *Julius Caesar*, *Tyrant* in *Julio Caesar*.

Idem in *Pelipida*, *Archias* a Tyrant of *Thebes*.

Philip Com. in *London* 6. 1. 1. Cap. 13. & 21. *Charles* the last Duke of *Burgundie*.

Machiavell seeking to expell and remedy one poyson with another, poysoneth his Prince double.

The danger which Tyrants incur by the ordinary errors proceeding of humane imbecility.

Examples of Townes of warre & Fortresses wanting enemies.

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LIBERTAS

Remold Ellstrucke sculp.



To the most Noble and Twin-like paire,
of truly Honourable and compleat perfection, Sir PHILLIP
 HERBERT, Knight of the Bath to our dread Soueraigne
 King IAMES, at his Royall Coronation; Lord Baron of
 Sberland, Earle of Mountgomery, and Companion in the
 vnpareld and famous Fellowship, of the
 Order of the Garter.

As also, To the truly vertuous and Noble Countesse his Wife,
the Lady Susan, Daughter to the right Honourable Edward Vere, Earle of Oxen-
ford, Viscount Bulbee, Lord Sandford and of Badeslesmere:
and Lord High Chamberlaine of
England, &c.

The first Vo-
 lume of this
 Treatise,
 published a-
 bout 5. yeares
 since.



Orthily might I bee con-
 demned of arrogancie,
 (most Noble Lord & La-
 dy) because, hauing past
 the Pikes in a peece of the
 selfe-same seruice (follow-
 ed with fauour and kinde
 acceptation) I should
 therefore presume vpon
 the like successe: know-
 ing the inconstant nature
 of Times, that as they al-
 ter, so do mens humours
 & dispositions with them.
 For, that which carrieth

liking and allowance to day, falles into loathing and contempt to
 morrow; Opinions being more various in the case of Bookes, then
 are the Arguments whereon they discourse, because carping curio-
 sity will haue his censure. But, as the Last for Hercules, was not fa-
 shioned to fit euerie foote, nor his Lyons skinn to be worne by any
 base Lout; euen so the sublimitie of true iudgement (in matters of
 such industrious and painfull labor) should be left to the Learned;

Ignorance will
 alwayes be
 bold vpon the
 learned lab-
 ours.

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

not to euery course and mechanicke conceite, capeable of nothing, but of such occasions as are fiteable to his owne condition.

I haue read of the great Riuer * *Enripus*, which ebbeth and floweth seuen times a day, and with such violence; that it carrieth Ships vpon it with full sayle, directly against the winde. Seuen times in an houre ebbeth and floweth rash Opinion, in the torrent of indiscreet and troublesome apprehension: carrying Criticke calumnie, and squint-eyed detraction, mainly against the winde of Wisedome and Iudgement; because their braines are no better ballast, nor their capacity of further reach or extendure.

And yet, if the saying of *Hesiod* be true; *That nothing can bee more pleasing, then variety, which is the soules cheefest solace*: Then (not fearing folly, but speaking to peerelesse Noble nature) giue mee leaue to tell you, that there can hardly bee any especiall subject imagined, but one Argument or other heere meeteth with it. From Sacred Diuinity (the most solide and supream of all other) through all other Artes and Sciences whatsoeuer, euen to any lowly, and the meanest (worthy) profession, here is some notable marke or Monument thereof (if it be either Ancient or Moderne) stored vp in this Treasure, for future Ages to delight in, and to receiue no meane benefite thereby.

Then (Honourable Lord and Ladie) all these blessings beeing Yours (as also my selfe, in endlesse dutie and seruice) when any subject of great, graue, and serious consideration (as of Nations, Monarchies, Kingdomes, and People, in their Originall, Rising or Declining, by Warres, Dissentions, Combuitions, or otherwise in the like occurrences) shall seeme troublesome or tedious to you: walke on but a little further, & then you may enter into a spacious Forrest, affording all choise of pleasing Game, either for Hawking, Hunting, Fowling, or any other Noble exercise beside.

When those Forrest pleasures shall faint you (as all delights dull, by too much continuance) an Orchard standes wide open to welcome you, richly abounding in the fairest Frutages: not to feed the Eie onely, but likewise to refresh the Heart, inuiting you to plucke where, and while you please, and to bestow how, and when you list: because they are all yours, and whosoever else shall taste of them, do enjoy such freedome but by your fauor.

There is one especiall recreation more (Gracious Madam) which remaineth soly to your selfe, and such as may enter by your admittance; in a goodly large Garden, abounding with all kind of the fairest Flowers, that open with the cheerfull mornings Sun, and shut againe at his sad departure, all sweet, and all soueraigne. And, because Ladies of elder times (as many haue had the like delight in our more Moderne daies) were singularly skilfull in Physick and Chirurgery: there is not a vacant place in the whole Garden, but it is fitly furnished

*A narrow sea
betweene the
Hauen Aulis
of Boeotia, and
Euboea.

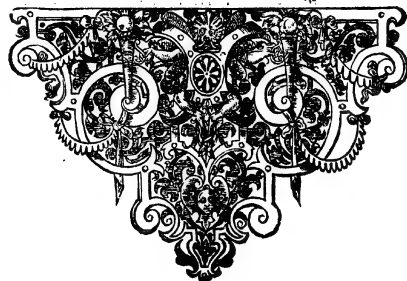
Comparing al
the Volumes
together.

The Epistle Dedicatory.

shed euerie where; the verie common walkes (euen as if they were Bride-like strewed by hand) are couered with the choicest Simples, purest distillatorie Plants, and wholesome Herbes of euerie Vertue: for which, the Garden was purposely founded, and not for fruitlesse idle vanity.

And were you all alone, without companie, and by your selfe, yet can you not so continue there: For, you may meete with a faire Beuey of Queenes and Ladies, at diuers turnings as you walke, and euerie one will tell you the Historie of her life and fortune (rare examples of Vertue and Honor) as themselues can best, truly & plainly discourse vnto you. Some other also you shall see, sadly sitting vnder Eughe & Cipresse trees, with Garlands of those leaues wreathed about their heads, sighing out their diuers disasters: whom your Noble nature cannot choose but commiserate, as greewing to see a scratch in a cleare skin, and a bodie beautified by Nature, to be blemished by vnkinde Destiny.

From manie remote Kingdomes and Countries (where naturally they spake those seuerall Languages) are all these variable pleasures come hither, onely to kisse your Noble hands. It was no mean infelicitie for them, to find no fitter a Tutor, that might haue taught them to speake more eloquent English; which (indeede) also was my fault, seeing none else would tie themselues to so hard a Taske. But howsoeuer it may prooue, your rich iudgements, and all-sufficient ability in the Languages, as also my weakenesse, will (I hope) bury all defects in your fauor, & beare out from scandall my willing endeouour, that I may finish the other (yet remaining) eleuen Bookes behinde, to perfect so rich and rare a Treasure.



Hesiod, in *Lib.*
3. Cap. 7.



The Printer to the Reader.

SOME few yeares past, I intended the whole Worke of *Pedro Mexia*, with some other Authours on the like Arguments of variety. I then published nine Bookes, with intention to haue made them vp fifteen, for the first Volume: but being preuented by sicknesse, I finished but the first nine Bookes; and finding the good acceptance of them, I haue aduentured now on ten Bookes more, of the like Ancient and Moderne Times: sauing only some particular Heads but lightly touched, are now (by the same Authors) more at large illustrated. And may this finde equall fauour vnto the former (without any harsh censure, or vnkinde discouragement:) the other eleuen Bookes shall follow with all conuenient speede, to finish vp so faire a Treasury.

Farewell.

The Contents.

The first Booke.

OF the Ancient Gauls, their Original, Lawes, Customs, and Ceremonies. The Disciplines of their Druides or Priests, to the younger people.

Also of their Bards, Poets, Sarronides, Eubages, & profession of Languages, with other manners used amongst them, as well in warre as in peace, and how they haue continued and changed since.

The second Booke.

OF the New Gauls, now called the French, their manhood, valor, and successful fortunes from their beginning.

The greatnesse of their Kings, their many battels, and famous victories.

Of the names of Kings and Emperour: as also of the Originall of Royalty.

The Battell of Rauenna.

Of the learned women, called the Sybils.

The seven wonders of the World.

Famous military Orations both of Romaines and Iewes.

The Battaille of Nouara, &c.

The third Booke.

THe originall of the Switzers.

The manner of Government obserued in all their severall Cantons.

What Confederates they haue, both in generall and particular.

Likewise of their warres and Battailles.

The fourth Booke.

OF the Kingdom and Court of Spaine, with the Lawes, Customs, and manners of the Nation. Also the diuision and situation of the said country.

Concerning the kingdom of Portugall, the beginning, continuance, and present estate thereof, with the Lawes, Customs, and administration of Justice therein obserued.

Of the Kingdom of Naples, the Antiquities, Lawes, and Customs thereof.

The Originall of the Salique Law, the first Authors and inuents thereof.

The Originall of the Normans.

The first planting of the Vine, and prohibition of wine among the ancient Romaines.

Examples by Birds, Flyes, and other Creatures, for the leading of a vertuous life.

The Originall of Triumphs: why they were first granted, and what a Triumph is.

Of the Crownes and other recompences, given by the Romaines to noble deserving Soldiers, &c.

The fifth Booke.

OF the Nobility of England, Politicall and Civil.

The Rites and Ceremonies used in the Creation of Barons by Charter.

The Kings Charter for the creating of a Viscount. The Charter Royall for the creation of an Earl, a Marquess, Marchionesse, as also of a Duke, and the manner of creating them: being all lively represented in their severall habites, by Figures cut in Brass.

The Kings Charter for creating the Prince of Wales.

The Crowning of the King, as well in former times, as now.

The order of the Parliament pompe.

The manner of restoring blood once tainted.

The Order of the Knights of the Garter, by who instituted, when, and how.

The Collegiate Society of Heralds.

The sixth Booke.

OF the Commonwealth of the Genues or Genewayes, with the Government and administration of Justice there used.

An excellent Relation, concerning the estate, Religion, and Common-wealth, which was obserued among the Iewes.

Of their three Sects, (viz:) the Pharisees, the Sadduces, and Essians: their Originall & manner of life.

Of their three Families: The first being the posterity of Ielus: The second, the Almonians: & the third, Antipater the Idumæan of Afcalon: with a clearing of doubts in diuers Authors.

Of Ceremonies used by the Romaines, before they moued any warre, &c.

The seventh Booke.

THe Common-wealth of Luca, with their Lawes and Constitutions.

Of diuers accidents, serving as diuining Auguries in elder times, whereby to iudge of things to happen.

Against

The Contents.

Against the permission of Duells, or single Combats.

A true module of Government in any Common-wealth, derived from the communistic of Bees.

The three Conquests of England by the Saxons, Danes, and Normanes.

The three famous batailles of Gaza, Grand Cayex, and at Nylus.

The first invention of wearing Rings, with the vertues and properties remaining in precious stones.

Of the Septuagint, or 70. Translators of the Olde Testament, out of Hebrew into Greeke.

The admirable vertues and properties of the Ant.

A briefe survey concerning the Netherlands, divided into 17. Provinces, with a breuiate of the Earles and Princes there reigning, from Thierry the first Earle of Holland and Zeland, to this instant time.

The eight Booke.

OF the Venetians, and the manner of their pollicie.

The foundation of Venice.

The liues and memorable acts of their Dukes and Princes.

Of Gun-shot, and other fiery Engines.

Of Physicke and Physitions.

Of the seven Sages of Greece.

The first foundation of Ierusalem, what fortunes befell it from time to time, and what Kings reigned there.

Of the twelve Moneths in the yeare, as also of ancient and moderne figures represented by them, with diuers other misteries beside.

The ninth Booke.

Concerning the Countrey of Mofcouia or Russia, and of the severall commodities which the Land yeeldeth.

The Linage and descent of the Russian Empe-

perour, his Enshalment and Inauguration.

His manner of Government, Parliaments, Laws, Customes, Warres, &c.

His power for warre and Military Discipline.

What Orders, Rites, Sacraments and Ceremonies are observed in the Mofcouian Church.

Of poysons given to kill at a certaine day, whether they can doe it, or no.

Oferroneous and vile opinions, yet beleueed for sound truths.

What language they shall speak, that neuer heard any speech.

That a man or woman borne deaf, is necessarily dumbe also; and he that is borne among dumbe people.

What the reason is of a childes being so tardie in knowing how to speake.

The tenth Booke.

THE Kingdome of Ireland, the Originall of it, and how.

By whom it hath bene inhabited and Governed from the beginning.

How those parts and Countries, commonly called The New World, were first found.

The excellencie and dignitie of Marriage.

Of the Doctors of Sorbonne, and their first Originall.

The reason why some Princes and Common-wealths haue prospered in the time of Warre, and runne to ruine in peacefull dayes.

Of those qualities and behaviours necessarily required to be in a Prince.

That the eldest sonne ought alwaies to be aduanced and preferred before the younger.

Concerning the great Monarchy of the Cezars or Romanes.

Of the Bezars stone.

A learned Traict, concerning the generation of Pearles.

With many other excellent and memorable discourses.

FINIS.

A Table of the Authours Names, that alledge and approoue the severall Arguments, contained in this Booke.

S.  Adrose Augustine. Anselmus Anselmus Adon. Episc. Emma	Aristophanes Andronicus Athenensis. Asconius Lombardus Aretine Acamatius Antoninus Syl. Alphonsus Rex Hisp. Attalus Accurtius Azzo Alexand. Trallianus Aetius Capito Asconius Pedianus Appianus Alexandrinus Archilochus Arnoldus Ferronius Auerroes Athanafius Antonius Sabellius Archytas Tarentinus Antoninus Annus de Viterbo Annales Constantinop. Annales Treuentis Auror de Bel. Afric. Arnoldus Lufianus Adrianus Imperat. Aymonius Aleinus Agapetus Aulus Gellius Aegyptius Elianus Eneae Syluius Aschylus Aemilius Vellor Aetius Aelius Lampridius Aemilius Micer Asterarius Atheneus Afinius Pollio Apuleius Panfili Alexander Alexandrinus Alexand. Aphrodisens Apollonius Thyaneus Aphraganus Anthony du Lebriz Aristander Antonius Nebriensis Albertus Magnus Aristomachus Achilles Statius	Aristophanes Andronicus Athenensis. Asconius Lombardus Aretine Acamatius Antoninus Syl. Alphonsus Rex Hisp. Attalus Accurtius Azzo Alexand. Trallianus Aetius Capito Asconius Pedianus Appianus Alexandrinus Archilochus Arnoldus Ferronius Auerroes Athanafius Antonius Sabellius Archytas Tarentinus Antoninus Annus de Viterbo Annales Constantinop. Annales Treuentis Auror de Bel. Afric. Arnoldus Lufianus Adrianus Imperat. Aymonius Aleinus Agapetus Aulus Gellius Aegyptius Elianus Eneae Syluius Aschylus Aemilius Vellor Aetius Aelius Lampridius Aemilius Micer Asterarius Atheneus Afinius Pollio Apuleius Panfili Alexander Alexandrinus Alexand. Aphrodisens Apollonius Thyaneus Aphraganus Anthony du Lebriz Aristander Antonius Nebriensis Albertus Magnus Aristomachus Achilles Statius	Belforost Baptista Fulgotius Blondus Bartholomew Boetius Boccace Bonfinus Barthol. Picennus Bartholus Berenus Barthol. Dardanus Beroldus Baptista Ignatius Bellonius Bodinus Boetius Bachi Anchesa Bueholerus Balthazar Castellanus. Bartius Senerius B. Westmerus	Cheremonius Chronerus Pol. Cassiodorus Cornelius Adoff. Cratinus Ctesippus Alexand. Craneus Colophonius Cous Balthazar Calim Calcanin. Cuspinianus
			D	Dion Dicarchus Diodorus Siculus Dionis. Halicar. Dionis. Areopag. Diogenes Laertius Diocorides Demofthenes Demetrius Diocles Diogenes Cynic. Damascenus D. Pedro Episc. Leon Demetrius Alexand. Du Bartas Dileis Cretensis Dares Phrygius Damasc. Sigerius Dionis. Lycimus Donatus Dionis. Cassianus
			E	Eumenius Ephorus Ecdrius Eusebius Eucherius Eumenides Epiphanius Elianus de Garibay Egbinhard Ennodius Enripides Eratotheneus Ennius Enstatius Eutropius Erasistratus

The Authors Names.

<i>Ebulus</i> <i>Enclides</i> <i>Elapacus</i> <i>Emanthes</i> <i>Epicurus</i> <i>Empedocles</i> <i>Erasmus Roter.</i> <i>Esaius</i> <i>Egennus</i> <i>Empolemus</i> <i>Elpagorus</i> <i>Eupolis</i> <i>Episc. Tyriensis</i> <i>P. Ereb. de Resp. Ind.</i> <i>Egnatius</i> <i>Euagrinus</i> <i>Euans</i> <i>Estien Pasquier</i> <i>Epiletus</i> <i>Euchridus, Eras.</i> <i>Epicharmus</i>	<i>Galvus</i> <i>Gallonus de Nargni.</i> <i>Geor. Tradecon</i> <i>Guliel. Baden</i> <i>Galenus</i> <i>Gyldenius</i> <i>Guido Bonatus</i> <i>Genebrardus</i> <i>Geor. Leoninus</i> <i>Gregor. Giraldus</i> <i>Gregor. Reeb.</i> <i>Gucnara.</i> <i>H</i> <i>S. Hierom.</i> <i>Hyst. Miscellan.</i> <i>Homer</i> <i>Herodotus</i> <i>Hirtius</i> <i>Hermanus</i> <i>Hesiodus</i> <i>Heraclides Ponticus</i> <i>Hermolaus Barbar.</i> <i>Hugo de S. Vitor</i> <i>Hierocles</i> <i>Heliconensis</i> <i>Hippocrates</i> <i>Hypocrates</i> <i>Hist. D. Villamont</i> <i>Herodianus</i> <i>Horace</i> <i>Hermes Trismegist.</i> <i>Hermocrates</i> <i>Heliysus Tatus</i> <i>Heraclitus</i> <i>Heraclides</i> <i>Hon. Huntingdon</i> <i>Hist. Poland</i> <i>Hallian, Chron.</i> <i>Hall</i> <i>Holmsted</i> <i>Hofstiens</i> <i>Hermippus</i> <i>Herophilus</i> <i>Hincmarus</i> <i>Hier. Osorius</i> <i>Hinsbaldus</i> <i>Hovellier</i> <i>Hephestion Grec.</i> <i>Heliodorus</i> <i>Haly ben Razel.</i> <i>Hier. Confessio</i> <i>I</i> <i>Julius Pollux</i> <i>Iul. Caf. Comment.</i> <i>Innocentius Papa</i> <i>Iosephus</i> <i>Jennell</i> <i>Julius Florus</i> <i>Julius Secundus</i> <i>Iustine</i>	<i>Joan. Fernaldus</i> <i>Joan. de Imola</i> <i>Julius Capitolinus</i> <i>Jo. de Sacrobosco</i> <i>Jo. Lincclinius</i> <i>Jo. Agricanus</i> <i>Jo. Bale</i> <i>Julius Frontinus</i> <i>Isidorus</i> <i>Iamblichus</i> <i>Inguiphus</i> <i>Julius Pelagius</i> <i>Institutus</i> <i>Isaac Rab.</i> <i>Jo. Roufe</i> <i>Julian Imperat.</i> <i>Iustin. Martyr</i> <i>Jo. Scotus</i> <i>Jo. Alexandrinus</i> <i>Julius Firmicus</i> <i>Jo. de Monti Regalis</i> <i>Jo. Drivdanus</i> <i>Issus</i> <i>Jo. Maith. Tivrinus</i> <i>Jo. Valsus</i> <i>Jo. Saxoniis</i> <i>Jo. Magnus Arch. Elifal.</i> <i>Isocrates</i> <i>Irenaeus</i> <i>Jo. Capgrane</i> <i>Jornandus</i> <i>Jo. Altonachus</i> <i>Jacques Bosius</i> <i>Jo. Damascenus</i> <i>Jo. Baptif. Egnatius</i> <i>Jo. de Aculmont</i> <i>Jacques de Magnutia</i> <i>Jo. Boccace</i> <i>Joachim Adrians</i> <i>Joel. Med. alexand.</i> <i>Jobert Med. Gal.</i> <i>Jo. Camerius</i> <i>Jo. Carion</i> <i>Jo. Cantacuzenus</i> <i>Jo. Fernelius</i> <i>Isaac. Indacius</i> <i>Ionianus Pontanus</i> <i>Jo. Lelleus</i> <i>Jacobus Faber</i> <i>Jo. Amnius.</i> <i>L</i> <i>Lucian</i> <i>Lucius Frullus</i> <i>Leo Imperat</i> <i>Lucius Plotius</i> <i>Latinius Pacatius</i> <i>Lucane</i> <i>Laſan. Firmianus</i> <i>Lupus Episc. Troi</i> <i>Liebonius</i> <i>Lodovicus Vines</i> <i>Leo Affricanus</i>	<i>Lactantius Grammas</i> <i>Levanardus Camillus</i> <i>Laonicus Calchond.</i> <i>Licinius Macer.</i> <i>Lucas Tindenis</i> <i>Lazaro Soranzo</i> <i>Lucretius</i> <i>Leo Hebraico</i> <i>Lodovicus Calvus</i> <i>Leo Sophist.</i> <i>Labro Antistius</i> <i>Lum</i> <i>Lateranus</i> <i>Lucius Flerns</i> <i>Laurentius Savinus</i> <i>Lopez de Castagned</i> <i>Lucius Martinus Sic.</i> <i>Lampridius</i> <i>Lazarus de Baif.</i> <i>Lodo. Valentinus</i> <i>Leo Papa</i> <i>Lucas de Troy</i> <i>Lernus</i> <i>Lyſim</i> <i>M</i> <i>Marcus Afer</i> <i>Marcellus</i> <i>Marcus Varro</i> <i>Nolma Hiba.</i> <i>Martinius Sicul</i> <i>Martianus Capellus</i> <i>Martinus de Bello</i> <i>Macrobinus</i> <i>Marianus Scotus</i> <i>Martialis</i> <i>Marius</i> <i>Messala Augurinus</i> <i>Metrodorus</i> <i>Marcus Avelinus</i> <i>Mofchiannus</i> <i>Narbadenus</i> <i>Messala Cornutus</i> <i>Macchianell</i> <i>Moffet Bar. Cepha</i> <i>Marſilius Phicinus</i> <i>Mathew Palmerius</i> <i>Martinius</i> <i>Marcus Manilius</i> <i>Marcus Paulus</i> <i>Metaſthenes</i> <i>Mathew Paris</i> <i>Manebon</i> <i>Milpene</i> <i>Mathew Weftmynſt</i> <i>Munſter</i> <i>Marcus Valerius</i> <i>Mathisius</i> <i>Monsieur de Villamont</i> <i>Marcus Damasceus</i> <i>Museus</i> <i>Monsieur de la Noue</i> <i>Mefius</i>
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The Authors Names.

M ^s . Angelo Carbo.	Paul. Iovius	Ruffic	Theophrastus
Marniliu	Phil. Communes	Rutil. Numation	Trogu Pompeius
Mer, Gal. Bel.	Pilonius	Kitius	Titus Livius
N	Paul. Orofius	Roder Ximenet	Timagenes
Nodgerus	Platinu	Rabanu	Thomas Aquinas
Nazarus	Pet. Martyr	Rog. Houeden	Theodosius
Nemus	Pedro Mexia	Rabbi Isaac	Tertullian
Nancletus	Paul. Emilii	Rogerius	Themistocles
Nico. Boyerus	Phlegonius Grec.	Rupertus	Theopompus
Niceph. Gregorius	Paul. de Castro	Ruffinus	Tabitibus
Nico. de Lyra	Politianu	Raph. Volateran.	Tacellus
Nigidius	Pindarus	Regino Chron.	Tomius
Nico Secundinus	Paul. Aegmetus	Rabbi Hiele	Tibullus
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Nico. de Cusa	Polydor Virgil	Suetonius Tranquil.	Thencius
Nico. Myresfic.	Petofrya	Solinus Polybif.	Theodoros
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Opius	Phil. Melancthon.	Salvianus	Theod. Bibliander
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Omphorius	Proclius	Soliger	Tilius
Orofius	Philemon	Seonius	Theophanes
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Orpheus	Pet. Oliverius	Suggerus	Theodorus
Otho Acciepsf.	Per. Comestor	Strabo	Thomastius
Otradius	Pet. Crinitus	Socrates	Thomas More
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Olaus Arc. Ufpal.	Philopides	Sieur de Louville	Y
P	Propercius	Seneca	Virgill
Paulanus	Pauljanus	Snydas	Vitruvius
Procopius	Pius 2. Papa	Sylvius Italicus	Vopiscus
Paulus Polonius	Pomponius Latus	Seleius Bassus	Varro
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Pontius Paulinus	Policrates	Scopas	Vincenius Lyrancus.
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Philostratus	Pontin. Perunnius	Stoerlinus	Venerab. Beda
Petrarche	Platarius	Sannazar.	Vogetius
Polybius	Probus	Simondides Melli.	Valer. Flaccus
Plato	Palemon	Sabellicus	Volaterranus
Plutarke	Paul. de Nola	Spertianus	Vipianus
Pliny	Pomp. Lena Libert	Survius	Valentinus Barruchius.
Pomponius Mela	Planus	Sethius	Z
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Pofsidius	Pidacius	Socius Aurelius	Zenocrates
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Petrus Abayelard.	Popincrus	Sieur de Pybrac.	Zozimus
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Petrus Bellingus	Quintilian	Stobecus	Zurcanus
Petrus Jacob.	Quintus Curtius	Schonerus	Zarmanochegae.
Paul. Warnefridus	Quint. Septimius	Serenus	
	R	Sigif. de Herbeff.	
	Ronfard	Stoeflerus	
		Sinefius	
		Sammonicus	
		T	
		Trebellius Pollio	



THE TREASVRIE of Ancient and Moderne TIMES.

THE FIRST BOOKE.

Of the ancient Countrey of Gaule, now called France; what Lawes, Customs, Ceremonies, and other manners were used among the people of that Nation in their first Originall; and how (since then) they have continued.

An Introduction to the whole Discourse.



In ancient times, the Countrey of Gaule was enclosed within the limits of the Rhine, of the Alpes, of the Mediterranean sea, of the Pyrenean Mountains, and of the Ocean sea. But after that the Gauls had passed the Alpes; all the Countrey which was from the Mountains, so farre as the river *Rhodanus, along by the coast of the Apennines, and so vp into the high Sea (which at this day is called the Gulfe of Venice) took the name of Gaule: as Galatia did the like, after that wee had subdued some people of Asia. That Gaule then which is in Europe, being halfe parted by the Alpes, is diuided into two parts; the one on the hither side of the Mountaines, and the other beyond. That which is on the further side, yet concerning vs, was called by the Romanes *Togata: as Romane, in regard of

the habit of the Romanes, being commonly called a Gowne, and which they then did vsually weare. That on the hither side, was (by themselves) named properly *braccata* (by a certain fashion of garment then worne by them, termed Breeches) and partly **Comata*, in regard that the haire on their heads was verie bushy. *Braccata* in the time of *Iulius Caesar*, had his extendure from the Alpes, so farre as *Rosne* or **Rhodanus* bending towards the Pyrenean Mountaines, where were comprized the *Volce*, *Armoricanes*, *Rhutheni* or *Rhytteni*, and *Heluetians*, as it is to be seen in the seventh Book of *Caesars* Commentaries. This country was one while called *Prouence*, and then againe *Narbonne*, after the name of *Narbona*, then the chiefe and capitall Citie of the country. In *Comata* dwelt the Aquitans, which are they of *Guienne*, euen from the Pyrenean Mountaines, so farre as the river **Garona*: on the hitherside whereof are the Celts, inhabiting so farre as the Rivers of *Sena* and *Marna*. All the rest of the country extending toward the North, is possessed by the Belgians.

Now the search would bee very great, and hard to be performed by any man, that would

B

would

The first limits of Gaule

*A River in Italy, rising out of Apennini, and running betweene Apenninum and Rhaetia into the Adriaticque Sea.

The 3. diuisions of Gaul, also Cister, & new Lombardy.

*Braccata, containing Narbonne, Prouence, or Dauphine.

*Comata, comprehending Belgica, Celtica and Aquitana. A River rising out of the Alpes.

Iulius in Comment, lib. 7.

Prouence called Narbonne.

*A river passing Celtica from Aquitania.

The Authors speeches in his owne defence concerning his purpose in this History.

would (with a certaine history of all the times) set downe the fashions, manners, and customes which the ancient *Gaules* had held and obserued, vntill the daies of *Iulius Caesar*. and their nouell qualities from those dayes to ours. But such as can content themselves with that diligence, which generally may be deliuered by the proofes of good and sufficient Authours, worthy of faith and sound credit, perhaps shall finde their expectation well fitted, both with honest pleasure and profite in their reading. And with this intention am I determined to make (summarily) a collection out of many writers, that haue carefully employed their paines, concerning the manners and behaviour of the *Gaules*, according as matters might be remembered, in such diuersity of distant places. And first, we will select out the most Ancient: after ward (if wee can bring our purpose to full effect, and as our endeuor hath nothing be wanting) we will as diligently seeke for the nouell customes.

Caesar hath comprehended a certaine forme and semblance of *Gaul* in her ancient dayes; especially in the first booke of his Commentaries, of the warre in *Gaul*; albeit he hath sowne many other things throughout his Bookes: which I hauing collected heere and there, and from infinite places in other Authors, so that the whole may serue to encrease and fully illustrate the course of our purpose; we may the more reasonably accomplish that which shall serue to make knowne our full aime and scope. Neuerthelesse, I am not to learne, that the *Greekes* which haue followed *Caesar*, were it that they vnderstood not the latine tongue, or were it through carelesse and negligence; haue declared in many places, that they scarcely vnderstoode the matters contained in his Commentaries. Wherefore we will first of all imitate *Caesar*, as the most great and singular Author and master of our history: and then pursue others, according as they haue borrowed any thing of him, or as they serue to make the whole subiect vnderstood.

But in regard that the principall parts of *Great Britaine*, as also of Germany, haue bene seized by the *Gaules*, as shal appear in due time and place; and forasmuch as there hath bene great resemblance of the Brittaines and Germanes with the Gaules,

as will bee declared by that which *Caesar* hath written; I imagined with my selfe, that it would very conveniently suite with our purpose, to compare such fashions as carried any coherence in these Nations. Considering that *Caesar* thought it fit, to compare the customes of *Gaul*, with them of Germany. And *Strabo*, perceiving the Germanes to be called so by the Romanes, as true brethren to the Gaules, by resemblance of their manner of liuing, when he wrote the fashions and customes of the ancient Gaules, he reprobued them, and began with the Germanes. But although that *Tacitus* hath sayd, That they were named Germanes, by an appellation proper to their Nation, and such as they pleased to stile themselves; yet notwithstanding, howsoever at first they received that name, there may be discerned in the great Germanity, or (for our better vnderstanding) a Fraternity, both in behaviour and customes, answerable one vnto another.

For our better beginning then, we will conclude on certaine kinds of manners, to the end, that each thing may be placed as may be most conuenient. *Plato* sayeth, There are three principal parts in the body of Man, wherein are lodged the three principall powets of the soule; Concupiscence in the Liuer, Anger in the Heart, and Reason in the Head, as in a Citadell. In like manner, there are three severall kinds of vertues that do command & gouerne them: Sobriety or Temperance, to ouerway Concupiscence in the Liuer; Courage, against Anger in the Heart; and Wisdom, in thinking and iudging with Reason. The common consent & agreement of all which, is the faithfull dutie of each one, euen as it were with diuers voices, & worthily may be called Iustice. *Caesar* and *Diodorus*, *Titus Livius*, *Strabo*, and others, who are as interpreters of *Caesar*, do declare many things of the Gaules; as if I would haue set down at large in my Discourse, according as they are written by them: I should rehearse one and the same matter too many times. Wherefore I will rather imitate their intention in each place, then bee constrained to alledge their multiplicity of words.

CHAP.

Iul. Caesar com.
lib. 7.
Strabo in lib. 9.

Cornel. Tacitus
lib. 4. cap. 3.

Re semblance
in customes
and manners,
betweene the
Gaules and
Germane.

Plato in lib. 1.
de leg. 8.

Three cheefe
parts in mans
bodie.

Three especial
kinds of
vertues gou-
erne the po-
wers of the
soule.

Diodorus, *Titus*
Livius, *Strabo*,
and other in-
terpreters of
Caesar.

Iul. Caesar in com.
lib. 6.

Diuers other
good Authours
compared
with *Caesar*.

Errors in
Greek Au-
thors that fol-
lowed *Caesar*.

Caesar follow-
ed as Father
of the history.

The cheefeest
place in
Great Brittain
and Germany
possessed by
the Gaules.

CHAP. I.

*Of the Temperance in eating and drinking
used among the Gaules: as also of their
Marriages and single condition of life.*

Enter then on the behalfe of Temperance, wee might speake of their abstinence in eating and drinking, resort to women, their manner of speech, their modesty in Garments and lodging; their sports, delights and alsistance, which they afford to one another in such things as they haue. Concerning the eating and drinking of the ancient Gaules, they liued for the most part (according to *Diodorus* and *Strabo*) on white meats, and diuers kinds of flesh, & principally on Porke fresh and salted. They vfed to haue standing by their fires, pottes full of boyled flesh, and spits well laden with roasted flesh; the better part whereof they would giue to men of worth, to doe them honor: as *Homer* writes, That the Grecian Captains did to *Alex*, when he had won the victory against *Hector* body to body. *Caesar* granteth the selfe-same manner of life to the Brittaines, and to the Germanes. The Brittaines (saith he) which dwell furthest vp into the Countrey, the most part of them do not sowe any corne but liue onely vpon milke and flesh. Neuerthelesse, they hold in detestation (by what religious opinion I know not) to taste of an Hare, of an Hen or Chicken, and of a Goose. Hee saith also the very same in his seuenth booke, speaking of the Germanes; That they do not addit them selves to any kinde of labour, and that their very greatest nourishment is vpon white meats, cheefe and flesh. But *Tacitus* hath written much more amply concerning the manner of life amongst the Germans. Each mother (saith hee) doth nurse her child with her owne breast, and neuer trusteth it in the hands of their seruants, or other Nurses. Thou canst not know the Master from the Varler, by any kinde of more delicate feeding. They liue nakedly and slovenly, euen amongst their Heads or droues of Cattle; & lying vpon the ground, vntill such time as age

doth set apart such as are Masters, & vertue doeth auouch and make them to bee knowne. Their viands are simply dressed or prepared, being of wilde fruits; sometimes of fresh Venison, or curded milke, without any dainty cooking or dressing. So much for their manner of eating.

As for their drinke, that amongst the Gaules, and termed *Zythum*: This (saith *Diodorus*) was made of barley and water, hauing passed thorow diuers honycombs. *Tacitus* writeth almost the very same of the Germanes. They make a drinke (saith he) of water, mingled both with barley & wheate, disguised into some resemblance of wine. They which dwell on the Sea-coasts, do buy wine. The most part of the Gaules (as *Diodorus* & *Strabo* doe both write) vfed to sitte on the ground and to eate their food, sitting on the skinnes of Dogges or of wolues: being serued with earthen vessels, which were strong and massiue, and wrought about with branches of flowers; and they were alwayes attended and serued by their young children. In like manner *Tacitus* recordeth, That the Germans so soone as they were awake and risen (which they vfed not to doe till it was day) they laued and washed themselves with warme water, because winter continued in their region for the most part of the yeare; and at coming forth of the bathe, they went vnto their fooode, each one hauing his table and seat alone by himselfe. Thus then was their ancient and rude simplicity, which caused the Germanes to be so big membered and corpulent, whereat *Tacitus* seemeth to maruell greatly. And thence likewise ensued the selfe-same greatnesse of bodye which was among the Gaules, vho for their huge corpulency, and regarding onely their owne bignesse of stature, held the smaller constitution of the Romanes in contempt, as may be seene in the 2. booke of the wars in *Gaul*.

But *Plato* reprehendeth the Gaules for their intemperance and drunkenness with wine; and *Diodorus* writeth the very same. They affected Wine so excessively, that when the Merchants brought it to them, they dranke it wholly new as it was; and then becoming drunk, by hauing taken ouermuch, they lay downe to sleepe, or behaued themselves like mad men. And this was the reason that many of the Ita-

The drinke v-
fed by the an-
cient Gaules
Diodorus in lib. 4.
Cornel. Tacitus
in lib. 4. cap. 2.

Diodorus in lib. 4.
Strabo in lib. 4.

Their manner
of eating their
meate.

Cornel. Tacitus
vbi supra.
Of washing
their body in
warne water.

The reason of
corpulency &
big stature of
the Germans
and Gaules.

Intemperance
and drunken-
nesse amongst
the Gaules.

Italian Merchants brought wine to the Gaules.

Diodor. in lib. 4.
The Gaules hazarded their lives upon sodaine quarrels.

Caes. Tacitus in lib. 4. cap. 5.

The whole day & night spent in nothing but drinking amongst the Germanes.

An Order amongst the Gaules against this badde custome.

Caesar in comment. lib. 1.

Most valiant & fierce people about 700000.

lian Merchants for the gaine which they got both by sea and land; brought wine in great plenty thither, and for a small vessel of wine, receyved (in exchange) four times the value. And the same Authour not only blameth their drunkenness, but also the quarrels which accompanied this excess. They obserued (saith he) as a custome, at their feeding, for the least debate of words, to rise presently from the Table, and defie one another to the combat, hazarding their lives without any discretion. Thus you see how the Greeks haue reprooued the ancient Gaules; and *Tacitus* calleth the Germanes their Brethren in the same vice, accusing them equally to be drunkards and quarrellers. They vied not (saith he) any such temperance against thirst. For they held it no dishonor, to spend the whole day and night in drinking, so they might be suffered to drinke their fill, furnishing them with so much as they would haue: you should find them no lesse easie to be conquered by their vices, then by armes. The quarrels which rose very often among them, as among people subiect to Wine, was no sooner mingled with injuries of the mouth; but (for the most part) did end with blows by the sword, to the expence of their blood, yea of their liues. Such was the blame which the Germanes receiued by making no more account of so bad a custome; even as if this vice had bene no vice among them, or did any way shame them.

But the Gaules vied themselves in better manner: for by a publicke ordinance this vile behaviour (in particular persons) was verie greuously and rigorously punished. Let vs heare then from *Caesar* the cause of the magnanimity of the Gaules; which was, by knowing how to keep themselves from this disorderly kinde of life. The most magnanimous of all (saith he in his first Booke, speaking of the Belgians, Celts, and Aquitanes) are the Belgians, because they are furthest off in the countrey, which is carefully husbanded, and strangers doe but seldome traffike with them, to bring them that which serueth to no other end but to effeminate their courages.

In the same book speaking of the Nervians, as of the most courageous of all the Belgians, he saith; *Caesar* making enquiry

of them, what might be their naturall disposition and manners, hee found, That Merchants did not traffike with them, & that they would not suffer (by any means) that wine should be brought among them, or any thing that serued for delicacy. For they held (as an infallible opinion) that such things were the cause of abasing their courage, & that their naturae virtue would thereby be much weakened. Whereby we may perceiue, that the intemperance of some particular men, was condemned by a generall and publicke decree; and that sobriety & temperate carriage was greatly respected and honored in those parts. *Strabo* sayeth, That by the perswasion of *Cornus*, a graue and wise man, the Getes rent and pluckt vp all the Vines in their country, yet vied some wine in the time of their childrens nursing. But our Ancestors did much better, because they would neuer permit or suffer, that any Vine should be planted among them, or wine to be brought them from any other place. Wherefore *Diodorus* had good reason to say, that in his time there came no vine at all into *Gaulle Comata*.

Caesar in his fourth Booke, maketh the *Suenets*, a people of Germany, equall in temperance to the *Nervians* that were in *Gaulle*. For they would not suffer that any wine should be brought into their country, because they were perswaded, that it made men lazie, effeminate, and vnapt to endure any labor. Thus we may obserue then, what was their sobriety in eating and drinkeing, wherein their greater part of vertue is commended; for abstinence from lewd and wanton women. And albeit that *Diodorus*, *Strabo*, *Bardejaner*, according as *Eusebius* reporteth; being all of them Grecian Authors, haue reproued this vice as frequent and common among the Gaules, and which is as innated (if credite may bee giuen to *Aristotle*) in warlike actions; whereby the fable was faigned, of conioyning *Venus* with *God Mars*: yet notwithstanding, *Caesar* speaketh nothing thereof, but giueth great commendation to the Germanes for their temperance, contrary to them that haue written otherwise of them.

Such as haue continued in virgin estate the longest while among them, and without the knowledge of any other but their owne body, receiued the very greatest respect

Wine & wantonness means the hinderers of manly courage

Strabo in lib. 7.
Of the Getes

No vines planted among the Gaules.

Diodor. in lib. 4.

In Caesar in comment. lib. 4.
Suetus, bordering on Baunaria, Halatia, the river Rheine, & the Alpes.

An Historiographer of Babylon
Euseb. in hisse. Eccles. 1. 4. c. 28.

Arist. in lib. 4. de Anim. cap. 9.

Of such as lived longest in virgin estate of life.

Horat. in Ter. Of the nature of Children.

The younger men amongst the Germanes

Young men children equaled their fathers strength

In Caesar in comment. lib. 6.

Orders obserued in marriages amongst the Gaules.

Of suspicion concerning the husbands death.

The doctrine of the Philosophers concerning the husbands power.

spect and praise. For they held it as a most villanous thing to haue knowledge of a woman, before the age of twenty yeeres. In all which time they did not hide themselves, but bathed daily together in the rivers. And this is the reason rendered by *Herodotus*, speaking of the nature of children, wherefore haire commeth much sooner to some then it doth to others: because the vse of *Venus* maketh the flesh more loose and flabby, and openeth the skinn, which affordeth the easier passage to the haire; contrarywise, such Children as are gelded, haue neuer any haire at all. *Tacitus* hath not omitted the selfsame attribution of praise to the Germanes. Young men are long time before they haue any knowledge of women: and that is an especial reason why they lose no part of their youthfull strength, and therefore make no hast at all of parting with their virgin condition. Young Laddes, and such (of like stature) as are gelded, do make triall of their agility together, and their children do (commonly) partake of their Parents strength.

Marriages do appertaine to the rule of the same vertue: but *Caesar* hath not written carefully how the Gaules obserued it. The husband (saith hee) laide downe the valew of so much goodes, as his wife brought with her, and a iust account being taken thereof, the whole stocke was put together. The party that furnished, enioyed the others portion, with the reuenues of all that had past. The husbands are masters and commanders of their wives liues, and also of their Childrens. When any Father of a Family (of note) dyeth, the next of the kindred do assemble together, and if any suspicion be conceived concerning his death: the Wife is committed to tortures, as they doe their slaues, and if the proue to be conuincied, after they haue tormented her with fire, and all other kinds of paines, they put her to death. This law may seeme hard, that giueth the husband such like power over the wife and children, as he hath over his slaues. For, according as the Philosophers haue taught vs: the father of the family giueth command to his wife & children, as vnto free persons. Yet this is not all as one kinde of command: for hee giueth command to his wife as to one of the same Commonwealt, & to his chil-

dren as a King. The Law truly may appeare to be hard, yet it is *Roman*, even the like as *immulus* made, Ordaining; That the sonne should bee in his fathers power all his life; and that the father may chastise, beate, put him to any busines in the field, sell, or kill him. The same King also appointed, That a man might punish his wife, if he had drunke any wine. *Caesar* speaketh all this in his sixth booke: and in his fifth hee declareth diuers other fashions of behaviour in marriages, speaking of the Brittaines.

Ten or twelue together (saith hee) do hold their wives in common, and principally brethren with their brethren, and fathers with their daughters. And (such as are born of them, are avouched for children of them that haue espoused their mothers, being yet maids. So much also he relateth of the English. But *Tacitus* writing of the Germanes, giueth them most noble commendation in this point. The wife (saith hee) neuer offereth anie dowry to the husband, but the husband to the wife. The parents, cousins, & kindred are present thereat, and allow of all presents passing between them. And they are no presents deuised for delicacie or delight of women, nor to repair a new intended marriage: but they are a gift of Oxen yoked, a horie bridled and furnished, & a Buckler or Target, with a sword and Iaueline. For these presents the husband taketh his wife; who likewise (on her owne behalfe) presenteth him with some weapons of warre. This is the great marriage bond, these are accounted sacred mysteries, & these are the coningall gods that they hold in reuerence.

And to the end that the wife may not thinke her selfe exempted from vertuous desseignes, nor the hazards of warre: from the very beginning of her marriage she is continually aduertised, that she is thus receiued and taken to be her husbands companion in all paines and dangers, and that (be it either peace or warre) she must of necessity runne the same fortune. And these are plainly signified vnto her by the coupled Oxen, the furnished horie, and warlike weapons. She receiueeth what she is to bestow on her children after that she hath worthily and holily nursed them vp: & such as are of most forward disposition the Father hath care of, that they may re-

Regulus Lawe
for power in fathers.

Obseruation of marriage amongst the Brittaines.

Cornelius Tacitus, ubi supra.
In praise of the Germanes.

Presents giue vnto the new married Husband.

Aduertisement to the wife from the day of her marriage.

Mysterious significations to the Wife.

Education of
their children

femble (in good quality) others of theyr lineage. And then they liue, keeping their chastity well defended; nor being corrupted by any occasions, nor the sight of wanton pastimes, or being present at Feasts or bankets.

Women punished by
their husbands for
adultery

There are very few adulteries committed in so great a Nation; for the punishment thereof is very speedy, and the husband may lawfully do it. After hee hath thauen and stript her naked, the husband bringeth her forth of his house, in the presence of all his and her neereſt Kindred, and beateh her with a bastinado thorow all the fireetes; for there is no allowance of any pardon after that a wife hath blemished her honor; and neither her beauty, youth, or riches can afterward winne her another husband.

No pardon
granted for
adultery.Vices not
noticed.

Vices ſerue not there to be laughed and iested at: & one may well ſay, That (there) is ſuch a world, as neither permiteth the doing or induring of any diſſoluteneſſe. Thoſe Commonweales are the beſt ordered, wherein is ſuch permiſſion, that the Maides onely finde themſelves husbands, and marriage conſiſteth in mutual accord (for a little while) in good hope, and that the Bride may haue her hearts deſire. For in this caſe ſhe taketh her husband as one & the ſelfſame body, and one life is allowed by them both: becauſe they can haue no contrary thoughts, neither they deſires any way wandering, but their affections doe fo ſympathize, as not in either to husband or wife, but to the ſanctity of marriage. It is helde as a very great offence, to procure the death of any of their children, or of their kindred: And there good cuſtomes doe beare more away, then good Lawes and Ordinances doe elſewhere. Hitherto haue we continued the writing of *Tacitus*, concerning the German marriages.

Commenda-
tion of mar-
riage making.Against mur-
dering of
Children or
Kindred.

Diodorus reprehendeth the Gaules for a certaine kinde of diſordered behauiour in their ſpeaking, ſaying, They vie a ſhort kinde of ſpeech, ſomewhat hard to be vnderſtood, and without any deliberation; ſpeaking great ſtore of doubtfull things, yet deliuering many bragging and vaunting words; much to commend theſelves and in the contempt of others. They are threatners and bad ſpeakers, and full of ouerweening. This vanity of theirs hath likewiſe bene reprooued by *Strabo* in lib.

Diodorus in lib. 4.
The manner
of ſpeaking
amongſt the
Gaules.

Diodorus reprehendeth the Gaules for a certaine kinde of diſordered behauiour in their ſpeaking, ſaying, They vie a ſhort kinde of ſpeech, ſomewhat hard to be vnderſtood, and without any deliberation; ſpeaking great ſtore of doubtfull things, yet deliuering many bragging and vaunting words; much to commend theſelves and in the contempt of others. They are threatners and bad ſpeakers, and full of ouerweening. This vanity of theirs hath likewiſe bene reprooued by *Strabo* in lib.

3, And *Cæſar* ſpeaketh thereof in his ſeauenth Booke, and is alſo to be proued by diuers examples in his other books. Such is that whereof hee ſpeaketh in his firſt booke, of *Drucimus* the Heluetian, who highly extolled and vaunted the vertue of the Heluetians, and reproached the diſcomfiture of the Romanes, admoniſhing *Cæſar* by menaces to beware of any further attempting; for feare, leaſt the place where the Romanes miſcarried, by a further loſſe of their people, after the ſpoiling of their whole Army, ſhould take name thereby, and ſo remaine as a memorie of their diſgrace.

Such alſo was *Arminius*, King of the Germanes, who anſwering liſe or nothing to matters which *Cæſar* demaunded of him; ſpake wonders of his owne valour, and that he neuer buckled with any man, but he was ruined. And *Cæſar* might come to fight whenſoeuer he pleaſed, but he ſhould learne of the Germanes, that they were a people neuer vanquiſhed, and ſkillfull enough in actions of armes. *Vercingetorix* alſo wanted in his oration, that hee would make a League with all the Gaules, and then all the world doſt not make head againſt them. This is ſufficient concerning this matter; I come now to ſpeake of the care which they had of their owne perſons.

Jul. Cæſar in lib. 7.

Diu come the
Heluetian
braggart.Arminius K.
of the Ger-
manes.Jul. Cæſar in com.
Lib. 1.

CHAP. II.

How the Gaules vſed to wear their Haire; and what kinde of garments they vſed, with the painting of their bodies, their Coines, &c.



Diodorus, ſpeaking of the Gaules, ſayth, Albeit, that naturally they haue goodly lockes of hayre; yet doe they helpe the naturall colour thereof, by an

ſtrument properly fitted for that purpoſe. They twine and twiſt theyr buſhie lockes together, and ſuffer them to hang dangling downe, euen from the forehead to the necke: ſo that they reſemble Satyres, and young vnthorne boyes. They haue practiſed by Art, to make their haire

Diodorus in lib. 4.
How the
Gaules vſed
to wear their
haire.Cornel. Tacitus
ubi ſupra.
How the
Sueues did
wear their
haire.

thicke and hard, that little difference appeared betwene theirs and the haire of a horſe. *Tacitus* ſpeaketh (wel-neere) the ſame of the *Sueues*, a people of Germany. But the eſpecial note of that Nation is, that they turne their haire croſſe or ouerthwart, and then binde or truſſe it vp in a knot. In this manner are the *Sueues* known among all the other Germanes, and free-men of the Countrey from ſlaues. Some of the *Sueues* doe wear their hayre long, and briſtling backward with a bending downe, and ſo they go till they bee hoary or white; and then (ofentimes) they binde it together on the crowne of the head. The Lords are no more reſpectiue of their own perſons, and yet without any proud or bad intention: For it is not done in regard that they affect or coe to be affected; but they doe onely ſo decke themſelves, to appeare the more fierce and terrible vnto their enemies, when occaſion calleth them forth to warre.

Of the Lords
amongſt the
SueuesDiodorus in lib. 4.
How the
Gaules wore
their beards,
and ſome o-
ther apparel.

Diodorus proceedeth on in this manner, concerning the behauiour of the Gaules. Some of them (ſaith he) doe vie to ſhau their beards, but others doe wear them of ſome length. The Gentlemen doe cutte ſhort the haire on their cheekes, & ſuffer their beards to grow to ſuch length, as it will couer all their bodie. They wear alſo a kinde of garment, which is all hairie, to ſeeme the more dreadfull and terrible, conſiſting of diuers colours, and teamed by them *Braccates*. They haue long ſkirred Iackets or Caſſocks, rewed or ſtreaked, beeing of the very coureſt Cloath, which they vie for winter, and the moſt ſimple or ſlenderſt for ſummer. *Diodorus* ſpeaketh thus of the *Braccates*, as the reaſon whereby the Romanes called that part of Gaule *Braccata*, and by which garment the ſame Authour affirmeth, That the Gaules were more terrible to beholde.

The reaſon of
calling Gaule
Braccata.

Strabo in lib. 4.

Strabo likewiſe writeth in his fourth book concerning their haire, their Caſſocks, their rude and hairy garments, their long high breeches, & their ſhort open cloaks which hardly couered halfe theyr Buttocks. All theſe Authors doe agree together, as touching the haire of the Gaules and Germanes, and to be of a redde colour, according as *Titus Linius*, and *Diodorus* haue writen. *Cæſar* ſpeaking of the of ancient Britany, writeth thus. They do

Titus Lini. de
3. lib. 3. cap. 1.
Diodorus in lib. 4.
Jul. Cæſar in
Lib. 7.
Of the an-
cient Britanes.

all paint chemſelves with an herb, called by them *Gallum*, which cauſeth a blewith or azure colour: and this made them very dreadful to looke on, when they went to any fight. Moreouer, they wore their lockes of haire very long; ſhauing off all their other haire except that on the head, and on the upper lip.

Diodorus purſuing his purpoſe concerning the Gaules, figureth them forth (as it were with golde) in this manner. The whole Countrey of Gaule is without the metall called Siluer: but nature hath giuen it gold, without any labor or cunning endeavour. For, in regard that the moſt part of the riuers haue their courſes verie troubleſome, vncleane in paſſing, & wheeling or circling in wide compaſſe: the waters which deſcend from the hills and mountains, by diſperſing themſelves abroad in the valleyes, do ſcatter a fand on the fields, which is mingled with golde.

Afterwardes, kneading or tweaking the clods together, wherein they diſcerne the golde to ſhine, and permitting them to become hard: they then breake them in peeces, and when they haue waſhed it in water, and the earth is quite taken away, they hule the reſt into a furnace, and ſo melt it in that manner. When they haue thus moulten and drawne out the golde pure and cleane, the women and men do adorne themſelves therewith: for they wear it in rings on their fingers, and in braceletes about their armes, and in Carcanets on their breſts, & in chaines about their neckes, and about their middles as golden girdles. *Polybius* alſo maketh mention in his ſecond booke, of their Chaines and Bracelets. And *Strabo* in his 4. booke ſpeaketh of their Mines of gold, whereof the cheefeſt are in the Countrey of *Tarbellus*; and hee attributeth this Ornament only vnto ſuch as were in honor and dignity.

But *Cæſar* and *Tacitus* do ſpeake of another manner of want or poeury (of this magnificence) amongſt the Germanes. They vie (ſaith *Cæſar*) ſkinnes in their garments, and ſhort cloakes made of ſieered ſkins, hauing the greater part of theſe body naked. But *Tacitus* ſpeaketh more amply, concerning the whole manner of the Germanes, writing thus. I doubt whether the gods were favourable to them or quite contrary, becauſe they denied them

*The Herbs
waſed, vſed
by Dyers.Diodorus in lib. 4.
No ſilver in
the countrey
of Gaule, but
gold naturallyHow they ga-
ther their
gold amongſt
the Gaules, &
adorne them-
ſelves there-
with.

Polybius in lib. 2

Strabo in lib. 4

The countrey
of Gallogræce,
neere to the
Pyrenean
Mountaines.Jul. Cæſar in
Com. lib. 7Corn. Tacit.
in lib. 6. c. 3.No Golde or
Silver among
the Germanes.

Vessels of Silver held in no more account then the like made of earth

The *Serrati* & *Bigati* were monies amongst the ancient Romanes.

The common wearing habit of the Germanes.

They wear skins of wilde beasts, and of fishes.

What garments the women did wear.

the metalls of gold and silver. Notwithstanding, I will not set it downe assuredly, but that there may be some vein of gold or silver in Germany: yet who (at any time) hath made search for it? They have no such affection thereto, as to apply it to any service. Some vessels of silver have beene found amongst them (which haue bene giuen to their Ambassadors, or to their Princes) and yet to be held in no more esteeme or reckoning, then those that are made of earth. Neuertheles, they that dwell much neerer to vs, in regard that they haue trafficked with our people: do make more esteeme of gold and silver, allowing and commending some peeces of our monies. They that liue further off in the Countrey, doe deale more simply, and (according to the most ancient manner) make their trafficke by exchange. They receive the old money, and such as they haue had longest knowledge of, as the *Serrati* and *Bigati*. They loue the coin of silver better then that of gold, not that they beare therto any particular affection, but because the silver money is easiest for them in buying things common, and of smallest price. The vidual habit or garment to them all, is a long skirted lacket or Cassocke which they fasten together with a buckle, but (for want thereof) with a great pin. The rest of the body is not couered with any thing, and they sit the most part of the day vpon the hearth, somewhat neere to the fire. Such as are of greatest wealth, doe differ from the other in their garments, which are not so ample or large as those of the *Sarmates*, or of the *Parthians*: but iustly fitted to the body, and such as maketh apparant shew of every member. They wear the skins of wilde beasts, and such as dwell neere to the rivers, are most curious of their habit: but they of more remote abiding, vse ne g'eat curiosity, as being least careful what they weare, because they liue so far from strangers. When they haue made ch'ise of their beasts skinnies, they do the like of fishes, taking such as are the greatest, or as the Ocean and most vnkowne Seas doe yeld, and fullest of spots, and so they sewe them together. The Women are no otherwise habited then the men: but that the women are oftner couered with a garment of linnen, inter-woven with a scarlet colour. They care for no

fleeces on the height of their armes, but are naked downe from the very shoulders and part of the breast (neerest adioyning) as is nakedly discovered. Thus you see the gayest brauery of the Gaules, & how simple the Germans are in their garments: it remaineth now that we say somewhat of their houses and dwellings.

CHAP. III.

Of the houses and dwellings of the Gaules; their Townes and villages, and of what manner they were.

THe habitations of the Gauls (according as *Strabo* sayth) are wide and spacious, made of earth and planchers of wood, & couered with strong reeds arched on the top together in form of a vault: for so *Cæsar* in the first booke of the Gaules warres saith, That the Lodgings of *Q. Cicero* in the fields, were couered with straw and reeds, according to the manner of the Gaules. And in his first booke he sheweth, that the more part of the Manner-houses appertaining to the gentlemen Gaules, were in the woods, or on the rivers. Speaking of the house of *Ambiorix*, which was altogether engirt with woods, *As were wel-neere* (sayth he) *the houses of the Gauls are, who to foun the beste, do dwell in woods, and neere to rivers.* *Cæsar* deliuereth plainly, that the Aquitaines, Celts and first Belgians, had their Cities and Townes enclosed both with walles and ditches: but it may be doubted whether the like prouision was vsed among the Gaules further off, and such as were neerer to the North; as the *Morini*, *Adoniques*, *Menapians*, and *Eboracæ*.

Cæsar declareth, That the most part of these Belgians, are defended of the Germanes, and saith, that the Germanes had not their Townes and Villages made after our manner: as may be obserued by that which *Tacitus* hath written according to the custome which they had in his time. It is sufficiently known (saith he) that the German people dwell not in any Townes;

Of their houses, lodgings, & dwellings *Strabo* in lib. 6.

Inl. Cæsar in lib. 5.

Lib. 6.

Of their first Cities and Townes.

*People about Turvain by the British Ocean.

b Of Narbonne in France.

c Inhabiting both sides of Rheine, next to the Vsi.

d Of the country Liege or Lieke, beyond Brabant. *Corn. Tacit.* in lib. 5.

The manner of their building among the Germanes.

Their Causes and thorough-fes of Corne vnder ground

Inl. Cæsar in Com. lib. 6.

Of towns belonging to the Belgians

Of the Morini, that made war, contrary to all the other Gaules.

Townes, neither that they could endure to haue their houses neere vnto one another. They dwell distant or apart, scatteringly, where either rivers, fields, or woods do best content them. Their Villages are not after our fashion: for their houses do not touch or ioyne neere each other. Euery one leaueth a great wide distance or compass about his dwelling; either to avoid the disastrous fortunes of fire, or else because they know not how to build better. They vse neither Morter nor Tiles: but the matter which doeth them seruice, is very rude, and is not prepared either for beauty or pleasure. They plaster some places much more respectiue, with a kinde of earth so cleane & shining, as it seemeth to contend with painting, & portraictures of colours. They were wont to make causes vnder the ground, and couered them with thicke clods of dung, to withdraw themselves thither in the winter time, and therein also to hide their Corne, because in such places, the colde weather had not so great power, & when the enemy came, hee could make pillage of nothing, but what hee found readily discovered. As for that which was thus hidden or buried, Theeues not knowing thereof, would bestow the lesse paines & search, in further enquiry after it. *Cæsar* speaketh (almost) as much of the Britains. They teamed it a Towne (saith he) when they had enclosed some tuffie wood with ditches and pales; whereinto they were wont to retire themselves, to shunne the courses of their enemies. And whereas *Cæsar* speaketh sometimes of certaine Townes of the *Suenes*: in mine opinion, hee is so to be vnderstood.

Returne we now to the townes of the Belgians, which are vp higher in the country, and heere my question is: Whether they had any such Townes as the Britains or no? We will first of all speake of the *Morini*, who (according as *Cæsar* writeth) beganne to make war, but in a quite contrary manner then the other Gaules. For they haue heard, that the very greatest Nations which had hazarded battel, were quite defeated and conquered: withdrew themselves & their goods into the strongest places, which were great and long forrests, encompassed with fenny or marshy grounds. *Cæsar* being come vnto the entrance of some such forrest, and hauing

concluded there to fortifie his campe: as the *Germanes* were feriously employed about their busines, the enemy (of whom they had no doubt at all) sallied forth vpon them vnprovided, at most places of the wood, and charged the *Romanes* very sharply. Heereupon, they betooke them to their Armes, and repulled them backe into the wood, and hauing slaine a great number of them, pursued them thorough many weasie places, yet with very little losse of their people. The next day following, *Cæsar* determined to fell down the Forrest, and suspending least some harme might be done by the Flankers to Soldiers vnarmed: he cauled all the trees which were hewing downe, to be made as rampiers against the enemy, as d to serue as defences on either side.

Hauing made a great spacious country (in fewe dayes) by incredible diligence, after that the Romanes had made themselves Maisters of the cattle & baggage which was in the reuerd; they withdrew themselves into the thickest of the Forrest. *Cæsar* speaketh this of the wood of the *Morini*, which serued them as a Towne or Village. And the yeare after, in regard of the drought which had dried vp all the Marishes (as is to be seene in his fourth booke) they hauing no more refuges to flye vnto as they had the yeare before, were (almost all of them) lubdued by *Labienus*. In these two warres, hee maketh no mention of any other Townes, then of woods and marishes.

The like is affirmed of the *Menapians*, in those Countries where the Romaine Legions were brought, vnder the conduct of *Fabius* and *Cotta*, as it is set downe also in his fourth booke. They made spoyle in the fields, destroyed the Corne, set the houses on fire; and all this happened, because the *Menapians* had hid themselves in the thickest Forrests. Afterward *Cæsar* himselfe came to them with five legions. But they (as *Cæsar* saith) not hauing gathered any forces together, trusting only in the security of the place, withdrew themselves into the woods and marishes, and carried thither their goods also. *Cæsar* hauing diuided his powers with *C. Fabius*, who was his Lieutenant, and *M. Crassus* Treasurer of his wars, and hauing also sodainly provided bridges for passage, gaue them assault three severall wayes;

The Morini set vpon the Romanes and were repulled

Cæsar & his men surrised the Morini to the Finest

Inl. Cæsar in Com. lib. 4.

Of the Menapians. *Inl. Cæsar* in Com. lib. 4.

The stratagem of *Cæsar* against the *Menapians*, thorough their owne negligence.

ways, and burning their houses and villages, made himselfe Master of a great number of men and cattle. The *Menapians* seeing themselves in this distresse; were constrained to send Ambassadors, humbly to entreat peace. In this place also there is no name of any village, or pregnant appearance that there were any, but such as wee have already spoken of.

By due obseruation of this discourse, perhaps the villages of the *Nervi* will appear to be even the like. The *Nervi* (this speaketh *Caesar* in his second booke) from all antiquity, not having any power of horsemen (for even to this day they do not addit their mindes thereto, but all the strength which they have, consisteth only in footmen) to the end they may impeach and withstand the horsemen of their neighbours, if they make any inroad upon them, to rob and spoile them, cutting downe young trees that had shot forth strong branches, they twined them together, and interweaving briars and thorns among them, they wrought them so artificially, that these hedges or fences served them as a wall; wherein not only a man could not enter, but also he was vnable to see or discern any thing.

In the same warre of the *Nervi*, the women, & such as (in regard of their age) were not seruicible for bearing armes, had neuer any Village or Town for their safety, which was engirt with wals; but in such a place where there was no coming or entrance for an Army, because of the marsh grounds, which were the only hinderance.

Now, in this first warre against the *Nervi*, wee may plainly perceiue that they had not any Towne enclosed with wals; and we may well credit it by that which is in the sixth booke. For *Caesar* having assembled foure Legions with all possible diligence, entred (vnuawares) into the Country of the *Nervi*, and before they could either draw their strength together, or tell how to saue themselves; after hee had surprized a great number of men, and herds of Cattle, and dispersed the booty to his Soldiers, he layde waste their fields, and compelled them to yeeld and deliuer him hostages. This passage likewise of the *Nervi*, yeeldeth great coniecture, that they had no other towns

or villages in those times, but like them of the *Britaines*.

It may appeare also, that the *Adunatikes* (by that which *Caesar* writeth in his second booke) haue had the like townes. Having forsaken (saith he) all their townes and Castles, they brought all their goods into a village, which was wonderfully strong by naturall situation. For, having (on all sides about it) huge rocks & down-falles of exceeding height, it had but one onely comming to it, which was hanging or descending downward, yet in a sweete and gentle manner, being in breadth no more then two hundred foote. This way or passage they had fortified with a double wall, of very great height, & the same was strengthened in many places with mighty huge stones, and sharpe-pointed beames or pyles. Heere *Caesar* describeth nothing but a wall onely, and on one side of the Towne. And the like may be easily proued in the Nation of the *Eburones*: who are also called *Germanes* by *Caesar* in his second booke. These men, under the conduct of King *Ambiorix*, had ouercome *Sabinus* and *Cotta*, with fifteene Companies, neere to *Vatuna*, as it is set downe in the fifth booke. *Caesar* who had neuer receiued a greater iniurie, determined to be reuenged for this losse, and vtrly to abolish and ruinate the nation of the *Eburones*, as we may reade in the 6. booke. Therefore he sent *Basillus* on before with the whole band of horse, and leauing a legion for guard of the baggage, he diuided the other nine into three Regiments, to ouerrunne and make spoile of the whole Country. He caused *Labiennus* to march with three Legions along by the Ocean, toward that part which ioyneth vnto the *Menapians*. Hee sent *Trebonius* with the same number of Legions, to sacke that Country which was neere to the *Adunatikes*. Himselfe, accompanied with the three other Legions, stayed to go toward the river *Sabis*, and the utmost parts of the Forrest of *Ardene*.

The *Eburones* not having any certaine Army, neither garrison, or any Towne wherein they might defend themselves by Armes, and the whole popularity being scattered euery where abroad, retired themselves to such places as were obscure valleys, or wilde and sauage, or where the moorish Fennes made a troublefome

Of the Adunatikes.
1st. Caesar in Com. lib. 2

A strong fortified town of the Adunatikes.

Of the Eburones.
1st. Caesar in Com. lib. 2.

Caesars determination for reuenge vpon the Eburones

The feuerall Legions committed to Labienus and Trebonius.

A wood 500. miles in length, reaching from the river Rhene, to the City of Tournay.

ac

The great desire of Caesar, to be reuenged on the Eburones, for the losse and damage that he sustained.

1st. Caesar in Com. lib. 8.

Of the Bellouacii or Bellouacians.

* Thought now to be the Towne Tullium in low Germany

accesse to them; these pretended them with some imaginary hope, that thus they might defend and saue themselves. *Caesar* in this fiery heate of reuenge, perceiving the great danger which might ensue, by hauing thus separated his Legionaries, called all the neere-ighbouring Cities (in hope of booty) to come and make pillage of the *Eburones*, to the end, that the race and name of them might bee vtrly confounded. And because he could not (as yet) appease his thirsting soule by such spoile as he had made, which indeed was very great, he put himselfe once more on his way, to giue further vexation to his enemies, assembling infinite troopes of people from all the Townes & neere adjoining parts, and so sent them outward by sundry ways. They burned all the villages, and euery house that they could finde standing. The selfesame desire of vengeance (as is to be seen in his eighth booke) enflamed him the third time, and the like waste he made: neuertheless, he speaketh not of any rampier, or of any ditch belonging vnto Towne or Village. Whereby may iustly bee obserued, that the *Belgians* as they were defended of the *Germanes*, so in like manner they had the same order of dwelling.

The *Bellouaci*, or *Bellouacians* in like fort. albeit that they were the very principal of the *Belgians*, as wel in regard of their vertue and authority, as for the great number of men amongst them: yet it appeareth, that they were no strangers to this custome: for in the first warre, he speaketh not but of one Towne or Village, named **Bratupunctum*; in the other warres, hee maketh no mention of any one. This may seeme to be spoken sufficiently enough, concerning the habitations of the *Belgians*.

CHAP. IIII.

Of the Humanity, Liberty, Hospitality, & Courtisie of the Gaules to strangers, and care for benefiting each other equally.

Of sports and recreations amongst the Germanes.

I finde nothing written in *Caesar*, of the playes, sports, & pastimes of the youth among the Gaules. As for the Germanes,

Tacitus writeth thus. They had but one onely kind of spectacle in euery assembly: young boies that conceiued delight in this sport, would run or leape forth violently (and stark naked) before swords & lances directed against them. This exercise grew to be an art, and Art made it verie gracefull in them: yet what they did, was not for any lucre, gaine, or wages; but the onely recompence of this their audacious gallantry, was, to bee pleasing in their eyes that beheld them. They would play (being in very stayed and settled judgement) at such desperate games of hazard and dangerous aduerture, as would make a man blush to stand and looke on, and they performed their intentions in such earnest manner, as if they were at strife for some matter of great moment: yea, such was their affection to the gaine or losse, as after they had nothing els to contend for: they would strive about the very last hazard, laying downe their own liberty and persons in pawne. Whosoever lost himselfe, would yeelde to the others seruitude, with his owne kinde consent: And albeit hee were neuer so young and strong, yet (in regard of his losse) he would suffer himselfe to be bound and sold. For such was their wilfull obstinacy, that they would lay down faith vpon the very least occasion.

But whosoever would take note of the great humanity, liberality, and courtisie, as well in the Gaules as in the *Germanes*, let him read what followeth. They would inuite strangers (this speaketh *Diodorus* of the Gaules) to feast with them. And after nature was sufficed, they would enquire what people they were, and what occasion drew them thither. But *Caesar* and *Tacitus* giue this commendation vnto the *Germanes*, by writing much more amply. They make it a matter of great Conscience (saith *Caesar*) to offer any outrage to strangers, who, be it for what cause soeuer they come amongst them, yet they will defend them from all iniuries, and thinke them to be sacred people, each one allowing them part of his house, & whatsoever he had to liue on. *Tacitus* writeth in this manner. There is not any Nation more addicted to make good chear together, and feast strangers. They doe make great conscience in denying house-room to any commager; for each man will Feast

Desperate & dangerous games among the younger sort, pursued in the very earnest manner.

Humanity, liberality, and courtisie both in the Gaules and Germanes

In *Caesar* in comment. lib. 9. *Corr. Tacit. m lib. 7.*

The loose and hospitallity of the Germanes, which they afford to strangers.

him

him according to his power : And when he hath no further meanes, he that is the Hoste, enstrueth him to another mans dwelling : and thercinto (without any further bidding) they enter both together, euen the necrest house they come vnto ; where their entertainment is voyde of all difficulty, and vfed with extraordinary courteisie. As concerning the rites of hospitality, they make no difference between him that is knowne, and another that is vnkowne. At his departure, if he desireth any thing, it is their order and custome to grant it : as they will doe the like when it falleth to their turne. They take great delight in giuing gifts : but will receiue no recompence for whatsoever they giue, or think themselves indebted or beholding for any thing that they receiue. This is a testimony of their worthy hospitality, & I am of the minde, that so great an honor deserueth not to be forgotten, as Germany iustly deserueth in regard of this Vertue.

Phaleas the Chalcedonian, did first publish in the Commonwealt (as *Asiaticus* affirmeth) that goods might bee equally diuided ; to the end, that the two principall plagues to mankind (which are riches and pouerty) might be banished from the City. And this is that which *Plato* (most of all other) wished for the grounded estate of a happy Commonwealt. But the Germaines neuer fixed their imaginations on such a most fortunate Commonwealt, by disputes and discourses only, but accomplished and brought it to effect by their owne good customs and honest examples. For some of them (as *Cæsar* auoucheth in his sixth booke, speaking of the Germaines) had not any certain measure of land, or any particular limitation : but the Princes and Magistrates assigned euery year (both to kindreds and parentages, who were acknowledged and placed together) so much ground or land, and such a site or situation, as vnto them seemed best and conuenient ; & the year following, they were constrained to seeke elsewhere. In his fourth booke, hee sayth as much of the *Suues*, another people of Germany. They had no land which they held in particular, or diuided among themselves : neither were they permitted to tarry longer than a year in a place, to Till or make it husbandable. This is the equality of

goods, which then was among the Germaines.

And they rendered great store of reasons for this equality, as the same Author witnesseth in his sixth booke, viz. Fearing least being retained by an accustomed continuance in one quarter, they should forsake the profession of warre, & follow the other more beneficial kind of life. Fearing, least they should withdraw their minds from the enlarging and extendure of their bounds or limits : and growing to be too potent in strength, they should ouerawe and expell the weaker from their goods. Fearing also, least they should become curious in building, to defend themselves against cold and heat, and so proue to be starke Cowards. Fearing besides, lest a wicked covetous desire should arise among them, of scraping and gathering goods together : wheron (customarily) insueth threatnings, dissensions, & blood. Also, to the end that the popular sort might bee contained within a reasonable contentment of mind, when the meaneest perceived his goods to be equal with the most powerfull. This is (in effect) the words of *Cæsar*, touching the qualitie of goods vfed then among the Germaines : and when the Greekes come to compare with him, in commending this manner of behaviour either in the Cretanes or Lacedæmonians ; all that they could auouch or say, was, to terme this worthy and extraordinary vertue, to be no more then meer barbarousnesse.

Seruitude or bondage was in vse aswell among the Germaines and Gaules, as in other Nations. Many men (so speaketh *Cæsar* in his sixth booke, discoursing on the Gaules (finding themselves to be charged either with debts, or taxations, or injuries of the mightier sort) did yield themselves into seruitude or slavery of Gentlemen, who had the selfesame right ouer them, as Masters had ouer their slaues. It should seeme, that this Masterie or command was cruell, as well as that whereof *Titus Livius* recounteth in his 2. booke, to be vfed in Rome, after that the Kings were expelled thence, when the commotion of the bondmen was on foote. For they were then controlled and handled by their Masters, as the bodies of debtors were by their creditors, who were parted (as *Quintilian* writeth in the sixth chapter

Equality of goods among the German.

The reasons of the Germaines, for their equality in good. The first.

The second.

The third.

The fourth.

The fifth, and last.

Comparison of the Greeks with Cæsar's words.

Bondage or seruitude life among the Germanes and Gaules. *Iul. Cæsar* in comment. lib 6

Titus Livius in lib. 2. dec. 1.

No difference between a known friend & a stranger.

Asiaticus in lib. 4. de Anim. cap. 8. Riches & pouerty the two principall plagues vnto mankind.

Plato in lib. de Legib. cap. 9.

Iul. Cæsar in comment. lib. 6.

The order of the Germaines holding of their Landes.

Iulius Cæsar in Comment. lib 4

CHAP. V.

How the Gaules used to educate and bring up their children. Of their courage, manhood, and valour in Armes and martial exercises.



Here then were the maners and temperance of the ancient Gaules, which serued very sufficiently to maintain their disposition & strength of body, and (doubtlesse) was the cause of their admirable stature : wherat *Cæsar* was much amazed, when hee beheld the Gaules which were slaine in the warres of *Africa*; you haue also heard some part of their liberality, in the administration of their goods, for the releefe of others necessities. But there remained much more to say, if we would enter into discourse, concerning all the parts of their maihood and valiancy : were it in considering the exercise of their youth, or their earnest & violent desire in following armes, and the Nations which haue beene conquered by them, and the Colonies established thoroughout the world, only in the name of the Gaules. The Gaules (thus saith *Cæsar* in his sixth booke) helde this as a difference from others, in their manner of behaviour, to wit ; That they would neuer permit their children to come openly before them, vntill they were of able yeares to beare Armes. And they held him to be a villaine, whose sonne (being vnder limited yeares) should be found in publike before his fathers face. *Cæsar* speaketh this neuertheless hee giueth not sufficiently to be vnderstood, at what time or season they were to beare Armes, neither in what exercise their infancy was employed, vntill this date of expectation, therefore we must make search into other Authors.

Tacitus, speaking of the Germaines, would haue vs to know, at what time they came vnto the seruice of the Commonwealt. They obserued as a custome (saith he) that no one should vndertake the profession of Armes, vntill the Commonwealt had approved and allowed his suffici-

The Roman Law of the 12. Tables.

The humanity and liberality of the Gaules, beyond that of the Romanes.

Dionysius in lib. 2. cap. 10.

Corn. Tacitus in lib. 4. cap. 1.

Of the slaues amongst the Germaines.

Of seruices done in the house.

Freemen had no more bondage then seruit.

The disposition & strength of body amongst the Gaules.

The manhood & valour of the ancient Gaules.

Cæsar in comment. lib. 6

Somewhat omitted or forgotten by *Cæsar*.

Corn. Tacitus in lib. 5. c. 7.

At what time they came to seruice the Commonwealt in martiall maner.

A Garment which the Romans did always wear in peace.

Arist in Polit. Lib. 8. cap. 3.

Aristotle called the Celts barbarous people.

Aristotle commended the Celts customs to the Greeks.

Galen in Gal. Lib. 8. cap. 3.

Galen's representation of the Germans education of their children

iciency. Then, in the martial Constitute, either some one of the Princes, or his Father, or els his neereft Kinsman, armed the yong man with a shield and a Iaulin. This was the * *Toga* or Gown which they tooke, and this was the first degree of honor, wherunto their yong men mounted. Before, and till this dignity was done to them, they were but as a member of the house onely: but afterward, they appertained to the Commonwealth. *Aristotle*, who wrote long time before *Cesar* declared vnto vs this manner of education of children (for it seemeth in the 8. Booke of his *Politicks*) that hee learned this institution of vs. It is necessary (saith he) to accustom and vse the very yongest children to endure cold weather: for it profiteth maruellously, as well, for the disposition of the body, as for manly cariage in war. And this was the reason, why some barbarous people (as the Celts) obserued it as a custome, to plunge their young Infants (so soone as they were borne) in the coldest water of the river, or elsto cloath them in light garments. For, to whatsoever thing youth ought to apply it self, this is the best course; to accustom them thereto (by little and little) from their yongest houre, and when they are tender, because of the heate which is naturally in them, & therefore the first thing to be done, is to be careful in this one point.

Aristotle in this place calleth the Celts barbarous, and yet hee accounteth not their customes barbarous; in regard that hee appointeth the Greekes to fashion themselves after their manner. I know that *Galen* (sharply reproveth this behaviour, when in the first booke of his Government of health, and instructing how to order health, he saith. I am not of the minde, that Children should onely be nursed among the Germanes. Also, that which he writes of, is neither for the Germanes, or for any other such savage and barbarous men; no more then for Beares, wilde Boares, Lions, or such other beasts. I knowe (I say) that *Galen* reprehendeth this custome severely; but I know likewise, that the yong nice delicates of the Greekes, whom *Galen* striveth to please, in preferring them an order for their health: haue bene quite deuoured by these Lyons (as he termeth them) and that the Gaules and Germanes, if they be

compared with the Greeks, may in good right be called Lyons.

And truly, *Lacedemon*, which was the most noble of all the Grecian Cities, was principally renowned for being studious in hardning it selfe to trauaile, after the true manner of the Celts. For the youths of *Sparta*, did daily inbolden themselves against al manner of paines and exercises: neuer entering into the especial assembly, before the age of twenty yeares, as *Plutarch* recordeth in the life of *Lysurgus*. Wherefore, not onely the power of this vertue, which was in the Gaules and Germanes, but (ouer and beside) the authority of *Aristotle*, as also of *Lacedemon* (if any man be regardfull thereof) may well serue to answer the reasons of *Galen*. We may also inferre (to this purpose) that which *Strabo* hath written, when he saith, The Gaules held this as proper and peculiar to them, to refuse no taking of paines, as fearing to become fat and twain belied by ease: therefore they punished and condemned vnto some pecuniary fine, such yong men as grew grosse through sloath and excessse. Whereunto that ordinance of the Romanes was conformable; that deprived any fat or corpulent Knight, of the Horse graunted him by publike allowance.

Now it is further to be considered, that this exercise was not onely proper or peculiar vnto the Gaules: but it was in like common vse with the Germanes their brethren, as *Galen* himselfe hath elswhere declared, Let vs listen then to *Cesar*, who herein giueth them sufficient commendation. From their infancy (this hee writeth in his sixth booke) they added them selves to paines taking, and employed (almost) their whole life time, either in hunting, or feats of warre. They had diuers kinds of wilde beasts, in the Forrest called *Heremia*: as wilde Bulles, *Alees*, but especially Buffles, which they tooke with great labour in their dens or ditches, and there slew them. The yong men hardned themselves to this trauell, and euermore exercised this manner of hunting; & they which had laine most of them, bringing their hornes to publike view, as a testimony of their diligence, receiued both reward and great praise. This yeldeth sufficient demonstration, how the yong men prepared their spirits, to endure all

paine

Lacedemon shaped it selfe to endure the hard custome of the Celts.

Plut. in vit. Lysurg.

Strabo in Lib. 4.

The Gaules were laborious and painful

Knights had publike Horset allowed them.

The Germanes brethren to the Gaules.

Jul. Cesar in Com. Lib. 6.

*A great wood in Germany, in breadth nine dayes iourney, and in length forty.

*A wilde beast in fashion and skin like a fallow Deere.

The Gauls were always in action of arms. Jul. Cesar in Com. lib. 6.

*People of Belgia next to the Lewis and Madonnes.

*People of Rome in Norway.

Strabo in lib. 5.

Arist in Polit. Lib. 8. cap. 6.

Jul. Cesar in Comment. lib. 8.

Temperance the Mother or Nurse of valiancy.

paine and labour, and fell not off for any danger: as hauing learned, though not of great and skillfull Doctors, which were befall able to giue them instructions; yet (at least) of their owne selues, and so put it in effectfull execution.

Let vs now obserue what they were in actions of warre, and as the Poet sayeth; The braue workmanship of Mars, because the Gaules were perpetually in war. For, before *Cesar* came thither (as hee hath written in his sixth booke) it hapned euery yeare, that either they assailed others, or else were glad to defend themselves; and it was easily knowne, that by a custome among the Gaules, age was no excuse to any man, as appeareth by diuers passages in the eighth booke. *Vercingetorix*, a chiefe Commander of the * *Remi*, albeit he could very hardly keepe himselfe on horsebacke, because he was so farre gone in yeares: yet notwithstanding, according to the manner of the Gaules, hee would pleade no excuse by his age, in vndergoing such charges as were imposed on him; and he was very vvolving, that any fight should be performed without him. Likewise, in the warre of the *Parisians*, the whole charge (as is to be seene in the seuenth Booke) was giuen vnto *Cambogenus*, an especial man of the * *Auleri*, who was well-neere wholly spent with age: and yet for all that, the great experience which he had in martiall affaires, advanced him to the highest degree of Honor. Answerable to this, *Strabo* saith, The Gaules were rather men of warre, then any way addicted vnto Tillage or husbandry.

Aristotle writeth, that the Celts helde the vertue of warlike actions in most singular respect and commendation. And it was well noted, as *Cesar* affirmeth, that the cause of valour (both in the *Belgians* and *Heluetians*) grew through their continuall exercise of armes, for he saith: The most valiant people of al the Gaules, were the *Belgians*.

Now, as Temperance was the first and formost in ranke, as being the Mother, or the Nurse (at least) of true valiancy: so the second cause which *Cesar* rendreth, was; That they were neighbours to the Germanes, which dwelt on the further side of the Rheine, with whom they were continually at warre. This (I say) was ano-

ther cause of their valor, that continually they exercised armes, and by the same reason, the *Heluetians* surpassed (in this vertue) all the other Celts: As it might daily be discerned, in regard, that ordinarily they fought with the Germanes, eyther in repulsing them from their frontiers, or making war on them in their owne country. In this place also might be alledged, their often and frequent skinnishes, to deliuer true faithfulness of their valour. Moreouer, the Gaules for want of warre, to the end that they might still be in exercise of armes: gaue themselves to thefts and robberies, as *Diodorus* saith, purloining the goods of others, without any prouision of their owne. What were the Germanes? saith he. What participation had they in this vertue? All their life, as hath bene already declared, was no way imployed, but in deeds of armes. And as he hath further written in his sixth Booke, the very greatest honour that any City could haue, was, to haue a great Desert & spacious Country round about it. They esteemed it to bee proper and natural to vertue, to compell their expulsed neighbours, to forsake their Lands and Territories, so that few or none durst dwell nere vnto them. And by this means, they imagined themselves to be in the greatest security, in being deliuered from al dread of courses, which suddenly might be made into their Country.

Tacitus speaketh of the same exercise of armes. You could not so readily put into their heads, any order for husbandry in their grounds, or carefullnes for gathering their fruites, and come, as to go assault the enemy, and to returne back with wounds and maimes. Moreouer, it appeared to them, that it was meere sloth and carelesse, to winne that by sweate and labour, which a man might purchase with the price of his blood. *Cesar* saith likewise of the Germanes, the same that *Diodorus* doth of the Gaules, that they were addicted to rapine and thefts. Robberies (thus speaketh *Cesar* in his sixth booke) did not make men any iot the worse esteemed: so that they were done out of those limits, which appertained to each City. And it is said that they vsed these courses: onely to exercise their youthes, and for the auoyding of ydleness. And when some one of the Lords would deliuer his

The Heluetians excelled al the other Celts in Armes.

The Gauls were addicted to thefts & robberies. Diodorus in lib. 6.

The greatest honour of a City among the Germanes.

Few or no neighbours durst dwell nere to the Gaules.

Corn. Tacitus in lib. 8. cap. 4.

No care of husbandry, or gathering the fruites of the earth, but al to assault the enemy.

Jul. Cesar in Com. lib. 6.

Thefts & robberies thought not dishonourable, but allowed & followed with no meane affection.

Thus then, for the deciding of such differences, each of the parties doe chuse two Iudges for either side, who are absolved of the oath which they haue taken to their Canton: and promise to iudge according to right and equiuy, and labour that the suite may bee louingly and very speedily accorded, or iudicially ended.

By the ancient alliances, there were certaine places appointed, for the ending of such suites. The seuen first Cantons sent their ambassadors and arbitrators to the Abbey of the Hermitage, to end their such suites as happened among them. By an article of very ancient alliance with them of *Glaris*, it is expressly said; that if they had any suite with them of *Vri*, the assembly should be at *Merch*. If against the canton of *Suiss*; the arbitrators shold meete at *Bergeraz*: and at *Brunnen*, if against them of *Vnderwald*. And then the other Cantons, hauing had knowledge of the cause, pronounced the sentence. The *Bernians*; and the three Cantons of *Vri*, *Suiss*, and *Vnderwald*, assembled at a place named *Dakienholtz*. They of *Zurich* and *Berne*, at *Lofinge*. The *Fribourgers* & they of *Solleurre*, hauing a suite against the eight first Cantons, or some of them, sent their Iudges to *Zofinge*; and if they were defendants, to *Willfow*. As for the causes of them of *Basile*, *Schaffouse*, and *Appenzell*, they pleaded them at *Bada*, together with them of these Cantons, allied with them of *Rotuille* and of *Mulhouse*. But the differences of them of *S.Gall*, were determined in the Abbey of the Hermitage: and them of the *Grifons*, at *Wallenstad*, which is a Towne at the ende of the Lake of *Rine*, in the Bayliwick of *Sargans*.

When then some difference happeneth, which cannot be kindly accorded, and that the entreaty of the Cantons serueth to no purpose: the arbitrators and ambassadors of the Cantons that are in suite, do meete at the place appointed, & (with them) the ambassadors of the other Cantons confederates, who come thither to atone the parties, and to make some amiable composition. The Iudges and Arbitrators being assembled, after that the parties haue pleaded their causes: if the Iudges take resolution, & giue sentence, the parties must (of necessity) be contented. But if they be of diuers opi-

nions (as many times it happeneth) and that there are as many voyces on the one side, as on the other; then a fitt Iudge or arbitrator is chosen, whom they call *Ein obmann*, or, *Ein gemeinen mann*. He giueth no sentence at all, but onely approueth one of those, which the arbitrators haue pronounced. Sometimes the Iudges themselves do chuse the odde arbitrator: yet in such sort notwithstanding; that he is a man of one of the Cantons; no medler with cyther party, nor hauing any interest in the cause.

The alliance of the seuen first Cantons, makes mention of this election and choise: as that of *Fribourg*, that of *Solleurre*, that of *Appenzell*, and them of *S.Gall* and of *Mulhouse*. It is added to the articles of the alliance of *Schaffouse*, that if the Iudges cannot accord, by choise of another arbitrator, taken from one of the Cantons; they shall then take one of the Lords of the councill of *S.Gall*. And in the alliance of *Rotuille*, command is giue to the Iudges, to chuse for an odde arbitrator, one of the Lords of the councill of *S.Gall* or of *Mulhouse*. Sometimes also to the complainant chuse. As if the *Bernians* haue a suite against the three first Cantons, or any one of them; the Cantons shal name sixteen men, out of which number; the *Bernians* are to chuse a sub-arbitrator. But if they bee defendants, the Cantons will then (for sub-arbitrator) chuse one of the Lords of the lesser councill of *Berne*. If some difference fall betweene them of *Zurich*, and of *Berne*, the complainants chuse for an odde arbitrator, one of the defendants Lords of the councill. The same is obserued in suites for them of *Basile*, against the other cantons; and so in the *Grifons* causes.

Thus you see how the *Switzers* gouerne themselves in the deciding of controuersiall suites betweene the common-wealths. I know very well, that some may dispute subtilly, both for, and against this order there obserued: but I will leave that discouurse to the Readers. For mine owne part, I admire the simplicity and integrity of our ancestors, who by such manner of proceeding, haue often brought to end very great variances, and carefully conferred publike peace and concord. But they did not regard their owne particular profit, neither desired any thing

When voyce are alike on either side; then a fitt arbitrator is chosen.

The addition to the Articles of Schaffouse

The complainant is also directed to chuse the odde Arbitrator.

There is nothing so well becoming one place, as a may seeme well for another.

more, then to see their country peaceable and flourishing. If now each man had no other meaning, but would aime at that mark: so many suites would not be seene, and easily might those be appealed, that are the hottest attempted.

CHAP. V.

Of those Common-wealths, which are in each of the seuerall Cantons.
And first, of the Common-wealths of Zurich, Basile and Schaffouse.

Having shewne already, how the whole Commonwealthe of the *Switzers* is gouerned in common: it behoueth now to make mention, of the Common-wealthe in each distinct Canton. Now it seemeth to me, that the common-wealths of the thirteene Cantons, may bee referred to three formes. For as there are three names of soueraine Magistrates and Cantons, so haue they likewise as many formes of common-wealths; differing not onely in name, but also in the things themselves.

In some certaine Cantons, the cheefe Commanders or Heads of the councill, are called *Ammanns*. This is obserued in the Cantons that haue no Cities or Townes, but Villages onely, hauing a popular estate, and the souerainety appertaining to the people; by whose aduice, the very greatestt affaires of importance are decided. Of this number are *Vri*, *Suiss*, *Vnderwald*, *Zug*, *Glaris*, and *Appenzell*.

The other Cantons haue their cities and townes, which haue the souerainety: yet in such manner, as there are two formes of common-wealths. For the cities and townes, especially such as haue bene built by some Princes, or some

times haue bene subiected to them: are gouerned by an *Auget*, whom they call, *Schultheiss*, (who is cheefe of the councill) and by some number of councillors chosen by free election, from and by the whole number of Citizens. The forme of this common-wealthe is *Aristocratical* among all the other: and in this manner are gouerned the common-wealths of *Berne*, *Lucerna*, *Fribourg*, and *Solleurre*.

There are other cities and townes diuided by certaine companies, by each whereof, and by voyce of such men as are in euery of them, the Lords of the councill are elected, and the soueraine Magistrate or cheefe of the councill, who by them is tearmed *Burgemeister*, that is to say, Master of the *Bourgeses*, which we in a shorter word call *Bourgmaster*. Such are the common-wealths of *Zurich*, *Basile*, and *Schaffouse*. Now we are to speake of these diuers formes of common-wealths in order, beginning with the last, first.

First then, all the people of these Townes free and Imperiall, were diuided into two ranks: the one of Noblemen, the other of Yeomen. The Noblemen had a Society by themselves, apart, which the *Allemaignes* or *Germans* did call, *Ein Societät*, and they of *Zurich*, *Ein Constatell*.

In elder times, in the city of *Basile*, which is very spacious, and for the multitude of Noblemen, they were diuided into two societies, bandes, or companies of Noblemen. Oftentimes they were in quarrels, and had the fouerainety: so that out of the one cōpany they chose the Confull, and out of the other, the Tribune or Capitaine of the city, which is the estate of greatestt authority next vnto that of Confull or Bourgmaster.

Neuertheless, afterward the Noblemen lost this fouerainety, or else forsooke their right voluntarily. For at the time of the councill of *Basile*, when *Leres*, then Dolphin of France, brought (very neere to *Basile*) an Army of *Armignacks*, in fauour of Pope *Eugenius*, and the Duke of *Austria*; many Gentlemen of *Basile*, went and ioyned with that Army, in regard whereof, they were all banished, and their posterity deuiued & excluded from all publike honours.

D 43 After-

In towne or cities, the cheefe man is called the *Auget*, or the cheefe man of the councill.

Election of the Lords of the councill and the soueraine Magistrate, called a *Burgemeister*.

Townes diuided into two ranks, Noble men and Yeomen.

Two bandes of Noblemen in *Basile*. The Confull and the Tribune or Capitaine of the City, the two cheefe offices.

The Noblemen banished and their posterity deuiued.

Two Iudges chosen for either side.

Places appointed for the ending of suites & differences according to ancient customs.

They that met at one place, went not to another except by especiall appointment.

What matters cannot be louingly ended, what course they take then

Oecolampadius his preaching & the alteration of Religion.

Some of the Noblemen got entrance again into the City, but were excluded from governing in the State.

The companies of Lords & Commons called to do them honour.

The privilege of Zurich in choosing their Lords of council.

Afterward, when the Burgesse (by common consent) made alliance with the ten Cantons of the Switzers, in the year, 1501. the most part of the Noble-men, who hated the Switzers: dislodged from the city, and withdrew themselves to Castles heere and there, so that their authority diminished greatly then, and all the rest was lost in the year, 1529. For by the Sermons & exhortations of *Oecolampadius*, the doctrine and ceremonies of the Church were reformed, by order sent from the council, against which, many Noblemen opposed themselves. And although they could not hinder the change of Religion, yet they abandoned and left the city, and would not abide in it.

After which time, the two companies whereof we spake, entered in againe, and got possession of some private houses, & as yet they keepe those houses to themselves, and they belong to the whole body of the Nobility. And those houses are called in their language, *Zun Amstet en* und *Zun Brunnen*, but yet none of this is of the council. For although the council do meete together (almost) every day, and the Gentlemen (having forsaken the city) dwell most part of the time in their Castles: by common aduice of the Burgeses, they were excluded from governing in the common-wealth, which they had renounced voluntarily. Neuerthelesse, some noble Families that dwell in the city, & haue had care of the common-wealth with the other Burgeses, are in ranke of the foure first companies or supporters of the city, and (in them) are chosen to be of the council. And therefore, to do them honour, in regard of their condition; these Tribes or companies are called *Berrenyunft*, that is to say, the companies of Lords.

Therefore, there are no more companies of these Noblemen in *Basile*, but those that are distinguished with the other Burgeses. But at *Zurich* and at *Schaffouse*, the Noblemen haue their companies apart by themselves. And they of *Zurich* haue this priuiledge beside, above the tribes and companies of Tradefmen, to take the moiety, that is, the most part of the Lords of the council, from forth the company of these Noblemen: so that they are as a counterpoise to the other companies. Notwithstanding, there is

some difference among these Noblemen, for the Families of race, that are very noble and ancient: they do make a band by themselves, and they are called *Die Stubler*, by reason of the place where they assemble apart by themselves, by right & especial priuiledge. To the whole body of these tribes or companies, are ioyned many citizens, which are not of any trade nor traffick in which respect, they may haue place in one company, rather then in another. Porters, Labourers, Burden-bearers, and other such like manner of people, who when warre hapneth, are held and reputed to be of this body of companies, which they call *St. Coraßaffell*, and receiue wages: they haue a voyce in electing the Master of the whole body of companies, and he is of the Seignuries council, in regard of his place.

Beside the Society and Company of Noblemen, the people of those cities & townes there, are parted into certaine tribes or companies, which the Germans call *Zunft*. The word (it may be) taketh name or originally, of *Zamenkunft*, which signifieth to meete and assemble themselves in company. Some interpret them to be Tribes, others, Courts, and others, Colledges or Abbeyes: but wee will call them Tribes or Companies. The number of them is not equall in the forenamed Cities and Townes. For there are fifteene at *Basile*: whereof the foure first are esteemed more noble then the other, and are called the companies of Lords, as already hath bene said. The first tribe or company, is that of Merchants. The second of Goldsmiths, Goldfiners, Founders, and Pewterers. The third is of Merchants dealing only in wines: with whom the Notaries, Masters of Hospitals, Spittles, and other such like communities are ioyned. The fourth is of Merchants dealing in Silkes, and of Factors for all States: This company is the very greatest of them all. The other eleuen, are of all sorts of trades and handycrafts men.

Now there is a dozen or twelue tribes or companies at *Zurich*: heerebefore they were thirteene in number, when many Drapers & workers in wooll dwell there: for that was one company by it selfe. But now adies, the weauers of woollen cloth and other things, are ioyned into one company

Porters, Labourers, and other men are of the body of companies.

Of other Tribes and Companies beside the Noblemen.

Fifteene companies at *Basile*, and how they are distinguished from the Noblemen.

Twelue tribes or companies at *Zurich*.

Eleuen tribes or companies are at *Schaffouse*.

Chiefes trades and artes are distinguished by themselves.

Concerning the election of the council.

The great council.

The lesser council.

The great council of *Zurich*, *Basile*, & *Schaffouse*.

Of the lesser councils severally.

Of Councillors and Burgeses in each City.

pany with the Fullers and Diars. At *Schaffouse* there are eleuen companies only: neuerthelesse, it falleth out many times, that diuers trades are ioyned together in one company. They haue their meetings by themselves: as at *Zurich*, the Millers and Bakers, the Barbers and Chirurgeons, the Smiths and Metall men. So at *Basile*, the Fishermen and Mariners or Barquers, the Cordwainers and Curriers, the Taylors & Skinners. These companies are diuided, and they are called *Ghaurt Zunft*. For when there is question of cheefe Trades, and especially workmen in them, their houses of meetings and assemblies are by themselves. But in things that concern the common-wealth, and when, and where all ought to be present, to elect Lords of the council, or the *Zunft* Masters, who must be also in the council, every man speaks his minde, and giues his voyce.

Out of each of these companies, some men are chosen, as many of one company as of another, to be Lords of council. In every city there are two publike councils, which haue the principall authority: as namely, the great council, when as a good number of councillors meete together, in name of all the people: as is vied in the affaires of greatest importance, and which do appertaine to the whole common-wealth. Next, the lesser council, who meete together every day, about the common-wealths businesse, and take knowledge of differences happening among the citizens. The great council of *Zurich*, consisteth of two hundred men: That of *Basile*, is of two hundred forty foure: and that of *Schaffouse*, is of foure score and sixe.

As concerning the lesser council of *Zurich*, it is of fifty: that of *Basile* hath threescore and foure: and that of *Schaffouse*, hath but twenty sixe. For out of each tribe or company, twelue are taken for the great council: except at *Zurich*, where they elect eightene of the Nobility. At *Zurich* also each company giueth three men for the lesser council: at *Basile*, foure; at *Schaffouse*, two. Next, in every of these cities, there are two Consuls or Bourgmaisters, who are the cheefe and Presidents of council.ouer and beside these two, at *Basile* there are two Tribunes, who are cheefe in council with

the Bourgmaisters. Moreover, at *Zurich* the Noblemen send sixe from among them, to the lesser council: the other companies doe send each one but three. By the plurality of voyces, choise is made of sixe other men, out of such companies as the council do propoofe, to fill vp the number.

As concerning the election of councillors (for so will wee hereafter call the Lords of the lesser council) it is done in manner following. Every year, about mid-lune, and mid-December, all the citizens of *Zurich* assemble themselves together, every man in his tribe and company: and the elect a cheefe man, whom they call, *Zunftmeister*, that is to say, Master of the tribe or company. The custome of these three cities, is, that the companies haue two Masters: but one of them is in estate but sixe Moneths, at the end whereof, the other succeedeth him. Neuerthelesse, it often comes to passe, that hee who was *Zunftmeister* the halfe year before, is chosen againe. By this meanes, the lesser council is diuided in two parts, to wit, the old & new. Such as haue bene in charge the first sixe Moneths, wearme them of the olde council; for although they be called, when the council is helde, yet notwithstanding, it is not alwayes so done, and there are many masters which passe in the new council only.

The great council of *Basile* is diuided in the same manner, and of twelue which is taken from each company, there are sixe of the new council, and sixe of the olde. Beside the *Zunftmeisters*, the lesser council of *Zurich* chuseth one councillor from each of the companies: but the lesser council of *Basile* chuseth two. These councillors thus elected, with the other which we haue said to be chosen extraordinarily at *Zurich*, are diuided into two bands: whereof the one is the old council, and the other the new. These two councils are changed euery sixe Moneths at *Zurich*; so that at their ending, the olde council electeth the new. At *Basile*, and at *Schaffouse*, they continue in the estate a whole year together.

The election of the council at *Schaffouse*, is made on the morrow after Pentecoste: and that of *Basile*, on Saturday be-

How many are sent from each company

The election of councillors for the lesser council, and after what order they elect the *Zunftmeister*.

Of the old & new council.

The great council of *Basile* diuided in like manner.

The changing of the old and new councils.

The times of these elections, & their approbation.

Of giving the
voyce it is not
in all places a-
like.

The fitting of
the olde and
new council-
lers.

Of the Bourg-
masters or
Consuls, the
manner of
their election.

Masters of
companies &
communities,
Tribunes of
the people.

The council
of thirteene
men.

before the foure and twentieth day of June. At Zurich, the **Zunftmeisters** are elected by the companies in their houses of meeting: then the council of two hundred confirme this election; but at Basile this confirmation belongeth to the olde council. The voyce is given openly at Zurich, and secretly at Schaffouse. For in each tribe or company, charge is given to particular persons, to collect the voyce, whereupon they all come to them in order, and tell them closely in the eare, for whom they give voyce to be **Zunftmeister**. The lesser council assemblen at the offense, three times every weeke, and some whiles (vpon earnest occasion) four times. The olde and new councillors of Zurich, are seated one by another, & sometimes one among another: but at Basile, the old councillors are about the younger. They haue also this custome, to withdraw often into another Hall, to consult together. After resolution is taken, a councillor of the first company, reporteth the aduice to the new council: and they call the reporter **Den Offner**.

The Bourgmaster, whom they call **Burgermeister**, as much to say, as Master of the Bourgeses, is President of the old and new councils. The great council electeth him by open voyce at Zurich; at Schaffouse by secret voyce: and at Basile, the olde council first electeth the Bourgmaster, and the new council the yeare following. The Bourgmaster is in state at Zurich, fixe Moneths: but at Basile and Schaffouse, a whole yeare together, and turne by turne, the Bourgmasters and Councillers olde and new are changed. They whom at Basile they terme **Zunftmeisters**, and **Werkmeisters** at Zurich (as much to say, as Masters of companies and communities) doe second the Bourgmasters in their authority.

At Zurich there are three, and at Basile two, who with the two Bourgmasters are called the foure chiefe & principal Lords of the city. Nine other Lords of the lesser council at Basile, are ioyned to these four in chiefe, and by reason of the number, they are called the council of thirteene. They heare the causes of very greate importance, and deliberate on them first, before they propound any thing to the lesser council: and therefore they may be called Preconsulters, or first council-

lers. Moreover, there is a particular council at Zurich, whom wee may name the Chamber of accounts, for it manageth publike affaires: and is composed of eight councillors, and haue the Bourgmaster of the olde council for their President. Then is there two Purse-bearers or Treasurers, and the Superintendents for Ecclesiastical goods do assist them, together with foure other councillors, two of the olde, and two of the new council. They take knowledge not onely of monies employed for the common-wealth: but oftentimes also, the younger council demandeth their aduice in cases of importance, whereon they consult a while, and then giue their report to the younger council.

To these publike councils, there are alwayes two Secretaries assisting, with their committees, when necessity requireth. The first and chiefe is called **Stattschreyber**, that is to say, Secretary of the city. At Zurich, the other is called **Andersschreyber**, that is to say, sub-Secretary: but they of Basile call him **Ratsschreyber**, that is, Secretary to the council. There is a particular Secretary for the Chamber of Accounts; whom they of Zurich call **Rechnschreyber**. The estate of Secretary in these cities is honorable, and of great gaine. In regard whereof, the Gentlemen strue to keepe it in their owne power, as seldom it is giuen to any other. These men are they (among all other) that know the lawes, customes, priuiledges, and all the secrets of the common-wealth.

Next to the councils publike, are Iustices of the city. There are two at Zurich, one for ciuill causes, **Das Statright**, which was in ancient times under power of the Nunnes, and the Abbesse elected the Lieutenant, or cheefe man in that kinde of iustice, whom they called **Den Schultheissen**, and his assessors or assistants: but now the election belongeth to the lesser or younger council. Their number is of eight, and they haue their Lieutenant, Secondary, and Seriant. To them appertaineth the knowledge of ciuill causes, Debtes, Hires, Lendings, Borrowings, Sales, and as the *Switzers* vse to say, they iudge **Wib und eigen**. There is no appeale from their sentence: but if there happen any difficult

The chamber
of accounts, &
the officers
thereof.

Two Secretaries
assisting
to the coun-
cilliers.

The office of
Secretary, ho-
norable.

A Iustice for
dealing in ci-
uill causes.

What causes
they take know-
ledge of.

No appeale
from the Ius-
tices sentence.

The office &
authority of
the other Ius-
tices.

The Iustice of
greatest pow-
er and autho-
rity.

Law and Ius-
tice in crimi-
nall causes.

Criminal
Iudgements
are openly
performed.

Criminal ca-
ses at Zurich
are openly
heard.

The other or-
ders of Iustice
in great and
lesser Basile.

difficult cause, they send it to the Council.

The other Iustice, whom they call **Das Zinsricht**, is a Iudgement of proceffe and suites, which happen for repts and yearly reuennues. The Secretary of the other Iustice, and two Lords of the younger council, it seemes doe daily assist for the ending of all such differences. In the bigger Basile there are two such kinds of Iustices, and a third in the lesser Basile. That Law or Iustice of greatest authority, which they terme also **Das Statright**, is composed of ten Iudges; one part whereof is of the council, and the other, such as the people do name. They take knowledge of all causes, ciuill and criminal: but when there is question of testaments, wils, contracts, monies borrowed, and other such like things: the Prouost or Lieutenant of the city sitteth in Iudgement. As for causes criminal, the Prouost of the Empire iudgeth them. And there are three Lords of the council, who do pursue criminal causes, by the sollicitation of one, who is an ordinary Attorney, named by them, **Obertensmecht**, and keepeth company with the Iudges, hauing an aduocate waiting on him.

These Iudgements are done publike-ly, and haue eight open audiences, where- by all are permitted to be there present, to heare and see whatsoever is done. But at Zurich and at Schaffouse, the new council doth iudge the criminal causes. Neuerthelesse, the Bourgmaster doth not sit: but it is the Prouost of the Empire, whom *Wytschagt*, or *Wuttschagt*, who presideth and collecteth the voyces. Every yeare the council chuseth some one of that body, to exercise that charge. Proceffe and suites criminal are handled at Zurich, with the doores fast shut: but at Schaffouse in open Court, so that all men may vnderstand the accusations and defences. But the council com-mandeth all to be absent, when there is question of pronouncing sentence. The second order of Iustice at great Basile, iudgeth not but in cases of small importance, which hardly exceedeth the summe of ten pounds. But the Iustice of smaller Basile, hath a Iudge apart, & taketh knowledge of all causes, except of criminal.

There are two Courts, or kinds of

Iustices at Schaffouse. The one which they call **Das Schuldricht**, is law or iustice for debts: for therein only is ended differences of contracts, debts, and such like things. And if the summe where-of question is made, doe amount about an hundred crownes, the council doth take knowledge of it. In this Court are twenty assessors or assistants, to wit, one of each Tribe: moreover, eight other persons, chosen by the council. The other order of Iustice is named **Obertensricht**, or **Wuttschricht**, that is to say, Iustice for fines and amercements: because the Prouost of the empire, or Iudge in causes criminal, presideth there, and condemneth all such forfeitures & fines. There are twelve assessours out of the twelve Tribes, and who are of the great council. Causes criminal of lesser importance, are debated and ended in this Iustice there; as light injuries, vulgar outrages, and such like. But when wordes do wound honour, and the wrong is not easie to be dissembled or digested; the knowledge of such cases appertaineth to the lesser council.

Beside what hath beene saide, these three cities haue each one their particular council, which they terme **Stuorricht**, or **Segricht**, where they discourse on causes of matrimony. For after that the religion was changed, the councils of the three cities established one council: wherein were a certaine number of assistants, elected by publique suffrages, and taken out of the olde and new councils, and among whom were some Diuines or Theologians as they call them. Neuerthelesse, at Schaffouse none of the Ministers were assistants, but onely some learned men admitted to council, who had each one as his adiunct, some Doctour of the Law. These Iudges take knowledge of all matrimoniall causes: punish whoredomes and adulteries, and haue charge to obserue the liues & manners of euery one.

Beside, in these common-wealths, bastards are deprived of all honours and dignity: nor is it lawfull for them to be seene at the council, nor in the Courts of Iustice. True it is, they are not guilty of that stain to their birth, neither can it be denied, but that (oftentimes) bastards haue wonne more commendations

Two kinds
of Iustice at
Schaffouse.

The second
kinde of Ius-
tice at Basile.

Criminal of-
fences of less
importance.

The three cit-
ies haue pec-
uliar coun-
cils beside
the other.

Diuines ad-
mitted to be
of the coun-
cill.

Of such as are
exempted &
prohibited,
not to be seen
in the coun-
cill, or in any
Court of Ius-
tice.

for

for their virtues, then euer could their legitimate brethren: as we haue an example of *Iephia*, a Iudge of Gods owne people. But to bridle the leud concupiscences of many, and to conferre the dignity of sacred marriage: Bastards stand as branded with infamy, and yke some eye-fores to well ordered common-wealths.

Next, hee that hath not dwelt tenne yeares within the city of *Zurich*, cannot be chosen to be one of the publike councill.

Such as are borne out of *Switzerland* cannot be of the lesser councill at *Schaffouse*: But if they be Bourgeses of twenty yeares standing, they may be brought into the great councill, & into the number of the Iudges.

I will not tell you that strangers are vnworthy of these honors: but it is requisite first of all, that hee who ought to haue charge in a common-wealth, should be particularly affectioned and obliged thereto, and afterward be well skilde and sence, in the lawes and customes of the country.

And me-thinks, citizens, and such as (from their youth) haue bene bred in a common-wealth; should haue more aduantage therein, then strangers.

Moreover, there is nothing more pernicious to common-wealths, then enmities and despights, proceeding from such aduancements to high degrees: as draw on partialities and factions, the danger whereof cannot be auoyded, when naturall borne subiects are left despised, and ancient Families contemned, and charge of publike Officers giuen to strangers, & men of no merit.

Beside bastards and strangers, adulterers, murderers, and men made infamous for any crime: are (by a common law) excluded from councill in these common-wealths.

Publike citates and conditions are of diuers kinde in these common-wealths, and in great number, according as the cities are peopled: we will make mention of the principals onely.

The highest degree, next after the Bourg-masters and *Zunft*-Masters, are such as haue charge of the publike monies: who are called in many places of *Switzerland*, *Serckmeister*, as much to say, as Treasurers or Purse-bearers. At

Basile there are three, named *Dorperherren*, that haue the keeping of the cities treasures. Besides them, there are three other, named *Ladenherren*, who manage the monies of the Imposts, Customs, and yearly reuenues of the common-wealth: They also pursue criminall causes, making themselves parties, by meanes of the ordinary Attorney. At *Zurich* there are men (almost) in the selfe same charge, whom they call *Die Ambgelter*; who manageth the tolle-monies of Corne and Wine, which they cause to be gathered by their committees. This tolle or taxation is not but on the Wine publicly sold, and on the Corne brought in from abroad: but for the wine & corne which the Bourgeses eate and drinke in their houses, they pay not any thing.

Beside these two Treasurers of the common-wealth, there is a third at *Zurich*, for the reuenues of the Church, & he is called *Der Bloesteren obman*: he gathereth certaine reuenues of the Abbeyes; wherewith the Ministers wages are payed, the Churches maintained, and the poore cherished or releued, and the ouerplus remaining, is referred to ease the people in times of publike necessities. Some yeares past, the country of *Zurich* having bene afflicted with an extreme dearth of victuals: the receiver sold corne at a meane price to them of the city, and to most part of the Villages round about, bought with the referred money at the best rate, and thereby the Subiects of the Seigneury were greatly releued.

Next to these, there are other Officers, as they that take care of publike buildings, whom the French call *Foyers*, the Germans *Wuherren*, and they of *Basile*, *Lonherren*, because they pay the works & workmen that serue in publike. These Surveyers haue charge of the waies, Gates, Towers, Rampiers, Bridges, Couiduits, and other publike Edifices: taking order that they shall be maintained and kept in their best ability. Moreover, they iudge with three Lords of the councill (who are their adiuncts) such differences as happen for the confines, Gutters, Channels, Windows, Walls, and such like things, & wherein the neighbours are to be guided by their direction in their building. At *Basile* there are five Seigneurs, that take knowledge of these matters.

There

Duers Officers appointed to take charge of victuals. For bread. For flesh.

For fish.

For butter & cheese. Other Officers noted by their names.

Of Schooles & vniuersities

The Vniuersity at Basile, founded by Aeneas Syluius, who was after Pope, called Pius 2.

The reason why so few Schoollers are, in the Vniuersity of Basile.

There is another degree of them that take charge of victuals. Of this number are the visitors for Bread; to consider if the Loafe carry his full weight, or no. Others view the Flesh in the Butchery, and aduisedly obserue, that they kill not any Beasts, the flesh whereof is bad, and dangerous to be eaten; they also set a price vpon the pound, to sell it by. Then there are some that take charge of Fish, and heedfully forcee, that none be taken whē they are spawny, and haue an eye beside to the goodnesse of all other Fish in the Market. Others looke to salt Fish, and to the Market of Butter and Cheese, how it is reasonably sold. There are some other Officers, whose names are sufficient to be noted: as the Patrons of Widowes and Orphanes, *Schennuort*, and at *Basile*, *Weissenherren*: The Almoners; Visitors for weights and measures; Deputies for questioning of inatters; Comptrolers of Ecclesiasticall goods; and Visitors of Schooles.

Moreover, in these cities there are Schooles very well ordered. At *Basile* is an Vniuersity greatly renowned, established by *Aeneas Syluius*, afterward Pope, named *Pius* the second, who gaue it all the same priuiledges, rights, and immunities, which the Vniuersities of *Boulogne*, *Colongne*, *Heidelberg*, *Erdford*, *Lipsa* & *Vienne* haue. *Aeneas Syluius* was lodged at *Basile*, during the time as the councill was kept there. He found the city so pleasant, the ayre so sweete, with such commodity and abundance of all things; that hee reputed the place apt and worthy to haue an Vniuersity founded in it. In the times of our ancestors, and our owne also, this Vniuersity hath yielded many wise men, professors of the tongues, in Philosophy and all Sciences, who are needlesse here to be named. Neuertheless, considering the greatnesse of the city, and the fame of the Doctours there abiding, there are but few Schoollers. *Beatus Rhenanus* rendereth the reason, and saith; It is occasioned by the smallnesse of reuenues belonging to this Vniuersity, and to many Schooles in Germany. As thinking, that if there were fewer Schooles and Vniuersities, they would bee much more frequented then they are. There is not any Vniuersity at *Zurich*; notwithstanding, euen to this present day, the tongues haue

beene so faithfully taught there, and all good Sciences and Diuinity, that it is very famous, and highly esteemed among all them that study Diuinity.

Finally, these three cities whereof we speake, haue power to stampe and coyne monie: and therefore there are forging Mints, and Masters of the monies, whose charge is to take order that the money coyned with the stamp of the city, should beare full weight, and be of a good alloy. Each of these cities hath her mony apart by herselfe. They of *Basile* do coyne the same mony with them of *Halsatia* and of *Bourgonne*, and call it a *Rappennuntz*, in regard of a *Rauen*, which scruech for Armes to many peeces of their mony. Five & twenty Sols of this mony, makes a Florin of gold, which is thought to value threecore cruzers. At *Schaffouse* the mony is of the same alloy & price, as that of the Empire. They of *Zurich* do coyne Dallers, and halfe Dallers, of equall price with them of the Empire: but they haue a kinde of mony, which is their owne in particular, whereof forty Sols makes a Florin of gold. They stampe also another sort of mony, which they call *Baches*, wherof sixteen makes a Florin.

In ranke of these publike charges and offices, we may set downe the Watch, & such as take care for prouision against the accidents of fire. There are two sortes of watch, besides the Sentinels in the clock-houses, and the Porters. First the perpetual guardes at the cities coast, who keepe watch euery night, and diligently search through all parts of the city, crying at all houres of the night.ouer and beside these, out of each company are taken a certaine number of Bourgeses, who likewise watch (according to their turnes) with their Armes. This double guard is not done for any feare they haue of enemies: but to auoid the inconueniences of fire, and to take order also, that (during the time of night) all matters may be peaceable and quiet.

They that are Committees, to take care of dangers concerning fire, when a ny ch happeneth in the city, may command the Carpenters, and other men of like quality, to runne for quenching the fire, taking order that all may be done without confusion, and for the best safety of them that haue the misfortune of the fire.

Mints for the coyning of mony in these three cities.

The mony of Basile.

The monie of Schaffouse.

The monie of Zurich.

The watch may not be forgot among other officers in publike, & tending to the general good

The office of them that are guards for accidents of fire

What the order is in time of fire.

The city distinguished into duers bands in martial order.

When fire taketh a village out of the city.

What care the Switzers haue of the poore.

A collection of charnabell almes for the poore.

fire. Moreouer, they carry an eye ouer the watch at the Gates, and on the wals; lest any tumult should happen in the city. For it is ordained, that when the fire is in any one place, a certaine number of the Bourgeses (chosen out of each company) make their sudden appearance at the Gates or Ports, and vpon the walles in Armes. Moreouer, the whole city is distributed into certaine bandes, euery one of them hauing his Captaine & Ensigne to it selfe, vnder whom they go marching in excellent order. The Bourgmaster betakes himselfe to the Town-house, with some of the principall councillors and officers of the Seignury, to aduise on what is good for the weale publique. And not onely Carpenters, Maïsons, and their seruants, but likewise most of the Bourgeses meete together, all labouring industriously to quench the fire: and oftentimes the women throw themselves of no meane courage, in bringing and casting on the water. Beside, if the fire happen in some Village out of the city, the lustiest disposed of euery Tribe (whereof election is made for the purpose) do meete, and issue forth together, to quench the fire. They are conducted by one of the councill Seigneurs, who is sent to helpe and aduise what is meetest to be done, but most especially, to comfort them that haue the losse.

We haue already told you, that the Switzers take great care for the poore. At Zurich, and in some other Townes, there is a daily distribution of almes to all the poore there, as of Bread and Pulse-pottage. There are a great number of poore Schollers in Zurich, sometimes forty, otherwhiles fourescore, that are thus releeued, some bestowing garments, and other needfull things on them also, vsing the poore in no worse manner, then they of the Abbeyes and Couents in the Seignury of Zurich are. Vpon the Sundayes and festiual dayes, an almes collection is made of the people: which Monthly, or at euery two Moneths, by men chosen & deputed to the office, is distributed equally to the poore in the city, and such as liue abroad in the fields. Beside, in the Cities there are great Hospitals, wherein needy citizens, aged, impotent, sicke persons, orphans, and many other are releeued. The Seignury appointeth duers

honest people, to haue care of the poores necessities: such as are the Master of Hospitals, Proctors, Receiuers, & their Committees and Comptrollers.

Hitherto wee haue shewen you the forme and state government obserued in the cities: but ouer and beside these, they haue authority in the neighboring countries, and (among the rest) the canton of Zurich hath more country iurisdiction, and larger Bayliwicks, then eyther Basile or Schaffoufe. But in all the Lands and Seignuries belonging vnto these three cantons, there is one and the selfe-same order of government. For certaine Bayliwicks are gouerned by the councill of the city, in such manner, as the Bayliffes dwell in the city, and are councillors of the common-wealth, and yet go to keepe Courts in the Villages. And if there happen any criminal suite, and whereof there is desert of punishment capitall, the councill takeith knowledge thereof. There are other Bayliwicks of farre larger extent, and thether Bayliffes are sent with ample power: so that they iudge not onely in ciuill causes, but oftentimes in criminall occasions, and chafise malefactors, according to the greatnesse of the delicts. These Bayliwicks haue their priuiledges and ancient customes: some also haue law and iustice apart by themselves, and are administrated by Iudges chosen out of the same places.

The Bayliffes make no change or alteration (of any thing) in these places: but they leaue to the inhabitants, all their rights safe and sound: contenting themselves onely to preside in iustice, and giue sentence according to the lawes and customes of each Bayliwicke. The canton of Zurich hath nine great Bayliwicks, to wit, the county of Kybourg, the Bailiwick of Groningen, Andelfingen, Grisenfee, Egli-sow, the free Province, Kegenbourg, Vaden-sile, and Lanfen, neere to the fall of Rhein. There are two and twenty small Bayliwicks or Castle-tships beside: in some of which, there is as large extent of ground, and as great number of men, as in some of the greater Bayliwicks. Moreouer, beside these Bayliwicks, two pleasant Townes, namely Winteraner and Stein, are vnder the protection of Zurich's canton. The Officers of iustice are in the same Townes; but the inhabitants are ty-

The cities extreme in gouernment: a broad, south of the cities limit.

All the Bayliwicks are not alike in their extent & authority.

No change of lawes, priuiledges, or customes, by the Bayliffes in any of their iuridictions.

What Bayliwicks do be long to Zurich, & other Townes beside.

The Bayliwicks belonging to Basile.

ed in obedience to the Seignury of Zurich, to obey their lawes, and to go to war for that Canton; in which respect, the two Townes haue their feuerall Ensignes by themselves.

The Bayliwicks belonging to the Canton of Basile, are the Cattle of Farnspurg, seated on the top of a Mountaine about Rhinsfeld; Walbourg, a small towne on the Mount Jura, which they tearme **Der Howerstein**, in regard of the Rock there cut in funder; Hombourg, Munchenstcin, and Ramstein.

Schaffoufe hath the most part of the country of Clegow, all about Basile, and sendeth Bayliffes and Chastellaines into the Bourroghs and Villages on it depending.

CHAP. VI.

Of the publike estate and gouernment, of the Townes of Berne, Lucerne, Fribourg, and Solleurre: which are not diuided into Tribes and Companies, as Zurich, Basile, and Schaffoufe are.

Of the second kinde of gouernment without tribes or companies.

Schuldheff: The seruants of the word.

The words as they are written in the Lombards lawes.

WE haue already said, that the second kinde of publike gouernment, is considered in such Townes, as are not distributed into certaine Tribes or Companies, out of which are equally chosen, the Lord & Seigneurs appointed for Councill and Iustice. In these towns they that are soueraigne Magistrates, or Heads of publike councill, are called **Stn Schuldheffen**. The old *Allemann* word is found in the Lawes of the Lombards, where it is written, *Schuldahis*. It seemeth that the word came of debt, which the Switzers tearme *Schuld*, and of commanding: as much to say, that the *Schuldahis* commands the debtors to satisfie them of whom they borrowed. And in this fence it is found written in the Lombards lawes, vnder the title of debts and wages, in these words.

If a free man who is a debtor, hath nothing else wherewith to make satisfaction, but his owne private Cattel, as Horses and Oxen for labour, or Kine to the pail: then he that chal- lengeth or demandeth the debt, shall go to the

Schuldahis, and intimate the cause, giuing him to vnderstand, that his debtor hath nothing else to make reparation withall, but the matters above rehearsed. Then the *Schuldahis* is to make seizure on the said Cattel, &c.

The same word is found also in the twentieth rule of King *Luiprand's* lawes in significant tearmes, as followeth. If any man haue a cause or suite, and do appeare before his *Schuldahis* to demand iustice: if in case that the *Schuldahis* do him not iustice within foure houres after following (if both the parties stand bound to answer before him) himselfe shall pay to the demander fixe Sols, and to his iudge fixe Sols.

We may perceiue heereby, that the word *Schuldahis* signified (among our graue Ancients) a Iudge, that gaue sentence vpon differences concerning debts, made leuicy on the debtors goods, and compelled them to pay their creditors. Neuertheless, there was no iustice so high, but hee stood in subiection to the county. At this day, the name is in frequent vie among the Princes of Germany: so that the Iudges of Townes and Villages haue no other name. Among the Switzers it is more honourable for in the forenamed townes, the *Schuldahis* is lord ouer all. The soueraigne Magistrates of Townes among the Switzers, some haue thought were called *Consuls*, in imitation of the Romans: others hold opinion, that Bourgmasters and *Schuldahis* ought to be called *Prefitors*. For mine owne part, I call them *Consuls*, that are Presidents in publike councill. The French call him an *Auoyer*, whom we tearme *Schuldheff*.

Now as concerning the Towns wherof we speak, they are not diuided by companies and trades, because there are lawes which prohibit them from so doing. But although the forme of the Common-wealths of Zurich and Berne are different: yet the one stands bound to succour the other reciprocally, to maintain and conferre the estate, such as is established in cythers common-wealth. In the meane while, the trades that are at Berne, Lucerne, Fribourg, and Solleurre, haue houses established for meeting, for knowledge of the best and cheefest workmen, but not for the election of Magistrates. They tearme those Officers by the name of *St. Schafften*, and not *Zunftten*.

The words out of King Luiprand's lawes, to his same effect.

A Iudge that enforced crasies of debts onely.

The cheefe Magistrats of any Towne among the Switzers.

No Trades or companies in these Townes after such manner as at Zurich.

Ec In

Two publicke
councils in
those Towns:
the great and
the lesser.

In these Townes there are two publicke councils, as at *Zurich, Basle, & Schaffhouse*; to wit, the great and the lesser. The great council of *Berne*, is of two hundred men, as at *Zurich*, although it hath more then two hundred councillors. The lesser council of *Berne*, is of sixe and twenty. At *Lucerna*, eighteen councillors do governe the estate, during the space of sixe Moneths, and eightene other sixe Moneths, or the rest of the year. To elect the council of *Berne*, the proceeding is in this manner.

Banderets is
the Capitaine
of a quarter in
any good
Towne.

The third Feries before Easter day, the foure Banderets of the Towne, doe chuse, and take with them sixteene Bourgeses, the worthiest and best esteemed men of all: then these twenty, with the *Auyger*, do elect the great council, wherefore we may well call them Electors. First of all, they consider and examine exactly, the lues and manners of all them that are to be of the council of two hundred; and if any one of them hath soyled his dignity and reputation, with any bad or villanous acte; they depose him, and in the place, as wel of the deposed, as of the ded, they chuse another, whom they do better like and allow of. In meane while, their election remaineth secret, untill the evening of the day before Easter, & then the Officers goe, and signifie to all them that are elected for the great and lesser councils: that they are to meete on the morrow morning in the Towne-house.

The Seigneurs
of the
great council
meet in the
Towne-house

The first Feries after Easter, the Seigneurs of the council do assemble in their houses of meeting, and afterward they conduct them to the Towne-house, that are newly set downe, to be in number of the two hundred, and then all the Magistrates are elected. The election ended, the Bourgeses go to feast in their houses, and after dinner, walke forth into the fields: exercising themselves there in leaping, running, throwing the Barre, Stone, and other pastimes. But the *Auyger* goes againe to the town-house, accompanied with the twenty Electors; and there they elect the councillors, that are to be of the lesser council. On the morrow, they are named to the council of two hundred, and after that their election is approued, they goe and sitte downe in their places. Now in regard that the council of *Lucerna* doth command no longer time the

fixe Moneths onely: the election of the Seigneurs both for the lesse and greater council, is made twice yearly, if there be any vacant places, and that is done about mid-Lune, and mid-December. The new councillors are taken from the lesser council, that governed during the sixe precedent Moneths.

The *Auygers* or Consuls, who are above the other Seigneurs, are elected by the lesse and greater councils, & by common voyces. The authority of the *Auyger* at *Lucerna*, lasteth but a year, and a years at *Berne*: but yet in such manner, that the voyces are yearly taken for him, and hee againe elected. Next to the *Auygers* of *Berne*, the principall men in the common-wealth, are the foure Banderets, chosen out of foure companies of trades-men onely, or men of handy-crafts, to wit, Carpenters, Curryers, or Leather-dressers (who are distributed in three parts) Bakers, and Butchers.

The Towne of *Berne* is diuided into foure parts, which are committed (each one of them) to these foure Banderets: who view and ouer-see the Armes of all the Bourgeses, and provide for the affairs of warre. They continue in their charge the space of foure yeares: but every yeare on the same day as the *Auyger* is elected, they resigne their estates, and deliuer in to the hands of the cheefe Vther of the Seigneury, their Ensignes, and all the other marks of their dignity, which are laide on a Table before the *Auyger* and the council: and then the great and lesser council giues their voyces, concerning the Banderets. If one of them have continued in his charge fully foure yeares, or is preuented by death, another is planted in his place: but yet it is thus conditionally done, that if the dead did not finish his foure yeares, his successeur must accomplish them in the nature of a substitute, and afterward, execute the same charge foure other yeares.

In all the Townes of the *Switzers*, the dignity of Purse-bearers or Treasurers is great. Some whiles, the time of their charge is not limited at all; but they continue in that estate, so long as please the council, and themselves also. There are two of them at *Berne*; the one receiveth the reuenues of the Towne, and of the *Allemaigne* country: the

The council
of *Lucerna*
chosen twice
yearly.

The election
of the *Auyger*,
or Consul.

The chusing
of the foure
Banderets out
of foure compa-
nies.

The diuision
of *Berne* into
the foure Banderets.

The time of
the Banderets
continuing in their
office.

The dignity
of Purse-bearers or
Treasurers.

Two Treasurers
at *Berne*,
and their
charge.

the other is for the *Romane* country, because hee receiveth the reuenues which the Seigneury derieth from the countries of *Fantz*, and of *Sauoye*. Those men which we haue lately named *Auygers*, Banderets, and Treasurers, with one councillor of the two hundred, are called at *Berne*, *Die heimlichen Rath*, which is as much to say, as the secret or priuy councill. For to them (before all other) matters of most secrecy, of consequence, and which concerne the whole Common-wealth, are reported and trusted.

Concerning
the election
of other public
Officers.

After that the abouenamed Magistrates haue bene elected, and confirmed by the lesse and greater councils; aduice is vfed, concerning other publicke Offices, which is done in some of those Townes the very same day, and on the morrow in others.

As for those estates that haue not any dignity, as Sericants, Executors of iustice, Messengers, Watches, and other such like charges: ordinarily, the lesser council bestowes them of such, as they know meetest for them.

The election
of councillors
at *Berne* for
the lesser
council.

The *Bernians* hold this properly to themselves, as concerning election of their councillors, that they will not receiue any person into the lesser council, if he be not borne within the Towne. In elder times, if the sonnes of councillors were borne out of the Towne, they could not attaine to the fathers dignity. Now adayes, when some councillors are absent, about occasions of the weale-publicke, and for the governing of some Bayliwicke: if they happen to haue any children, they are reputed as borne in the Towne. For the great council, they may be elected that are borne out of *Berne*: provided that they be Bourgeses, haue houses in the Towne, and are issued of the *Switzers* country, or of the confederates of the Cantons. For no man is receiued into the councill of the two hundred, if he be borne out of *Switzerland*: and the same is in practise at *Zurich*, as we haue already declared. In like manner, bastards, and people of infamous note, are quite excluded from councill.

The ordinary
manner of iustice
at *Berne*.

There are three Courts or Benches of iustice at *Berne*, all the Iudges whereof, are elected by the Banderets & Treasurers, and are confirmed by the lesser council.

furers, and are confirmed by the lesser council.

The first Court of iustice is called, *Das Allrecht*. The *Auyger* presideth there, but the cheefe Vther, whom they call *Der gros Vtelhel*, doth (almost) daily keepe the place, and hath twelve Assistants, to wit, the last man elected of the foure Banderets, one of the Seigneurs of the lesser council, one and tenn of the great, with one Secretary, and two Officers. They take knowledge of debts, injuries & outrages of slender consequence, as if one man giue another a box on the eare, or giue some words to his disgrace. A man may appeale from their sentence, to the lesser council, and from them, to the sixty men, which is a councill composed of Seigneurs of the lesser council, and of sixe and thirty councillors of the great council. From the sixty, appeale may be made vnto the generall. The Iudges doe assemble euery day to conclude causes, onely Tuesday excepted, which is the Market day.

The first
Court of iustice,
how and
what causes
are therein
determined.

The second Court of iustice, iudgeth the appellations of the country of *Sauoy*: and therefore it is commonly called, the Court for strange Appellations; *Das veltich Appellatz gericht*. The Purse-bearer or Treasurer of the country, sitteth in iudgement there, & hath ten assistants, to wit, two Seigneurs of the lesser council, and eight of the great, with one Secretary and an Officer. They end all the appeales for the country of *Sauoy*, and giue audience to parties at all times, and as oft as they desire it. Notwithstanding, their ordinary vse is to meete after the day of *S. Martin* in Nouember, vntill the Month of December. All they of *Sauoy* come thither to the appellations, they onely of *Laufanna* excepted: but at euery two yeares, the Treasurer cometh to *Laufanna* with some assistants, and there decideth the causes of appeale.

The second
Court is called
the Court of
appellations,
or appeals.

The third Court or iurisdiction, takes knowledge of matrimoniall causes. It is the Consistory, where there are eight Iudges; two of the lesser councill, who preside or giue sentence there (turne by turne) from two Moneths to two Moneths; two Ministers of the Church; foure of the great councill, and they haue a Secretary or Cleaerke, and an Officer. They assemble three times in the weeke,

The ordinary
meeting of
the Court.

The third
Court is the
Consistory
for marriage
matters.

The limitation
of their
authority.

Two Courts
of iustice at
Lucerna, and
what causes
are censured
in them.

Criminal
causes concern-
ing life
and death.

How they
proceed in ca-
ses of death.

In the Bayli-
wicks of Bern

Of the Bayli-
wicks belong-
ing to them
of Berne.

namely, on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, then they consider not only on matrimoniall causes, but also censure such as giue scandales, and put in practise the discipline of the Church. Moreover, these men and the Iudges of the first court of iustice, doe hold in estate but halfe the yeare, and are changed about Easter, and likewise about the end of September.

They of *Lucerna* haue two courts of iustice, the one they call *Das vndergericht*, because the Iudges do meete euery weeke, and decide all suites proceeding of debts and contracts. The other is called *Das obergericht*, the iustice of nine: for nine Iudges take knowledge of iniuries and outrages, and accordingly inflict punishment. There is not any Confraternity at *Lucerna*, neither at *Fribourg*, or *Sollemure*: because they are Catholics, and subiecte to the iurisdiction of Bishops, by whose Officials the causes concerning matrimony are debated.

As for criminall matters capital, there are not any particular Iudges thereto appointed, neither at *Berne*, nor *Lucerna*. But when question is made concerning any ones life, the great and smaller councells take knowledge thereof, and iudge it. The *Auoyer* sit in cheefest authority, and censure on the matters. After sentence is refused on at *Berne*, the *Auoyer* goes and sits in a seate of iustice, appointed in some eminent part of the Towne, enuironed with Officers of the Seignery. Then the Clarke or Secretary readeth out aloud the confession of the offender, & the sentence giuen against him. Afterward the *Auoyer* enioyneth the hangman to execute the sentence, and commandeth the condemned person to be deliuered to him. At *Lucerna*, the councell do iudge in criminall causes of all the Bayliwicks, and all the Malefactors are punished within the Towne. But in all the Bayliwicks of *Berne*, there is iustice apart by it selfe, which they call *Landgericht*, and the other the Iudges of all the Bayliwicks are called, and giue their aduice in presence of the Bayliwicks, who presideth: and yet in such sort, as the councell of *Berne* may approue, or change the sentence, if they think good.

The *Bernians* haue many Bayliwicks, & are the most powerfull Seigneurs of the Leagues. In some they speak the *Alleman*

or *Germane* tongue; in other the *Romane* or *Sauayan*. Among the *Alleman* Bayliwicks, there are foure depending on the Towne, and are euen as Subburbs thereto: whereof the foure Banderets are Bayliwicks, and if they were to go to war, those Bayliwicks march vnder the Ensignes of the foure Banderets. Moreover, there are feuen and twenty other beside, to wit, the vale of *Hafell*, which hath an *Anman*, out of the body of the inhabitants, but hee is elected by the councell of *Berne*, & there rendereth an account of his charge. *Vndersee* is a Towne so named, because it is at the end of a Lake: it either is an *Auoyer* sent, but he is of the Towne of *Berne*. The vale of *Simma*, both high and low, do call their Bayliffes *Schachtlandt*, that is to say, Castilians. *Feutingen*, *Sane* and *Aelen*: because they are Catholics, and subiecte to the iurisdiction of Bishops. *Luopen* and *Thun* are in the same condition as *Vndersee*.

Next to these, are *Signow*, *Trachselwald*, and the Riuer of the vale of *Emme*. *Brandis*, that receiues her Bayliffe from the Lord of the place: but he is numbered among the Bourgeses of *Berne*. *Smuifwald*, where the Masters of the *Testament* Order established a Bayliffe. *Burgdorf* and *Pyrmstic* are gouerned all alike, as *Vndersee*, *Landbunt*, *Arberg*, *Nidew*, *Erlach*, *Biipin*, *Wange*, *Arwange*, *Arbourg*, *Eiberitain*, *Schenkenberg*, and *Lentabourg*. Moreover, there are three free Townes in the country of *Ergow*, vnder the Seignery of *Berne*, to wit, *Zofinge*, *Arow*, and *Brug*. There are eight Roman Bayliwicks, as namely, *Ananches*, *Modon*, *Tuerdin*, *Laufanna*, *Morges*, *Nyon*, *Orbe*, *Aille* and *Veunay*. Beside, they of *Berne* and of *Fribourg* haue foure Bayliwicks in common; as *Mort*, *Schwartzenbourg*, *Granjon*, & *Chalosse*, whether they send a Bayliffe successively at euery 5. yeares end: so that if the Bayliffe be of *Berne*, his causes of appeale goe to *Fribourg*, where the reasons of the Bayliffe are examined. There are Prouosts beside, for the gouernment of Abbeys. The *Bernians* haue nine in the *Alleman* country, fixe whereof held iurisdiction, and three in the *Romane* country.

They of *Lucerna* haue onely two out of the Towne, as at *Wiken*, and at *Sempach*: but hee of *Sempach* hath no other authority in the place, but only the superintendency of the Lake, and of the Fish.

The Anman
of the Vale
of Hafell.

The Auoyer
of Vndersee.

The Bayliffe
of the Vale
of Emme.

*The comp-
ny of the
Hans-Mer-
chant.

Eight W an
Bayliwicks.

Foure Bayli-
wicks in co-
mon.

Of the Bayli-
wicks that be-
long to Lu-
cerna.

As

The priuilege
of Mercanti-
les, and of o-
ther places
beside.

Lex Talionis
payed in
some vic at
Lucerna.

Cornets of
Brasse vied in
stead of trum-
pets at Lu-
cerna.

Cornettes.

Rowland who
the Italians
call Orlando.

Monies coy-
ned by all
these townes.

As for their other Bayliwicks, they are gouerned by some of the Seigneurs of the councell. Those Bayliwicks are *Willson*, the Vale of *Entlibuch*, *Rotenbourg*, *Habsbourg*, *Berone*, and the neighbouring cuntry, which they call, *Chelampt*: *Meriswande*, that hath this priuilege, to chuse for Bayliffe, one of the Seigneurs of councell in *Lucerna*, euen whom they list, except the *Auoyer*: *Weggis*, *Elbon*, *Horbe* and *Krientz*. Moreover, the two Townes of *Sursey* and *Sempach*, are in the protection of the *Lucernians*: *Neuerthelesse*, they haue their councell apart by themselves, who iudge in causes both ciuill and criminall. But the *Auoyer* of *Sursey*, giueth his oath to them of *Lucerna*. Hee of *Sempach* is elected by the councell at *Lucerna*: but he is in number among the citizens of *Sempach*.

The law of likenesse or equality, which the Latines termed *Lex Talionis*, is as yet vied (in some sort) at *Lucerna*. For if any man kil a citizen of the place, although he did it vpon iust occasion, hauing bene prouoked thereto by the other, and in defence of his owne body: yet if hee be taken, they smite off his head; or if he flye, he is banished for euer. But if he make satisfaction to the children or kindred of the dead, and cause them to giue ouer all pursuit: hee may obtaine leaue of the councell to come againe into the towne.

Among all the *Switzers*, there is not any but them of *Lucerna*, that make vse of Brasse Cornets, instead of Trumpets. The crooked Cornets, which they call *Parisch-boer*, giues a frightfull sound. The *Romans* also made vse of Cornets in warre: and thereupon, they that sounded or winded those Cornets, were called *Cornettes*. The men of *Lucerna* say, that *Charlemagne* gaue those Cornets to the; because they carried themselves valiantly in a warre which he had against the *Sarracins*, and that *Rowland*, a Lord very highly beloued of *Charlemagne* in those times, serued himselfe with those kindes of Cornets long before.

These forenamed Townes do coine monies, but *Berne*, *Fribourg*, and *Sollemure*, haue one particular kind of coyne: whereof two and forty Sols, and two thirds of a Sol, makes a Florin of *Rheine*. Moreover, they stampe another more great sort

of money, which the *Switzers* call *Bundtschenpfening*, and the French a *Tescion*. These *Tescions* are minted at *Sollemure* for the most part; and yet notwithstanding, are counted of lesse value, by a tenth part, then them of *France*. They of *Berne* coyned first certaine money, which the *Switzers* termed *Baches*: in regard of the figure of a Beare, which was stamped on the one side, for they called a Beare *Baer* and *Baerzen*. Afterward, the other Citties and Townes of *Switzerland* and of *Susba*, coyned the same money: fixe-teen peeces whereof, valued a Florin of gold. The mony of *Lucerna* cometh not neere to the value and price of that of *Basile*, which is more hard and strong: for the Sol of *Lucerna* valueth but the moiety of that of *Basile*, and fifty Sols of *Lucerna*, will make one Florin.

Now we come to speake of *Fribourg*, which is diuided into foure parts, like vnto *Berne*: the first is called the Borough, the second, the Island, or the Meadow; the third, the new Towne; and the fourth, the Hospitall. The councellers of the common-wealth are chosen out of these quarters. As in the other Townes, so in this there are two publike councels: to wit, the great councell, consisting of 2. hundred, and the lesser of foure and twenty. The election is made on the Sunday before *S. Iohn Baptists* day. The lesser councell manageth the affaires of the Towne, deciding the causes of appeales: except of the Bayliwicks of *Sauge*, conquered in warre. As for the matters which concerne the whole State, and are of maine importance, the councell of two hundred takes knowledge of them. The *Auoyer*, who presideth both in the lesser & great councels, is elected on *S. Iohns* day by all the people, and continueth in his charge the space of two yeares.

Next vnto the *Auoyer*, are the foure Banderets, who are Captaines of seuerall quarters in the city or towne, & although they are not of the ordinary number of Seigneurs of the lesser councell: yet notwithstanding, they assist there in name of all the people, and deliuer their aduice, except in appellations. If some thing be propounded which seemeth to belong to the councell of two hundred; they may ther make their report of it. Furthermore they remaine in authority, three yeares

E c 3 and

Worth eight-
teene pence
sterling.

Mony with a
Beare stamp-
ped on it.

The valuta-
on of these
coines.

The estate &
condition of
Fribourg, and
how it is di-
uided into foure
parts.

The two cou-
cels.

The office of
the lesser cou-
cell and of
the greater.

The Auoyer
in his place
of charge.

The foure
Banderets next
to the
Auoyer.

The office of the Treasurer.

and are chosen by the great & lesse counsels, as many other Officers are. Then followeth the office of the Treasurer, who manageth the monies, and all the reuenues of the Towne: he hath (as his coadiuter) the Secretary or Clearke of the Towne, or his Committees, who register downe all those summes, which the Treasurer receiue, or imployeth. His charge also is, to haue an eye on all the publike buildings. Twice every yeare he renders an account to the lesser council, and remaineth in his charge, the space of three yeares.

Four principal Secretaries in Fribourg.

In Fribourg there are foure principal Secretaries: the first is called Secretary of the Towne; the second, Secretary of the council; the third, Secretary of the country; and the fourth, Secretary of law or iustice. In like manner, the estate of *Saulnier*, or cheefe Vther, is honourable both in Berne and Fribourg, where it is named, *Großwerbets*. He is very often neere to the *Auget*, and when the Seigneurs are set in council, he is at the door, counteth voyces, calleth the parties, and takes care of prisoners. His charge continueth three yeares.

The Courts of law and iustice at Fribourg.

As concerning Law and Iustice at Fribourg, they are established in manner following. First, the Court of Iustice belonging to the Towne, called, *Das Statgericht*, is a particular assembly of certaine Iudges, to know and decide differences among the Bourgeses. And if there be any criminal proceesse or suite, their charge is to interrogate the prisoners, to present & deliuer the case in question, and then to relate all to the lesser council. The other assembly of Iudges, is termed *Das Landgericht*, judging the causes of dwellers in the country. In each of these iurisdiccions, there are two Seigneurs of the lesser council, and two of the great, and they meet three times every week. Appeals may be made from their sentence, to the lesser council. Moreover, there are twelue Iudges, chosen out of the great & lesser counsels, for the appellations of the Bayliwicks, conquered in the last warre against the Duke of *Sauoye*. They meete together once in euery Moneth, and there is no appealing from their sentence.

At Fribourg there are two kindes of Bayliwicks, as in the other Townes: the

one of Bayliwicks neigbouring to the Towne, which are gouerned by certaine Seigneurs of the council, who dwell in the Towne, and come dayly to council, and of such Bayliwicks there are fise. The other is, when the Bayliffes are sent to dwell on distinct places with ample authority: and they of Fribourg haue fourteen such Bayliwicks, and foure in common with the *Bernians*. The Bayliffes are elected by the great and lesse counsels, the morrow after *S. John Baptists* day, and hold in office the space of fise yeares: but every yeare they render an account of their charge, before the lesse council. They enstruck also, and deale in criminall suites: but then they fend to the lesse council with their sentence, which the council hath power to approue, change, or moderate.

That which at Fribourg is called *Trostungen*, and in the vulgar, *Leistung*, is carefully maintained at Fribourg, by these words is vnderstood a remife or charge for certaine time, and the charges to be on his owne head; when the debter doth not pay his debt, at or on the day of assignement, as in this manner. When the debter maketh not satisfaction, on the day appointed for repayment, the creditor sendeth one, two, three, or more seruants (on horse-backe) to an Inne or Hostery, whose expences there the debter is constrained to pay (tarry they there neuer so long) vntill hee hath made satisfaction to the creditor. Some say, that the Duke of *Zeringen* established this Law. Such as infringe or breake it, are punished by imprisonment, banishment, or by the puffle. And there is a certaine Iudge, who they call *Bourgmasser*, that holdeth a strid hand in this case. Moreover, if addition or suite is moued, and a man demand the *Trostung* three times, if it is not grated to the demander, it is present banishment. Such as breake the peace, where in they are enioyned to liue one with another, are banished likewise; and they that (without iust cause) will meddle, or take part on eyther side, when a cause is in pleading.

Finally, the *Fribourgers* make feasting yearly, with solemne procession of all estates through the Towne, on the second day of March, and on the eight and twentieth day of Iune, which are dayes of bat-

Two kindes of Bayliwicks belonging to Fribourg.

Four Bayliwicks in common with the of Berne.

Dealing in criminall occasions.

A day or forbearing of a debt, or charge of the debter.

A law made by the Duke of Zeringen, for payment of debts.

Banishment for the breach of peace.

Dayes of solemn feasting for victories obtained.

tailes giuen, and victories wonne by the *Switzers*, against the Duke of *Bourgongne*, at *Granson*, and at *Morat*.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Commonwealth of those Cantons that haue neither Cities nor Towns, but dwell only in Villages.

Hitherto we haue discoursed on two formes of Common-wealths, conuerued in the Cantons of *Switzerland*, that haue Cities and Townes. There remaineth now a third, which is of those Cantons that haue no Townes, but make their abode in Villages, and for that cause are called, *Die Lander*. There are fise of them, to wit, *Fri, Suits, Vnderwald, Zug, Glaris*, and *Appenzell*. *Zug* indeede is a towne, & hath her Officers in the towne, but the souerainty of the Canton appertaineth to them that dwell in the lands of the Canton, with them of the towne, and are Lords as well the one as other. In all these Cantons, the cheefe of the publike council, is termed *Amman*, which signifieth a man in office and authority, and that name is attributed to all publike Officers. So that Abbots, and other Ecclesiastical persons, do call their Iudges, Receiuers, and other such like Officers, *Amman*.

As the Townes are diuided or parted, by Companies and Colleges of *Artzans*, or *Tradelmen*; so the Cantons are distributed into certaine parts and portions.

CHAP. VIII.

Of all the fise Cantons forenamed, which in this ensuing Chapter we will handle together, according to their severall rights & iurisdiccions.

THE whole country of *Fri* is diuided into ten parts, which by them are called *Gnosaminen*, as if a man would say, Participations. It may be in

this respect, because they are all partakers in pasturages, goods, honours, and publike charges, and that from those ten parts onely, they are summoned and called, to be present at those assemblies which are yearly made.

The Country of *Suits* is diuided into fise parts, which they call quarters. Because the country (hetheretofore) was distributed into foure portions: but the people coming to encrease greatly, they made a new partage into fise portions, which neuertheless do retaine the ancient name.

As for the Country of *Vnderwald*, there is a Forest that diuideth it in the middle: and therefore the diuision is thus made to them that dwell aboue and beneath the Forest. The whole Country taketh name of that part which is beneath the Forest: for *Vnderwalden* is as much to say, as beneath or vnder the wood. In elder times, *Stans*, a principall Village beneath the Forest, and neere to the Lake, was the prime and cheefe place of the country, and the people were called, inhabitants of the Valley of *Stans*. But now adayes, because the word *Vnderwald* is taken for the whole country, the *Switzers* haue added these words, aboue and beneath the wood, *Vnderwalden ob vnd nider dem keenwald*.

Now as concerning them of *Zug*, we haue said already, that they are diuided in two parts; the one is the Towne it selfe, the other the Villages round about, comprehended vnder three assemblies, to wit, the Mountain, the Vale *Egeria*, and *Bars*, a Parish very neere to the Towne.

Glaris is diuided into fiftene parts, which they terme *Cagwan*. The word signifieth the work of a day, and as much distance or spaciousness of ground, as a man can plow in a day. It may be, that these parts were called Iournals, or daylabours: because euery one prepareth & ordereth the way in his quarter, and each one knoweth where he is to labour.

The country of *Appenzell* is parted into twelue orders or portions, which they call *Raden*, whereof those fise conioyned to the Village of *Appenzell*, they name them the orders within, and anesimely were subiects to the Abbot of *S. Gall*. The other fise are called the orders without: to wit; out of the Abbots Seignoury,

The diuision of Suits.

Vnderwald diuided in the middle.

Of the name. Stans a principall village.

The partition of Zug, the Towne & the Villages.

The diuision of Glaris.

The orders or portions belonging to Appenzell.

Election of the council.	Seignury; heerefore partly free, and partly in the iurisdiction of Gentlemen. Out of these parts (by equal number) are chosen certaine men, for the council of the Canton: in many of them there are threecore councillors, beside such as (having bene in office) continue perpetual councillors. At Zug there are five and forty councillors, nine of each assembly, for the Towne is counted for two.	Vri meete at <i>Betzelsinge</i> , distant halfe a dayes journey from <i>Altorf</i> , the cheefest Village of that Canton. The people of <i>Glaris</i> meete at <i>Suanda</i> . The ordinary and annuall assemblies of these Cantons, is made every year about the beginning of May. They of <i>Suiz</i> , of <i>Vnderwald</i> vnder the wood, of <i>Glaris</i> and of <i>Appenzell</i> , do meete the last Sunday of Aprill. They of <i>Vri</i> and of <i>Zug</i> , the first Sunday of May. In elder times, they of <i>Zug</i> held their generall council the 24. day of Iune, being <i>S. Iohn Baptists</i> day. They of <i>Vnderwald</i> about the wood, meete the first day of May.
The generall council of Appenzell.	The council generall of <i>Appenzell</i> , consisteth of an hundred forty foure, to wit, twelve of each order. And if matters of importance are to be treated on, and it appeareth needfull to assemble the council of all the people: then they will double or treble the council in this manner. Each of the councillors takes a man or two with him, if they be to hold a council of three times as many persons, as ordinarily they vie to do: and one of the councillors, on Sunday, in the Church after Service is done, hath a custome to signifie, that on such a day as he nameth, all the councillors are to meete in the Towne-house of the Canton, and each man is to bring with him such a one, as he holdeth to bee an honest and wise man, who shall also bee there bound to obedience, vnder the oath whereby all are obliged to the common-wealth. Beside, no man is elected to be a councillor, neither can he assist in the generall council, if he be not borne in the country. <i>Ein Landman</i> : And it is much more easie to obtaine the degree of Bourgeshippe, in the Townes of the <i>Suiz</i> , then in these Villages. VVhich proceedeth not of any inhumanity, for there are great store of strangers among them, towards whom they shew themselves very kinde and humane. But rather by a certaine order of aduised iudgement, and according to the custome of their predecessors: being neuer willing to mingle new comers among olde inhabitants of the country, both to preuent charges, and to preserve the common-wealth (the more easly) in one and the same estate and condition.	The yearly assembling of these cantons.
Publication of a council to be holden on a day appointed.	The council generall of <i>Appenzell</i> , consisteth of an hundred forty foure, to wit, twelve of each order. And if matters of importance are to be treated on, and it appeareth needfull to assemble the council of all the people: then they will double or treble the council in this manner. Each of the councillors takes a man or two with him, if they be to hold a council of three times as many persons, as ordinarily they vie to do: and one of the councillors, on Sunday, in the Church after Service is done, hath a custome to signifie, that on such a day as he nameth, all the councillors are to meete in the Towne-house of the Canton, and each man is to bring with him such a one, as he holdeth to bee an honest and wise man, who shall also bee there bound to obedience, vnder the oath whereby all are obliged to the common-wealth. Beside, no man is elected to be a councillor, neither can he assist in the generall council, if he be not borne in the country. <i>Ein Landman</i> : And it is much more easie to obtaine the degree of Bourgeshippe, in the Townes of the <i>Suiz</i> , then in these Villages. VVhich proceedeth not of any inhumanity, for there are great store of strangers among them, towards whom they shew themselves very kinde and humane. But rather by a certaine order of aduised iudgement, and according to the custome of their predecessors: being neuer willing to mingle new comers among olde inhabitants of the country, both to preuent charges, and to preserve the common-wealth (the more easly) in one and the same estate and condition.	The Amman is the first Of ficer chosen in the assembly.
None but natives can be councillors	The council generall of <i>Appenzell</i> , consisteth of an hundred forty foure, to wit, twelve of each order. And if matters of importance are to be treated on, and it appeareth needfull to assemble the council of all the people: then they will double or treble the council in this manner. Each of the councillors takes a man or two with him, if they be to hold a council of three times as many persons, as ordinarily they vie to do: and one of the councillors, on Sunday, in the Church after Service is done, hath a custome to signifie, that on such a day as he nameth, all the councillors are to meete in the Towne-house of the Canton, and each man is to bring with him such a one, as he holdeth to bee an honest and wise man, who shall also bee there bound to obedience, vnder the oath whereby all are obliged to the common-wealth. Beside, no man is elected to be a councillor, neither can he assist in the generall council, if he be not borne in the country. <i>Ein Landman</i> : And it is much more easie to obtaine the degree of Bourgeshippe, in the Townes of the <i>Suiz</i> , then in these Villages. VVhich proceedeth not of any inhumanity, for there are great store of strangers among them, towards whom they shew themselves very kinde and humane. But rather by a certaine order of aduised iudgement, and according to the custome of their predecessors: being neuer willing to mingle new comers among olde inhabitants of the country, both to preuent charges, and to preserve the common-wealth (the more easly) in one and the same estate and condition.	Of the assemblies that are at Zug, both without and within.
The Switzers louing and kinde to strangers: louing among them.	The council generall of <i>Appenzell</i> , consisteth of an hundred forty foure, to wit, twelve of each order. And if matters of importance are to be treated on, and it appeareth needfull to assemble the council of all the people: then they will double or treble the council in this manner. Each of the councillors takes a man or two with him, if they be to hold a council of three times as many persons, as ordinarily they vie to do: and one of the councillors, on Sunday, in the Church after Service is done, hath a custome to signifie, that on such a day as he nameth, all the councillors are to meete in the Towne-house of the Canton, and each man is to bring with him such a one, as he holdeth to bee an honest and wise man, who shall also bee there bound to obedience, vnder the oath whereby all are obliged to the common-wealth. Beside, no man is elected to be a councillor, neither can he assist in the generall council, if he be not borne in the country. <i>Ein Landman</i> : And it is much more easie to obtaine the degree of Bourgeshippe, in the Townes of the <i>Suiz</i> , then in these Villages. VVhich proceedeth not of any inhumanity, for there are great store of strangers among them, towards whom they shew themselves very kinde and humane. But rather by a certaine order of aduised iudgement, and according to the custome of their predecessors: being neuer willing to mingle new comers among olde inhabitants of the country, both to preuent charges, and to preserve the common-wealth (the more easly) in one and the same estate and condition.	The election of the Lieutenant.
The council generall of all the people, & their appointed places of meeting.	The fouraignty in these five Cantons, belongeth to the assembly of all the people. All they of the country, from the age of fourteene, or sixteene, or yppwards, do meete eyther at the principall Village of the Canton, or else at some other place in the midst of the country. As they of	Secretaries & Bayliffes.

The electing and confirming of councilors.	firmed: but yet this is not done by euery assembly, but each of them ordered by the subiects of the Canton, and by the companies among whom they dwell. Finally, if at some other times of the yeare, there happen affaires that concerne the estate of the common-wealth, an extraordinary council is held. As if need require, to send Ambassadors to the dayes at <i>Bada</i> , or to some other Kings and Princes; or if there be question of making alliances, be they eyther for peace or warre, &c.	a double key for the whole country: this partition caused each of the sides to take one key onely, and they that were above the wood, retained still their olde <i>Stands</i> , white and redde, because they were the greater part of the Canton. Then they vnder of beneath the wood, received from Popes another Ensigne, which had two keys in it: for in regard that <i>Stands</i> (long before) had bene the principall Village of the Canton, they therefore kept still the Ensigne, which in those times they had at <i>Stands</i> .	But one council and side: stands: white and redde.
An extraordinary council holden.	Beside the lesser council and the generall, composed of all the people; some of the cantons haue a council more strict and priuate, and courtes of iustice for diffinition of suites. In the Canton of <i>Suiz</i> , which is diuided in sixe parts, the principall councillor of each part is taken: and these sixe, with the <i>Amman</i> , make the council of feuen, called secret. These feuen do manage and order all the reuenues of the country, and furnish all that is laid out for publike expences. Moreover, there are two Courts of iustice, the one being called the order of nine, in regard of the number of Iudges, and there the <i>Amman</i> sits as President. In this Court are decided the causes of greatest importance: as of inheritances, outrages, and terrible injuries, hard to be endured.	The Towne of <i>Zug</i> , beside the council generall of the whole country, hath a council apart, order of iustice, Magistrates, a Lieutenant to the <i>Amman</i> , Treasurer, Voyer, &c. who iudge the causes of the Bourgessees, and manage all the publike affaires.	The Popes gave them another Ensigne.
Council more secret and priuate.	The Court of feuen, (so is the other order of iustice called) where the Lieutenant to the <i>Amman</i> sits as President: and those feuen are Iudges in causes concerning contracts, debts, and such like. They of <i>Vri</i> haue (almost) the same government: for there the Court of feuen, with the Lieutenant to the <i>Amman</i> , doe censure and iudge of debts, which exceede not the sum of threecore pounds. There is another iudicial Court of fiftene, where the <i>Amman</i> sits as President, and concludeth causes ciuill of greatest consequence.	The Towne of <i>Zug</i> , beside the council generall of the whole country, hath a council apart, order of iustice, Magistrates, a Lieutenant to the <i>Amman</i> , Treasurer, Voyer, &c. who iudge the causes of the Bourgessees, and manage all the publike affaires.	The obseruation at Zug.
The council of feuen at Suiz.	The Court of feuen, (so is the other order of iustice called) where the Lieutenant to the <i>Amman</i> sits as President: and those feuen are Iudges in causes concerning contracts, debts, and such like. They of <i>Vri</i> haue (almost) the same government: for there the Court of feuen, with the Lieutenant to the <i>Amman</i> , doe censure and iudge of debts, which exceede not the sum of threecore pounds. There is another iudicial Court of fiftene, where the <i>Amman</i> sits as President, and concludeth causes ciuill of greatest consequence.	At <i>Glaris</i> there are two Courts of iustice, one of nine, the other of five Iudges, which the council generall of the Canton do elect euery yeare. They decide law-sutes in the Moneths of May, and of December onely. The nine take knowledge of differences concerning inheritances, and dangerous injuries. The five do censure suites of debts and payments, after that the nine (who keepe Court the space of sixe dayes) haue ended.	Two Courts of iustice at Glaris, and other seuerall authorities.
The 3 Courts of iustice. The first of nine.	The Court of feuen, (so is the other order of iustice called) where the Lieutenant to the <i>Amman</i> sits as President: and those feuen are Iudges in causes concerning contracts, debts, and such like. They of <i>Vri</i> haue (almost) the same government: for there the Court of feuen, with the Lieutenant to the <i>Amman</i> , doe censure and iudge of debts, which exceede not the sum of threecore pounds. There is another iudicial Court of fiftene, where the <i>Amman</i> sits as President, and concludeth causes ciuill of greatest consequence.	They of <i>Appenzell</i> haue two courts of iustice also, the first is kept in a public place of the streete; in regard whereof, they call it <i>Das gassen-gricht</i> . Therein are foure and twenty Iudges, two of each order of the canton, and their President is the Vther of the canton, <i>Der Land-tweibel</i> , and they meete together weekly euery Thursday: they condemne men in fines, and chastise such as wrong one another. The other court is called <i>Das gethwoen-gricht</i> , iustice of oath: because twelue Iudges sitte there, and take knowledge of differences, which are ended, by giuing oath to one of the parties. Moreover, from each order of the canton, a councillor is chosen, & many from the orders that are greater. These men make obseruation of such as breake public ordinances, and deliberate on matters which are to bee propounded to the council generall. In which respect, they are as Guardians of the lawes, and tearmed cheefest councillors: their charge is perpetuall, and they are called in this canton,	The Courts of iustice at Appenzell.
The second of feuen.	The Court of feuen, (so is the other order of iustice called) where the Lieutenant to the <i>Amman</i> sits as President: and those feuen are Iudges in causes concerning contracts, debts, and such like. They of <i>Vri</i> haue (almost) the same government: for there the Court of feuen, with the Lieutenant to the <i>Amman</i> , doe censure and iudge of debts, which exceede not the sum of threecore pounds. There is another iudicial Court of fiftene, where the <i>Amman</i> sits as President, and concludeth causes ciuill of greatest consequence.	They of <i>Appenzell</i> haue two courts of iustice also, the first is kept in a public place of the streete; in regard whereof, they call it <i>Das gassen-gricht</i> . Therein are foure and twenty Iudges, two of each order of the canton, and their President is the Vther of the canton, <i>Der Land-tweibel</i> , and they meete together weekly euery Thursday: they condemne men in fines, and chastise such as wrong one another. The other court is called <i>Das gethwoen-gricht</i> , iustice of oath: because twelue Iudges sitte there, and take knowledge of differences, which are ended, by giuing oath to one of the parties. Moreover, from each order of the canton, a councillor is chosen, & many from the orders that are greater. These men make obseruation of such as breake public ordinances, and deliberate on matters which are to bee propounded to the council generall. In which respect, they are as Guardians of the lawes, and tearmed cheefest councillors: their charge is perpetuall, and they are called in this canton,	The first Court.
The order at Via.	The Court of feuen, (so is the other order of iustice called) where the Lieutenant to the <i>Amman</i> sits as President: and those feuen are Iudges in causes concerning contracts, debts, and such like. They of <i>Vri</i> haue (almost) the same government: for there the Court of feuen, with the Lieutenant to the <i>Amman</i> , doe censure and iudge of debts, which exceede not the sum of threecore pounds. There is another iudicial Court of fiftene, where the <i>Amman</i> sits as President, and concludeth causes ciuill of greatest consequence.	They of <i>Appenzell</i> haue two courts of iustice also, the first is kept in a public place of the streete; in regard whereof, they call it <i>Das gassen-gricht</i> . Therein are foure and twenty Iudges, two of each order of the canton, and their President is the Vther of the canton, <i>Der Land-tweibel</i> , and they meete together weekly euery Thursday: they condemne men in fines, and chastise such as wrong one another. The other court is called <i>Das gethwoen-gricht</i> , iustice of oath: because twelue Iudges sitte there, and take knowledge of differences, which are ended, by giuing oath to one of the parties. Moreover, from each order of the canton, a councillor is chosen, & many from the orders that are greater. These men make obseruation of such as breake public ordinances, and deliberate on matters which are to bee propounded to the council generall. In which respect, they are as Guardians of the lawes, and tearmed cheefest councillors: their charge is perpetuall, and they are called in this canton,	The second Court.
The Court of fiftene there.	The Court of feuen, (so is the other order of iustice called) where the Lieutenant to the <i>Amman</i> sits as President: and those feuen are Iudges in causes concerning contracts, debts, and such like. They of <i>Vri</i> haue (almost) the same government: for there the Court of feuen, with the Lieutenant to the <i>Amman</i> , doe censure and iudge of debts, which exceede not the sum of threecore pounds. There is another iudicial Court of fiftene, where the <i>Amman</i> sits as President, and concludeth causes ciuill of greatest consequence.	They of <i>Appenzell</i> haue two courts of iustice also, the first is kept in a public place of the streete; in regard whereof, they call it <i>Das gassen-gricht</i> . Therein are foure and twenty Iudges, two of each order of the canton, and their President is the Vther of the canton, <i>Der Land-tweibel</i> , and they meete together weekly euery Thursday: they condemne men in fines, and chastise such as wrong one another. The other court is called <i>Das gethwoen-gricht</i> , iustice of oath: because twelue Iudges sitte there, and take knowledge of differences, which are ended, by giuing oath to one of the parties. Moreover, from each order of the canton, a councillor is chosen, & many from the orders that are greater. These men make obseruation of such as breake public ordinances, and deliberate on matters which are to bee propounded to the council generall. In which respect, they are as Guardians of the lawes, and tearmed cheefest councillors: their charge is perpetuall, and they are called in this canton,	Another order of councilors, and their power.
Two Courts of law & iustice at Vnderwald.	The Court of feuen, (so is the other order of iustice called) where the Lieutenant to the <i>Amman</i> sits as President: and those feuen are Iudges in causes concerning contracts, debts, and such like. They of <i>Vri</i> haue (almost) the same government: for there the Court of feuen, with the Lieutenant to the <i>Amman</i> , doe censure and iudge of debts, which exceede not the sum of threecore pounds. There is another iudicial Court of fiftene, where the <i>Amman</i> sits as President, and concludeth causes ciuill of greatest consequence.	They of <i>Appenzell</i> haue two courts of iustice also, the first is kept in a public place of the streete; in regard whereof, they call it <i>Das gassen-gricht</i> . Therein are foure and twenty Iudges, two of each order of the canton, and their President is the Vther of the canton, <i>Der Land-tweibel</i> , and they meete together weekly euery Thursday: they condemne men in fines, and chastise such as wrong one another. The other court is called <i>Das gethwoen-gricht</i> , iustice of oath: because twelue Iudges sitte there, and take knowledge of differences, which are ended, by giuing oath to one of the parties. Moreover, from each order of the canton, a councillor is chosen, & many from the orders that are greater. These men make obseruation of such as breake public ordinances, and deliberate on matters which are to bee propounded to the council generall. In which respect, they are as Guardians of the lawes, and tearmed cheefest councillors: their charge is perpetuall, and they are called in this canton,	

Of the catho- like Cantons.	<p>ton Landthelick. <i>Suits, Pri, Vnderwald, Zug, Glaris,</i> and <i>Appenzel</i>, are Catholicke, and vnder the Diocesse of <i>Constance</i>. And if there happen any difference concerning mariages, they goeto the Officialtie of the sayde place, but they of the other opinion goe to <i>Zurich</i>.</p>	<p>four Bayliwickes, to wit, the <i>Marche</i>, the <i>Hermitage</i>, <i>Cusnach</i>, and certaine small Villages or great <i>Farmes</i>, neer to the lake of <i>Zurich</i>: but the two former haue obtained municipall right, and doe elect a councell and triall of suites in their owne bodye. Notwithstanding, euery yeare, when a councell generall is held at <i>Switz</i>, ordinarily they send their Ambassadors thether, and require, that they may haue leaue to elect their Magistrates; which is granted them, as in verie great fauour, with this exception, that they are to bee modest and obedient, for otherwise it remaineth in the peoples power of <i>Switz</i>, to send a Gouernour thether, whensoever they thinke meet.</p>
Punishment for adultery.	<p>As for aduheries, they are chastised in each Canton: some, by confiscation of goods; others (sometime by the fine of ten Dallers. I haue heard likewise, that (diuers times) the councell generall of the whole Canton, doeth decide some differences concerning mariages.</p>	<p><i>Cusnach</i> hath the same condition, but because, within some few yeares certaine strangers (customers for carriage of salt and other things that way) made their complaint, that they of <i>Cusnach</i> did them wrong, and vied them harshlie vpon no occasion: the men of <i>Switz</i> knowing the accusation to bee true, sent a Bayliffe thether againe, and appointed new ordinations for <i>Cusnach</i>. Besides, they haue two Bayliwickes in common with them of <i>Glaris</i>, to wit, <i>Vnzac</i>, which is a Towne, and <i>Gallall</i>. Thether they send Bayliffes, turne by turne. And alwaies there is one of <i>Switz</i> in one of the Bayliwickes, and one of <i>Glaris</i> in the other.</p>
Iustice in cri- minall causes.	<p>Iustice in causes criminall, is administred (almost in all the Cantons) by the publike councell, and oftentimes doubled or multiplied by the ordinary councellers; the <i>Amman</i> sitting President, or his Lieutenant. At <i>Zug</i>, in criminal matters, other assistants are ioyned with the councell or Iudges, chosen out of each diuision or assembly of the Canton. Suites of Law are discusst in an open publike place, where all may heare that which is said, and know the merite of the sentence giuen by the Iudges.</p>	<p>What priu- ledges belong to <i>Cusnach</i>, but held through their owne despatch</p>
The order & disposition of the Bayli- wickes in these Cantons.	<p>Now to speake of the Bayliwickes or Gouernements appertaining vnto these Cantons, they are carried and disposed in manner following. They of <i>Pri</i> send a Bayliffe into the valley of <i>Liuner</i> beyond the Mountaines: who hath one of the same valley for his Lieutenant and Assistants also; with whom he iudgeth causes both ciuill and criminall, and continueth in his charge the space of three yeeres. Beyond the same Mountaines, they send Bayliffes also to <i>Bellizona</i>, and to two other places. They of <i>Bellizona</i> haue three Bayliwickes, to wit, <i>Bellizona</i>, the Vale <i>Brune</i>, and <i>Riuiera</i>, where the three Cantons doe command in such manner, that each of them hath alwaies a Bayliwicke. Moreover, the inhabitants of Mount <i>S. Godardo</i>, are subiectes to the Canton of <i>Pri</i>, neuertheless they haue their Councell and their <i>Amman</i>, who are confirmed by them of <i>Pri</i>, & when there are criminal suites, two of the councell of <i>Pri</i> do meet there. They haue their Standard likewise: but when they of <i>Pri</i> do display that belonging to the Canton, the other hold vp theirs.</p>	<p>What Bayli- wickes they enioy in com- mon with o- ther.</p>
Bellizona hath 3. Bayli- wickes belong- ing to it.	<p>They of <i>Switz</i> haue sometimes hadde</p>	<p>What time their Bayliffes continue in authority of gouerning.</p>
		<p>The order and manner sending their Bayliffes to their feutall places of iu- ridiction.</p>

Of customes belonging to these six Can- tons.	<p><i>Vnzac</i> and <i>Gallall</i>. They of <i>Toggenbourg</i> are their Bourgeses, as we haue sayde already; and go to warre for them, and for the Canton of <i>Switz</i>. Finally, the five first Cantons are Lordes with the other Cantons, of the Bayliwickes gouerned by them in common: except the men of <i>Appenzel</i>, who send a Bayliffe onely to <i>Rhinthal</i>, with the seuen first Cantons, & in the same manner.</p>	<p>of <i>Glaris</i> do yearly celebrate the memoriall of the victory which they wonne against the <i>Austrians</i>, in the year 1387. and in the month of April, I wil declare at large, the ceremonies obserued by them in this festiual; to the end, the better iudgment may be made of such feasts as are vied by others.</p>
In case of murther.	<p>Now follow some particular customes of these six Cantons, which are not common to all the Switzers. Whosoever shall haue committed a murther, although it was done in the defence of his owne body, hee is constrained to forsake the Canton, and it is not lawfull for the lesser councell to repeale him; but hee may demand and obtaine leaue of the councell generall to returne againe.</p>	<p>The order of the solemne Feast and Procession, performed by the men of <i>Glaris</i> in honor of their victory against the <i>Austrians</i>.</p>
Against mor- tyg of land and in- heritances to strangers.	<p>They doe not permit, that Landes and foundations of inheritances should be pawned or ingaged vnto any one that is not of the Canton; for they holde them to be no longer Lords of their country, if once they will becom bound for debts and morgage in such manner their inheritances to strangers. Likewise in the Canton of <i>Pri</i>, it is not lawfull for strangers, that haue bene receyued there as inhabitants, to buy any inheritances, but a house and a small garden for Pot-herbes onely.</p>	<p>IN the moneth of April, euery yeare, on the Thursday of the first weeke (except Easter day fall on the Sunday following, for then it is deferred till Thursday in the weeke after) the Feast is celebrated. On the Sunday before, it is a lowde and openly published in the church, in behalf of the Seigneury, that on Thursday following, the most honourable persons of euerie Family, especially the men, are to meete and go in solemne Procession to <i>Multhuse</i>, by those waies, places, and passages, where their Ancestors were in great danger, even so far as the Fountain, and to be warie of descending to the Village of <i>Hawres</i>, til first they haue past the other way. Moreover, that all keepe silence while the Sermon is done, and to carrie themselves (that day) so modestly in their refection, that no disorder may be noted, because the Seigneury will chastise them severely that do otherwise, and because the whole Canton of <i>Glaris</i> doth solemnly feast that day. Forbidding also, that no man shall mount on Horsebacke out of the Village of <i>Glaris</i>, sicke & aged men onely excepted, who are not (being fo mounted) to goe anie further then <i>Scheneisinge</i>.</p>
Against drun- kenesse	<p>If any man being drunke, doe commit some scandalous action, hee is punished by imprisonment, and beside, hee is forbidden to drinke wine for the space of a certaine time, and untill the Councell generall haue pardoned him.</p>	<p>Rememberce of their Ance- stors great po- rill.</p>
For voices gi- uen at the elec- tion of pub- lic offices.	<p>In publike assemblies, and in the distribution of honourable charges and Offices: hee that is put in election, is present, and his parentes, brethren, and sons may giue him their voyces. They giue their voyces by lifting vp their hands on high, and some are set in an eminent place to count them. If they stand in doubt, and cannot so decide it, then they haue another course. There are two men, who hold two Halberds touching together at the points; they that giue their voyces, do passe vnder them, and two other men count them as they passe.</p>	<p>After they are all assembled together, and rounded in a ring as it were the <i>Amman</i>, who is in the midst, makes a kinde welcome (in name of the whole Canton) vnto such strangers as are come thether. First, to the Ambassador of <i>Switz</i>, who is yearly sent for celebration of the Feast: because thirtie Souldiers of <i>Switz</i> were present in the battell for which this Feast is kept. Likewise, he salueth the Abbots, Priests, & neighbors of <i>Gallal, la Marche, Rapperswill</i> and <i>Toggenbourg</i>, giuing them hearty thanks, for comming to celebrate this</p>
Rites & Pro- cessions for honourable causes.	<p>Finally, they vie Feasts and Processions, on such dayes as their Ancestors obtained any remarkable victory. As they</p>	<p>Reside in the former part.</p>

this folemne Proceffion, and to thanke & fing praifes to almighty God, the Virgin *Marie*, and their Patrones, *S. Fridolin*, and *S. Hilary*.

First, one beareth a red Standard, wherein is the Image of *S. Fridolin*, then follow 4 men, bearing a gilded Toomb, whereon are many faire and holy reliques enchafted. Then come the Croffe-bearers, carrying the Croffes of *Glaris*, *Haures*, of the Vale of *Linthe*, and of the churches neighboring to the Canton of *Glaris*, as of *Schenniff*, *Wefen*, and others. The Croffes are followed with Banners of all the Churches, and the Priests come after them, finging according to their order. The Curate of *Glaris* is the first, accosted by an Abbot, or else some other man of the Church. Among the strangers the other Priests follow. Then the councell of *Glaris*, to witte, the *Amman*, with the Ambassadour of *Swiss*, then the Lieutenant to the *Amman*, and the other Officers in their order, each guiding or leading one of the most honourable strangers. The women (in great number) follow, to make up the end and conclusion of the Proceffion.

Being come to the place where the battail was fought, there are eleuen stones set down in thofe feveral parts of ground where they began and held on fight with the enemy: for they had partings & meetings againe at hand-blows, eleuen feuerall times, and at each of thofe stones the Standards and Banners stay, and all fall vpon their knees in prayer to God. Vñ he they are come to the fixt stone, they caft themselves round in a ring, and then the Secretarie of the Canton readeth in a paper, the cause and originall of this Proceffion, the summary whereof is this. War being moued betwene *Leopold*, Duke of *Austria*, and them of *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Sollemre*, *Lucerna*, *Vri*, *Swiss*, *Ynderwald*, *Zug*, and *Glaris*; *Leopold* led his Army to *Sempach*, where hee was ouercome, and slaine by the *Swissers*, the ninth day of Iune, one thousand, three hundred, fourescore and fix, beside fixteene Earles and Barons, and a great number of Gentlemen.

Afterward, in mid-August following, they of *Zurich*, *Vri*, *Swiss*, and *Glaris*, befieged and tooke the towne of *Wefen*, & the inhabitants promised perpetual fidelity to the *Swissers*. Truce was made, till

the beginning of Lent in the yeare following; which being ended, and war beginning againe, they of *Glaris* sent a Garrison to *Wefen*, where the Souldiers thinking themselves to be in safety, and confiding on the oath of the townesmen, were slaine (for the most part) in a night by them of *Austria*, who entred in the dead of night, by intelligence which they had with certaine of the inhabitants, that machinated this villany against the garrison, and opened the gates to their enemies.

Furthermore, that the very same yeare, and the ninth day of Aprill, they of *Austria* brought an Army of fifteene thousand men towards *Haures*, and wonne the Fortresse of the Country. But three hundred and fifty Souldiers of *Glaris*, & thirty which the Canton of *Swiss* lent to assist them, assayed the enemy, and (God helps furthering, the Virgin *Marie*, and their Patrones, *S. Fridolin* and *S. Hilary*) they became conquerors, wonne eleuen of their cheefest Ensignes, and left two thousand five hundred enemies slaine in the field, beside them that were drowned in the Lake, and among the rest, many of *Wefen* were there slaine, that formerly had betrayed the Garrison of *Glaris*. And therefore, in dutifull thankfulness to God almighty, the glorious Virgin *Mary*, and *S. Fridolin*, and *S. Hilary* their Patrones, and to all the Saints and Saintesses of Paradise, & in euertlasting remembrance of so great a helpe and deliuerance, this annuall Proceffion was ordained vpon thofe limits, where their Ancestours had suffered many inconueniences.

After the reading of these feuerall letters, a Sermon is made in the same place; the Priests of *Glaris* performe their Annuary, and followeth the Minister of the new opinion. All their prayers being ended, they go againe to the same stones, in the same ranke and ceremony as they began, vntill they come to the eleuenth, which is placed neere to the Village of *Haures*, towards *Wefen*, where they assayed the enemy at the last time. Then they take their way to the Church of *Haures*; but they of the new opinion return home to their houses. The rest go to the church, where they sing a Masse for the *Swissers* that were slaine in the battail: and one reciteth all the names of them of *Glaris*, that perished there. Soone after this, a banquet

A banquet
made at the
Cantons cost.

banquet is made (at the Cantons expences) for the Priests, and all the strangers that came in the Proceffion. After dinner, the Priests sing, bring backe againe to *Glaris* the gilded Toombe, the Banners and Croffes.

This is the manner of the annuall Proceffion and Feast of them of *Glaris*, in remembrance of so famous and remarkable victory. The other Cantons also haue their Feasts, to celebrate the victories obtained at *Morgarten*, *Sempach*, and elsewhere.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Common-wealths belonging to the Confederates. And first of all, Of the Abbey of S. Gall.

AFTER we haue spoken of the thirteene Cantons, and of their feuerall Common-wealths; me-thinks now (according to the same order) wee should make mention of their Confederates, among whom, the Abbot and Abbey of S. Gall holdeth the prime place. The Abbots of S. Gall, haue bin great Lords for the space of many ages possessed of great meanes, and numbred with the Princes of the Empire: but I know not well, from what Emperour they receiued this honour and title. *Stumpfius* noteth, that *Conrad* de *Pfaweris*, Annalist of *Switzerland* writeth, that Abbot *Huldrich*, of the house of *Alsace*, was made Prince by the Emperour *Phillip*, in the city of *Basile*. Now albeir these Abbots are not of such power as heretofore; yet notwithstanding, they continue still great Lords, and haue their dominion in large extendure.

In the country of *Turgow* they are Lords of *Wile*, and haue a Pallace and a Vicar in the Towne. Moreover, in the high country of *Turgow*, they haue a great Territory, and well peopled, who are all subiect to them. The inhabitants are called *Die Gottshulsi*, the Subiects of the house of God, or of the Abbey, and are parties in certaine Regions. Their names are *Rosch*, *Thumbech*, *Gold*, *Ynderreg*, *Morfwill*, *Tablate*, *Gosow*, *Wald-*

kilch, *Romforn*, *Sammeri*, *Adle*, *Hofschwill*, *Bernattzell*, *Lumfwill*, *Berg*, *Wittenbach*, *Rodtmont*, *Strubenzell*, *Geiserwald*, *Helbach*, *Bergkuecht*, *Luzwill*, *Zuberwangen*, *Vad Wiger*. These places are diuided into Castle-wicks or President-ships; and the Abbot sendeth Prouosts thither. Moreover, he hath his *Amman*s and Officers, that hold meane Courts of Iustice in many places. Beside, he hath a higher Court of iustice, whether resort all appellations, and where causes of importance are decided. All kinds of duties, and such as are rendered to Princes, in these places are confirmed vpon him.

Beside this country, the county of *Toggenbourg* acknowledgeth (as Lord) the Abbot of S. Gall, who sendeth a Gouernour into the country, and a Iudge in criminall causes, which admitteth no further appeale. And yet they of *Toggenbourg* are Bourgeses of *Swiss*, and of *Glaris*, & haue their priuiledges & franchises, by meanes whereof (among other things) they enjoy the freedome of Religion. Also in the Bayliwick of *Rhinthal*, which belongeth to the cantons: the Abbot holdeth law courts of iustice in many Villages, & keepeth Officers there for that purpose.

CHAP. X.

Of the Common-wealths in the Towne or Citiest of S. Gall.

Saint *Gall*, *Mulhouse*, and *Rotuille*, are numbred among the Imperiall townes, and therefore haue (almost) the same manner of gouernement, as we haue already described vnto you. But because the citizens of *S. Gall*, do hold something in particular; I will here set downe a summary description of their common-wealth.

In the first place then, the Towne of *S. Gall* is diuided into fixe Tribes or Companies, & the Society of Noblemen. The first & principal of these Tribes, is of weavers, because of the linnen cloth there wouen, which is made very faire, and in a bounding quantity: which afterward is sold in *Germany*, *France*, *Italy*, *Spain*, *Polonia*, and *Poland*, greatly enriching the inhabitants that dwell in *S. Gall*, and making

The Abbot
power in the
county of
Toggenbourg

Imperiall
Townes.

Sixe Tribes
or Companies
in S. Gall.

The first tribe
is of weavers.

The order of
the Proceffion
in marching,
as they
paſſe along to
the place
where the
battaille was
fought.

The ceremonies
in the
Proceffion of
Glaris, being
come to the
field where
the eleuen
stones are
fixed in the
ground.

The reason
and originall
of the Proceffion,
read in
particulars
by the Secretary

A second reason,
vpon the
befieging &
taking of
Wefen.

A third reason
of coming
with an Army
against Haures.

Gods iudgement
for breach of
faith.

Performance
of the feuerall
ceremonies.

The concluding
of the ceremoniest
the stones.

The Abbot
and Abbey of
S. Gall the
first confederates.

Abbot *Huldrich*
was made a prince
at *Basile*.

Where the
Proceffion
the Abbot
hold in
Turgow, and
in diuers
other parts of
the country.

king the Towne much renowned. It hath two counells, according to other towns, to wit, the great and the lesse. The lesse is composed of foure and twenty, and namely first of all, twelve *Zunftmesters*. Each Tribe, Colledge, or Company, hath three Masters, which gouerne the company a yeare, turne by turne: but there are no more then two, which enter into the lesser counsell; the first is of the new, the second of the olde. The thirteenth *Zunftmaster*, is the first of the elueen, which are elected out of each Tribe, to be of the great counsell.

The *Zunftmesters* are elected by secret voyce in their Tribes, and are confirmed by the lesser counsell. Every yeare, the counsell and officers of iustice, are elected about mid-Iune, and mid-December. Beside the *Zunftmesters*, nine other Senators do assist in the lesser counsell, and are chosen as well in the company of Noblemen, as in the other companies. The three Consuls (with them) make the number of foure and twenty counsellors: For there are three Consuls in *S. Gall*, the first is in charge; the second is called olde Consul, for having gouerned in the very neereft yeare before; and the third predesth in iudgement for criminall causes, and in other places he is called, Prouost of the Empire, *Reychvogt*. The counsell is elected the first Sunday of Aduent, not in the lesser counsell, but in the generall, by secret voyce, *Mit derraum*: the Sub-consull and the *Zunftmesters*, going then out of office, do collect the voyces.

The great counsell is composed of threescore and fixe, to wit, twelve of each company: whereby there are ninety persons in the great and lesser counsells. After the election of the Consuls and the counsell, the ordinances of the Towne are read in this assembly: whereon the Consull and the new counsell do deliberate. Then they go (by two and two together) to the great Temple or Church, named *S. Lawrence*, where all the citizens meete, and after reading of the lawes and ordinances, the Consull sweareth first to obserue them, and afterward, receiue of the counsell and whole assembly, the same oath. This done, the morrow after christmas day, and the day following, the *Zunftmesters*, and the other elueen Seigneurs of the lesser counsell, do meete to-

gether in the Towne-house, and elect the Sub-consull, whom they call *Vnderburgermeister*. His charge is to take order for the watch of the Towne, and to appoint Tutors and Querfeers for Widdowes & Orphanes, and also to examine their accounts.

Every weeke, the lesser counsell do ordinarily meete together twice, on Tuesday and Thursday; except those dayes be Festiuals, or haue Fayres. Also the Thursday before Lent, which they call the mad Thursday, *Den Unsinigen donstag*: because once, and on that day, the people mutined against the counsell, by means whereof, it was ordained, that (tho thence forward) there should be no more assemblies held, as on y day. The lesser counsell manageth the Townes affaires, decideth ciuill causes, and giueth sentence concerning inheritances and wills: but medleth with no criminall suites, nor differences about Seecules, Obligations and iniuries.

The great counsell meeteth together five times euery yeare. First, the morrow after christmas day, when they elect and confirme the new Magistrates. Secondly, in mid-Lent, to elect and confirme the Master of the Hospitall. Thirdly, the Friday before *S. Bartholomewes* day, being the foure and twentieth day of August, whē they establish the Masters of Halles, and consider on the tolles and taxes at the Gates. Fourthly, and fiftly, before the Fayres which they keepe, on the morrow after Ascension day, and the day of *S. Gall*; and then they consult on the conseruation, and course of Courts for the Fayre.

The great counsell also doth sometimes extraordinarily meete when they are to discusse on matters, whereof the counsell ought to haue knowledge, as concerning sentences in criminall suites. Then the Prouost of the Empire sitteth President, and demandeth each case: this is done in the Towne-house, and the doores kept close. The lesser counsell electeth the Prouost, and giueth him power to iudge. Afterward, the great counsell decideth the appellations made vnto him, and receiue such strangers as desire to be Bourgeses.

But this is done more often, in the ordinary assemblies of the great counsell, and

The election of the Sub-Consull or Vnderburgermeister.

When the lesser counsell do assemble together.

The mad Thursday.

The office of the lesser counsell.

The five times euery yeare.

Extraordinary meetings of the great Counsell.

Election of the Prouost by the lesser Counsell.

Two counsells in S. Gall.

Twelve masters.

The election of the Zunftmesters.

Nine Senators.

Three Consuls, and how they gouerne.

Election of the Counsell.

The great Counsell, in what manner they are chosen, and what order they obserue.

and then also they conclude there on many appeales. Sometimes the lesser counsell fendeth affaires of importance to the great counsell, to bee considered on.

The three meetings of the Counsell generally of all the people, and their appointed times.

Euery yeare, the counsell generally of all the people, is assembled three times, about publick affaires. First, to elect the Consull. Secondly, the morrow after Christmas day, to take oath of the new Consull, and to binde him to obey the Magistrates. And thirdly, in the Moneth of August, about *S. Bartholomewes* day, after that the ordinance for tolles and taxes is agreed vpon, to heare the Lecture, which is made before all. Moreouer, the lawes and statutes of the Towne are distributed into three parts; one part whereof is deliuered to the people, in each of these three assemblies.

The cheefest Court of iustice, that of fine, who are the Consull, the Sub-Consull or Lieutenant, one of the new Zunftmesters, and two of the new counsell.

The principall and cheefest Court of iustice, is that of fine, who are the Consull, the Sub-Consull or Lieutenant, one of the new *Zunftmesters*, and two of the new counsell. They iudge in differences concerning borrowed monies, things laid to pawns, debts that haue no certaine time prefixed, wages that are due, suites concerning victuals, iniuries, and fines. They sit on the Wednesday, or Friday, and there is no appeale from their sentence; neuertheless, they may send backe difficult causes, and of importance, to the lesser counsell.

The Court of iustice, called the Towne or City Court, and what Officers belong thereto.

Next to this, there is the Towne court of iustice, *Das Statgericht*, composed of twelve Assistants, chosen out of the Noble mens companie, and out of the other companies; so that the one is of *Zunftmesters*, and the other of the people. The cheefe Officer of this court is called *Statamman*, Maior of the city, and is elected with the other Magistrates, about Christmas day, and is confirmed by the great counsell. As for the Assistants, they are changed twice euery yeare, and elected by the great counsell, on one of the feast dayes of Christmas, & by the lesser counsell, about *S. John Baptists* day, in the Moneth of Iune. These Iudges take knowledge of debts, barrings, and yearly rents, although the summes bee great. They are called together by tolling the Bell, and assemble in the Towne-house on Monday in euery weeke, except it bee a Feast day, or that

What causes they deale withal when they sit in Court.

all the counsell doe meete together, for then they referre those causes till Wednesday. A man may appeale from their sentence, to the lesser counsell, provided, that the suite be of no lesse moment then an hundred Sols, or Shillings: and if the appellant loseth his cause, he is condemned in a fine to the Iudges.

The consistory court is composed of eight Iudges, whereof foure are Ministers of the Church, or some other men of learning: next, two counsellors of the lesser counsell, and two of the great. There sitteth another Seigneur of the lesser counsell, as President, who questioneth the causes: and if there be as many voices on the one side, as on the other, hee redubeth both parties to such a course, as hee conceiue to be iust, and then sentence is giuen accordingly. The consistory censureth matters of marriage, and of diuorces, and no appealing is permitted from sentence. But if there happen any inuolued or entangled variance, or if some colour of pollicy be mixed with the case of marriage; then cause and all, is sent to the counsell, where the deciding is suspended, vntill the counsell, and some of their learned men, haue aduisedly considered thereon.

As for publick Offices, estates, and charges, this common-wealth is therein gouerned, as the other are; hauing Treasurers, Masters of Halles, Receiueurs, and Administrators at the Gates, for customs, tolles, and taxations, *Vogers*, &c. Such as hold these places, doe render their accounts, first to the *Zunftmesters*, next to the lesser, and lastly to the great counsell, on the morrow after christmas day. Having giuen vp their accounts, the lesse and great counsell do elect new officers, or reconfirm the olde: and it is openly read, what the charge is of each one of them in particular, and afterward, in presence of the counsell, they sweare to discharge their duty faithfully. But when many are established in one and the same charge, then such rules as they are to follow, are giuen them in writing.

And because the very greatest trading of *S. Gall*, consisteth in linnen cloth, and that not only the people of the towne, but then also in most part of the Villages round about, doe maintaine their liues thereby, the counsell is diligent and

Of the Consistory Court, and Iudges thereto belonging.

Concerning intricate and cumbersome cases.

Of publick charges & offices.

New Officers chosen, or the olde aduanted againe.

Linnen cloth: the only main trading of S. Gall.

Viewers and Ouerseers for the goodnesse or badnesse of linnen cloth.

A Market of linnen cloth onely.

What is done after approbation of the cloths goodnesse.

Viewers of the whitening of cloth, & how they are thickened.

Linnen cloth reputed fit to be dyed in colours, & how they deale therein.

carefull, for well ordering all things in that respect, and for the auoyding of fraud and deceit. First, therefore, so soone as the weauer hath finished a peece of cloth, there are three expert sworne Vissers or Ouerseers, that come to looke vpon it, and according as it is good, or indifferent, they set on such and such marks. If it appeare to be bad and naught, they send it to the **Zunftmaster** of the weauers, and to the other eleuen **Zunftmasters**; who condemne the workman in a fine, or cut the whole peece into some portions, of eight Elles in length each one, or else through the midst, or if it be worth nothing, they burne it openly. This view and visitation is done daily, and there is a Market of linnen cloth, which hath certaine Lawes, for the obseruation whereof, they that deale in such Merchandize are strictly bound.

After that the cloth hath bene seene and approoued; the sworne Measurers do both Ell it, and make it. The Measurers haue some other sworne men of the Mystery, to be their adiuncts; and the Merchants haue with them the Ouer-seers of the measuring. They call them **Dm ruff**, measurers of linnen cloth, which are of diuers lengths: but a whole peece consisteth of 134 Elles, and may not be of any greater length. There is another view made at the whistlers, where the cloth is thickened and whited. These Viewers are called **Die wipfen Schowter**. They looke that the clothes haue their requisite whitenesse, and whether they sustaine any harme in the thickning: and according as they finde, they marke, or condemne the whistler in a fine. Likewise there are certaine Merchants and Weauers, that visite the whistlers houses and grounds, to see if all things bee sitting and conuenient there: whether they haue sufficiency of wood and ashes, that none may be wronged by delay. Every yeare the Masters whistlers take newly their oaths, to doe their duties as becommeth them.

As for the clothes which the Viewers (whom they vsually rearme **Blau und Schwartz gschowter**) thinke fit to send to the Diats: the cutters of linnen cloth, named **Lynboathschnyder**, do cut them iust in the midst, and there are other committees, to regard that they haue their iust measure. After they are dyed into colours blew or blacke, if the Ouerseers

finde the dying to bee well taken, they marke the peece, and when they haue plained and smoothed it with a Rowler; others come to approue it valuable, and they set on the Seale. Contrariwise, if it be spoyled and viciate in the dying: they cut it, or dip it againe, if it may bee done, and the Plainers and Diars are condemned in some fine. All these things aboue named, are very carefully obserued, and if any dare do otherwise, hee is severely punished. For the Towne or City of S. Gall hath this priuiledge, to condemne in criminall suite, to fetch men out of places of refuge, and to punish them that vse any fraud, in weauing, marking, sealing, dying, plaining, or misusing any Linnen clothes.

Something likewise must needs bee said, what order they of S. Gall take, to auoid the inconueniences of fire: because they hauing bene heerebefore much endangered thereby, it hath made them (enuiouing) to be the more prouident. Every euening, for the space of a quarter of an houre, there is a Bell rung, and it is called **Die feurglocken**, the Fire-Bell: which admonisheth every one, to looke to the hearths of their Chimnies, for feare lest fire shold take in any part. Then are there two **Zunftmasters**, that four times yearly do visite the hearths, furnaces, & chimnies in all the houses; and thereupon are called **Die feurgschowter**, Vissers for fire. They regard also, what Armes and prouision of foode the Bourgeses haue: and whether they be provided and furnished, according to the ordinances of the Seigneury.

Beside, if there rise any impetuous windes, or any rough stormes or tempests happen (beside the ordinary Captaines of the watch, whom they call **Die Wacht-bietter**) there are two other, named Masters of the watch, **Die wachtmaster**, who take with them two men of every Tribe, well appointed, and goe with the Captaines of the watch, to walke the round through all the streetes of the City, to prevent the dangerous accidents of fire.

Every night, two and thirty men keepe watch on the Towers and VValles, and in other places of the City, being appointed as Sentinels, by the cheefe **Zunftmaster**, with the Captaines of the watch.

Penalty for cloth spoyled in dying.

The priuiledge belonging to S. Gall.

What prouision they make against the inconueniences of fire.

Vissers for fire.

Against cruc-blistion winds and tempests.

Captaines of the Watch.

When fire takes in any place.

Four Captaines of the lesser council.

Schooles, Almshouses, Hospitals, &c. spured to be kept in order.

Concerning the Grisons in elder time.

If fire take in any part, some of the Cittizens runne to the Gates, some on the Towers and VValles, some into the cheefe freetees; some keepe company with the Confull, and others labour to quench the fire. There are foure Captaines of the lesser councell, that haue a care of all this businesse, commanding every one to that which is to be done, and punishing greuously the disobedient. If the fire be without, and neere the city, they send forth a certaine number of men with their Captaines, to prouide against the inconuenience. Others keepe watch at the Portes, upon the VValles, and in other places, where they are by them appointed.

I spare to speake heere of Schooles, Almshouses, and Hospitals, because they of S. Gall gouerne themselves therein, as other well pollicied citties do, and carry a faire and comely order among them. Likewise, I will not speake of the election of the Ministers of the Church, nor of their establishing and charge, neither what order they hold in their assemblies: because in this worke, we treat on the matters of pollicy onely, referring to discourse on the other, at some apert time and place.

CHAP. XI.

The Common-wealth of the Grisons.



HE name and dominion of the Grisons heerebefore was of great extendure: but now wee vnderstande by that word, a people of the Alps, who the French and Italians haue named **Grisons**, and the Switzers **Gratopunder**. In ancient times, they inhabited **Rhats** in the Alpes, neere to the source or head of **Rheine**, and of **tau**.

The **Grisons** are diuided into three Leagues. The first is called the League

Grise, and hath ten Comminalties, to wit, the Abbey of **Disentis**, which the ancient Cardes or Mappes called **Disertine**. To this Abbey are ioyned **Tauech**, **Trumb**, and some other places. 2. **Waltersbourg**, 3. **Oberfachs**, 4. **Luzinis**, 5. **Fals**, 6. **Yuntz**, 7. **Scharwiff**, 8. They of **Laas**, **Sins**, and them enuiouring about the wood. 9. **Thannen**. The **Grisons** call these nine Communities; the part about the wood, **Die obderwald**; and the other ten, they call, vnder the wood, 10. **Fims**, 11. **Trimun**, 12. **Safen**, 13. **Ratzuns**, the ancient abiding of the noble Family of the Barons of **Ratzuns**, 14. **Heintzenberg**, and **Taufis**, 15. **Schopine**, 16. **Schamps**, 17. **Spugen**, 18. **Mafax**, 19. **Rifflee**.

In each of these Comminalties, they yearely elect a soueraigne Magistrate, which many of them do call **Amman**, who with the Iudges or Assistants, elected by the same comminality, doth iudge suites in law, and condemneth delinquents, according to the exigence of the case. Beside these **Amman**, there is a great Procuost of the whole League, whom they call **Der Landrichter**, who is chosen by every one in the generall assembly of all the comminalties, and direct President in the dayes meetings for all the League.

These meeting dayes for this **Grise** League, is in the Village of **Trumb**, which is the cheefe comminality, and there also meet the Seigneurs of the Iusticial court, wherein the **Landrichter** direct President, who hath fiftene Assistants, one Clarke or Secretary, and one Officer. The Lord of the Castle, and of the Barony of **Ratzuns**, is yet about the **Landrichter**, by an ancient prerogative, belonging to the race of the Barons of **Ratzuns**, in whose rights, the Lords of the places haue euermore succeeded.

The second League is called **Der Gottthusbundt**, The League of **Gods Household**, or of the Cade or League **Cathedral**, because of the Bishopricke and Colledge of **Coire**: and it hath one and twenty Comminalties, which sometimes were reduced into eleuen much greater. The Towne or City of **Coire** is numbered in the first place, as the cheefe of the League: and alone (among the eleuen Comminalties) is compounded of two lesser. But as the citizens

Three leagues founded on the Grisons.

The first league, hauing all these Comminalties belonging to it.

A fouersigne Magistrate in each of these comminalties.

The Grand Procuost of the whole League, and his order in Courtes of Iustice.

The League of the Cade, or of Gods House.

Ff 3 are

Druler, his
Physioun,
kept him fro
drunkennesse

Bitter Al-
monds an e-
speciall helpe
against drun-
kennesse.

Plin in lib 12.
cap. 14.
The Raddith
roote.

Saffron.

Plin in lib. xii
supra. cap. 202.

Arist. in Pro-
blem. part. 3.
Aduice in lib.
Animal. 6.
cap. 9.

*The sinewes
which con-
duct the ver-
tue of seeing
to the eyes.

admirable physick, to preferue him from being drunke, albeit he daily drank more wine then any other one man of his time: for he could out-drinke all comers, yet neuer be drunke, or bereft of his iudgement. But in the ende it was knowne, that (visually) before hee entred drinking, he would eate suet or fixe bitter almonds, whose power and naturall property was such, as it impeached the wine from alienating his spirits. And experience thereof was afterward made, for when they abridged him from the meanes of eating bitter Almonds, and he vsing to drinke as formerly he did, he became as soon drunk as any other man. That these Almonds have this peculiar property, *Pliny* affirmed it, adding further; that eating a Rad-dith roote before hard drinking, avoideth drunkennesse. He saith also, that Cole-wortes eaten before hand, keepeth a man from being distempered with wine: and being eaten after drunkennesse, they remove instantly the distemperature, as Saffron also hath the selfe-same power. There are many other remedies for this imperfection, wherein I will be silent; speaking onely of one, recited by *Pliny*. He saith, that taking a quantity of wine, mingled with the egges of a Chough, and being drunke two or three mornings together, he that drinketh it, will hate wine in such sort, as he will neuer after drinke thereof. Heereto he addeth, that a Swallow being taken and burned to ashes, then beaten into powder and mingled with a little Myrthe in the wine; whoeuer recey-ueth a draught of this potion, shall neuer be drunke, for this was experimented by *Horus*, King of *Assyria*.

Aristotle, in the third part of his Problems, and *Auicenne*, in his sixth Booke of Beasts, do yeld a reason, why in drunkenness, when a man looketh vpon any one thing, it appears to him as if it were two, and albeit they doe both produce diuers reasons, yet will I alledge but one from each of them. The first shall be *Aristoteles*, who saith, that thorow excessive heat of vapours in the wine, ascending vp into the braine; the little nerues, called **Optic nerui*, which go on directly to the eyes, do worke and moue with such power, that the visual vertue, and the spirits of sight (altering in their motion) do cause whatsoeuer drunken men gaze on, to stirre ve-

ry strongly and quicke; because the Organe of sight moueth it selfe in that manner, and maketh the common sense to receiue the Images of things, in a multiplicity of quality to the eye. For such kinde of motion, maketh single things to seeme double, and because this motion is so sudden and insensible, it causeth two things to seeme as one to the sight. As any man may easily make tryall of, by laying his finger vpon his eye-lid, and then removing it thence, it will appeare to him, that it is the thing remoueth it selfe, which he beholdeth. *Auicenne* deliuereth another reason, saying: *The vapours of wine, which ascend vp into the head of him that is drunke, are moist, and because the little nerues and muscles which reach to the eyes, doe engrosse or swell themselves by this humidity, so much more the one (then the other) doe thereby mount themselves, the one bigger, and the other lower. From hence ensueth, that the visible rayes do not equally diuide themselves forth-right from both the eyes, neither by a direct or right line: which is the cause, that the Images of things visible, doe extend to eyther eye by themselves.* In this respect only, things simple and single, appeare to be double, the common sense receyuing & apprehending two images for one: and for the maintenance of this opinion, *Auicenne* yeeldeth the selfesame example, as *Aristotle* did.

CHAP. XXV.

In what manner a man may know and measure the rotundity or round compass of the whole earth: and how much it is reputed to containe, in the circumference or circling round about.



Well I know, that the subiect of this Chapter, will hardly seeme pleasing vnto all Readers; in regarde, for the better vnderstanding thereof, som of the principles of the Mathematicks, are necessarily requi-

A people ca-
ble to be made
by any one.

Auicenne in lib.
Animal. cap. 10.
Of the vapors
of wine mount-
ing vp into
the head of
drunken men.

Principles of
the Mathema-
tical Sciences

The chief E-
lements of the
Mathematicks

Genesis 1. 9.

Aduice attri-
buted to the
earth.

Eclipses,
heights, and
breadths,
mountaines,
valleys, woods
and Forrests.

How the rot-
undity of Land
and sea is mea-
sured.

The Starre
heauen or firm-
ament.

Helpes of a
Quadrant or
Astrolabe to
measure the
moity in this
case.

Chap. 25. Of the worlds round compass.

required to be well apprehended. Neuertheless, I am the more willing to speake somewhat of the argument, onely for the delight and contentment of such mindes, as are enclined to the Science whereof it discourseth. Wherefore concerning our present purpose, it is needfull to presuppose, the first and chiefe Elements of such a Science: which because they are common, shall require the lesse labor to proue them. The first is that whereof wee are now treating, the greatnesse of the earth, carrying with it both Land and Sea: because God did dispose them in such manner, when he said; *Let the dry Land appeare*, for they both being vnited together, made one body perfectly round. So likewise it is to bee vnderstoode in all those actions which are giuen to the earth, the Sea is also therein comprized: For, when a man sayth, the earth hath so many degrees in roundnesse, or it containeth so many degrees from one place to another; the sea is therein as well vnderstood as the land. So in like manner are considered the Eclipses, heights and breadths, to hold one and the same certitude: and yet notwithstanding, Mountaines, and Valleys are not comprehended in this roundure, nor Woods or Forrests likewise, which the earth containeth in it selfe; because such things are not worthe of any account, with the greatnesse of this wonderful body.

This rotundity of Land and Water, is seated in the midst of the circuite of Heauen, in such manner, as the point & center of that round body, composed of Sea and Land, is likewise the center and number of the whole world, as well of heauen, as of the Elements.ouer and besides this definition, there is another, true and absolute, to wit, that the land and water (in regard of the starry heauen, which we call the Firmament) are so little, that all these two Elements serue thereto but for a center, and is euen but as a small point, in respect of his circumference. So that in whatsoeuer part thereof a man best liketh to helpe himselfe, by meanes of a Quadrant or an Astrolabe; his labour fortheth to the like effect, as if hee made the same for the center of the earth. For in whatsoeuer place of the earth we are (prouided that it be not in any deepe or hollow bottom) we shall discouer the moity of hea-

uen; which proceedeth by reason of the incomprehensible distance, that is from hence beneath vp to the Firmament, with his incomparable greatnesse. That this must needs be true, it is most euident, that the verie least Starre which we discern in heauen, is much more greater then the whole earth; and yet neuertheless, it appeareth to vs but as a small point, in regard of the heauens large spaciousnesse; by the least of which things, a man may make prooffe in sufficient demonstration, but it sufficeth that experience hath apparently shewne the same.

Ptolomy approueth it, in the 10. chapter of his first booke of Geography; *Alphraganus*, in his fourth Difference, *Cleomedes*, in his first Booke; *Geber*, in his second Book; and *Iohn de Sacroboto*, as the like do all other that haue written on the Sphere.

This then being thus presupposed, let vs imagine in our mindes, that the vnder Land do make one round circle, and that heauen is another, but much more great, as indeede it is; and that these two circles haue no other, but one common center within them. Which being so imagined, let vs lay two lines of equal greatnesse, which may extend themselves (all the common) to the circumferences of all the two circles, according as *Euclides* enstrueth, cutting and diuiding the two Circles by equal portions, each portion being iustly equalled, in regard of each one of them: that is to say, that if those two lines passe on right in such manner, they will make eight parts of a great circle, and so shall make as much of the lesser. I vnderstand and meane each eight part, in respect of each ones greatnesse.

Our elders in former times, in their manner of measuring the world, gaue aduice to diuide the heauen into three hundred and threescore equal partes, which we do now call degrees, & by consequent, the roundnesse of the earth into as manie parts, by imaginations of lines, parting from the center, and making the diuision in such manner, that the like quantitie which each one of the degrees hath, in respect of the whole heauen; the verie like shall be that of each one of the degrees for the earth, having regard to the roundure and circuite thereof. And as these portions or degrees, if you please so to terme them,

The least Star
is greater the
all the earth,
by euident
prooffe.

Ptolom in lib. 10
de Geograph.
cap. 10.
Alphraz. Diff. 4.
Cleomed. in lib. 1
Geber. in lib. 2.
Ioh. de Sacrob. 1.

How this mat-
ter may bee
easily imagin-
ed in the
minde of man

Euclides in lib.
4. de Element.

The aduice
of our Fore-
fathers, for
measuring of
the world, by
diuision of
heauen.

may bee framed by hote water, that if a man put his hand rashly thereinto, he can hardly suffer or endure it. Notwithstanding, let him hold it firmly therein, and it yeldeth then lesse cause of passion then if he moued it vp and downe. In regard, that the lesse part of the water enuironeth the coole hand, whereby it causeth some small temperatour round about it: but being plunged and moued about the water, it reneweth fresh heate, and at each time appropriateth new power to it selfe; for the more potent, must needs worke nouelly vpon that which is much weaker.

It may be likewise demanded, for what cause it is more hot at the end of Iune, & all along the month of Iuly, the Sun being then the furthest off from vs, then it is at the beginning of Iune; considering we are then in the Solstice of the Sunne, and more directly smitten with his beames? Heereunto answereth *Aristotle*, in his second Booke of *Meteors*, and the ninth Chapter, that the heate of the Sunne is not the cause thereof, neither is there any more heate felt by the Sunnes being neere to vs, then when hee hath longest time to abide ouer vs. For in the months of Iune and Iuly, hee hath a great length of time in approaching towards vs; as also in declining, hee causeth the greater heate, because (in descending) here heateeth that part and tract of the ayre, which hee formerly had well warmed in mounting aloft.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of sodaine death bapting vnto diuers great Persons, that haue thereto bene wished or threatened, by such as they haue vniuersally put to death before, and their deaths haue ensued to them in such manner, & at such times, as haue bene assigned vnto them: With the notable history of an Archbyshop of Mentz or Magonce.



Ven all helpe in man hath ceased, concerning such to whom great wrongs and injuries haue bene done; yet the powerfull arme of God

hath neuer failed them. And albeit it hath not ensued so speedily, or else so visibly as they could haue wished; yet GOD, who knoweth both how and when to be augmented on them that are the oppressors of innocents, hath wrought so graciouslie for his own glory; that trecheries haue come to light in due and meete times, & mens false iudgements haue felt his seuerer condemnation, and publickly enough for other mens forewarning. In this case wee could alleadge many memorable examples; but being loth to trouble you with ouer many, these few commendable Collections shall serue for this time.

I read of a Knight amongst the *Templers* (of whom wee haue spoken in our former Volume) who being (in the opinion of many) sentenced to death verie vniuersally; as the Officers led him towards the place of execution, hee espied Pope *Clement*, the first of that name (by whose meane he was condemned to death) looking out at a window; and by him flood *Phillip le Bel*, then King of France. The Knight being an *Italian*, borne at *Naples*, beholding the Pope with an vndaunted countenance, with a lowde voyce spake thus vnto him.

Most cruell Clement, seeing that there is no Iudge in this world, before whom a poore innocent man may call in question the vniuersal sentence which thou hast given against mee. I appeale from thee, a most vniuersal Iudge, to the rightest Iudge of al other, Iesus Christ himselfe, before whom I giue thee warning, and likewise King Phillip there by thee, to make your appearance, to answer the false iudgement of death which you haue given against mee. This appearance of yours before the Tribunnall seat of God, I do assigne to bee made within lesse then a yeare, to do me right there, where I may safely haue my cause determined, without any auarice or passion at all, as here you both haue dealt with me. The poore Knights desire sorted with his wordes, for about the same limited time, the Pope being pained with a great greefe in his stomach, died; so did *K. Phillip*; but howeuer it hapned, it was thought to proceed from the iust iudgement of God.

The very like fortune hapned to *Ferdinand* the fourth, King of *Castile*, who hauing caused two worthy Knights to bee executed, more by his owne wrathfull & angry spleen, then any warrant of iustice, being

being no way to bee dissuaded from this violent cruelty, either by teares, intreats, or earnest solicitations; they (in very like manner) cited the King before the Tribunnall of Iesus Christ, and to make his appearance within thirty dayes. And it is credibly auouched, that on the last of those thirty dayes, the King dyed.

The like sort also befell to a Capitaine of the Gallies, which belonged to the inhabitants of *Geneway*, whereof *Baptista Fulgoso* maketh this report. This Capitaine making a sally forth vpon the Sea, tooke a Foyle or smal Gally appertaining to them of *Cathelogna*; wherein there was another Capitaine that neuer had done any iniurie to the *Geneways*. Notwithstanding in regard of the malice which the *Geneways* bare to the *Cathelognians*, hee gaue command, that this Capitaine thus taken prisoner, should forthwith be hanged. The Capitaine, shedding many teares, humbly requested, that he might not so shamefully be put to death, considering that he had neuer offended him, or his Nation. But in the end, finding no fauour or mercy in him, he made his recourse to the Diuine Iudge of al men, speaking thus to the cruell Capitaine; *Seeing thou wilt needes execute on me this most vniuersal sentence, I haue no other friend but God to appeale vnto, who is the iust auenger of injured innocents. And therefore I humbly desire, that (this instant day) thy soule may appeare with mine before him, to yeeld an account for the wrong thou hast done me.* Not many houres, after the *Geneway* Capitaine also dyed, and doubtlesse went to render a reason for his most extreme cruelty.

I could alleadge many examples more, apply fured to this purpose; but for the strangest of all, I will relate what hapned at *Magonce* or *Mentz* in *Germany*, which generally cost most deare vnto the whole City, according as it is briefly reported by *Gantier*, that renowned Poet, who wrote the life and actions of the Emperour *Fredericke*, first of that name. *Conradus* also the Byshop, declareth the same in his history, among many things hapning in the time of that *Fredericke*, and of *Henrie* the sixt his sonne, the History ensueth in this manner.

In the City of *Magonce* or *Mentz* in *Germany*, in the yeare one thousand, five hundred and fifty, little more or lesse, there

liued an Arch Byshop, named *Henric*, a man singular in all vertues. This Archbyshop, according to the duty and office of a faithfull Pastor, as indeed hee was, did seuerely chastise publick sinnes and offences, because he was very ieaalous of Gods honour, and loue of one neighbour vnto another, the which made him to haue the greater care of his flocke. Heereupon wicked and dissolute persons grewe hateful against him, deuising many false and slanderous accusations, where-with the Pope was plentifully informed, imposing so many crimes and delicts vpon him, that he was reputed vnnecesse for such a dignity.

These matters thus vnder stood by the Pope, who alwayes thought him to bee a iust and holy man; being no way able to deny audience to such a crowde of accusers as desired iustice; at last he aduertised the Arch-byshop of these foule accusations. The good reuerend man, to make cleare his innocence, elected (among all his other friends) a man whom hee most affected, and on whom hee had bestowed more especial fauours, then on any man else beside. Hee was a Priest by profession, named *Arnolde*, advanced vnto many great dignities, as being a man of rich spirit, eloquence, and abounding in the wealth of the world beside.

Arnolde comming to *Rome*, being instructed and pressed on by the diuell, concluded in his priuate thoughts, to deprive his Lord of so high a dignitie, and make application thereof to himselfe. Which that he might the better compass, hauing brought great summes of money thither with him, he bestowed two wicked Cardinals, who, in stead of speaking in his Lords fauour, should enforce all matters more against him. For they affirmed, that they stood more obliged to God and truth, then to worldly respects or fauours of men; and therefore maintained, that the Archbyshop was apparently culpable of all the crimes inferred against him, and thereby iustly deserved deprivation. The Pope being thus abusively persuaded by theyre report, thought to haue sent two Priestes thither, to acquaint him with this information confirmed against him: but (indeed) he sent the two Cardinals confederated with *Arnolde*, to perfect the Proceffe, by them concluded for present execution. They

Example of a mans hand in hote water, for heate or temperature.

Of heate in the months of Iune and Iuly

Aristotle in lib. 2. de Meteor. cap. 9

The history of a Knight Templar, who to death vniuersally.

The Knights last words to the Pope, and King of France, who was ledde to death.

The judgement of God on the K. and Pope.

The history of Ferdinand the 4. King of Castile, slain cruelly by two Knights.

Baptista Fulgoso in lib. 2. cap. 1. The historie of a Capitaine belonging to the Geneways, who finally put to death another innocent Capitaine.

The wronged Captaines words before his death.

The sodaine death of the Geneway Capitaine the same day.

Conradus in lib. 2. de Præd. Imperat. Conradus Episcopus in Hist. de Rebus.

The history of Henry archbishop of Mentz in Germany.

Verre neuer wanted malicious enemies

The Pope acquainted the Archbyshop with his accusations.

The arrival of Arnolde at Rome, and his wicked dealing against his Master.

The wickedness of two corrupted Cardinals.

The persecution of the Cardinals with Arnolde against the Arch-bishop.

The words of the Arch-bishop, as his deprivation, before Arnolde and the Cardinals

The scornfull answer of the offenders.

The death of the wronged Henry.

Scorning left by the two Cardinals, at deceased Henry.

The justice of God on the two wicked Cardinals.

They were no sooner arrived in Germany, but they summoned the Arch-Bishop to come before them, where his hearing was admitted in such sort, that sentence was given against him, whereby he was deprived of his See and dignitie, and Arnolde advanced into his place, who had sold his Master, even as Iudas, our old blessed Saviour. In pronouncing the judgement, the Arch-Bishop Henry then present, delivered these wordes. *God knoweth, that I am most vniustly condemned: neuertheless, I care not for making any appeale to the further censure of men: because I am assured, that I yes shall bee better belened among you, then traeth can be in mee. Therefore I receive this sentence, as some iust punishment for my sinnes, and yet doe appeale from your indirect doome, to the eternal iust Iudge Iesus Christ: before whom I aduowne you three to appeare.*

These wordes were no sooner heard by the Iudges, but they fell into extremity of laughter, saying; That if he pleased to go on thither before, they would follow him at their leysure. This sentence was given in the yeare one thousand, five hundred, fifty six, which the deprived Arch-bishop endured with admirable patience; & being retired into his Monastery, he there remained the rest of his life, yet without acceptance of the habite. To conclude, God would not permit this wickednes to passe unpunished, to the end, that innocence might the better bee knowne: but about a yeare and an halfe after, this Henrie dyed in his Monastery in great holinesse, and doublelesse attained the glorie long time desired.

Newes of his death being brought to Rome, the two Cardinals being very merrily met together, one of them, said: The Arch-Bishoppe Henry is gone, and must not we in halt follow him? Indeed (quoth the other) so wee made him promise; but let him tarry (wherefoeuer he is) till wee come to him. Not many dayes after, one of them, being sodainly smitten by one of his seruants vpon the shoulder, fell downe so greuously afflicted with paine, that his bowels and entrailes issued out at his fundament, and instantly died. The other falling into phrenie and madnesse, did eate off his owne hands, and dyed very strangely. Now as concerning false Arnolde, hee exercised such cruelties and seditions a-

mong the people, that he became fo hated and despised of them all; as being one day besiedged in a Monastery, hee was there slayne, and afterward left lying naked in the common ditch of the Citie; where all the people, both men, women, and children, performed all cruelties vpon his body, that possibly could be deuised by them.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of the cruelty which Alboutine, King of Lombardie, used to his Queene & wife Rosamond. And by what meanes she reuenged her selfe on him at length.



Among those warlike people, which issued out of Germany, and the Northerne partes, to descend into Italy; the Longobards are named, who for the space of two hundred yeares & more, seized all those Lands, which (till this day) is called Lombardie, and vntill such time as Charlemaigne expelled them thence, according as in the History is amply related, written by Paulus Diaconus in the particular Booke which he made for that purpose. He saith, that when they left Hungary (where they had for sometime dwelt) to passe into Italy, they had one named Alboutine their King: a man of great spirit, and verie valiant in actions of warre. For he conquered in battayle Cunimond, King of the Garpides, and afterwards, causing his head to bee smitten off, made a drinking Cuppe thereof, wherein hee vied to drinke, and in triumph of his conquest and victorie. At which time, he detained (as his prisoner) a verie beautiful daughter to the fore-named King, called Rosamond, whom he made his wife, and then afterwards hee went to subdue Italy, carrying his Queene along with him, in the yeare, eight hundred, sixty two.

When he had conquered many towns and Cities, he came (at length) to the City of Pausa: where (since that time) the succeeding Kinges vied to keepe their seate and continuall residing, as the very principall City of their Kingdome. Having

The Longobards now named Lombards.

Paulus Diaconus in his de High. stand. 1. 1. 1.

Cunimond King of the Garpides, conquered by Alboutine, and his head made a drinking cup.

Paulus the ancient feast of Kings.

The Queene forced to drinke in the Cuppe made of her fathers head, whereupon she concludes the Kings death.

Nothing can be compared to the inward conceit and hate of a woman, when she will needs compass her will.

The Queene discouereth her selfe to Paradine, and preuaileth to haue the King murdered.

A hard choice in such an extremity.

reigned three yeares and three moneths, and being then at Verona, he appoynted a solemne feast, where hee drunke to his Queene in the Cuppe made of her fathers head, and forced her to pledge him: whereat shee conceived such grieft and displeasure, that the intire loue which shee had formerly borne him, was converted into deadly hatred, with an absolute resolute and conclusion to kill him, in iust reuenge of her fathers death, & cruelty extended to her. And to assitt her in this determination, the conferred with a gentleman named Hermigilde: who presently tolde her, that to the execution of such an important busines, she should require the ayde of a valiant knight in the Court, called Paradine. Which instantly shee did, but he would not yeeld thereto, because hee tooke it to be too horrid a treason. Finding her hope frustrated, and fearing lest his intent would be discovered, yet desiring nothing more in the world, then to compass the height and pitch of her enterprise: shee set aside all care of honour and honesty, & being aduertised by Hermigilde, that Paradine earnestly affected one of her attending Ladies, shee deuised thereby to effect her purpose. Being acquainted with the secret resort where Paradine & his loue alwaies met together, shee found some other employment for the Lady, & made vse of her place for the time, Paradine keeping her there company a long time, imagining no other, but that it was the mistresse of his affections.

The Queene, who had spent all this while in soft whispers and dalliance, not vying any one word whereby shee might be discovered, perceiving opportunity to apply to fit her, spake thus vnto him. Knowest thou Paradine, who it is that keepeeth thee company? Full well (quoth he) with my Mistresse, and then named her. Thou iyst (false traytour, replied the Queene, I am Rosamond thy Soueraignes wife, whom thou hast dared to abuse in this manner, and dye thou must by the iust wrath of Alboutine, except thou saue thy life by killing him: aduise thee therefore, whether his life or thine owne is dearest to thee. When Paradine considered his dangerous estate, without any meanes of helpe or escape; hee resolved to kill the King: and for his better further-

rance therein, both hee, the Queene, and Hermigilde tooke counsell together, plotting the project in this manner.

The King vied to sleepe in the heate of the day, and all else auoyded the chamber, the Queene onely excepted, and hee being a king of courage and high resolute, euer slept like a Souldier, with his Sword girded about him: which at this intended time of treason, the Queene had tyed so fast in the scabbard, as hee could by no meanes helpe himselfe therewith. Paradine and Hermigilde waiting the houre, which was vpon the Queenes issuing forth: they entered, and for all their soft treading, the King heard them, and started from his bed. VVhen he beheld two men armed with weapons, and at such a time of no suspicion: fury, not feare made him take no knowledge of them, but sought to defend himselfe with his weapon. VVhich failing him, by the meanes of so false a Queene, and they with their weapons euery where, wounding him: hee caught vp a stool, and therewith made his defence so long as hee could, till in the end they deprived him of life, yet neither noise heard, or any suspicion of murder.

The King being thus dead, and all well carried with a smooth countenance: Hermigilde possessed himselfe of the Pallace, intending to make the Queene his wife, as immediately hee did. But notwithstanding all their close packing, the Lombardes (not long after) came to the knowledge of their Kings death, and in what manner hee was murdered, which they purposed to reuenge with all possible speed. VVherein they were prevented, for Rosamond and her complices hauing packed vp most of her Jewells & treasure Royall, fled away thence, carrying with them Aluifinda Daughter to King Alboutine, by his first wife. And for their safer securitiy, they went to Raennna, where then gouerned a Lieutenant of the Empire, named Longinus, who kept that place for Thebrius, Sonne to the Emperour Constantine of Constantinople, by whom they were courteously entertained.

Not long after, Longinus becoming enamored of Rosamond, & desirous to enjoy her in marriage, whereto hee found her very tractable; counselled her to procure the death of Hermigilde, & then hee would marry her. Shee that had lost all loue and

The manner of the Kings death determined by the Queene, Paradine and Hermigilde.

The valour of Alboutine against his murderers, even in his death.

Hermigilde mistress with Rosamond the Queene.

The flight of Rosamond & the murderers to Raennna.

Rosamond desirous to aduance herselfe by marrying with the Lieutenant, concluded the death of Hermigilde.

Not feare

fear of God, respect of womanhood, and dreadlesse of the shame of men, couering withal, to aduance her downefalne estate, by marrying with the Emperours Lieutenant; gaue to *Hermigilde* an impoisoned potion at his coming forth of his Bath, perswading him, that it was most fowerraige for his health; by which perswasion he dranke a good part thereof. But when hee found it afterward to afflicke his body, so as he plainly perceiued himselfe to be poysoned; drawing forth his sword in extremity of rage, he compelled *Rosamond* to drinke vp all the rest that remayned in the Cup, so that at one instant time they both were iustly required for the death of *Albanine*. Tydings hereof being brought to the Lieutenant *Longinus*, he caused the young Lady *Alminda* to be seized on, and sent her (with all her jewels and treasure) to the Emperour *Tiberius*, at *Constantinople*, with *Paradise* also as a prisoner: where hauing his eyes pulled forth, he liued a while, and then died most miserably.

CHAP. XXIX.

Of a pleasant, witty, and honest deceit, which a famous and vertuous Queene used to her owne husband; whereby Iames, King of Arragon was begotten, with other remembrances both of his birth and death.



IVell remember, that in reading the Chronicle of the Kings of *Arragon*; I finde, that *Don Peter*, Count of *Barcelona*, who was the thirtieth King of *Arragon*, had *Madam Mary* in marriage, daughter to the Earle of *Mount Pefulm*. Nephew to the Emperour of *Constantinople*, the being a very beautifull and vertuous Lady. All which notwithstanding, the King was much addicted vnto other women, and vied such slender testimony of loue towards his Queene, that hee refused to keepe her company, as (in the duty of an husband) he stood obliged to doe. This strange

behaiour in the King, did much afflicke and greeue the Queene, because they had no childe to succeed in the Kingdome, the greattest misery (of all other) that can happen to a well settled Estate. Heerevpon, by aduice of one of the Kings Pages of his Chamber, who (it may be) had formerly done seruice in the like affaires; shee compassed the meanes (vnder title of some one of the Kings cheefest fauourites) to bee brought that night to lodge with the King. Such familiar entercourtes hauing passed betweene them, as in such wanton seasons are commonly required, the King perceiuing the day-light neere approaching, in regard both of his owne honours safety and hers, made meanes to her for her speedy departure, but the taking hold of lo good an occasion, spake thus vnto him.

My gracious Lord and husband, I am none such as (perhaps) you take mee to be, but be well assured, that this night you haue slept with your true Queene and VVife. VVhat violence you shall please to mee, for I purpose not to leaue your bed, vntill some man, well deseruing faith and credite, may be witness of my this nights keeping you company. To the ende, that if the fauour of heauen hath bin so gracious to me, that fruite (long desired) may ensue by this aduerture; the world shal take true notice, that it is your owne. The King perceiuing this honest deceit of his Queene, appeared to bee well pleased therewith, and called two Gentlemen of his Chamber, to testifie the truth, according to her desire, and as (indeed) stood best with his honour. It so pleased God, that at fit and conuenient time, the Queene hauing at that instant time conceiued with childe; at such due season as the custome of women alloweth them for traualle, shee was deliuered of a goodly Sonne, euen on the first day of February, in the year one thousand, one hundred, ninety sixe. Soone after it was borne, the Mother caused it to bee carried to the Church, and (which is a thing deseruing memory) as they which carried the childe entred into the Church, the Priests began to sing, *Te Deum laudamus, Wee praise thee O God*. Passing from thence vnto another Church, as they were entring likewise thereinto, the Priests began to sing the

Want of lawfull issue is the greatest misery of any kingdome.

Shone dare fildome be seen in bright day-light.

The words of the Queene to the King, before she would depart from his bed.

The conception & birth of Iames, King of Arragon.

The carrying of the childe to two Churches.

Palme of *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel*; blessed be the Lord God of *Israel*, which gaue a great prognosticating & vndoubted hope, of some excellent vertues to succeed in the childe.

The Father and Mother, not knowing what name to giue him, caused twelue Torches (of equal length and making) to be all lighted in one instant, the twelue Torches bearing the seuerall names of the twelue Apostles. With this conclusion, that the name of the Torch which first sayled, or became extinguished; the selfe-same name should bee giuen to the childe, which happened to be that of *S. Iames*. Heereupon he was named *Iames*, because it was the name, which the men of *Arragon* gaue to that Apostle. Hee proued to be an excellent Prince, and of admirable gouernement, both in peace and warre, for hee made a cruell inuasion vpon the *Moors*, being euer more very liberal to his Souldiers. Among other most notable matters, hee leuied a great Army, which he conducted into the Isle of *Maioira*, that then was in the *Moors* possession, where hee fought many stout batailles. But after he had a long while besieged the City, he won it in the ende, and likewise other neighbouring Islands beside. Then coming into his kingdom of *Maioira*, especially to the City of *Carthage*, hee proued still the Conqueror, and neuer sayled in any of his attempts.

Hee had many children, as well sonnes as daughters, on whom (during his life time) he bestowed great gifts and goodly estates. *Don Peter*, that afterward was King of *Arragon*, was his Sonne. Likewise *Don Iames*, King of *Maioira* and *Minorica*. Hee had another that was Archbishop of *Toledo*. *Madame Tolland*, who was Queene of *Castile*; and *Madame Isabel*, that was Queene of *France*; and *Madame Vrragua*, who was married to *Don Emanuel*, Prince of *Castile*; and *Don Peter*, who espoused the daughter vnto the King of *Nauarre*. He liued seventy and two yeares, and dyed religiously, taking on him (before his death) the habite of a Monke. For he had a greuous discaise, which made him renounce his royall Scepter, with deliberate purpose, that if he might recouer his health againe, hee would imploy the rest of his dayes in the

seruice of God. But weaknesse encreasing more and more vpon him, he dyed in the City of *Valencia*, Anno 1266. and at the beginning of the Moneth of August.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Of an ancient and memorable Custome, obserued by the Inhabitants of the Prouince of Carinthia, at the Coronation of their Prince; and how cruell their punishments are to Thebes.



POpe *Pius* the second of that name, who was a man of great learning, & a diligent inquisitor for the truth of Histories, as wee haue in many places formerly alledged, saith in his description of the world; that the Prouince of *Carinthia*, is enclosed within the territory, and vnder the gouernment of *Austria*. Hee likewise relateth a custome, which the Inhabitants of that Prouince haue anciently obserued, at the election and Coronation of their Princes; appearing some-what strange, yet honest and very commendable. VVhich custome is also confirmed by *A. Sabellius*, in his tenth Decade; and by *Sebastian Munster*, in his composed Cosmography, which is after this manner.

In this Prouince of *Carinthia*, there is a very great and spacious plaine of folde ruined buildings, which seeme to bee the foundation of some former auncient City.

In which place also there is a great stone, and when obeyance is to be giuen at the new creation of a Prince; there is a day appointed, and a country labourer, or meane husbandman (allowed to this preheminance in regard of his lineage) hath order to seate himselfe vpon that same stone. On his right hand

Ancient Sylas in Cosmographie Attand lib. 5. cap. 7.

A. Sabellius in Deca. Hist. Schiff. Munst. in Cosmogra.

Preparation on the Princes election.

N 2 standeth

A treacherous woman wickedly dealt withal, by her owne deuile against her husband.

An strange manner of naming the Childe, by lighting of twelue Torches, tearmed the twelue Apostles.

The vertuous qualities remaining in the Prince.

Hauing won the Isle of Maioira and the City of Carthage.

The issue descending from Iames King of Arragon, and their gracious good fortunes.

King Iames became a Monke before his death.

The Authors inducion to the ensuing History.

The manner
of the Princes
comming to
his election.

The Princes
being at the
Stone before
him that must
elect him.

The severall
questions of
the poore
husbandman.

The Earle
that carrieth
the cheefest
Standard, his
answer to the
poore man.

The Prince
created with
a blow on the
gate.

standeth a poore Cow, that hath lately calued, which hee holdeth fastened by a corde, and on his left hand standeth a very leane and wretched Mare, eyed in like manner, and round about him is no meane crowd of labourers and country Boores. In this place, and at this Stone, the Prince that is to be enstalled, must make his apparance, attended with a great number of men on horse-backe, ryding in very formal order, with twelue Banners borne before him: among which there is one more large and sightly then all the rest, carryed by an Earle, thereto admitted by especial priuiledge.

The Arch-Duke, Prince of great Lord howeuer ye meane to rearme him, clothed in a Shepherds habite, commeth to the Stone wheron the poore man sitteth, & as he perceiueh him to approach somewhat neere, hee demandeth with a loud voyce, what he is, that cometh towards him with such glory and felicity? Answer is instantly made him, that it is the man, who commeth to be created Prince of the Country. Then as it were with a voyce like thunder, the labourer cryeth out. Is he a iust Iudge? Will he wel maintaine iustice? Will hee preferre the defence and safety of this Country? Is hee a man franke, and free-borne? Is he valiant, veruious, and worthy of honour and reuerence? Is he a Christian? Is hee a Defender of the faith of Iesus Christ? And all the company maketh answer, that he is such a man, and will so continue. Then hee beginneth againe, and maketh another demand. By what right or reason cometh he to dispossest me of this place, which belongeth onely to me? To which question, the Earle that beareth the cheefest Standard, replyeth thus. If thou wilt quit and forsake this place, threefoore Ducates of gold shall be frankly giuen thee, & this Cow, as also this Mare shall both be thine owne, beside the rich Robe, which our King didst all of put off, shall also be thine: moreouer, thou and thy family shal bee free, from paying any manner of tribute. After these words, the Prince approacheth neere to the Stone, & the poore man giueh him a gentle blow on the cheek, commanding him (in any case) to be a good Iusticer: & so descending from the Stone, he leadeth along with him the Cow and Mare, and deparreth.

Then the Prince dismounting from his horse, ascendeth vp, and sitteth vpon the stone, where drawing forth his Sword, and turning to each side of the stone, shall flourish the weapon round about him; hee maketh a solemne promise before all the people, vttering the words as loud as he can speake, that he will be a iust Iudge, and a good Prince. This done, one bringeth him (in a Shepherds bonnet) a small quantity of water to drinke: and so descending from the stone, hee remounteth on horsebacke, and rydeth on to a Church with all his company, there to heare Mass. Which being finished, hee changeth his former plaine and rurall garments, to very Royall and Princely habites: and after a pomepous Dinner with his whole train, he returneth againe into the open field, where hee heareth all the Officers of Iustice speake vnto him, to enstruct him in the lawes of the Country: and these are the vusual ceremonies, obserued at the creation of euery Prince.

There is another custome in vse among these people, for the punishment of thefts and robberies; which I hold to be vniust, and ouer-cruell, especially to bee vsed among Christians. For hauing but some note or apprehension onely, that such a man standeth in repute to be a theefe, they forthwith send him to execution, without any other proceeding against him. Then three dayes after his death, they examine the witnesses with all care and diligence; when if it shall appeare by solemne inquisition, that hee proueth to be guilty of the crimes alledged; they suffer him to hang vpon the Gibbet, vntill his limbes fall peece-meale from him. But if he be found to be innocent, they take him thence, and giue him honourable obsequies and funeral, with many prayers and almes-deeds, for the saluation of his soule.

With this severity doe they chastise theeues and robbers, neuertheless. I read of some other Nations, that greatly haue supported and countenanced them therein. As the *Egyptians*, of whom *Aulus Gellius* writeth in his Attick nights. And the *Lacedaemonians* likewise, who permitted their children to bee theeues, and learne climbing in at windowes, and wandring abroad in the night season, that they might be the more bolde and hardy for warre. Notwithstanding, *Draco*, hee that gaue

The Prince
mouneth on
the Stone.

The Princes
proueth be-
fore all the
people.

The Prince
changeth his
humble gar-
ments.

A cruell cere-
mony, for the
punishment
of theeues &
robbers, too
barbarous &
vniust among
Christians.

A poore re-
compence for
the losse of a
mans life and
reputation.

Aulus Gellius in
Noct. Attic. lib.
11.

Draco his fe-
re Law a-
gainst all
sinners of
theeues,
and *Solon*
remission
thereof.

At what time
the hanging
of theeues
was first or-
dained.

Men are na-
turally de-
sirous to know
all things
whatsoeuer.

The benefit
of contempla-
tions and study
in high and
difficill mat-
ters.

Lawes vnto the *Athenians*, made one among the rest; wherein he commanded, that euery kind of theft should bee punished with the penalty of death. In regard whereof, *Solon* saide, that hee had writtten that Law with blood, which made him (afterward) to allay and mitigate it. The custome which yet to this day is obserued for hanging of theeues, was first of all appointed by the Emperour *Fredericke*, the third of that name; according as *Lodouicus Pines*, that learned man in all Artes and Sciences, writeth in the third Booke of his Disciplines.

CHAP. XXXIII.

In what part of the Zodiacque the Sunne and Moone, and likewise the other Planets were, at their first creating. Also of the beginning of yeares, and the course of times.



HE learned Philosophers say, that men are naturally curious & couetous of knowledge. Moreover, such is the zeale of their affection in this case, and

the bent of humane vnderstanding so full of strange questionings, as they cannot content themselves to know such things as they may with some ease comprehend onely: but ouer and beside, they are scrupulous and searching (through bold presumption) to know such causes as are very hard, and almost impossible. Nor hath this painefull desire beene altogether fruitlesse and vaine, though many times it fayled, and came farre short of expectation: because by contemplation and continuall study, they haue found out such matters, as seemed before vtterly impossible and supernaturall, or that they should any way be attained vnto by the capacity of men. As namely the motions of the Heauens; the course of the Planets and other Starrs, with their severall influences and power, and the like things beside: a-

mong which is comprized my present intended argument, and what in this Chapter I purposed to discourse on, to wit how to know the beginning of times & yeares; and on what day the world began, or to speake better; when, or in what season God created the world; when began the year and times; and where was the Sun, or where God placed it at first, when hee began his course; & likewise the Moone, with the other Starrs and Planets.

Aristotle didd little care for these questions, and infinite other Philosophers beside, who thorow defect of the light of faith, did verily beleue, that the world was eternall, without any beginning or ending. But such as haue declared themselves not to be ignorant in these things, but verily beleued the beginning of times, seeme to stand diuided betwene two opinions. There are some among them, who say, that in the instant when the world was created, the Sunne was found to be in the first point of *Aries*, or the Ramme, which is in the Equinoctiall of Summer, the time comming then to the eleuenth day of March. Others say, that the world began, the Sunne then being in the first point of *Libra*, or the Balances, which is the other Equinoctiall of Winter, commonly happening in these our dayes, on the thirteenth or fourteenth day of September. Of this opinion were diuers *Egyptians*, *Arabs*, and *Greekes* likewise; according as *Lincolniensis* reporteth, in a Treatise of the world, which he wrote to Pope *Clement*; & *Pincennius* in his historical Mirrour.

Such as haue followed this opinion, alledge a reason for it, which (in my iudgment) is very weak, and of no force. For they say, that then the principall fruites of the earth were fully ripe, and in the very best of their sauiour; because it was most requisite, that (at the beginning) the earth should present it selfe in the height of perfection. To this purpose, they produce authority out of *Deuteronomy*, where it is said; *That God made all things perfect and compleate*. There are some others, who affirme, that the entrance of times, and of yeares, was on the very greatest day of all other; which was then, when the Sunne entred into the signe of *Cancer*, as now it is the eleuenth or twelfth day of Iune. *Iulius Firmicus*, an

The Authors
purpose in
this Chapter.

Curious que-
stions, yet co-
uered to be
knowne.

Aristotle and
the other Phi-
losophers o-
pinion of the
world.

Two opinions
concerning
the Sun and
Moone at the
worlds crea-
tion.
Egyptian
& *Libra*.

Egyptian
Autumne.

1. *Lincoln*, in
Treat. Mund.
lib. 1. in
Min. Hist. or
ital.

A reason al-
ledged for the
riches perie-
dian at the
beginning.

Deut. 32.

The entrance
of times and
yeares.

N 3 ancient

ful, & most
in the
of a Mund.

The figure Leo
the house of
the Sunne.

The most pro-
bable opinion
of all other.

S. Hierome.
S. Ambrose.
S. Basil.

The full agree-
ment of all
together.

On what day
was the passi-
on of our ble-
sed Saviour.

Concerning
the first Mo-
neth of the
yeare.

*Containing
part of March
and part of
April.

Wherein Trist.
is shew'd.

ancient Author, and of great authority in Astrology, in the beginning of his third Booke, which he wrote of the worlds creation, saith: *That when the world began, the Sunne was in the fifth degree of the figure Leo*; which is the figure wherein he hath most dominion, because it is called the house of the Sunne: the like he saith, in discovering the other Planets, by their order and degrees.

But that which relistheth of most reason in all these opinions, and appeareth most conformable to truth, is; that when both time and the heavens began to bee mooued; the Sun was in the first point of Aries, which is (with vs) in March, and at which time is the entrance of Summer. This is affirmed (beside all other reasons that we can alledge) by the greater part of Historians, as well Christians as Heathens; among whom are S. Hierome, S. Ambrose, S. Basil, and others, who doe all maintaine, that the beginning of the world, and likewise of the year, was in the Equinoctiall of our Summer. And although there may appeare some difference among them, because some will haue the worlds beginning to be in March, and others in April: it may well be endured, for they all agree together, that it was in the Equinoctiall, which now is in March. Notwithstanding, as we haue formerly affirmed, the Equinoctiall is not alwaies time or constant for Iesus Christ suffered his passion on the five and twentieth day of March, which was then the Equinoctiall, and now it is the eleuenth day of the same Moneth, whereby may well be presumed, that heretofore it was in April.

For this cause, some would haue April to be the first Moneth, and others March; yet notwithstanding, they all say, that when the Sun enters into the first point or degree of Aries, then is the Equinoctiall. This opinion is grounded on the Scripture, especially on the twelfth Chapter of Exodus, where it is said: *The Moneth * Nisan* (which is March with vs) *is the entrance to your year.* Vincentius, in the beginning of his historicall Mirrour, saith: *The Hebrewes began their year in March, because in the like Moneth was the Equinoctiall, when as the world began.* This opinion was likewise helde by some of the Gentiles; as Elpacus in his Astrological

Treatise, where he saith: *The Chaldeans being very great Astrologers, beleued likewise, that on the first day when the world was made the Sunne entered into the first point or degree of Aries*; and this is also confidently maintained, by the most part of Astrologers, both ancient and moderne. Therefore when the Sunne came in his course thither, or to that Signe; then was the beginning of the year, and thence ensued the principall or beginning day. For it is a matter most manifest, that the first day wherein the world began to be made, was also made the first day of the year: considering, that till then, there was neither time nor year. And therefore the figure of Aries is reckoned (about all the rest) to be the first in order among the twelve signes.

Now, as when we come to iudge of the reuolution of years, and things to happen therein, as of necessity we must equal the figures, by the beginning of the world; even so it is as easie to proue, that God placed the Sunne in the first degree of this figure, at the beginning and creation of the world. And this may be coniectured without any great labor, by our professed in the sixth Chapter of the seuenth Booke, in our first Volume, where discoursing on the time and day, when as our blessed Lord and Saviour suffered; it is affirmed, that the Sunne was in the selfesame at the creation, as it was when the great Sunne of righteousness made the regeneration of the world, suffering death and passion in humane flesh, and that happened (as is formerly saide) in the Equinoctiall of Summer, which is an argument and presupposition, that euen so hee placed it, when as he created it.

Moreover, it appeareth very credible, that it was so made, because such as know any thing in Astrology, and in the Sphere, do well perceiue, that the Sunne entering into the degree of this figure, and making his reuolution by the space of a whole day: there is not any part of the world, which he leaueth viloock on with his bright splendour. And this he doth not in any other place of the Zodiacke, because in what place else soeuer hee is; there are some parts of the earth where he is not seene that day; but being in this first degree, as we haue saide, there is no place where he is vnseene, as hee walketh

Concerning
the beginning
of the year,
where Moneth
and on what
day.

Aries the first
in order a-
mong the 12
figures.

Of the time
and day when
as Christ suf-
fered his pas-
sion, compar-
ed with the
day of the
worlds crea-
tion.

At what time
the Sunne il-
luminated the
world to-
gether, with
the cleare re-
uerence of his
beames.

A reason al-
ledged of
good conse-
quence for
the Sunnes
first appea-
ring.

Against such
an maintain-
the worlds
beginning in
the Equino-
ctiall of winter.

At what time
is the begin-
ning of the
Spring.

Of the Ro-
mane yeare,
beginning the
first day of
January.

Men. Parro
in his
Morbis lib.
saide in Eg.
pt.

The first sea-
son that Ad-
am and Eve
saw the world
was the
Spring time.

along in his diurnal course, or dayes iourney. And it standeth with good reason and conueniency, that the first day of the Sunnes setting forth on progrease, hee should begin in such a place, where hee may best visite the whole world with his beames. And that it should be in the figure Aries, rather then in that of Libra, appeareth plainly by our former relation, that on the day of our Lords passion, the Sunne was in the selfesame place, therefore there is some particular power in this signe.

Holding this opinion then for the most certaine, I say, that the reason alledged, by such as would haue the beginning of the world, to be in the Equinoctiall of September, is very weake. For it is not sufficient to say, that all the fruites were ripe and mellow; in regard it is no vniuersall rule: for when the fruites are ripe ned towards the Northern latitude, they are not so in the South, but wholly quite contrary. And therefore I craue no helpe of their reason, who say, that the Equinoctiall of March (already proued) is the beginning of the Spring-time, & of flow-ers ouer all the earth, all things beeing in procreation; for if with vs it be the beginning of Spring-time, it is then winter in the Southerne parts. Let our reasons then suffice, & the authority of such worthy men, to cleare all other doubt or scruple; although the Romane yeare, now in vse, seemeth to begin the first day of January: for this matter came so to passe, onely through the superstitious deuotion, which the Gentiles had to their God *Nanus*, conuicting to haue their year beginne with his name, as the Christians began theirs with the Natiuity of Iesus Christ, albeit the year doth not then begin.

The Romanes (in like manner) began their year in March, according as *Marcus Varro* writeth, and *Macrobius* in his first Booke, *Quid in his Festis*, and many more beside. Also God shewed his imment goodnesse, in placing our first Parents *Adam* and *Eue*, in the Northern parts of the earth, when he banished them out of the terrestriall Paradise; & that the first season which they saw in this world, was the Spring-time, finding the earth to be Greene & flowry, with the ayre milde, sweete and temperate, which was done for the consolation of their misery and

nakednesse, and so they could not haue found it, if it had not beene Spring-time.

This matter being sufficiently proued, wee must know that there are other Planets, and especially the Moone, as being one of the principall, whom some do maintaine, to be set by God in conjunction with the Sunne, on the first day of her creation. Others say, that she was in opposition, and at the full. Saint *Augustine* reporteth these two opinions, in his booke vpon Genesis, the sixth Chapter, saying further, that such as maintaine her to be in opposition, and at the full; do alledge for their reason; that it was very inconuenient, that at her beginning, God should create her any way defectuous. Others vrge the contrary, and say it is more credible; that she began her first day in conjunction, encreasing in her age answerable to our account. But to quiet this controuersie, I say (in mine opinion) that God at such time as he created her, made her at full, and in opposition to the Sun. And it seemeth; that this iudgement is the most receiued, as of *S. Augustine*, in the place before alledged; and *Rabanus* on the twelfth Chapter of *Exodus*, saith the very same. This appeareth conformable to holy Scripture, where it is saide: *God made two great lights, the greater light to gouerne the day, and the lesser light to illuminate the night.* Now in the very same instant as the Sunne began his light, hee gaue splendour to the moiety of the world, because in that moiety or halfe part, hee made day. But the other moiety could haue no light of the Sunne, by reason of the earths shadow; therefore it seemeth consonant to reason, that in the other moiety of the earth, where it was night, the Moone should extend her office of shining. For like as they were both created at one instant; so should they both fulfill their offices in one and the same instant, and the one to gouerne the day, as the other the night, according to the words of the Text, verified apparently, that the world was wholly lightened at one & the same time.

Contrariwise, if the Moone had bene in conjunction, the light common and vniuersall could not haue come till fifteene dayes after; and beside, three or foure dayes must needs haue passed, before she could lend any light to the earth, and that

Of the Moon
said to be in
conjunction
with the Sun
at her creati-
on.

Aug. in Gen.
cap. 5.

Others hold
her to be in
opposition.

The Authors
iudgement in
this case.

Rabanus in Ex-
od. cap. 12.

Gen. 1. 16.

The severall
Offices of the
Sunne and
Moone for
night & day,
to be both
done at one
instant.

Against the
conjunction
of the Moone
with the Sun
at that time.

must be but very little too, euen as when we see her to be but four or five daies old. Therefore it was very conuenable, that these two famous lights shold illuminate the earth at one instant. I say moreover, that the Moone then being in opposition with the Sunne, shee must needs haue her being on the other side of the signe *Libra*, for in her so being, she performing the same day the effects as the Sunne did, illuminating all the world, by her measurable pace of that dayes iourney; which els she could not haue done, if she had bin in any other place of the Zodiacque. Hereby it appeareth, that this opinion is the most likely; although *Iulius Firmicus* will needs say, that the Moone (at the time of her creation) had her first seating in the fiftenth degree of the signe *Cancer*, where shee affecteth most to be; & of this opiniō is *Macrobius*, in his first Booke of *Scipios* dreame.

As for the other Planets, it is very difficult to certifie them, and lesse profitable to know them: in which respect, I am willing to bestow the lesse paines on them. Neuertheless, *Iulius Firmicus*, in his second Booke before alledged, is so bold as to name the places where each of them is seated, saying: *Saturne* should be in the signe *Capricorne*; *Iupiter* in *Sagittarius*; *Mars* in *Scorpio*; *Venus* in *Libra*; & *Mars* in *Virgo*; which are the signes wherein they haue most power, and being signes likewise appointed to these Planets. *Elpacus* himselfe maintayneth as much, according as *Ioannes Agricannus* declareth in his Summary, entitled *Agricannus*; with *Macrobius* in his fore-named Booke of *Somno Scipionis*, and thereunto consenteth *Iulius Firmicus*, naming expressly the same signes, yet there are others, who haue thought, that in the recited instant, all the Planets were found to be in coniunction with the Sunne. *Agallierus* the Monke, in his booke of the Ages of the world, saith, that the ancient *Indians* held firmly this opinion.

As for my selfe, I am of the minde, that God did then place the Planets in such distant places, one from another, especially from the Sunne; that on such a chosen day, each one of them might illuminate the earth with his beames. VVhich could not be, they being in coniunction with the Sunne, because his presence, within any certaine space or proportion, so hindereth the greatest luster of their light, that

they cannot bee discerned on the earth. Notwithstanding, being created according to the will of God; it sufficeth (saith *Augustine*) that they were made, in being perfected by the hand of God, whose works (in what kinde soeuer they be) are perfect.

Anja Gra. cap. 8.

CHAP. XXXV.

That men may learne examples by Birds, Flies, Wormes, and other Creatures, to leade the course of a vertuous life.

WE have already declared in our first Volume, how Beasts & Birds haue entrusted men in a great part of the properties appertaining to Physicke, by purging and preserving themselves from harmes: now I am briefly to entreate, how their example may be profitable to vs, both in body and soule. And vndoubtedly, whosoever wil consider & contemplate, on the nature & properties abiding in beasts; shall not only thence deriue good instructions for life and safety of our humane bodies; but rules and examples beside, of good, commendable, and vertuous manners. VVhy do not men strive to purchase peace with their neighbours; seeing what concord and amity is among Beasts of all kindes, and how they keepe company, vnite themselves together in each kinde, and stand defensue one for another? VVhy shame they not to bee slothfull and negligent, perceiuing & observing the care and sollicitude of the Ant, and after what manner shee maketh her prouision in Summer for VVinter? VVhat vassals and subiects are they, that will not serue and honour their good Princes; noting with what loue and obedience poore little Bees serue and honour their King, and that which they doe for him beside? In which respect, such Commonweales as haue no Prince, but enioy all things in common; may not they learne an example of liuing in peace and concord, by imitation of the poore Ants, who are so great in multitude, and yet preserve an order of peace & iustice among themselves? And why do not great Lords and Princes consider, what manifestude and clemency all of them are obliged vnto; when

In the fifth Chapter of the 7. Booke.

Concord and amity among beaſts, exemplified by men.

Slothfullneſſe and negligencie reproued by the Ant.

Loue & duty to Princes taught by Bees.

Against common weales that haue no Prince.

Of clemency and manifestude.

Chap. 35. Inducements to vertuous life.

when they but behold the King of Bees, who doth no offence, neyther worketh any displeasure to the very meanest and filiest of his Subiects?

Our great Seigniors and high-minded men, may learne humility of the Camel, who falleth on his knees, to accept a heauy and ouer-chargeable burden. True and loyall married couples, may take example by the good custome among some Birds: especially Pigeons and Turtle-Doues, noting both in the Male and Female, that nothing but death can impeach their continuall companying, or hinder eyther from their first choyce. I finde written moreover, concerning Turtle-Doues, that the one dying, the other remaineth in the condition of a widow, & finisheth the remainder of her life in widowhood. Saint *Ambrose* writeth, that widowed women may learne chastity of the Turtle-Doue. As touching continency, all beasts (well neere) do lesse vs therein: for after the Female hath conceived, she neuer seeketh, or hath any appetite to the Male, till her full time be determined. They are likewise examples of temperance in all vices; because they eate no more then sufficeth to maintaine life, neyther sleepe they any more then necessity requireth.

To keepe our selues well and discreetly governed, the Peacoke may be our direction. For defence and maintenance of our houses, as also to liue liberally among our people; what better enstrueter can we haue then the Cock? For he will part with the food out of his owne Beake, to giue it to his Hens, and when need requireth, he will expose himselfe to all perils in their defence. The great obligation, wherein children standeth bound to their Parents, and how they ought to serue and asist them, the Storke plainly witnesseth; by nourishing their aged Parents in their owne nests, as they fedde and maintayned them in their youth. VVhy should not men blush and be ashamed, to commit frailty and sinne through feare, knowing the inuincible courage of the Lyon? Faithfullnes, friendship, and acknowledgement of receiued benefites, wee are notably taught by the meere behaviour of Dogs; that neuer forget the Masters they haue serued, but continually loue them, neuer ceasing to bee thankfull for

the poorest bread they eate. If a man would benefit himselfe by the vse of another mans goods, yet without any harme or injury done him; let him looke vpon himself in that case, as doth the little laboring Bee, who draweth honey out of the fairest flowers, and yet no wrong at all done to them.

VVhat meanes and order we should daily obserue, for healthfull conseruation of our liues, we are not to learne it of any one beast onely, but of many, that know what food doth soonest offend them, as also in with-drawing from one place to another, according to the mutation of times. Moreover, they will liue in such foyles, as are answerable to their complexions and natures: excelling men herein as well as in all other things beside. VVhy should not men be absolutely learned, and ignorance in any thing quier removed from them, being enclued with hearing and vnderstanding: considering that an Elephant learneth what soeuer is shewne and taught him; a Dog attaineth to many familiar qualities; and Birds can speake, being thereto enstrueted? He that heareth the Nightingales sweeter Songs, and some other melodious Birds; how can he but desire to sing musically? VVhy couer not men to be excellent builders, beholding the Swallows skilfull enstruction; what arte shee declareth for her owne dwelling, and with what diuersity of matter it is composed? VVhat better Geometry, then that of the Spider? VVhat better Astrologie, then that of the Ant, & likewise of a Fish (according to *Galen*) called *Pranoscopus*, that hauing but one eye, yet looks continually vp to heauen? Haue men reason and iudgement, and yet are meere ignorant in these Artes?

How many other industrious and excellent perfections are in brute Beasts, which men either haue, or els may learne of them? Passages vnder ground, making of Caves in the earth, and knowledge how to dwell in them; came they not first from the Mole and Fox? There are certaine little VVormes, in Latine called *erres*, that enstrueted the meanes and manner to spin and make Silke. Next, the Spider taught how to spin thred for cloth, & so to make Nets, whereby to catch Birds. Men learned of Beasts to swim in the water, for there is no one of them but can do it;

Benefit receiued without p. ciuile.

Healthfull preseruatiō of life.

Absolute learning and vnderstanding.

Still in Musicke.

Arte in building.

Geometry.

Astrologie.

Galen in lib. 4. * A Fish whole eye is alway directed v. ward.

Dwelling vnder ground.

Making of silke.

* Making of cloth. Catching of Birds. Swimming in the water.

Of her then being in opposition with the Sunne.

Macrobius in lib. de Som. Scip.

Iul. Firmic. in lib. de creat. Mund.

Elpacus in Tract. Astralog. Ioan. Agricannus in Sum. Agricannus in lib. de Som. Scip.

Gallierus in lib. de Mund. exp. 3.

The Planets not then in coniunction with the Sun.

Rules for phisick, & knowledge in warre.

Our wearing garments and food.

The cheefest support of our liues.

Examples concerning the soules.

All morall Parables grounded on beasts.

Beasts commended to in holy Scripture, for our imitation.

Reasonable men instructed by example of brute beasts.

Augustin lib. 1. sup. Iohann. 2.

it; yet men cannot attaine thereto, but by practise and learning. What Physicall rules they haue taught men, and knowledge in the changes of weather, hath else where bene handled; and yet notwithstanding we make such prouision of them, for supply of hunger and other necessities, as I know not how wee could liue without their helpe. Our garments are made of theirs, and their flesh is our best Food: both being brought home to vs from far remote countreys, and whatsoever is needfull for vs, or else we send abroad to seeke after them. They labour, and make the earth pliable for our vse; whence we get our bread, and the best fruites of sustentation, so that they are the principall maintenance of our liues. And although they are sore laboured, pursued, and euill entreated by the spleenes of men: yet are they still obedient, both knowing, following, and euermore dooing them seruice.

Come we now to examples concerning the soule, as a matter of higher Argument, and much greater importance. Whence can a man deriue more worthe examples, both for vertues and good manners meete to bee in men, then from beasts? All those Vertues which naturall Philosophers hath perswaded vnto vs, are grounded on the similitudes and parables of Beasts: Oratours serued their turnes with them; and all that haue spoken or written elegantly.

God and his Saints haue oftentimes in sacred Scripture, instructed and perswaded vs, by the properties & conditions of beasts, for the perfection of our liues: And the rules of vertue and ciuil manners do tell vs, that we should be wise like Serpents, and simple as Doves; milde, like Lambes, and strong and constant as Lyons. In like sort, by the example of brute beasts, and voide of reason; we are taught to become men reasonable, and spiritually affected. We finde many Offices & estates in the Church, applyed and figured by beasts, and according vnto theyre properties. By Oxen (according to S. Augustine, writing on the second Chapter of S. Iohn) such men are signified, as doe publish and preach the holy Scriptures: for they till and plough vnto the knotted furrowes of our soules, sowing therein the feedes of Gods most glorious

word.

Saint Paule, and Salomon in his Proverbs dooth say; *Thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the Ox that laboureth*, Rom. 9. verse 7. Proverb. 12. chap. 14. The holy Doctors and Preachers of the Church, that with Doctrine and good Lawes doe gouerne and defend it, are termed Doves. Saint Gregorie speaks it on the wordes of Job: *Quorum non dignabar patres ponere cum canibus gregis mei*. The same Saint Gregorie, inuitheth men vnto a contemplatiue kinde of life, by the imitation of Goates, that alwayes climbe vp to high places, spending there their time in contemplation as it were: the word is in *Leuiticus* seem his motiue thereto, *Leuitic. chap. 14. verse 12. Out of the Herd let the Goate be offered*.

Moreouer hee sayth, that Preachers should imitate the Cocke; as grounding on the wordes of Job, who sayde; *Who hath giuen vnderstanding to the Cock?* Adding withall, that (like vnto the Cocke) they proclaime (in the dimme darkenesse of this life) the glorious light that is to come, and awake vs with their shrill voyces, out of sleepe sinnes, saying vnto S. Paul, *The night is past, and day approacheth*. And againe, *It is time for vs to arise from sleepe, looke abroad yee in it, and sinne not*. Phil. 1. 12.

The Church her selfe, pure, holy, and immaculate, is compared to a Dove, as Salomon declareth in his Canticles, saying, *Beholde, thou art faire my Loue, thine eyes are like the Doves*. And againe in another place; *O my Loue, O my Dove*. We see likewise, that of the foure Euangelists three are figured by three beasts. If I would continue longer on this argument, I could finde matter enough to discouree on. But above all other, that of our Saviour and Redeemer Iesus Christ, is the most notable, who would be figured by a Beast, as Saint Iohn speaketh in his Apocalypse, chap. 7. verse 14. *The Lyon of the Tribe of Iudah hath bene victorious*. And David sayeth in his Psalmes, *Roulez thee like a Lyon*: and so in many other places, which were too long to rehearse. Beside, in S. Mathew, he teacheth himselfe a Hen, saying; *O Ierusalem, Ierusalem, how often would I haue gathered thee & thy children together, as the Hen gathereth hir Chickens vnder her wings, and ye would not*.

Seeing

Gregorie lib. 1. de Moral.

Contemplatiue kinde of life.

Gregorie in lib. 1. de Mor.

Preachers compared to the Cocke.

Ephes. 3. 19.

The Church resembled to a Dove.

Cant. 3. 1.

Tellur Chilli figured by a beast.

Psalm 110. 1.

Matth. 3. 33.

Christ works compared to the properties in beasts.

Men more of foule vnto God then all his other creatures.

Some men do giue worse examples to men, then brute beasts can do.

In the eighth chap. of the 1. Booke in the first volume.

Cinginguy the second Cite in the Kingdom of Maugy.

Seeing then, that Christ compareth his workes to the properties of Beastes; men may doe well to receiue instruction from them, in leading a good and holie life. And contrarywise, what shame and confusion is it to vs, to see and know, that all kinde of Beasts do follow theyr nature perfectly, and men (onely made reasonable) vse their owne so badly, abusing that super-excellent gift very viciely. For, he that ought most to honor God, doth most of all offend him, and farre beyonde all other creatures, dayly perverting and adulterating his workes. So that there are some beasts, of whome men may learne much better examples, then from some kind of men among whome they liue. For they haue more apprehension of iustice, and offend farre lesse, then men that know what is their dutie, and yet do it not. And therefore, God deliuereth it by the mouth of the Prophet Esay: *The Ox knoweth his Maister, and the Ass his Cribbe; but Israel knoweth him not, neither will his people vnderstand him*.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Of neglect in Martiall Discipline: and of an Army of Christians, that lost all their liues thorow drunkennesse, and want of following such courses, as are to be obserued in Military affaires.



WE haue already declared, how Bayan Chin'an, Lieutenant to the Tartarian Emperor Cublay, and director of his Military forces, tooke 12 Cities and Townes (by assault) at his first arriual, for conquering the great Province of Maugy, before all the rest would yeeld themselves tributary. One of them was utterly ruined to the very foundation and wote vsef then any other known to be, during the Empire of the said Cublay, which was about fixe and thirtie yeares. This City being called Cinginguy, was the second in wealth, greatnesse, and multitude of inhabitants, in all the rich Kingdom of Maugy, and the reason why it was wholly ruined, followeth thus.

Bayan Chin'an, pursuing his Conquest, was much withstood by a strong Cattle, builded vpon a small mountaine, very potent by naturall situation, and artificiall construction. For therein continued a powerful Garrison, that preyed with great advantages on his Army, passing along the foote of that Mountain; and this was the reason that he would proceed on no further, till hee had deriued some better correspondencie from the people of this Garrison. And yet he durst promise to himselfe, that (within some small distance of time) he should preuaile against them, as afterwards it proued true indeed.

In the meane while, and at the selfsame instant, the explorators or scouters were come backe againe, which he had sent to surueigh the citate of Cinginguy, who made knowne vnto him, that the people of the City appeared, to knowe nothing of his coming, neyther stood vpon any guard, or preparation to expect a besieging. This was the cause (to the end hee might the better preuent them) that hee forthwith dispatched a squadron of thirty thousand men, armed at the lightest, and very good soldiers, all of them being Christians (which came among the Tartarian Idolaters in open liberty, as the Iews haue done from all times of antiquity, and dayly yet doe) to possesse themselves of the Citie, and hinder the entrance of any succour, either by way of power or victuals, assuring them likewise, that he would follow them with all convenient speede that might be.

This warlike band of Christians, made such speedy diligence, that (within three dayes) they arriued before the City, and lodged themselves on the Ditches side, before any in the City took notice thereof. They made the salado in so many several places, and disposed their Archers so conueniently, as no one durst peep out at any of the bartlements, or else be scene vpon the walls. At length, the besieged (imagining the army that had thus engirt the, was of far greater strength then it was indeed) being overcome with feare, rendered themselves to the discretion & mercy of the assaillants, to the end, they might finde the more humanity at their handes. The gates being set open, the Christians entred, taking vp their lodgings in seueral

A strong Cattle resisteth Bayans passage.

Return of his scouters from Cinginguy.

The command that Bayan gave to his squadron of Christians.

The Christians arriued before Cinginguy.

The men of Cinginguy yeeld to the Christians.

all houses. And these indiscreete conquerors, without any other care of military discipline, finding the City well furnished with victuals of all kinds, & whatsoever was needfull for the life of man, but (above all) plenty of rich wines, fell to making themselves good chere, and drinking hard, after the German manner, till they fell asleepe with the pots in their hands.

Heereupon the Inhabitants finding themselves deceived, in yielding to so final a number of people, that had no better vnderstanding in actions of warre, neither knew how to vse the fortune so fauorably befall them; began to consult heereon with themselves, and how to worke their deliuerance with as much speed, as they were ouer-hasty in losing their liberty. The Christians continuing in this drunken behauiour, without any feare at all of the Inhabitants, that lodged the Soldiers in their houses, though not halfe so many as they were able to receiue: in one night it was fully concluded, that euery host should kill his guest, and so it was accordingly performed. Afterward, they threw their bodies into the great Riuer, which runneth through the midst of the City, saying: These are the renegadoes and faith-breakers, men of Christian Religion, of whom the Emperour *Cublay* made no great account, but suffered them to carry crosses in their Ensigns, to shame them the more in their least ill demeanour.

Bayan Chinjan having surprized the foresaid castle, commanded the Captains to be hanged, and the castle quite ruined; but pardoned all the Soldiers, journeying afterward on to *Cingunguy*: but with in lesse then two dayes journey, hee heard how all his men were slaine, therefore hee brought a strong siege before the City. The Inhabitants were not a little amazed, beholding so powerfull an Army to beset them, and conducted by a man so highly renowned: and therefore desired to haue a Parlee before any farther proceeding, which accordingly was granted. The summe of the Oration propounded by the Deputies, was thus. That they could not deny a manifest truth, but that they had slaine a number of runnagates, masterlesse men, seeming to haue no faith or honesty, neither shewing any open ap-

pearance of their power; but suddenly surprized their City. Moreover, that they were all Christians, more addicted vnto wine and gourmandizing, then any respect of valour or manhood: in which regard, his losse was little or none at all, by the deserued ouerthrow of such carelesse people, and they humbly desired pardon, if in this case they had transgressed.

Bayan returned his answer brauely and succintly, saying. His men were warriors, that had no other direction in this businesse, but commaund from his mouth onely, and he had bene well informed, that they tooke the City by faire order of warre: without offending any one in their goods, or violence offered to wiuers or maydes, or disarming any Inhabitant, but suffering them to continue in their wonted liberty. And in being Christians, they did not therefore deserue death, because he could as well tolerate them, as his Master the Emperour, who not onely suffered them to liue in all his Countreies, without the least injury done vnto them; but hauing conquered kingdoms, wholly Christian, he neuer innouated any matter touching their Religion. Moreover, the greater part of Officers in his Court, and the very worthiest of his warriors, were all Christians, being men more faithful, and of better conuersation, then any other Religion whatsoever.

As for their neglect in martiall discipline, he did not allow it in them, but confessed, that they deserued death therein, which (doublelesse) himselfe would haue inflicted on them; condemning them for being so forward, in executing any authority belonging onely to him. For which boldnesse (with an absolute denyall of pardon or fauour) he vowed to be reuenged on the men of *Cingunguy*, because (against all fidelity) they had slaine his men, and declared monstrous ingratitude for their extraordinary manuetude, and thence hee pretended to deriue his reason.

Having thus spoken, hee would seee them no more, but in this rough manner dismissed them. About an houre after, he caused his Rammes and other Engines of battery, to be mounted, for destruction of the walles and houses, and within few dayes after, tooke the City, with-

Wine and gourmandizing more respected then manhood.

Bayans reply to the men of Cingunguy.

The Christians defended in their profession, and whole kingdoms conquered, omitted onely the best of their Religion.

Bayan denieth pardon in fauour, vowing death and bloody reuenge.

In what manner Bayan destroyed the City of Cingunguy.

The carelesse neglect of Christians in their victory, continuing still in surfeit, and drunkennesse.

The Army of Christians slaine in their drunkennesse, and shamefully vied by the Inhabitants.

The strong Castle taken by Bayan, & tydings brought him of his mens slaughter.

A Parlee requested before further proceeding, and answer returned by the men of Cingunguy.

without any great resistance, putting all the men to the sword, that were about 14 yeares of age. Women and maides went whither themselves pleased; but for their children, they were sold at the Out-cry, to such as would giue the most money for them: for there were certaine merchants of *Beugala*, which followed the army that did trafficke onely in such kinde of merchandise, and so do yet to this day. Afterward, vittalles beginning to faile, & the warlike enemy, hauing emptied the citie of all the wealth; he commanded it to be set on fire, and that the Army should not boudge thence, vntill it were intirely consumed.

This City was seated on a goodly riuer, large and nauigable, whereby, the comerce which it made with other countreies, returned infinite profit and wealth. In it was made the richest & fairest works wrought with the needle, both in cloth of golde and siluer, as no other City in the world beside had the like. There were also made sumptuous vessells (for all vses) both of gold and siluer, by most admirable cunning, and in great plenty: besides costly clothes of fine Cotten, gold, siluer and silke. In briefe, it was the second or third City (as then) in all these parts: which was thus destroyed, thorow the drunkenness of *Nestorian* Christians, and by the perfidy of the Inhabitants, euen as *Troyan Ilium* by luxurie & whoredome, since when it was neuer rebuilded, or inhabited. The ruines thereof may be seene to this day, wheratt full many haue stood amazed, it being situated in so potent a territory: but it was thought to proceed from the iust displeasure of God, and for the bloody massacre of so many Christians.

We may now come homeward, and nearer to our selues, and speake of the like faults, as were among these *Tartarian* Christians, thorow lacke of knowledge, how to make vse of victorie: As not long since was seene in *France*, in the first battaile giuen neere to *Dreux*, betwene the *French* Protestants and the Catholics, in the yeare of our Lord God, 1562. vnder *Charles* the ninth. The Prince of *Conde*, being chief of those Protestants, ouerthrew with his horsemen (wherein he was strongest) a great part of the royall Catholique Armie,

whereof *Anne de Montmorancy*, Constable, was commanded, putting the 22000. to flight, and the sayde Constable taken prisoner. Heereupon the Protestants becoming insolent, and vterly vnmindfull of Militarie Discipline: left their ranks, brake their order, gaue the chase, pursuing after certayne runaways, and, before they had fully conquered all their enemies; they beganne to gape after pillage with the *Smart-ruttors* and *Launce-knights*. During this disorder, *Monseigneur de Guise*, a most wise and valiant Captaine, hauing yet left him a band of braue men, beganne to set vpon those negligent fellows with his troups, and running on the Protestants (who imagined they had the whole victorie, which they knew not how to holde) got the better of them, and tooke their Leader the Prince of *Conde*, becoming sole master of the field. Thus, not knowing how to vse Militarie Discipline, by breaking their ranks, following the chase, and scrapping for pillage, when they had gotten the better of their enemies safe and soundly, yet not hauing wholly overcome them: did they not declare themselves very vnadvised, becoming guilty and well worthie of death? I am perswaded, that all good warriors are of that opinion. And so it happened, for thus the Protestant Armie was vterly soyled, which was (wellneare) equall in great Captaines and good men to the Royall. But such losse doth almost daily happen, where Military discipline is not obserued.

They that (at so cheape a rate) tooke the City of *Cingunguy*, should haue disarmed the Citizens, seized the strongest places into their owne power, planted Courts of guard in all the most frequented parts of the City, imprisoned the chiefeest persons, expelled out of the City, a greater part of the youthfull and most forward men, if they would not kill them, without vsing such courttesie after conquest. In so doing, they had kept Martiall discipline on foote, and auoyded the losse of their owne liues, besides the reproach, to their great infamie. But ouer and above all the rest, they should (as much as in them lay) haue abstained from wine: For there is not anie thing, that sooner bereaueeth a

The fault of the Protestants in the battaile at Dreux.

The Duke of Guise a vertue worthe and tried warrior, ouerthrew the Protestants, and tooke the Prince of *Conde* prisoner.

The Protestant Army vterly soyled.

What the Christians ought to haue done, vpon their victory at Cingunguy.

Wine most hurtfull to any good Souldier.

O o good

Faficius Temp
Mater Hylor.Rene Duke
of Lorraine.A third battel
vndertaken
by the Duke
of Bourgoyn
and Ioli allo.The vanity of
the Bourguig-
nons concern-
ing the
Dukes death.Naucler. in lib.
7. cap. 10.The vnfortun-
ate end of
fo great a
Duke.Vladislaus K.
of Poland and
Hungaria, &
howe little a
while hee en-
ioyed both
his kingdomes,
through his
owne folly.

The Duke of *Bourgogne* being before *Morat*, the people of the Towne yffied forth, and to belet the army of the *Bourguignons*, that twenty thousand (according to *Faficius Temporum*) or twentie two thousand, and feuen hundred (according to the *Mother of Histories*) were ther flaine. The fpoyle was left to the Duke of *Lorraine*, who likewife recouered *Nancy* againe afterward.

A third time likewife, the Duke of *Bourgogne*, being not a little offended, that he thould be vanquished by fo mean a Prince as the Duke of *Lorraine*, and hee recouering the Towne of *Nancy*; returned with fresh forces, and befiedged it againe with fourteen thousand able fighting men, beside some other bandes in expectation. The Duke of *Bourgogne* was difcomfited, and all his army; but by no means could his body be found. The *Bourguignons* could not be perfuaded that hee was flaine: but hauing escaped from the field, hee had retired himselfe into *Germanie*, where he had vowed to liue in feuen years penitence.

There were some *Bourguignons*, that made sale of precious Stones, Horfes, and such like things, to be paid againe vpon his retume, and namely to *Brachelles*, in the Dioceffe of *Spire*. There was a poore Begger, imagined to bee the Duke of *Bourgogne*, because he liued in the like estate of penance; which made verie many trauaile to see him, and bestow verie liberal almes on him. *Naucler* reporteth, that he saw the poore man begging in the same place. The King of *France*, hearing the Duke was dead, seized on *Montdidier*, *Roye*, *Peronne*, *Abbeville*, *Montreuil*, *Arras*, *Hel din*, and the two *Bourgoynes*, to wit, the Dutchy and Countie. The men of *Gauant* tooke his Daughter, that gouerned his estates very poorly, and married her as herselfe pleased; she hauing put to death the Chancellor, and other of his best officers. Thus you see how this great Prince ended his life, accompanied with many misfortunes.

Vladislaus, King of *Poland*, a young and gallant Prince, was called by the *Hungarians* to be their King, in the year 1440. He conceiued such glory by seeing himselfe King of two such mighty Kingdomes, that he thought himselfe to be inuincible. Whereuppon, being desirous to imploy

his valour in warre against some enemy, that might take notice of his courage and power; he brake faith and Truce, which the *Hungars* had made with the Turk the year before. In the first battayle hee gaue, he was quickly slayne, and hadde but a short enioying of his two Kingdomes; for, thorow the inconstancie of Fortune, his pretended felicity was soon cut off, and all his supposed power viterly quailed.

The Emperour of the East, *Constantine Paleologus*, some fifteen yeares after, went to keepe company with this young King *Pladislaus*, in the other world. For *Constantinople*, the Metropolitane Cittie of his Empire, was besiedged and taken by *Mahomet* the second, sir-named the Great, thorow the negligence and treacherie of *Iohn Iustinian* of *Genewey*, *Mahomet* hauing 300000. able fighting men, and four hundred Cannons, and the siegde continued threescore dayes. The Emperour (in flight) was met withall, and murdered neere vnto the Gate: his head being carried vpon a Launces point, and so conueighed quite thorow the Cittie, while his bodye was trodden vnto dirt with their feete. *Mahomet* also caused a Crucifixe to bee erected, and wrote vpon it (in scornefull derision) these words: *This is the GOD of the Chritians*: commanding likewise, that euery one should cast dung and filthe vpon the fayre Image.

The wife to the Emperour, with her daughters, and the very Noblest Ladies attending on them, were brought before *Mahomet*; and after all reproach was done vnto them, euen the verie greatest Villanies in the world, their bodies were hacked and hewne in peeces.

Some few dayes after, there was another King (but of three dayes standing) put to death likewise. VVhich I may by no means omit, because it was the forenamed *Iohn Iustinian* the *Genowefe*, a treacherous Villaine. For hee had concluded with *Mahomet*, that if he would make him King, he would yeelde vp *Constantinople*, or the meane whereby hee shoulde surprize it. *Mahomet* kept promise with him; for hee constituted him a King for three dayes space: and on the fourth day, hee commanded his head to bee smitten off. So sayeth *Faficius Temporum*; and that

Constantine
Paleologus,
Emperour
of the East.The power of
Mahomet be-
fore Constan-
tinople.The Empe-
rors body tro-
den vnder
foote, and his
head cut off.The shame
done vnto the
Empresse, and
her daughters.The Treason
of Iohn Iustin-
ian, and his
iust requital,
being a King
of three dayes
standing.Of Charles
the eighth, K.
of France.His conquest
of Naples,
Calabria and
Apulia.Wherefore
his order-
ed to a man,
cannot be
suyded.Little care
had of fo fa-
mous a King,
& in fo great
an extremity,
to let him die
in fo thinking
a place.The Treason
of Iohn Iustin-
ian, and his
iust requital,
being a King
of three dayes
standing.

that these things happened in the year, one thousand foure hundred fifty three, about the Moneth of May.

I am sure few people are ignorant, in what Bedes of state, the noble Kings of France vse to take their rest, and vnder what rich Paultions; yet the inquiry of our times hath bene such, that a Kings lodging hath bene more vile then a laxe. I speake of King *Charles* the eight of that name, who returning home to his kingdom, hauing bene in *Italy*, where hee conquered the kingdom of *Naples*, and the great Dukedomes of *Calbria* and *Apulia*, and wonne two famous battailes in those countries: vpon a Palme Sunday Eue, being the seuenth of Aprill, one thousand foure hundred ninety eight, lea- ding his Queene by the hand, *Anne* of *Bretaigne*, to see certaine Gentlemen play at the Tennis, in a Ditch belonging to the Cattle of *Amboise*, entred into an olde, broken, vncovered Gallery, where he gaue his head a great blow against the vpper part of the doore, albeit himselfe, was but of lowe stature. Taking hold vpon some staves for his recovery, neere vnto a noyome place, where euery one that would (by custome) vied to let passe their vrine, and other vnleaneesse of the body; he was contented to endure it, and stood there merrily discoursing with the Queene, and other noble persons there present, judging who deserued best of them that played. Suddenly hee was overcome with a rheume or catarre, which taking from him all his strength and motion in euery part of his body, he was deperied likewise of his speech. This was perceived by all there-about him, and how he lay vpon the ground, in such a foule, stinking, and vnseemely place; yet no one had the care, or subiect-like affection, to beare him thence to his royall bed, which was not about twenty paces off.

Hee languished in this manner, for the space of nine houres, and dyed there in that noyome place. Is it not a matter deferring admiration, that so worthy a King should dye in fo vile a place, being in his owne house, among his Officers, and many of the Nobility? Hee that was King of the sweete smelling *Floure-de-Luce*, to expire and end his dayes, not among heards or flowers of pleasing fa-

nour: but in a place full of filth, then which, the whole world could yeelde no worse?

And to shew yee, that great Princes are as subiect to dye in battailes, as the simplest Souldiours: *Iames*, King of *Scottes*, may serue as an example, for hee was slayne in the field, with two Bishoppes, a great part of his Nobility, and many men of warre, that happened in the year of our Lord, one thousand five hundred and thirtee. And the year following, *Iohn d'Albrat* King of *Nauarre*, lost his Kingdom, which was leazed by *Ferdinand* King of *Spain*, because hee stood accused by Pope *Iulius*, for assisting King *Lewes* the twelfth, in warre against him; and about all, in the battaile of *Raenens*, which vntill this present his Successours neuer enioyed.

And *Lewes Sforza*, Duke of that rich and goodly Countrey of *Milaine*, was led prisoner into *France*, lying before the *French* to *Nauarra*, a Cittie of his Dukedome; hee was confined to imprisonment, within the great Tower of *Bourge*, where (in great want and pueritie) hee finished his dayes.

What shall wee say of King *Francis*, first of that name, the Father of Learning, whose wisdom and magnanimitie, could not warrant him against the Ambuscadoes of Fortune, no more then any of them before remembered? Hee fell into the hands of *Charles* the fifth, Emperour, enuious of his greatness, and had bene his competitor in the Empire, opposing himselfe against many of his desires. Hee detained him prisoner about a year; during which time, hee had a most yke-some disease, which compelled him (for enioying of his liberty, to yeeld to many hard and grievous conditions. As, to renounce and disclaime a multitude of rights, which hee pretended to many Dukedomes, Earledomes, and Kingdomes. Beside, he gaue fo great a quantity of money, as well for his expences, as discharge of martiall affaires, and his ransom withall, that his kingdom (for euer after) felt the smart thereof.

And not only haue temporall Princes felt the rigour of inconstant Fortune; but Ecclesiasticall persons also,

Iames the
fourth, King
of Scottes, slaine
in battaile.Iohn d'Albrat
King of Na-
uarre lost his
kingdome.Lewes Sfor-
za, Duke of
Milaine, con-
fined in pri-
son, where he
died.Francis the
first, King of
France, the
parson of
learning.The hard en-
forcements of
King Francis.

The Author
speaks both
of spiritual
perions.

Pope John
deposed and
imprisoned.

The bishop of
Liege, bro-
ther vnto the
Duke of Bour-
gogne, a lord
both spiritual
& temporal.

The butcher-
ing of an arch
bishop, and
4 Cardinals.

Pope Clement
taken priso-
ner, & Rome
raaged or
pilled by gre-
dy Souldiours.

howeouer high and great degree they haue carried in the world. For in the year 1410. Pope John was put in prison, flying from the Councell of *Constance*, and was given in guard to *Lewes*, Count *Palatine*, deposed from his Office, and one called *Martine*, filte of that name, seated in his place, being likewise very inhumanly entreated, for the space of three yeares. Afterwardes, by the humanity of the sayde *Martine*, he was set at liberty, and created Cardinal: whereby euery man may perceiue, how farre this John was falne from his former degree.

In the year 1466. the byshop of *Liege* brother to the fore-named Duke of *Bour-gogne*, by his wife, who was of the house of *Bourbon*: beside his Office, hee was a Prince of the Empire, a Lord both spiritual and temporal, and holding fo great and rich a country, as that of *Liege*. He was taken prisoner by his subiectes, and a great fort of his friendes and officers (among whome were ten Abbots and Promotoraries, or Canons, al of worthy houses) massacred in his presence, & himselfe kept prisoner for long time, and in great misery. At length hee got safely away, hauing (by money) won his Guards consent thereto.

At Florence, in the year 1448. the arch-Bishop of the saide place, being clothed in his habiliments of Priest-hood, and saying Masse, was sodainely surprized, and hanged or strangled at a Vindow, by the hands of the hangman; beside foure Cardinales massacred by the people, and many other Ecclesiasticall persons beheaded.

And although Popes (as hath bene held) by their great and spiritual authority, might impose silence vpon Christian Princes, from vndertaking warres, but to keepe themselves in quiet, and likewise to take armes at his command, for the affairs of the Christian world; yet it came fo to passe, that Pope *Clement* was taken prisoner, and locked vp seuen months in place in his castle of *S. Angelo*, kept by a guard of *Spaniards* and *Germanes*, and all of them Heretikes (wel-neere) about him. The City of *Rome* was greuously pilld, the Temples ransacked and prophaned; all which happened by the Souldiers of *Charles* the fit, a Catholike Emperour, in the year 1527.

After these men of Ecclesiasticall profession, it shall not differ much from our purpose, to conclude this chapter with the death of three potent Kings, that died all three in one day: to the end, we may obserue how vnhappy it is for Princes, to thinke that they can well manage their affaires, in meddling amongst the quarrels of other Princes, as pusiant euery way as themselves.

It came to passe, that two Princes contended for the kingdome of *Fez* and *Marocco*, situated in *Barbarie* of *Affrica*: the one of them being named *Muley Mahumet*, Nephew to the other that demanded these Realmes, called *Abdelmelec*. This *Mahumet*, who enioyed those Kingdomes ten or twelue yeares, was assayed three or foure times by *Abdelmelec*, hauing gotten assistance of the Turke, and wonne til the best in foure fought batailles. So that in the end, the inhabitants of *Fez* and *Marocco* receyued *Abdelmelec*: because *Mahumet* was a Tyrant, had very few friends, contemning euery one, and trusting altogether in his strength and Treasures, after all his losses in those former Batailles.

Sebastian, King of *Portugall*, made offer to him of his ayde and friendship, but hee refused it; vntill such time as hee had neyther place or person to retire vnto, nor any to follow him. Moreover, he had spent the great heapes of money which hee had gotten together during his reigne, & now withdrewd himselfe into the Mountaines, which are fixe Leagues off from the City of *Marocco*. There hee liued about seauen or eight months, like a theefe or robber, with some few companies of needie persons, which yet againe were cut off by the troopes of *Abdelmelec*; and *Mahumet* constrained to wander in the most vnacceffable places of the Mountaines, where he endured a million of miseries, for the space of a whole year, liuing in continual feare and distrust, onely thorough his conceyued opinion, that hee should be taken, or betrayed in his secret walks.

In breefe, necessity compelled him to repent his former denials, and to require the friendly succour offered him; by that braue King of *Portugall*, *Sebastian*: vnto whom he sent an expresse Messenger, (afterward) two of his Captaines. In the meane while, he found the means to defend

The death of
three Kings,
all in one day

The memor-
able History of
Muley Mahu-
met, & Abdel-
melec, Kings
in *Barbarie*.

Abdelmelec
expelled Mu-
ley Mahumet
out of *Fez* &
Marocco.

Sebastian K.
of Portugall,
offers aide
to Mahumet,
& is denied.

The misera-
ble state and
condition of
Muley Ma-
humet.

Mahumet is
enforced to
request the
ayd which he
had formerly
denied.

* An olde Ci-
ty of Mauri-
tania, here-
fore called
Tingi.

King Sebastia-
n always
seeking op-
portunity to
enter *Affrica*,
and his pre-
sence, for the
advancement
of Christian
Religion.

King Sebastia-
n passed into
Affrica to
gainst the o-
pinion of all
his friends.

The Army in
full prepara-
tion for the
field from
Portugall.

The care of
Abdelmelec,
no encounter
with his ene-
mie.

cent from the Mountaines, by wayes of little or no resort, and fought for his safety in * *Tanger*, a Towne which the *Portugales* held in *Affrica*: where hee was well entertained by the Gouernour, who knew some part of *Sebastians* minde towards him, and therefore furnished the two Captaines with well armed horsemen, for the dispatch of their Embassie in *Portugall*.

King *Sebastian* was very ioyfull to see these Ambassadors, because he was naturally addicted to Armes, and the disposition of his person (ioyned with his height of courage) incessantly spurred him on to this businesse. And in this respect, hee did but awaite some apt ouerture, for making his passage into *Affrica*, forming his pretext, vpon an earnest desire (as hee would alwayes say) which hee had to aduance Christian Religion, and to extirpate that of the Mahumetists. Whereupon he suddenly promised (without any better consideration of the businesse) to succour *Muley Mahumet*, and to re-seate him in his kingdomes againe: hee made promise (I say) to such a one, as himselfe had before fought vnto, for this effect, by so large a passage ouer the Seas, and two severall times had bene misprized by him. The Pope, the King of *Spaine*, and many other great personages, could not dissuade him from this enterprize, but still hee persisted in treading the path vnto his owne death, death that followed him so hard at the heeles. So did hee set on into *Affrica*, with thirtene hundred sayle, as well of great as small Vesselles in that Fleet, the very sayrest and goodliest that had bene seene in those times. His Army was composed of Lance-knight, *Spaniards*, *Italians*, *Portugales*, and some small number of *Affricane Moores*, which took part with the *Portugizes*, and thirty fixe Pieces of Ordnance for the field, well fitted and furnished. In all, there was not aboute sixteene thousand men of warre; setting aside the Souldiours boyes, Waggoners, Strumpets, Calltadours, and other such like people very vnprofitable for the field.

Abdelmelec (wee may well perfwade our selues) slept not all this while carelessly, for hee brought threecore thousand men to the field, as well Pykes as Harquebuziers, and twenty fixe Peeces of Orde-

nance for the field, well appointed & gouerned by most expert men. *Abdelmelec* was very sorry, that hee should haue any conquest against Christians, in regard he bare them much affection; not because he feared the *Portugizes*, but as fore-seeing, that *Barbary* would proue the graue to the King of *Portugall* who (indeede) was too weake to encounter with him, that went so farre beyond him in power.

And in due consideration of the case, hee would oftentimes thus say to himselfe, *King Sebastian should bee more respectiue, then so vnadvisedly to runne vpon his owne ruine: for he would take two kingdomes from me, which in right and iustice doe appertaine to me, and giue them vnto a Negro, wherein Christendome can no way be eased or accommodated, neither is it a thing which God (being iust) will permit.*

The report and rumors spread abroad, of *Abdelmelec* valiant carriage, was the cause that euery one came to offer him seruice and obseyance; and from euery Province they brought him goody presents and gifts of inestimable value. Many Christian Kings rooke pleasure in his friendship, and embraced him as their kinde well-willer; esteeming themselves happy in his acquaintance. So that from diuers places, great store of Christians traiailed into his countries, where they receiued gracious entertainment, and hee shewed them much better countenance, then to any other men that resorted thither, helping them liberally in their necessities. On the contrary part, *Muley Mahumet* oppressed the Christians all the time of his reigne, or else permitted, that all greeses and molestations should be done vnto them: wherefore King *Sebastian* (in this respect) did greatly forget himselfe.

Now to deteine the Reader no longer in suspence, the two Armies disposed themselves for the encounter, and mette in a field, which contained aboute two miles in spaciousnesse, so euen and plaine, that there was nor any tree, grasse, brambles, or stones, to offer the least hinderance. The Army of *Sebastian*, had the River of *Arache* behinde it, and that of *Abdelmelec*, the River of *Alcassar*. *Muley Mahumet*, for whom this Tragedy was to be acted, contrary to his oath and promise, did not bring with him any ayde for *Sebastian*; hating

How Abdel-
melec did ot-
tend in ex-
com-
municate the
case of King
Sebastian.

The loue, ri-
ches, and ser-
uice volunta-
rily offered to
Abdelmelec
by Christians
and others.

Muley Ma-
humet oppres-
sing the Chri-
stians.

How the two
Armies came
to encounter
in the field.

The treachery
of Mahumet
with King
Sebastian.